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Please Note

1. The paper presented by Lucille Marr, "Naming Valiant Women: Biographical Sketches of Letitia Youmans, Winnifred Thomas and Katherine Hockin," is forthcoming in *Consensus: A Canadian Lutheran Journal of Theology*.

2. The paper presented by Bruce L. Guenther, "'In the World but not of it': Old Colony Mennonites, Evangelicalism and Contemporary Canadian Culture – A Case Study of Osler Mission Chapel (1974-94)," is forthcoming in *Journal of Mennonite Studies*.

Fundamentalism and the Family: A Preliminary Examination of P.W. Philpott and His Children

David R. Elliott

At present I am in the process of writing a biography of Peter W. Philpott (1865-1957), an exceptionally irenic fundamentalist who was able to work with variety of religious leaders of various persuasions. Peter and Jessie Philpott also had a remarkable family of thirteen children, twelve of whom reached adulthood and had considerable influence in their respective fields of endeavour. One of the questions I am investigating is what made his family life exceptional and how it compared and contrasted with other evangelical families beginning during the last decades of the nineteenth century. A number of Philpott's fundamentalist associates, whom I have already investigated, had very dysfunctional families. Placing the Philpott family in the larger context of Canadian and American society has not been easy since most of the available historical studies of Canadian and American children have focused on orphans, immigrant children, delinquents and the school systems or sexual attitudes and courtship patterns.[1] The internal dynamics of lower and middle-class families have not received the historical attention they deserve.[2]

Let us first examine the career of P.W. Philpott to place his family in context. In 1892, while he was one of the leading officers of the Salvation Army in Toronto, Peter and Jessie Philpott withdrew from that movement[3] and organized the Christian Workers Churches in Canada which had a loose affiliation with the Christian and Missionary Alliance[4] and later formed the basis of the Associated Gospel Churches of Canada.

In 1896 the Philpotts took over the Christian Workers Gospel Taber-

nacle in Hamilton and quickly built that small mission into one of Canada's largest independent churches by 1920. Peter was also in heavy demand as a speaker at the holiness and prophetic conferences and was one of the leaders of the emerging fundamentalist movement.

In 1922 Philpott was called to take over the troubled Moody Church in Chicago, reorganized the finances, built up the congregation and oversaw the building of the new Moody Church.[5] He was also an active board member of nearby Wheaton College.[6] While ministering in Chicago, Philpott was constantly being wooed away by other churches, including Calvary Baptist Church in New York City. In 1929 he finally accepted a call from another of the citadels of fundamentalism, the troubled Church of the Open Door, contained in the Bible Institute of Los Angeles (BIOLA). He stayed there until the end of 1931 when he went into semi-retirement.

From 1932 until his death in 1957, Peter Philpott conducted an itinerant ministry as a conference speaker across North America. He and his wife Jessie made their home in Toronto, but for several years he became interim pastor of his old church in Hamilton. The rancorous T.T. Shields at Jarvis Street Baptist Church often called upon Philpott to supply his pulpit in Toronto. Philpott also filled in for Charles Templeton's Avenue Road Church. Then, from 1944 to 1954, Philpott served as associate pastor for Oswald J. Smith's Peoples Church. It should be noted that Shields and Smith were religious competitors and Philpott seems to have been able to lessen the conflict between these warring fundamentalists. When Philpott died at the age of 92, he was busy working on his next day's sermon. He had completed seventy-four active years in the ministry from the time he had become a Salvation Army officer at the age of eighteen. His funeral was conducted by the Reverend Howard Bentall of Walmer Road Baptist Church in Toronto, a family friend who had also buried Jessie Philpott two years before.

The Philpotts were a very close family and supportive of each other. The children had a high regard for their parents Peter and Jessie. On Jessie's ninetieth birthday the children and grandchildren gathered in Toronto to honour her and stressed the positive role that she and Peter had been in their lives. Two of the children, Ruth and Stuart, wrote family histories which at present remain unpublished manuscripts because they died before their work could be revised and published. I think it important to quote Stuart Philpott's preface to his manuscript.

> Eighty-two years of activity in business, sport and community affairs have afforded me the privilege of associating with many leaders in most facets of Canadian and U.S. life, but I still place mother and father at the very pinnacle of my personal monument of magnificent men and women.[7]

What did Peter and Jessie Philpott have in their personalities and parenting skills that had such a positive impact on their children? When we look at their backgrounds they do not appear as likely candidates as successful parents. Peter's father, an alcoholic, had died when Peter was seven years of age. The family was broken up, the older children being farmed out to relatives and Peter and his younger brother were brought up by his young widowed mother and a later a succession of two step-fathers. Peter received only an elementary education and began to work as a blacksmith in his teens. He was a rough and tumble sort, known for his skill in fist fights. At eighteen he was converted at a street meeting and entered the Salvation Army.[8] Jessie's mother had died when she was six years old and she was raised for another two years by her grandmother until she also died. Jessie's father, who was a railway bridge builder, basically abandoned her, leaving her to be brought up by her older brother in Toronto and then a family who took her in. She, too, was converted at a Salvation Army meeting while in her teens. The positive factors in their lives were Peter's loving mother, Jessie's grandmother and the family which virtually adopted Jessie.

Let us now examine some of the factors which made Jessie and Peter Philpott successful parents: the Philpott children recognized that their parents loved each other and were very supportive of each other. Peter's diary entries demonstrate how deeply he was devoted to Jessie and how he regarded her as a partner in ministry. At one point he maintained a vow of celibacy for over a year because he feared that another pregnancy would destroy her health. Jessie convinced him that his celibacy was unrealistic.[9]

In the Salvation Army Peter and Jessie had been exposed to attitudes of sexual and social equality and those principles were demonstrated in their dealings with people of every social station, race and creed. They maintained positive relationships with the Jewish and Catholic communities, inviting the Jewish rag-man in for lunch and sending their daughter Ruth to the Catholic convent for music lessons. After Peter raised money for Jewish relief in Palestine during World War One, he was invited to be

the guest speaker at a convention of rabbis.[10] The Philpott children saw practical Christian charity being constantly demonstrated as Peter and Jessie welcomed into their home vagrants, "fallen women," and the destitute, whom they housed, fed and clothed.

Care was taken to ensure that the children were healthy even though Jessie had little use for the medical profession and was an advocate of homeopathy. Her children were born without a doctor's assistance. She called upon mid-wives, but the babies were usually born before the midwife arrived. All of her children survived infancy; only Donald died at the age of seven when he contracted diphtheria.

Peter and Jessie took an active interest in their children's lives. They taught them skills ranging from animal husbandry, horticulture and agriculture, to carpentry, piano playing, photography and journalism. As new children were born, the older girls were given responsibility for the care of the middle children. Peter was an active sportsman and organized sports activities for his children and participated with them. With eight boys, Peter had his own baseball team, he being the ninth player. They also participated with the many local baseball teams which dominated the working-class culture of Hamilton.[11]

The Philpott children were exposed to a great variety of interesting people, missionaries and journalists, who passed through the house and told their stories from exotic places such as India, Africa and Tibet. The children were active participants in the dinner conversations, even when guests were present. The attitude that "children were to be seen but not heard" did not exist in the Philpott household. The children were made to feel that they were valuable members of the family. At the same time they were encouraged to be part of the family of God.

Physical punishment was kept to a minimum even though the boys were sometimes very undisciplined. Psychological pressure and isolation from the others were the common punishments. The children were encouraged to seek forgiveness from God "who sees all." A spirit of Christian grace appears to have dominated that household. God's forgiveness and salvation was available to anyone who asked for it. Even after an assailant made two attempts on Peter's life, Peter went to court and pleaded on behalf of the convicted man.[12]

An important thing which united the family was a summer home which was purchased at Bronte, near Burlington. There the family spent their summers for thirty-five years; even when Peter and Jessie were

ministering in Chicago or Los Angeles, they returned to Bronte for the summers where they were joined by the extended family.

Probably the most important factor in promoting a positive family situation were the approximately 20,000 letters which Jessie wrote to her children until her death in 1955. As each child left home Jessie wrote them a letter each week, informing them of what was happening in the family and inquiring into their spiritual state. The children also knew that each day Jessie rose early and prayed for them individually. This practice began when four of the boys and Ruth were overseas during World War One. Three sons also served overseas in World War Two.

The Philpotts encouraged the post-secondary education of their boys and girls; various children were sent to the Ontario Teacher's College in Hamilton, A.B. Simpson's Missionary Training Institute at Nyack, NY, Wheaton College, McGill University, the University of Michigan, Northwestern University, the University of Toronto, nurses training and the Ontario College of Art. As the children pursued their careers across North America some of the boys began a family newspaper, *The Family Informer*, which investigated family genealogy and kept the rest of the clan acquainted with recent family happenings.

How does the Philpott family fit into what we know of the Victorian Christian family? In Colleen McDannell's study of the American Victorian family she noted that home ownership was an important dimension of the Victorian family, not only as an avenue to financial stability, but also as a means to control their social environment. Living in the suburbs was especially encouraged to avoid the vice and pollution of the cities.[13]

The Philpotts appear to have heeded that thinking. Until 1902 the Philpotts had lived in rented quarters in the industrial districts of Toronto and Hamilton. In that year they purchased a small farm on Mountain Avenue at the western limits of Hamilton. Part of the reason for the move may have been the need for more space for the family which was constantly growing with a new baby arriving on the average of every two years. A change of environment may also have been necessary. Jessie had suffered a nervous breakdown after the birth of her eight child in 1901 and spent most of a year recovering on a Mennonite farm near Lake Huron.

Following Jessie's breakdown, Peter appears to have taken a more active role in childcare. After moving to the small farm Peter and Jessie had greater opportunity to teach the children practical skills in housekeeping, canning, carpentry, agriculture and animal science. The farm

allowed them to produce their own food and sell the surplus. Later, the purchase of the summer cottage at Bronte provided the family with additional recreational facilities outside the city.

McDannell has also noted that family devotions were a dominant feature of the Protestant Victorian family with the father taking a leading role in family worship. In the Philpott household family worship occurred at both breakfast and supper. Peter led it usually; when he was away, Jessie conducted it, having the children read from the Bible. They had to finish their reading before they could leave for school. She gave them free reign in the selection of the Scripture passages, until one child chose to read Psalm 119, causing everyone to be late for school.

McDannell found that religious mottos or samplers decorated the rooms of the Victorian Protestants. Ruth Philpott especially remembered a motto on her bedroom wall. It consisted of a painting of a large eye, with the words, "Thou God seest Me." That eye seemed to follow her around the room and had an uncanny effect upon her.[14]

A final factor which McDannell identified as prominent among American protestants of the Victorian era was the emphasis on "Christian nurture" rather than dramatic conversion. Certainly the Philpotts emphasized the Christian education of their children, but did they leave it at that? Given their background in the Salvation Army, with the emphasis on conversion and Peter's work as an evangelist, it is unlikely that they neglected to seek the religious conversion of their children. We do know that when Stuart Philpott was well into his forties, Jessie's weekly letters pleaded with him to turn over his life to Christ.[15]

A final question has to be asked. How effective were the Philpotts in instilling their religious values and beliefs in their children? Most of their children were born and raised before the hardened lines of fundamentalism were formed. Even though P.W. Philpott became a leader of the fundamentalist movement, his own attitudes were much broader than those of many of his associates who rejected the surrounding culture. Philpott was very much involved in his society and taught his children responsible citizenship. However, none of the Philpott boys followed their father into the ministry, nor does Peter appear to had made any attempt to found a religious dynasty which had characterized the Booths of the Salvation Army, or the religious empires of his contemporaries Aimee Semple McPherson and Oswald J. Smith. It must be remembered that the major reason why the Philpotts left the Salvation Army was because the children

of the Booths lacked their parents' religious vision and appeared to be mainly interested in the power and glory associated with their positions.

It is important to observe that while none of the Philpott children remained with the fundamentalist movement, most joined mainline denominations. The eldest and youngest daughters were closest to their parents in religion; they became Baptists. Three were Anglicans; four belonged to the United Church of Canada. Two of those who moved to the United States became Methodists and Congregationalists. Murray, who had been sent to Wheaton College, but skipped classes to play semi-professional baseball, had no religious affiliation.[16] The children of P.W. Philpott were quite different from his friend L.E. Maxwell. Maxwell gloried in the fact that all of his seven children were in full-time Christian service.[17]

Nevertheless, as parents, Peter and Jessie Philpott seem to have equipped their children very well for life. Most of the Philpott children developed into well-integrated adults with a remarkable degree of "social passion" who made their mark in the fields of religion, nursing and medicine, journalism, social service, advertising, sports, the military and politics.

The first three of the thirteen children were girls. Grace (1888-1984), the eldest, became the first woman to serve as vice-president of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec. Ruth (1890-1975) went to India as a missionary in 1914 and ended up working as a nurse in Red Cross military hospitals in Africa and England. Later she moved to St. Louis, Missouri where she worked as a journalist and wrote children's books. Leah (1892-1987) became a nurse and worked primarily in the United States.

The next eight children were boys. Four of oldest boys fought in World War One; the three older boys were at Vimy Ridge. Gordon (1894-1965) became the chairman of the board of the Ralston Purina Company in St. Louis. Elmore (1896-1964) was famous as a journalist and a politician. He was the leader of the Ontario C.C.F. and later a Liberal Member of Parliament for Vancouver.[18] Stuart (1898-1984) became an advertising executive in Toronto and headed the Big Brothers organization in Toronto. Wilbur (1900-1972) was the editor of the Canadian edition of *Liberty Magazine*. Murray (1901-1970) was an athlete who later became a professional soldier with the Canadian Army. Newell (1903-) became a gynaecologist and obstetrician, eventually serving as Dean of the Medical School at McGill University and was sometime president of the American College of Surgeons. Douglas (1906-1984) had a more troubled life,

marked by marriage failure and alcoholism during his middle years. Eventually, he straightened out his life. He became vice-president of the Transit Advertising Company in Toronto. The youngest son, Donald (1907-1914), did not survive childhood. He died after contracting diphtheria after chasing a baseball into a sewer pool.

The last two Philpott children were girls. Florence (1909-1992) became a social worker and headed the Toronto Welfare Council. Dorothy (1910-) looked after her parents and worked in the Toronto headquarters of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec.

We have examined the factors which made most of the Philpott children successful. A short explanation needs to be made as to why Douglas, the youngest surviving son, had so much difficulty in life. He seems to have been a victim of circumstances which were mostly beyond the control of his parents. The trouble seems to have started in 1914 when his younger brother Donald died. Within months the family was further fractured when four of his oldest brothers and a sister went overseas for the duration of the war. When they returned from the war they soon moved away. Then, Doug's two immediate older brothers went off to university or work. Much of his social world had disintegrated and he was at loose ends. The family had also moved away from the farm, as they could not keep it up with most of the children having left the nest. At the same time, Peter's increasing involvement in the fundamentalist movement was taking him away from home more often as he conducted meetings across the continent. Doug's delinquency became so pronounced that his parents sent him away to a military academy. His subsequent marriage failure and addictions caused Peter and Jessie much grief.[19]

This paper has shed light on how one evangelical couple raised their children. Rather than withdrawal from "the world," which many of fundamentalists advocated, Jessie and Peter Philpott with their emphasis on promoting practical Christianity, manual skills, sports, patriotism, military service, post-secondary education and social service appear to have fit into the social and educational consensus identified by Neil Sutherland as the creation of Canadian social reformers at the turn of the century.[20] However, more work needs to be done to determine how Philpott's associates in the fundamentalist movement raised their children.

Endnotes

1. Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976); Joy Parr, ed., *Childhood and Family in Canadian History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982); Michael Gordon, ed., *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973; and Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family* (New York: Basic Books, 1977).

2. One wishes that a study similar to the one done by Michael B. Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), were available for the period 1896 to 1922 when the Philpotts lived in Hamilton. Katz, however, failed to investigate family dynamics.

3. P.W. Philpott and A.W. Roffe, *New Light Containing a Full Account of the Recent Salvation Army Troubles in Canada* (Toronto: Rose Publishing Co., 1892).

4. Lindsay Reynolds, *Footprints: The Beginnings of the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada* (Beaverlodge, AB: Buena Book Services, 1981), 171-172, 271, 464.

5. Robert G. Flood, *The Story of Moody Church: A Light in the City* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1985), 21-25.

6. Paul M. Bechtel, *Wheaton College: A Heritage Remembered 1860-1984* (Wheaton: Harold Shaw Publishers, 1984), 94, 145.

7. Stuart McGregor Philpott, "They Made the Devil Run," unpublished manuscript, preface.

8. P.W. Philpott, *Sixty Wonderful Years* (Los Angeles: Bible House of Los Angeles, 1946), 5.

9. A copy of Philpott's diary is in my possession.

10. P.W. Philpott, "Coming Events Cast Their Shadows Before," in *Light on Prophecy* (New York: Christian Herald, 1918), 208-209.

11. Bryan D. Palmer, *A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1869-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979), 52-54.

12. “Pastor Philpott of the Gospel Tabernacle,” *Hamilton Spectator*, 1 October 1921, 18.

13. Colleen McDannell, *The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840-1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 24-25.

14. Ruth Philpott Collins, “Not One Too Many,” unpublished manuscript, 77.

15. The letters of Jessie Philpott to Stuart Philpott are in the possession of Stuart’s daughter, Lynn Butler.

16. Interview with Miss Dorothy Philpott, Toronto, 25 May 1994.

17. Bernice Callaway, “Prairie celebrates jubilee year,” *The Enquirer*, December 1971, 15.

18. *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1954, 237-238.

19. This was a reoccurring theme in Peter and Jessie’s letters to Stuart Philpott.

20. Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*, 236.

On Getting the Sack: Bishop Alexander Macdonald's Departure from Victoria

CHARLES MACDONALD

The story of the premature departure of Bishop Alexander MacDonald (1858-1941) from the Bishop's seat in Victoria in 1923 is an intriguing one. For the present the narrative will remain incomplete until the documents currently in Roman archives become more available to scholars. However, important elements of the story have already been pieced together particularly V.J. McNally.[1]

This paper addresses some of the issues raised in McNally's account, particularly his contention that the Bishop's ineptitude in administration combined with his failure to consult was the sole reason for his premature dismissal from his office. Several other possible explanations for his dismissal will be suggested, each of which will need further investigation. I will precede the discussion of these issues by some reflections on the general situation faced by the Bishop when he was appointed to Victoria, involving as it did a move from the Atlantic to the west coast of Canada.

A striking problem was the one of loneliness. MacDonald came from a Celtic background, having been steeped from birth in the Celtic language, which was his mother tongue until he reached school age. Throughout his life he retained a lively interest in his first language, often turning to it in his correspondence. His loneliness was not only for the language and the people of the east, but it also for the landscape of the east:

> From natal soil forced far to roam

How keen and poignant is the smart
The very tendrils of the heart
Are twined about the things of home.[2]

This theme of loneliness surfaces frequently in the recollections of those who heard of the reasons for his early retirement. Several religious from the Congregation of the Sisters of St. Anne, who ran the St. Anne's School for Girls, recalled that the Bishop was very lonesome when he came to Victoria.[3] One member of the congregation remembered being told in connection with the Bishop's resignation that "he wanted to go back east."[4]

The new Bishop of Victoria, although a widely-published author on theological themes as well as on popular piety, literary criticism and travel, was ill-prepared for the situation that faced him when he arrived in Victoria in May 1909. His nineteen years as a professor and Vice-Rector at St. Francis Xavier University, along with his several years in parish work at St. Andrew's Parish in the Diocese of Antigonish, made up the experience that he brought west. His life in the east was framed within a Roman Catholic environment; he had very little occasion to interact with Christians of other denominations. By comparison, the Diocese of Victoria represented a diaspora situation for the Roman cleric. He was to spend his years as Bishop in what has been described as an "unecumenical age."[5]

Against this background it is interesting to note that subsequent commentaries on the Bishop's tenure in Victoria have signalled his contribution towards understanding between Catholics and other Christians. Sr. Patrick S.S.A. recalled that he was particularly friendly with non-catholics, and that he had "a spirit to break down prejudice."[6] The Bishop is said to have intervened at one point to marry the daughter of a prominent non-Catholic. The parish priest had refused to officiate at a mixed marriage, so "the bishop went to the Doctor's house and married them."[7] An interesting recollection is contained in a letter to the *Victoria Times* in 1965, where a certain W.G. Wilson recalls comments made by Bishop MacDonald when he attended a reception at the First United Church in Victoria on the occasion of Rev. Wilson's induction. The Bishop ". . . spoke at length and amongst other things said that no doubt many people would be surprised to learn that he had spoken in a Protestant church, but he had long believed that the divisions should be between Christians and non-Christians and not between Christians and Christians."

According to Rev. Wilson this remark was picked up by the *Toronto*

Globe "then considered the most influential paper in Canada" in a lead editorial; it "had many and varied repercussions, and may have sown some seeds which have been very slow in germinating."[8]

The range of the Bishop's interests beyond the narrow confines of his Catholic diocese was noted after his death in 1941. *The Daily Colonist* described him in an editorial as a "kindly personality and perhaps the most erudite who ever occupied the Episcopal See of Victoria and spread his benign influence over so many who heard him so often." It goes on to describe the late Bishop as a person whose interests were "catholic in a wide interpretation of that word, for he concerned himself with many matters dealing with human welfare."[9]

The material situation of the Church of Victoria was stable at the beginning of MacDonald's tenure. McNally notes that "the Cathedral, the only financially viable parish in the Diocese, had a mortgage of $40,000 when MacDonald resigned in 1923, although it had been clear of debt when MacDonald arrived in 1909."[10] McNally details the sequence of events that brought the diocese of Victoria to the brink of bankruptcy and led to the removal of the Bishop from his See. There are many fascinating details in this narrative: the most damning of the judgments issued against the bishop is that he was an incompetent administrator whose attempts to address the money problems of his diocese led him ever deeper into financial straits. He did not keep records of his transactions, left some of his bills unpaid and failed to seek and follow the counsel of those who might have been of assistance.[11]

On the question of seeking financial advice, it is interesting that on several occasions throughout those years, the Bishop maintains that he did seek advice. He says this of his decision to purchase two properties in 1912. It was the intention that these properties would be used to relocate the Cathedral and the school to sites outside of the more valuable lands then occupied by the church in the City of Victoria. In a letter drafted in response to a Roman Congregation, he outlines that he did this on the strength of advice and certain faculties granted him by the Sacred Congregation.[12]

In 1912, when the plans to have the Christian Brothers come to Victoria to open a Boys' School were being developed, an appeal for funds for the School met with some objections. Some thought that the Diocese should sell some property. MacDonald replied that, ". . . we are advised the time is not yet opportune."[13]

It is instructive to note that although many of MacDonald's difficulties are traced to the unfortunate dealings in real estate, it was precisely such a course of action that was suggested to churches in 1911 at a Royal Provincial Tax Commission. Two of the commissioners thought that St. Andrew's Cathedral should be moved from its prominent downtown site, because this property was subject to a heavy tax burden. Although MacDonald objected at the time,[14] he mortgaged church properties in order to acquire alternate sites for the Cathedral and the Boys' School in less heavily taxed areas.

The recollections of two individuals confirm, on the one hand, that the Bishop was seeking advice and, on the other hand, that he was a victim of that advice. Mrs. Marie Lillie, who was confirmed by the Bishop in 1916, had a very negative view of some of the advisers of the Bishop. "They unloaded a lot of property on Bishop MacDonald, the property on Burdett and Quadra, where Mount St. Mary's now stands." According to Mrs. Lillie, her father, who was a convert to catholicism, was very upset that prominent Catholic business people would lead the Bishop with such faulty advice.[15] Jim Cumerford, who was the Bishop's altar server and whose aunt was housekeeper in the Bishop's residence, was more blunt in his assessment: his recollection was that "[the Bishop] was a sucker for real estate agents."[16]

The coming of the war and the decline in property values, combined with the rising property taxes on the Cathedral Church and declining numbers of Catholics in the diocese of Victoria, turned the mortgage he had negotiated into a crushing burden which he tried by a variety of means to pay out. He took a teaching position for a term in Washington, using his stipend to address diocesan debts. He used the proceeds of his writing for the same purpose. He went on begging tours in easter Canada and the United States, especially in Toronto, New York and Boston, where he could count on a network of friends for support.[17] As well, he dabbled in the stock market.

With respect to the Bishop's financial dealings, although he might be defended against the charge of being "a major land speculator" in a period of "speculation fever,"[18] it is more difficult to defend his venture into the stock market. He defends his action as follows:

> I am told that fault has been found with me for taking $2,000 out the Cemetery Fund and investing it, $1,000 in Carbondale Coal and

> $1,000 in Safety Signal, *for the Diocese* [emphasis his]. This is my answer. Our situation was financially desperate, hence the ill-starred and perhaps ill-advised venture in stocks. It is easy to be wise after the event.[19]

In spite of what seems to be a very hard lesson in the vagaries of the market, especially in the volatile sector of mining stocks, we find the Bishop back "in the market" again in 1922. In a letter to Archbishop MacNeil of Toronto, he expresses his "shame" at his "inability to return the money we owe or even pay interest on it," and expresses full awareness that MacNeil's generosity had put him "into difficulties . . . through charity to others." In the next paragraph he describes his newest investment in a coal mine bought through his Victory Bonds and proceeds from his books. He seems to boast, "I was among the first to buy, and so became what is known as a 'promoter.'"[20]

Having failed to address the financial problems of the diocese through begging, borrowing, investing and, according to some, speculating in real estate, the Bishop found himself involved in a series of court proceedings with the City of Victoria that ended on 1 August 1921 with the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London finding in favour of the Bishop on the question of taxation of church lands.

In an account of the impending hearing before the Privy Council, the *Victoria Times* referred to it as the "famous suit", which was considered the most important which the city fought for many years.[21] The victory in the lawsuit was an important one for Roman Catholics and for other churches as well, but the Bishop was left to bear the financial burden on his own. According to the Bishop, ". . . the lawsuit was won by me single-handed, every penny of the money paid to lawyers and courts, in all $15,950. having been personally begged by myself."[22]

Although the other major churches in Victoria stood to gain by the litigation pursued by MacDonald, they failed to share in the expenses involved. McNally offers the explanation that their refusal to help with the burden of the court victory stemmed from the general disapproval of the Bishop's activity as "an incompetent land speculator."[23]

By 1923 MacDonald was no longer the Bishop of Victoria. After being summoned to Rome, he was faced with the choice of resigning or staying on in Rome to fight charges that he considered frivolous.[24] The exact circumstances of the resignation and the reasons remain unclear to

this day. At the time, the event was shrouded in silence by those who feared that publication of the reasons would lead to scandal within the Roman church.[25] It is significant that the July 1923 issue of *The Orphan's Friend* states that the resignation of the Bishop had been mentioned as a possibility. It addresses the reasons for the resignation in a tentative manner: "the immediate cause of it is not known as yet, but financial troubles and perhaps others of personal nature, no doubt led to it."[26]

As documentation becomes more accessible, alternative explanations for the dismissal of the Bishop of Victoria will need to be researched. According to Sister Patrick S.S.A. the issue was the Bishop's views on marriage: "It was on marriage. He was called to Rome. There were things, which according to St. Thomas were grounds for annulment. The Bishop was for a widening of the grounds for annulment."[27] The same source said that the bishop had views on medical ethics which were at odds with the moral theology of the church, but which he maintained were in line with the thinking of Thomas Aquinas.[28] Another view was expressed by a cleric of the Victoria diocese, in whose parental home the Bishop was a regular guest. According to him, it was the Bishop's delaying of his quinquennial visit to Rome that got him into trouble.[29]

As a preliminary conclusion we can agree with Vincent McNally that the financial problems in which the Bishop became involved were a major cause of his eventual dismissal. A satisfactory evaluation of the circumstances surrounding the Bishop's dismissal should be forthcoming with greater access to the documents in Rome, which will hopefully reveal both his accusers and the charges against him.

Bishop MacDonald, as Titular Bishop of Hebron, lived out his years at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, with regular visits to help out Archbishop MacNeil in Toronto. He died in 1943.

Endnotes

1. "Fighting City Hall: the church tax exemption battle between the city and the diocese of Victoria, 1896-1923," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 34, 2 (October 1992): 149-172.

2. Unpublished poem "Home, Sweet Home," in the Alexander MacDonald papers (hereafter AMDP) in the Beaton Institute Archives (hereafter BIA) at the University College of Cape Breton. MacDonald often turned his hand to poetry to express his longing for the east, particularly at Christmas time. In

1909 he wrote "Sounds of another Sea":

Breaks upon mine ear
The sound of another sea,
Linking far with near
Though far how near to me! (AMDP)

3. Sister Patrick S.S.A., interview by Charles MacDonald, 25 August 1982, Victoria.

4. "This is what we were told," Sr. Henley, S.S.A., interview by Charles MacDonald, 24 August 1982, Victoria.

5. "In that unecumenical age, no doubt some churches would have been happy to see the demise of Catholicism on Vancouver Island" (McNally, "Fighting City Hall," 163).

6. Interview by Charles MacDonald, 25 August 1982, Victoria.

7. The bride was Kitty Fraser, daughter of Dr. Fraser, who married Charlie Castle. This incident was recalled by Sr. Patrick S.S.A., interview by Charles MacDonald, 25 August 1982.

8. *Victoria Times*, 3 June 1965.

9. *The Daily Colonist*, 25 February 1941. At his death the then Bishop of Victoria, Most Rev. John C. Cody, underscored the contribution he made to the churches of British Columbia: "In British Columbian history his place is unique and honourable for he earned the undying gratitude of the Christians by his brilliant struggle to lift the burden of taxation from their churches, defraying, despite his own slender resources, the entire cost of the litigation . . ." (*The Daily Colonist*, 25 February 1941).

10. McNally, "Fighting City Hall," 163. In this respect the starting situation of MacDonald seems to have been considerably better than that of fellow Nova Scotian, Archbishop Neil MacNeil, who came to the Archdiocese of Vancouver in 1910. "He knew no one in Vancouver, and no one knew him. He had neither a church of his own, nor a house, nor the means of building either" (*The British Columbia Orphan's Friend*, Historical Number, 1847-1914, 156 [hereafter BCOF]).

11. McNally, "Fighting City Hall," 164-165.

12. The draft letter, dated 10 November 1920, is incomplete. For the most part it is written in Latin (BIA).

13. BCOF IX, 10 (October 1912).

14. McNally, “Fighting City Hall,” 152-153.

15. Interview by Charles MacDonald, 25 August 1982, Victoria.

16. “The real estate people talked the Bishop into buying the Burdett property” (interview by Charles MacDonald, 24 August 1982).

17. Examples of the appeals that the Bishop made to potential benefactors are his “Statement” of 18 July 1918, addressed to the churches of eastern Canada, in which he recounts the development of the financial crisis in Victoria from its beginnings in 1911. An accounting of some of his other money-raising activities is found in a “Personal Statement,” a collection of fragments relating to the financial problems of Victoria, especially with respect to the Bishop’s own stewardship of the funds (BIA).

18. McNally, “Fighting City Hall,” 158.

19. “Personal Statement,” 15 September 1922. On 22 June 1935 he adds the following: “P.S. the money was safely buried. Carbondale and Safety Signal proved to be worthless stocks because the Great War combined with Single Tax killed things financially in the West.”

20. BIA. MacDonald to Archbishop Neil MacNeil, 2 May 1922. The balance of the letter reads like a prospectus: “The coal is of excellent quality, and costs very little to mine. They anticipate large dividends next year, and even the last three months of this year, when the mine will be going full blast. The workmen, who are already engaged, are under contract to keep away from labour unions and to take some stock in the mine, which is an excellent feature. I am not without hopes that Providence will enable me to pay my debt out of the interest I have in this mine.”

21. Victoria Times, 3 June 1921.

22. “Personal Statement,” 2 (BIA).

23. McNally, “Fighting City Hall,” 165.

24. MacDonald to Archbishop MacNeil, 1 July 1923 (BIA).

25. Father Anselm B. Wood in a letter to Archbishop MacNeil on 10 July 1923 reports the view of Monsignor LeTerme, who had been appointed Administrator after Bishop MacDonald’s resignation. The concern is that Bishop MacDonald has stated his intention to return to Victoria to clear up some personal matters. This created some anxiety in Victoria, which Wood stated as follows: “If he were to return it would be impossible to keep the reasons

of his resignation secret, as we have managed to do up till now” (BIA).

26. BCOF XX, 7 (July 1923): 9.
27. Interview by Charles MacDonald, 25 August 1982.
28. Interview by Charles MacDonald, 25 August 1982.
29. Interview by Charles MacDonald, 24 August 1982.

J.C. Blumhardt: Another Kind of Healer

RONALD KYDD

Throughout its history, divine healing has been of great interest to the Christian church.[1] Speaking of the early church, Adolph von Harnack could quite rightly say, "Christianity never lost hold of its innate principle; it was, and it remained, a religion for the sick,"[2] but the comment could be applied equally well to any period. During the latter half of the twentieth century in particular, healing has attracted a great deal of both popular and scholarly attention.[3]

Those claimed to be healers differ widely among themselves. Perhaps the image that comes to mind most readily is the stereotypical, Pentecostal evangelist such as Oral Roberts laying hands on long lines of people and praying with passion. Or, by contrast, one might think of Brother André, "The Wonder Man of Mount Royal," whose heart is embalmed and on view at St. Joseph's Oratory, Montreal and who is well on his way to canonization.

In this paper, I will focus on Johann Christoph Blumhardt (1805-1880), who is largely unknown outside of his native Germany. His obscurity can be accounted for in a number of ways: (1) most of his own writings and other relevant sources are available only in German; and (2) contact between Germany and the English-speaking world was disrupted by World War One at a time when he might have become known. However, (3) even more significant to his marginalization was the fact that he was seriously out of step with the intellectual *Zeitgeist* of late-nineteenth-century Europe.[4]

Those who knew him differ widely in their impressions. With evan-

gelistic zeal, and riding the receding wave of modernism, Rudolf Bultmann could say, "the Blumhardt legends are to my mind preposterous,"[5] while Karl Barth called him ". . . one of the most remarkable men of the nineteenth century . . ."[6] I want to bring Blumhardt out of the shadows because he stands unique among healers. There are three factors which set him apart: the general course of his life; his healing ministry; and his impact on Karl Barth.

The Biography

Johann Christoph Blumhardt was born in Stuttgart, Germany on 16 July 1805, and he died at Bad Boll on 25 February 1880. His family was typical of south German pietism, but there have been questions raised regarding his adherence to that religious stance.[7] After preparatory studies in Stuttgart and Schönthal, he went to Tübingen in 1824 where he spent five years studying philology, history, mathematics and philosophy before turning to theology.[8]

There are two comments which can be made regarding Blumhardt's education. First, it covered a relatively broad theological spectrum. He read pietists Georg C. Knapp and F.A.G. Tholuck, among many others, but he was also thoroughly familiar with the work of rationalists K.G. Bretschneider and F.C. Baur, and he had also studied F.D.E. Schleiermacher intensively.[9] Second, Blumhardt's education gave him facility with ancient languages. The theological exams which he wrote to qualify for ministry are held in the Archiv of the Überkirchenrat of the Würtemburgischen Landeskirche in Stuttgart. He wrote some of his answers in Latin. In addition to that, at one point in his career he taught Hebrew,[10] and later introduced his sons, Christoph and Theophil, to these languages as well as to Greek.[11]

The impression one gets is that Blumhardt was highly literate theologically,[12] an impression that is strengthened by visiting his library which is held at the European headquarters of the Brüder-Unität in Bad Boll. Along with a large number of secular works by authors like Cicero, Herodotus, Shakespeare, Goethe and Schiller, it contains exegetical works such as H.A.W. Meyer's *Kritisch exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament* and Keil and Delitzsch's commentaries on the Old Testament. One also finds historical material like C.J. Hefele's *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, Philip Schaff's *Geschichte der Alte Kirche* and *Zwingli's Werke* in

eight volumes. While one cannot be certain that all these books belonged to Blumhardt, certainly most of them did.

Here is a strong theological foundation. Ernst Rüsch makes the point that when Blumhardt later laid aside much of the theology common in his day in the light of experiences in ministry, he did it in full knowledge of the critical scientific tradition and of the most important theological currents of his time, not in a vacuum.[13]

This preparation did lead to a full life of ministry. Blumhardt was on the records of the Würtemburgischen Landeskirche from 1829 to 1880.[14] He served as an assistant in Dürrmenz during 1829 and 1830 and as a teacher and an administrator under an uncle at a missionary training institution in Basel (1830-1837). Here he had encounters with the "spirit world" which became relevant later. In 1837-38 he was a temporary parish administrator in Iptingen,[15] and on 23 September 1838 he was installed as pastor at Möttlingen.[16] There he had experiences which utterly changed his life.

There was one more move in Blumhardt's career. In 1852 some friends helped him buy a 129-room mansion at Bad Boll from King Wilhelm I of Württemburg.[17] On 15 April he wrote happily to a friend, "Boll ist mein . . ."[18] While there, he was twice elected to attend the National Synod of the State Church (1869 and 1874).[19] He travelled extensively, accepting invitations to speak in many places including Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Köln and Frankfurt.[20]

One final comment remains to be made with regard to Blumhardt's biography, and that has to do with his son, Christoph. Christoph eventually became deeply involved in the work at Bad Boll. When his father died in 1880, he succeeded him. However, what is even more striking is the degree to which he identified with his father's thought. Many scholars have observed that the lives and minds of the two are inseparable, and refer to them as the "Blumhardts" or the "older and younger Blumhardt."[21] However, in one important area the two differed: the younger Blumhardt gave their thought a decidedly more political twist, joining the Social Democratic Party and serving as an elected member of parliament from 1900 to 1906.

The Healing Ministry

Any sketch of Johann Christoph Blumhardt's life would be completely beyond understanding without a discussion of his ministry of healing. Beginning during his tenure at Möttlingen, 1838-1852, it was that which catapulted him to fame.[22] There were three phases to his healing ministry with the first involving the exorcism of a 28-year-old woman.

Gottliebin Dittus took ill in December 1841.[23] The symptoms were repeated episodes of physical rigidity, with arching of the body, thrashing of the head from side to side, and foaming at the mouth. In addition to this, Gottlieben reported seeing spirits drifting about the room and feeling sharp blows as though someone were hitting her. Occasionally, she was thrown violently to the floor. After several months of unsuccessful medical treatment, Blumhardt felt constrained to become involved through prayer.[24] Having prayed and watched carefully, he decided that the source of the difficulty must be demonic.[25] On 6 June 1842, having watched Gottlieben trash in a convulsion, in Blumhardt's words, he leaped to the bedside, pressed her stiff fingers together as in prayer, and ordered, "Put your hands together and pray 'Lord Jesus, help me!' We have seen for long enough what the devil does; now we want to see what Jesus can do!" Slowly Gottlieben prayed, and the convulsion stopped. For Blumhardt, "this was the decisive moment at which I threw myself with irresistable strength into a response to the affair."[26] This intervention launched them into difficult waters.

In a letter to Christian Gottlob Barth, his predecessor at Möttlingen, on 2 July 1842, Blumhardt shared his opinion that they were not just confronting a demonic presence, but that Gottlieben was often under the complete control of evil spirits, i.e., demon possessed, and he confessed his inability to describe what he had seen over the previous eight days.[27] Then on 27 July 1842, Blumhardt wrote his wife's parents telling them, with a kind of wonder, that on one day he had cast 157 spirits out of the woman.[28] However, the battle was not over. Symptoms persisted and Blumhardt continued to pray. In response to advice, he added fasting to his arsenal as the conflict continued.[29]

The climax came at 2 a.m., 28 December 1843.[30] With a number of other people present, Blumhardt was praying with Gottlieben when her sister, Katharina, began to act strangely. She became threatening and, in Blumhardt's words, roared superhumanly. He took that as demonic and

began to pray. Suddenly, at tremendous volume she shrieked, "Jesus ist Sieger!" (Jesus is victor!) and fell silent.[31] Both women experienced immediate freedom.

The importance of these events for Blumhardt, not to mention Gottlieben, cannot be overestimated. He came to see that the exorcism had significance not only for one sickroom, but for the whole cosmos. He saw that Jesus had come and had utterly, finally destroyed the devil's rule. The exorcism which he had witnessed demonstrated the ongoing impotence of the devil before the might of Jesus.[32] Blumhardt ultimately developed a theology of the Rule (Kingdom) of God, but, as Sauter put it, "the expression 'Rule of God' is now only the abstract concentration of the sentence 'Jesus is victor!'"[33] 140 years before Jürgen Moltmann, Blumhardt became ". . . a theologian of hope."[34]

The immediate result of the exorcism, and the second phase of Blumhardt's healing ministry, was a deep spiritual awakening. Vernard Eller writes,

> Jesus' victory in the demented girl immediately triggered an inbreaking of kingdom power that transformed the entire village of Möttlingen and attracted people from miles around. The congregation experienced revival to a degree quite beyond even the dreams – let alone the actual accomplishments – of modern programs of church growth and renewal.[35]

Doris Blumhardt, Johann's wife, wrote to her parents describing the spread of the renewal, noting both the numbers of people attending evening services and the women's Bible study at which 50 people were in attendance.[36] The Rev. W. Guest's sources talked about the church building and the churchyard frequently being filled with people, while others listened to sermons from neighbouring houses.[37]

It was an awakening marked by repentance. People came to Blumhardt one by one. As Karl Barth says, "unbidden, but irresistably, people came to him to confess what they had to confess, and he for his part saw himself compelled, unsought, unasked, governed by no preconceived theory, to absolve them in the name of God with a quite unpietistic objectivity."[38]

Of course, there were claims to healings. There never has been any attempt to compile a complete record of them, and Blumhardt himself

chose to divert attention from them. Apparently, people were cured while Blumhardt preached or while he counselled with them, but often without any special act on his part; no special prayer, or laying on of hands, or anointing with oil.[39] In this awakening the miraculous was an ancillary to the more important work of spiritual healing upon which emphasis was placed.

The last phase of Blumhardt's healing ministry began in 1852. Late in the previous year Doris Blumhardt had written to a friend saying that they could not carry on in Möttlingen. They were looking for a place like an old monastery where Blumhardt could devote himself to his call to children and to the sick.[40] They did not find a monastery, but what became the "Kurhaus" at Bad Boll was a more than acceptable substitute.

As people began to flock there,[41] a daily routine emerged at Bad Boll. It was very important to Blumhardt that his guests should experience a restful, calm atmosphere,[42] so people were free to rest, stroll in the grounds or go for coach rides, but they were counselled to take part in the spiritual life of the house by being present at the four common meals each day and by attending the church services which were held at 10 a.m. on Sunday and Thursday. At meals there could be up to 150 persons present, seated along two long tables with a third cross table at the top of the room. Blumhardt would say grace before meals, and then after eating he would read a Bible text from a devotional book, acknowledge the birthdays of former patients and visitors, and deliver a brief address. The meal-time would end with the singing of a hymn, often with music composed by Blumhardt, and with a prayer of thanksgiving.[43]

In keeping with his concern for tranquility, Blumhart's approach to healing was understated. He never pushed himself on his guests. He would remain in his place after meals, making it easy for people who wished private counsel or prayer to approach, to make appointments and then meet with him in his study. There were no healing services, no prayer lines, relatively little emotion, and no expansive promises. He would say to those who came, "If you are healed, it is from God. If you are not, God will give you strength to bear it."[44] It should also be noted that Blumhardt had no hesitation about making referrals to physicians.[45] Without doubt, Blumhardt's place in history has been earned by his healing ministry. It was widely known, and it stands as unique among those who have prayed for the sick. However, he is not known only for his work with the physically and emotionally distressed.

The Impact on Karl Barth

In attempting to measure Blumhardt's significance, people have noted that the medical community has expressed some interest in him as a possible forerunner to modern psychotherapy,[46] that with his son he was a major source for European religious socialism,[47] and that his work was among those in Europe which stimulated the healing movement which erupted in the United States in the late-nineteenth century.[48] He and his son were also of importance to European theologians. Donald Dayton's list of those who felt the Blumhardtian presence includes Karl Barth, Paul Tillich, Oscar Cullmann and Jürgen Moltmann.[49] To this list, Vernard Eller has added Eduard Thurneysen, Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Jacques Ellul.[50]

Johann Christoph Blumhardt was, however, particularly important for Karl Barth.[51] Through the agency of his close friend, Eduard Thurneysen, Barth spent 10-15 April 1915 at Bad Boll where he met and talked with Christoph (Johann's son) Blumhardt.[52] Soon after returning home, Barth read the biography of Blumhardt by Friedrich Zündel. He then wrote Thurneysen saying, ". . . I finished reading the book on Blumhardt today, mainly with a feeling of shame. Along side such a man I see how very small I am."[53] Obviously, Barth had come to a very high opinion regarding Blumhardt. He frequently placed him with important figures in the theological world,[54] and he identified him as one of the three whom he calls ". . . my mentors."[55]

The concept from Blumhardt which assumed crucial importance for Barth was **hope.**[56] The eloquence of Barth's summation comes across even in translation:

> What appeared again in Boll that was new and in accord with the New Testament can be comprehended in one word: hope – hope for a visible and tangible appearing of the lordship of God over the world (in contrast to the simple, and so often blasphemous, talking about God's omnipotence); hope for radical help and deliverance from the former state of the world (in opposition to that soothing and appeasing attitude which must everywhere come to a halt before unalterable 'relationships'); hope for all, for mankind (in contrast to the selfish concern for one's own salvation and to all the attempts to raise up religious supermen and aristocrats); hope for the physical side of life as well as for the spiritual, in the sense that not only sin and sorrow, but also poverty, sickness, and death shall one day be abolished (in

> contrast to a purely spiritual ideal of the so-called 'religious-moral' life). To believe in 'God' meant, for the two Blumhardts, to take this comprehensive hope seriously, more seriously than all other considerations; to regard and deal with everything on the basis of this hope; to place one's self and one's life in all particulars in the light of this hope. This new hope is all along the line and in all points down to the present day a total contrast to the general religion of churches and pastors of all denominations.[57]

Barth thought that Blumhardt had forced a series of questions back onto the table of academic theology; "the question of theodicy, of the universality of revelation and grace, of the practical significance of the New Testament miracles, of the unity of soul and body, of the real power of reconciliation, of the character and presence of the Holy Spirit and the reality of Christian hope."[58] But Barth saw academic theology pushing the questions aside, ignoring them because Blumhardt had raised them in a pastoral setting rather than in a suitably academic context. Barth went on: "the moment had to come and did come which brought the insight that there was something decisive to be learnt here – for academic theology."[59] Barth does not say precisely when that moment came. He may have felt that it had arrived in him, himself. He, Karl Barth, would foreground Blumhardt's questions, forcing academicians to take them seriously. He had embraced the Blumhardtian hope, resting on the belief in the living God who acts, and he had done so in a personal *kairos*.

By 1915 Barth had become disillusioned with his teachers and their theology as he saw them endorsing the German war effort,[60] while the tragedy of the war itself had undermined the dream that Christoph Blumhardt and many others had had that the Social Democratic Party would have a major role to play in establishing the Rule of God.[61] In James D. Smart's words, Barth was looking for ". . . a new and less readily adaptable basis for the Church's message."[62] Enter Blumhardt. Barth's indebtedness to Blumhardt expressed itself in two primary areas: soteriology and eschatology.[63]

In the first area, the theme is "Jesus ist Sieger!" Barth believed that in Jesus God had ". . . marched against that realm on the left . . ." overcome it, bound its forces and brought the destroyer himself to destruction.[64] Barth believed in the devil – "the devil certainly exists and is at work. We have to reckon with him . . ." – but he had been defeated by

Jesus.[65]

Smart describes the way in which Barth, and his friend Eduard Thurneyson approached theology as

> the attempt to think through all the problems of the church's theology, taking with complete seriousness that the God of whom theology speaks is a God who is living and acting in relation to us at the very moment that we speak. We think of him, speak of him, and write of him not as an object of our thought that is at our disposal, but as a person who confronts us in all the reality of his being as whose mind concerning us determines all things in our existence.[66]

This is ". . . none other than the Blumhardt vision of the living God, God who acts here and now in the power of his Spirit."[67]

When Barth came to apply this to sickness, a topic I raise because of its importance to Blumhardt, he made a remarkable statement: "with God they [Christians] must say No to it without asking what the result will be or how much or little it will help themselves or others, without enquiring whether it is not rather feeble and even ridiculous to march into action in accordance with this No."[68] We hear Barth submitting himself to Blumhardt's idea of revelation while at the same time struggling with the irrationality that the submission involved. Sickness was a part of the "kingdom of the left" that had been defeated by Jesus.

The second area in which Blumhardt influenced Barth was eschatology. It is widely recognized that this is a dominant motif in Barth's work.[69] Barth believed that the church had lost sight of eschatology for hundreds of years to rediscover it only in the late-nineteenth, early-twentieth centuries. He was convinced that one of the primary factors in bringing the future back into the mind of the church was ". . . the message of the kingdom of God expounded by the older and the younger Blumhardt . . ."[70] He saw Blumhardt as playing a critical role in reorienting, rebalancing the thinking of the church by pressing upon it the hope that it has in Jesus. Blumhardt, the healer, played a major role in shaping Barth, the theologian.

Conclusion

Christian interest in divine healing has shown itself in many ways

through the years, and it is receiving special attention in the latter half of the twentieth century. In discussions of the subject, Johann Christoph Blumhardt must not be overlooked. His remarkable education and diverse career, his healing ministry with its calm, confident emphasis on the victorious Jesus, and his significant impact on no less a theologian than Karl Barth mark him as a different kind of healer: "Jesus ist Sieger!"

Endnotes

1. I am defining divine healing as the restoration of health through the direct intervention of God.

2. *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, 2nd ed., vol. 1, Theological Translation Library, trans. and ed., James Moffats, no. 19 (London: Williams and Norgate), 109.

3. Literature representing the scholarly analyses include works by Victor G. Dawe, "The Attitude of the Early Church toward Sickness and Healing," (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1955); Raymond J. Cunningham, "From Holiness to Healing: The Faith Cure in America 1872-1892," *Church History* 43 (1974): 499-513; Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982); Paul G. Chappell, "The Divine Healing Movement in America," (Ph.D. diss., Drew University, 1983); Morton T. Kelsey, *Psychology, Medicine and Christian Healing* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988); and Aline Rousselle, *Croire et guèrir: la foi en Gaule dans l'Antiquité Tardive* (Paris: Fayard, 1990). See also my paper "Jesus, Saints and Relics: Approaching the Early Church Through Healing," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 2 (1993): 91-104.

4. Vernard Eller (*Thy Kingdom Come: A Blumhardt Reader* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980], xvii), and Donald W. Dayton (*Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* [Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury Press, 1987], 216), note that he and his son, Christoph, whose ministry was inseparably intertwined with his, are virtually unknown in North America. This is true in spite of a Princeton dissertation (William G. Bodamer, Jr., "The Life and Work of Johann Christoph Blumhardt" [Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1966]) and at least two dictionary articles (William Korn, "Blumhardt, Johann Christoph," *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, ed. G.G. Cohen [Marshallton, DE: The National Foundation for Christian Education, 1968], 123; and Wayne Detzler, "Blumhardt, Johann Christoph (1805-1880)," *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*, eds. J.D. Douglas, E.E. Cairns, and J.E.

Ruark [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974], 138). Pierre Scherding pointed to a similar obscurity in Europe earlier in this century (*Christoph Blumhardt et son père; essai sur un mouvement de réalisme chrétien*, in *Études d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse*, no. 34 [Paris: F. Alcan, 1937], 9). It would be appropriate to note here that Blumhardt scholars are concerned to distance him from modern healers and fanatics (Interview with Gerhard Schäfer, Stuttgart, Germany, 31 July 1990; Dieter Ising, ed., *Johann Christoph Blumhardt: Ein Brevier* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991], 14; Interview with Seigfried Bayer, Bad Boll, Germany, 1 August 1990; and Walter Nigg, "Johann Christoph Blumhardt: Ein Heiliger der Neuzeit," in *Wie Heilig ist der Mensch*, ed. Wolfgang Böhme, Herrenabler Texte, no. 69 [Baden: Evangelische Akademie, 1986], 38).

5. Rudolf Bultmann, Ernst Lohmeyer, Julius Schniewind, Helmut Thielicke and Austin Farrer, *Kerygma and Myth: A Theological Debate*, ed. H.W. Bartsch, trans. R.H. Fuller (New York: Harper & Row, 1961), 120.

6. Karl Barth, "Friedrich Naumann and Christoph Blumhardt," in *The Beginnings of Dialectic Theology*, ed. James M. Robinson, trans. K.R. Crom (Richmond, VI: John Knox, 1968), 40.

7. Gerhard Schäfer, "Johann Christoph Blumhardt Bausteine zu einer Biographie," *Johann Christoph Blumhardt – Leuchtende Liebe zu den Menschen: Beiträge zu Leben und Werk* (Stuttgart: J.F. Steinkopf, 1981), 27; and Nigg, "Johann Christoph Blumhardt: Ein Heiliger der Neuzeit," 35.

8. E.G. Rüsch, "Bermerken zum theologischen Studiengang J.C. Blumhardts," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 13 (1957): 103. He also showed interest in medical questions (Gerhard Schäfer, ed., *Johann Christoph Blumhardt: Gesammelte Werke* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979], vol. 1, part 1, *Johann Christoph Blumhardt: Der Kampf in Möttlingen, Texte*, eds. Gerhard Schäfer and Paul Ernst, ix).

9. Rüsch, "Bermerken zum theologischen Studiengang J.C. Blumhardts," 108.

10. Scherding, *Christoph Blumhardt et son père*, 23.

11. On one occasion, he wrote to them while they were at university offering to send them some sentences in these three languages to help them brush up on their grammar" (Johann Christoph Blumhardt to Christoph and Theophil, Bad Boll, 12 February 1861," in Ising, *Johann Christoph Blumhardt: Ein Brevier*, 50.

12. In the judgment of some, he showed a high level of sophistication in the way in which he handled scripture (see Scherding, *Christoph Blumhardt et son père*, 22; and Schäfer, ed., *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 2, part 2, *Johann Christoph Blumhardt: Blätter aus Bad Boll*, ed. Paul Ernst, 257.

13. Rüsch, "Bermerken zum theologischen Studiengang J.C. Blumhardts," 108.

14. Archiv, Überkirchenrat, Würtemburgischen Landeskirche, Stuttgart.

15. Schäfer, "Johann Christoph Blumhardt Bausteine zu einer Biographie," 26ff.

16. Archiv, Überkirchenrat, Würtemburgischen Landeskirche, Stuttgart.

17. See "Blumhardt to Luise von Scheibler, Möttlingen, 24 November 1851," Ising, *Johann Christoph Blumhardt: Ein Brevier*, 46; Scherding, *Christoph Blumhardt et son père*, 28; and Ernst, *Johann Christoph Blumhardt*, v.

18. "Blumhardt to Christian Gottlob Barth, Möttlingen, 15 April 1852," Ising, *Johann Christoph Blumhardt: Ein Brevier*, 47.

19. Schäfer, "Johann Christoph Blumhardt Bausteine zu einer Biographie," 23.

20. Ising, *Johann Christoph Blumhardt: Ein Brevier*, 54ff.

21. See Scherding, *Christoph Blumhardt et son père*, 21; Eller, *Thy Kingdom Come: A Blumhardt Reader*, xiv; and Robert Lejeune, *Christoph Blumhardt and His Message*, trans. Hela Ehrlich and Nicoline Maas (Rifton, NY: Plough, 1963), 16.

22. There has been considerable discussion regarding the validity of the claims to healing associated with Blumhardt. M.T. Schulz says that there is no readily defensible proof in support of them (*Johann Christoph Blumhardt: Leben-Theologie-Verkündigung*, Arbeiten zur Pastoralaltheologie, ed. Martin Fischer and Robert Frick, no. 19 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984], 68), but a nineteenth-century author who stitched together eye witness accounts of Bad Boll refers to a professor of medicine from Tübingen who reviewed letters sent to Blumhardt in which people testified to healings. Apparently the professor found it increasingly difficult to doubt the reality of the cures (W. Guest, *Pastor Blumhardt and His Work*, intro. Rev. C.H. Blumhardt [Johann Christoph's brother] [London: Morgan and Scott, 1881], 60). At this point, perhaps the best one can say is that some of the claims would be more difficult to explain without reference to God than others, but it would be impossible to go beyond that. However they are to be judged, the claims to healing are what made Blumhardt's ministry.

    The issue of the verification of miracles is surrounded with difficulty. It would be unfair, or impossible, to insist that science offer unequivocal

judgments regarding the miraculous, or to refuse to acknowledge the miraculous because science will not grant its imprimateur to an event. Epistemologically, scientists are professionally competent to comment on the physical, but not on the metaphysical. Biology, for example, is within their purview: theology is not. Presuppositions, especially the absence or presence of belief in a God who directly heals illness, will determine the view which one takes of inexplicable recoveries of health. René Latourelle offers three criteria which may assist in identifying a miracle: (1) there must be solid historical evidence that the event, or recovery, in question actually occurred; (2) the recovery must be something unusual or difficult to believe; (3) the recovery must have taken place in a setting of prayer and holiness. Latourelle adds that the miraculous nature of an event is fatally compromised if there is ". . . the slightest appearance of frivolity, extravagance, or suspect morality. Anything smacking of trickery, emotional excitement, charlatanry, fakery, oddity, greediness, or self-interest, or giving any hint of the occult or spiritualism or hypnosis or magic, is alien to the truly miraculous" (*The Miracles of Jesus and the Theology of Miracles*, trans. M.J. O'Connell [New York: Paulist, 1988], 310-313).

23. It is assumed that she had contacted witchcraft through an aunt. See Ising, *Johann Christoph Blumhardt: Ein Brevier*; Schäfer, ed., *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 1, part 2, *Johann Christoph Blumhardt: Der Kampf in Möttlingen, Anmerkungen*, eds., Gerhard Schäfer and Paul Ernst, 24; Schäfer, "Johann Christoph Blumhardt Bausteine zu einer Biographie," 30; and Scherding, *Christoph Blumhardt et son père*, 33.

24. Friedrich Zündel, *Pfarrer Johann Christiph Blumhardt: Ein Lebensbild*, 5th ed. (Zürich: S. Höhr, 1887), 127.

25. Johann Christoph Blumhardt, "Krankheitsgeschichte der G[ottlieben] D[ittus] in Möttlingen," in *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Schäfer, vol. 1, part 1, *Johann Christoph Blumhardt: Der Kampf in Möttlingen, Texte*, eds. Gerhard Schäfer and Paul Ernst, 40. Gerhard Schäfer and Paul Ernst suggest that the biblical material regarding Jesus' interaction with demons provided the theological foundation for Blumhardt's conclusion (*Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Schäfer, vol. 1, part 1, *Johann Christoph Blumhardt: Der Kampf in Möttlingen, Texte*, eds. Gerhard Schäfer and Paul Ernst, x).

26. Blumhardt, "Krankheitsgeschichte," 40.

27. "Blumhardt to Barth, Möttlingen, 2 July 1842," Ising, *Johann Christoph Blumhardt: Ein Brevier*, 36ff.

28. "Blumhardt to Karl and Maria Köllner, Möttlingen, 27 July 1842," Ising, *Johann Christoph Blumhardt: Ein Brevier*, 38.

29. Blumhardt, “Krankheitsgeschichte,” 49; and Interview with Christian Tröbst, recently retired pastor of Bad Boll, Bad Boll, 1 August 1990.

30. Blumhardt, “Krankheitsdeschichte,” 76.

31. There is some discussion over which of the women actually spoke the critical words. Ising, Schäfer and Ernst all review the evidence, pointing out that the confusion stems from Blumhardt himself (Schäfer, ed., *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 1, part 2, *Johann Christoph Blumhardt: Der Kampf in Möttlingen, Anmerkungen*, eds., Gerhard Schäfer and Paul Ernst, 113). Karl Barth (*Church Dogmatics*, eds. G.W. Bromiley and T.F. Torrance [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1961], IV, 3, i, 169), and Vernard Eller (*Thy Kingdom Come: A Blumhardt Reader*, xviii) adhere closely to the text of the “Krankheitsgeschichte” (75) and insist that it was Katharina who was involved.

32. Schäfer, “Johann Christoph Blumhardt Bausteine zu einer Biographie,” 37ff; Gerhard Sauter, *Die Theologie des Reich Gottes beim älteren und jüngeren Blumhardt*, Studen zur Dogmenseschichte und systematischen Theologie, no. 14 (Zürich-Stuttgart: Zwingli Verlag, 1962), 35; and Lejeune, *Christoph Blumhardt and His Message*, 20.

33. Sauter, *Die Theologie des Reich Gottes beim älteren und jüngeren Blumhardt*, 24.

34. Karl Barth, *Protestant Theology in the Nineteenth Century: Its Background & History*, trans. Brian Cozens (London: SCM, 1972), 645; and Guest, *Pastor Blumhardt and His Work*, 20ff.

35. Eller, *Thy Kingdom Come: A Blumhardt Reader*, xviii.

36. Doris Blumhardt, to Karl and Maria Köllner, Möttlingen, 23-24 April and 14-15 May 1844, in Ising, *Johann Christoph Blumhardt: Ein Brevier*, 41.

37. Guest, *Pastor Blumhardt and His Work*, 31.

38. Barth, *Protestant Theology*, 645. Many have commented on this absolution, which took on almost sacramental significance (see Scherding, *Christoph Blumhardt et son père*, 26; and Lejeune, *Christoph Blumhardt and His Message*, 23).

39. Lejeune says, “Blumhardt did not look for it [healing] in any way; he often did not even know about it” (*Christoph Blumhardt and His Message*, 23). See also Schulz, *Johann Christoph Blumhardt: Leben-Theologie-Verkündigung*, 69.

40. "Doris Blumhardt to Luise von Scheibler, Möttlingen, 30 October 1851," Ising, *Johann Christoph Blumhardt: Ein Brevier*, 46.

41. They came from many levels of society and from all over Europe as well as from England and America (Interview with Tröbst; Guest, *Pastor Blumhardt and His Work*, 46; and Scherding, *Christoph Blumhardt et son père*, 30). They stayed for long or short periods of time (Interview with Schäfer), paying low fees which were further reduced for invalid missionaries and the poor. Some, university students for example, could stay without charge while some of the wealthy voluntarily paid extra in order to cover costs (Guest, *Pastor Blumhardt and His Work*, 45, 75).

42. Interview with Schäfer; see also Guest, *Pastor Blumhardt and His Work*, 59, 66.

43. Interview with Tröbst. See also Scherding, *Christoph Blumhardt et son père*, 29; and Guest, *Pastor Blumhardt and His Work*, 48ff, 75. Opinions on Blumhardt's preaching varied. Guest's sources thought it was quite good (51), while someone named Bardili, who reported on Blumhardt and Bad Boll for the State Church, was not as impressed ("A Report to the Stuttgart Ministerial authority by Bardili regarding Johann Christoph Blumhardt and Bad Boll, Stuttgart, 26 August 1853," in Ising, *Johann Christoph Blumhardt: Ein Brevier*, 48).

44. Interview with Schäfer; Guest, *Pastor Blumhardt and His Work*, 52; and Scherding, *Christoph Blumhardt et son père*, 29. Among all the authorities I consulted, only Guest made reference to an ability Blumhardt apparently had to discern in advance whether a person would be healed or not (*Pastor Blumhardt and His Work*, 57).

45. Interview with Schäfer.

46. Joachim Scharfenberg, "Blumhardt, Johann Christoph (1805-1880)," *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. Gerhard Krause and Gerhard Müller (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), 6: 726.

47. Donald W. Dayton, "The Radical Message of Evangelical Christianity," in *Church in Struggle*, ed. W. Tabb (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1986), 216.

48. Other important ministries were those of Dorothea Trudel and Otto Stockmayer, both of Switzerland (see Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism*, 121; Cunningham, "From Holiness to Healing," 501; and R.M. Riss, "Faith Homes," *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. S.M. Burgess, G.B. McGee, and P.H. Alexander [Grand Rapids: Regency

Reference Library, 1988], 298). The inspiration which Blumhardt and the others provided lay in the direction of establishing what came to be known as "healing homes" in the United States to which those who were sick could come for rest and prayer. In 1887 a prominent member of the healing movement, R. Kelso Carter, said, "There are over thirty 'faith homes' in America to-day" (*"Faith Healing" Reviewed after Twenty Years* [Boston: The Christian Witness Company, 1897]; cited in Russell Kelso Carter, "Faith Healing," in *"The Higher Christian Life": Sources for the Study of the Holiness, Pentecostal, and Keswick Movements*, ed. Donald W. Dayton [New York and London: Garland, 1985], 35).

49. Dayton, "The Radical Message of Evangelical Christianity," 216.

50. Eller, *Thy Kingdom Come: A Blumhardt Reader*, xivff.

51. Arnold B. Come, *An Introduction to Barth's Dogmatics for Preachers* (London: SCM, 1963), 33. And this in spite of Barth's being rather dismissive of Blumhardt theologically. He emphasized that Blumhardt's thinking is not a clearly developed system, and suggested that among theologians Blumhardt was a "completely unarmed warrior" (*Protestant Theology*, 643, 647). James D. Smart agrees with such an assessment ("Eduard Thurneysen: Pastor-Theologian," *Theology Today* 16 [1959]: 83). It will become apparent that Barth did not have as low a view of Blumhardt as these comments imply. However, I still think the judgment he and Smart have made is harsh. There is a great deal of important theological reflection, for example, in *Gesammelte Auffässe, Gesammelte Werke von Joh. Christoph Blumhardt*, ed. Christoph Blumhardt, vol. 3, *Besprechung wichter Glaubensfragen* (Karlsruhe: Evangelischen Schriftenverein für Baden, 1888), 76-105. Blumhardt was far from being an "unarmed warrior."

    Gerhard Sauter, in what is perhaps the definitive discussion of Blumhardtian theology to date, argues that the Blumhardts' theology is, in fact, systematic in that it is centred on a particular idea (*Die Theologie des reich Gottes beim älteren und jüngeren Blumhardt*, 12). Later he says, "All of Blumhardt's statements are fundamentally a development of this sentence: Jesus ist Sieger!" (23). Sauter's discussion focuses on the Blumhardts' concept of the Rule of God, but it also deals with other ideas such as their pneumatology and their understanding of sin and sickness.

52. See Eberhard Busch, *Karl Barth: His Life from Letters and Autobiographical Texts*, trans. John Bowden (London: SCM, 1976), 84.

53. Karl Barth to Eduard Thurneysen, 14 June 1915," *The Beginnings – Karl Barth's Theology in the Early Period*, vol. 1 of *Revolutionary Theology in the Making*, trans. James D. Smart (London: Epworth, 1964), 30.

54. He places Blumhardt beside Kierkegaard, Calvin, Overbeck and Dostoevsky (*The Epistle to the Romans*, trans. E.C. Hoskyns [London: Oxford, 1933], 29, 252; and *The Theology of Schleiermacher: Lectures at Göttingen, Winter Semester of 1923/24*, ed. Dietrich Risch, trans. G.W. Bromiley [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982], xv).

55. Karl Barth, *Letters, 1961-1968*, ed. Jürgen Fangmeier and Hinrich Stoevesandt, trans. and ed. G.W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), 251. The other two were Leonhardt Ragaz and Hermann Kutter.

56. See Busch, *Karl Barth*, 85.

57. Barth, "Friedrich Naumann and Christoph Blumhardt," 41.

58. *Protestant Theology*, 652.

59. *Protestant Theology*, 652ff.

60. See Smart, "Eduard Thurneysen: Pastor-Theologian," 78; and Come, *Introduction to Barth's Dogmatics*, 33.

61. *Church Dogmatics*, II, 1, 634; and "Friedrich Naumann and Christoph Blumhardt," 44.

62. Smart, "Eduard Thurneysen: Pastor-Theologian," 78.

63. This is suggested by Barth himself: he states that for the Blumhardts God was the living God ". . . in the double sense that they wanted to understand him as the bible does, as the one who lives, from whom new deeds, power, and proofs are to be expected, and that they wanted to seek for and await his Kingdom not only in the souls of individual men or in a distant heaven, but above all and first of all in life, precisely in the 'real' life of men on earth" ("Friedrich Naumann and Christoph Blumhardt," 41). In *Protestant Theology* he describes the two-fold perspective that developed at Bad Boll as the belief in ". . . the present help and grace of God in the individual and the promise of an imminent appearance of his glory to all the world" (646).

64. *Church Dogmatics*, III, 4, 368.

65. *Church Dogmatics*, IV, 3, i, 260; and *Protestant Theology*, 645.

66. Smart, "Eduard Thurneysen: Pastor-Theologian," 84.

67. Smart, "Eduard Thurneysen: Pastor-Theologian," 84.

68. *Church Dogmatics*, III, 4, 368.

69. See Eduard Thurneysen, "Introduction," *The Beginnings – Karl Barth's Theology in the Early Period*, 16; and Thomas F. Torrance, *Karl Barth: An Introduction to His Early Theology, 1910-1931* (London: SCM, 1962), 36, 71.

70. *Church Dogmatics*, II, 1, 633.

Shamans, Missionaries and Prophets: Comparative Perspectives on Nineteenth-Century Religious Encounters in British Columbia[1]

SUSAN NEYLAN

The focus of this paper is the encounter between Christianity and indigenous religions in nineteenth-century British Columbia. Frequently, however, such encounters are approached narrowly, and almost exclusively from the European perspective.[2] Scholars of cultural contact in other contexts have continually emphasized the complexity involved. Terence Turner, a noted anthropologist, writing about the meeting of native South Americans and Europeans suggests that contact is simultaneously event, situation, process and structure.[3] Historians might well apply this wisdom to the Canadian experience. While a number of published pieces examine the Euro-Canadian discourse on the encounter, very little is known about what missions, and Christianity generally, meant to the peoples at whom it was directed. The contributions made by native peoples in mission work have received little attention in church historiography. There is much more to be learned about the intricacies of contact situations and of the cultural interaction which resulted by examining the role native peoples played in Christian missionization.

The objectives of this paper are threefold. First, what is to be learned from approaching church history as a cultural encounter centred around the native role in the meeting? In other words, where does this approach fit into the historical literature and what new questions does it raise concerning the meeting of natives and missionaries? Second, I will briefly explore

two specific roles played by native people in missionization. The figures who feature prominently in this inquiry are the native missionary or catechist and the native prophet. I see these two individuals falling between the extremes of shaman on the indigenous side, and missionary on the Euro-Canadian side. Lastly, the third objective concerns the value of comparative perspectives. Treatment of similar situations in the South Pacific, South America and Africa provide interesting parallels to the Canadian situation. Furthermore, scholars suggest ways in which Canadian historians might portray church history in a native cultural context and move away from missionary biography or interpreting passive roles for native peoples.

Interpreting the Contact Zone

The province of British Columbia stands alone in many respects with more than just the Rockies separating it from the rest of Canada. In terms of its indigenous peoples, few places in North America or South America are so culturally and linguistically diverse. Of the separate eleven aboriginal language families in Canada, seven occur in close proximity in British Columbia – indeed six are found only in British Columbia.[4] In the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, native societies were irrevocably changed by contact with Europeans. The contact zone was first defined by the highly competitive fur trades both on the coast and in the interior. It greatly disrupted native life. Alcohol and disease had devastating effects on individuals and communities. Dislocation also characterized native societies – encroachment of white settlement, for example, resulted in the massive intrusion of 30,000 outsiders during the gold rush on the Fraser at mid-century.[5] There were political and social upheavals as well: the outlawing of the potlatch, the change from colony of Great Britain to province of Canada, unaddressed land claims, the Indian Act and the reservation system. It was in this context, this world in flux, that the shaman and the missionary met.

What do we know about this encounter? The central thesis of John Webster Grant's *Moon of Wintertime* suggests that aboriginal peoples accepted Christianity at a time when their own "traditional" beliefs were being challenged and fading away in the face of the influence of Euro-Canadian culture.[6] His chapter title for native-missionary relations in British Columbia sums up this perspective: "Taming the Thunderbird."

Robin Fisher uses the model of non-directed/directed cultural change in his *Contact and Conflict* which placed missionaries in the role of calculating destroyers of native cultures and civilization.[7] Indeed, Fisher is typical among those historians of Christian missions who have argued "that a degree of cultural disruption is a prerequisite for missionary success; only in a situation where old ways and values are proving ineffective or are being called into question will new ones be considered."[8] They argue that it was nineteenth-century dislocations, crisis and general decline of native culture that greatly encouraged the swift acceptance of Christianity among British Columbia's native groups. This upheaval of indigenous culture, many claim, explains the overnight conversions of entire villages. As proof, they offer statistics such as "by 1904, 90% of the Indians in the province were nominally Christian. In 1939 the census could number only 28% who still held 'aboriginal beliefs.'"[9]

However, I do not believe a straight-forward "replacement" of native spirituality occurred. What do these statistics really mean? Throughout human history, when confronted with cultural assault, people often turn inward to faith or re-create their religions to adapt to new circumstances. Is there any evidence to suggest native religion was in its "moon of wintertime"? If so called "conversion" to Christianity is proof of this spiritual decline, one must ask, does the acceptance of Christianity by native North Americans replace or preclude native spirituality? Surely one must consider whether an "indigenization" of Christianity occurred? Studies of native-missionary contact on the pacific slope have failed to portray the complex processes at work in Christian proselytizing efforts. Mired in a predominantly Eurocentric perspective, scholars have failed to appreciate this religious contact as a form of cultural encounter with influences flowing *both ways* (from Christianity to native religion, and from native religion to Christianity, at least in the local context). When viewed from the perspective of world history, the encounter is an aspect of western colonialism. Yet Christianity may also be perceived as a *world religion* and thus the mission experience is an historically reoccurring one. The latter approach allows for a departure from portrayals of indigenous peoples as passive victims. Through this perspective, their creative role in the process may be emphasized and it opens up new and profitable avenues for the study of nineteenth-century native-white relations in British Columbia.

The view of Christianity as a world religion, rather than a uniquely

Eurocentric one, emphasizes the universality of the conversion experience. It also encourages us to ask different questions: how did native peoples use Christianity to deal with the newcomers? Why were native peoples interested in incorporating Christian elements into native religious rituals? How do we interpret native prophet movements which seemingly incorporate Christian elements? What roles did native people play in their own Christianization? The South Pacific, South America and Africa provide valuable models for the Canadian experience. Moreover, these similarities probably were recognized by missionaries and churches at that time. Canada was only one mission field among many. Missionaries themselves sometimes gained experience through mission-work outside of North America. Missionary systems and official approaches to proselytizing were quite often universal rather than culture-specific. Institutional frameworks also existed and reinforced this perspective. For example in Great Britain, the Aborigines Protection Society and missionary organizations such the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Church Missionary Society (CMS) had special interest in indigenous peoples the world over.

There is a broader international academic discourse on Christianity in colonial situations from which one might find new approaches with which to focus on the interaction between two cultures in Canada.[10] One concept in this literature which might have particular application in the British Columbian context is the "indigenization" of Christianity.[11] Indigenization is "a process of cultural adaptation, in which the fundamental meanings of a cultural system are retained, at least partially, but are expressed in the symbolic forms of another, non-native culture."[12] I believe it is important to ask, did an indigenization of Christianity occur in British Columbia? What forms did it take? Few Canadian scholars have broached the question particularly for the western regions. In his recent book on Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian, Clarence Bolt briefly explores processes of conversion, but does not fully investigate the possibility of an indigenous Christianity or even of syncretism.[13] Anthropologist Jean-Guy Goulet and professor of religion Antonio R. Gualtieri have examined the extent to which indigenization, syncretism and religious dualism was and is a reality for the Dene and Inuit of the Western Subarctic and Arctic.[14] Although most of the literature I have come across is anthropological and based largely on ethnographic studies,[15] I think these sorts of questions *can* and *should* be asked by historians.

New Perspectives on Missions

In looking for new perspectives, the native role in Christian missions should be given more emphasis. In some cases, native catechists became important local leaders for the communities in which they lived, and ultimately may have had a more enduring legacy than any itinerant Euro-Canadian missionary. Native oral traditions of conversion will be invaluable for understanding the historical impact on these communities and the continuing legacy of Christianity today. Interdisciplinary approaches seem to be the most promising way of interpreting the complexity of processes at work during these religious encounters. An ethnohistorical reading of the mission experience in particular would be timely. Ethnohistory is an interdisciplinary approach which combines historical and anthropological methodologies to interpret the post-contact relations between indigenous and non-indigenous cultures. In other words, it enables one to use non-written sources such as archaeology, oral traditions and linguistics alongside traditional written sources.[16]

As it is apparent by now, I am not interested in the "successes" or "failures" of individual missions and do not view religious encounters in terms of oppositional pairs: *shaman / missionary* or *native spirituality / Christianity*. Rather, I want to look at points of meeting. The contact zone was characterized by innovation and creativity. In terms of nativewhite relations, concepts of syncretic, convergent and dualistic religious identities tell us much more about how religious culture contact unfolded. By *syncretic religious identities* I mean, the blending of native and Christian beliefs, symbols, rituals and cultural expressions. *Convergent identities* refer to commonalities between religions as certain tenets or practices coincide with one another and are recognized as similar or even identical. Finally, *dualistic identities* are those situations in which native religions and Christianity existed side by side, yet remained separate and distinct from another.[17] This acceptance of both forms of spirituality simultaneously within native communities undoubtedly caused the most consternation among missionaries. By focusing on these classifications which describe the nature of interaction between religions, I hope to avoid the trap of dealing with native religion and Christian missions separately. This idea can be further represented by a simple model:

Traditional Native Religion *Christianity*
Shaman-------------Prophet------------Native Catechist-----------Missionary

It does not necessarily represent one form becoming the other, but rather the co-existence of old and new forms of religious expressions. In this case prophets may be closer to native shamans, yet many were affected by their contact with Christianity. Similarly, native catechists trained by missionaries to teach Christianity among their own peoples undoubtedly remain influenced by their original religions. I am not suggesting that any one form is less "pure" or an "eroded" version of the original. Whatever the term "traditional" might mean in this context, religion from both native and European perspectives has always been a rather innovative and dynamic expression of human culture. Both prophets and native catechists can be viewed as mediators between the two religious cultures. By focusing on the religious "middlemen" and "middlewomen," new insights will be added to our understanding of native-missionary relations and of "the event, situation, process and structure" of religious encounters in British Columbia.

Encounters with Christianity (from Christianity to Native cultures)

It is clear that in British Columbia native spirituality was neither replaced nor appropriated by Christianity. So the question must be asked: what was the role of native people in the conversion process? The answer may lie with the native catechist and the native prophet. Native catechists and native missionary assistants were absolutely essential to the work of almost every denomination of missionary. They functioned as translators, guides, mediators, preachers and leaders for the various communities in which they served. While the roles played by these individuals have received some attention in other regions and eras in North America,[18] very little note has been given to their role in British Columbia.[19]

So why have native mission workers been largely overlooked by scholars given their inclusion in missionary documents? Indeed, the sources "are willing" to give detailed information on the activities of native workers particularly the roles Europeans or Canadians envisioned native peoples should take in their own conversion.[20] For example, the secretary of the Anglican CMS between 1840 and 1870 openly encouraged the training of Christian native teachers and spoke of "self-reliance rather than

dependence" of native congregations.[21] Whether his instructions were heeded or not, this attitude does suggest at least the possibility of an indigenization of Christianity. Where does the "hagiography" of native catechists fit into the missionary discourse on native Christians? What is the catechist archetype? Furthermore, as others have clearly demonstrated, native missionaries were frequently accommodators, innovators and mediators between cultures in ways unexpected and sometimes disapproved by the churches which sent them.

To give you a taste of the sort of thing I have encountered, I have two examples from published sources on the British Columbia Methodist mission. The first is an autobiography written by a native catechist and missionary who later became the first ordained native Methodist minister in the region: a Tsimshian, William Henry Pierce. The second example is a native catechist, David Sallosalton whom Methodist missionary Thomas Crosby[22] allotted considerable prominence in several of his published works.

William Henry Pierce

William Henry Pierce was born at Fort Rupert in 1856 to a Scottish Hudson Bay Company trader and a Tsimshian woman.[23] His mother died when he was still an infant and he was raised by his maternal grandfather among his mother's people in the Port Simpson area. As a youth, he briefly attended William Duncan's day school, but was withdrawn by his uncle and prepared for initiation into the secret Dog-eater Dancers' society. In other words, he was very much brought up within a traditional Tsimshian culture. He worked briefly for the Hudson Bay Company, but by the 1870s found himself looking for work in Victoria. There he converted to Methodism after hearing Thomas Crosby preach. In Victoria he was influenced by several Euro-Canadian missionaries, receiving private tutelage and periodically working to pay for his education. However, as much as Pierce was taken under the wing of several interested missionaries, he was also responsible for taking his own initiative. While working in the American town of Ludlow (Laidlow), Washington State, he was struck by the degree of alcohol abuse among the hundreds of natives who were employed at the local sawmill. He organized a temperance campaign, and it was at those meetings that a number of future native missionaries were introduced or converted to Christianity including: Philip McKay,

well-known for his work in Alaska; Charles Amos of Kitamaat who was the first one to introduce Christianity to his people; Bella Bella Jack who was the first to take Christian teachings to the Bella Bella; George Tait on the Nass who became a local preacher and one of Rev. A.E. Green's councillors after that mission was first established. "It was while working here that [Pierce] became convinced that [his] life work was to be a missionary among the natives."[24] It is also significant to note that all of these native people were converted to Christianity and mission work by another native person without direct European influence.

In 1877 Pierce began his long career in the missions of British Columbia's north coast as an assistant to Crosby at Fort Simpson. Later that year he embarked on his first solo missionary effort at Port Essington. Pierce was moved around a lot usually asked by Crosby to respond to some "urgent cry" from a native community for a missionary. He went to Alaska for six months, to Lak-al-Zap on the Nass River for two years; he spent 3 months among the Bella Bella, a year among the Bella Coola, then back to the missions to Tsimshians on the Skeena River (Kitseguecla 1886-1893, Kispiox 1895-1909), and briefly aboard the mission-boat "Glad Tidings." He was ordained in 1887, and married a Canadian missionary Miss Hargrave in 1890. Pierce ended his active ministry in Port Essington and retired to Port Rupert. He died in 1948.

It is important to note that Pierce, like many other native mission workers, was often the first Christian teacher into an area. Even before he was ordained, he was responsible for setting up the mission site, organizing the community, teaching, preaching, fundraising for the building of a church and mission house, promoting the building of roads, single-family dwelling, and sometimes industrial enterprises such as the construction of a sawmill or cannery. Euro-Canadian missionaries and ordained ministers were almost always the second wave. Hence understanding the role played by these native missionaries is paramount to comprehending fully the religious encounter between Christian and native beliefs. Thomas Crosby was fond of the phrase, "we left a native worker behind," not always acknowledging the name or the work of the individual. Yet we know how important native translators and local leaders were to the success, and often the physical survival, of the missionaries. In Pierce's autobiography, which he wrote many years after his retirement, he recognized the contributions of native Christian leaders. He was careful to mention them by name. Native people need to be given a more prominent place in the history of

British Columbia's missions.

David Sallosalton

One of the few individual native workers Crosby did mention, particularly in his published works, was a Coast Salish youth named David Sallosalton. Born in 1853, Sallosalton grew to be the ideal native catechist in Crosby's eyes. Crosby devoted considerable attention to him in his autobiographical *Among the An-ko-me-nums* and published a separate booklet exclusively on Sallosalton, a veritable hagiographic biography.[25] Although Crosby is able to convey a sense of Sallosalton's true character in these two works – his unflinching faith, his commitment to Christianity and proselytization, and his flare for oratory – on one level, David Sallosalton represents a native catechist archetype. Sadly, Sallosalton died young at the age of 19 in 1873 of an illness. However, brief as Sallosalton's life was, certain elements of Crosby's "story" of the catechist's life are stock characteristics of how Euro-Canadians portrayed and perhaps viewed their native counterparts. I hope to do similar comparisons with other portrayals of native workers in order to understand more of what function Euro-Canadian missionaries and other officials viewed native peoples performing in mission-work. The central question that must be asked, is what was the Euro-Canadian perspective on native participation in Christianity?

Crosby begins by offering the reader a typical description of the so-called "uncivilized" native lifestyle with careful attention to dress and manners which were especially unusual or considered "barbaric" to Euro-Canadians (for example, head-flattening, shamanism and accusations of cannibalism). Crosby claims that a ten-year-old native boy called Sa-ta-na approached him asking to live with the missionary in order to avoid having to follow "Indian old ways." This is the first characteristic element of the "ideal" native catechist: total rejection of "Indian ways." On his deathbed, surrounded by family members pleading to take him to be healed by a native medicine man or woman, David Sallosalton refused their requests. He remained steadfastly devoted to the ways of Christianity.

For nearly a decade, this baptized native boy, David Sallosalton, travelled with Thomas Crosby and other Methodist missionaries working as translator, exhorter, and then as a class leader. He assisted Rev. Edward White at the Chilliwack revivals preaching with considerable zeal and talent to natives and non-natives alike.[26] Crosby describes Sallosalton's

encounters with a native "witch-doctor" and a Roman Catholic priest, portraying them as confrontational showdowns in which he demonstrates his superior beliefs and unwavering piety.[27] These "showdowns" are stock elements in missionary biographical literature, which suggests that Crosby sees his native assistant as a counterpart rather than an adjunct. In many respects, David Sallosalton represents the "all or nothing" view of religious contact. Religious dualism or syncretism has not been recognized. Religious convergence is seen as the means to "win souls," not mediate belief systems. In many a missionary's eyes, a native was a Christian or a "heathen." The two terms were mutually exclusive. For many native communities, however, quite the opposite seems to have been the case. They had no problem with considering themselves "good Christians" while still upholding much older, and still relevant indigenous beliefs; many continue to do so today.

Prophets and Prophet Movements (from Native cultures to Christianity)

If it is unclear just what role native people were playing in Christianization, it is even more uncertain what contributions were being made by native peoples outside the mission field. Perhaps, the Protestant and evangelical revivals of the late-nineteenth century which missionaries like Thomas Crosby attributed to the appeal of their superior faith, were due in part to the familiarity of the message. It offered power. It offered a way into the "white" world – and some native people had had access to it for a number of years. Native prophets, I will argue, also played an important role in nineteenth-century religious encounters in British Columbia.

According to Anthony Wallace, a leading anthropologist in this field, prophets often arise in societies experiencing disorientation resulting from abnormal levels of stress or deprivation.[28] These prophets promote a revival, renewal and a reworking of traditional or new cultural responses as a means to cope with the crisis. The results have often been labelled as revitalization movements or crisis cults. Responses may be political, social, religious, military, nativistic, apocalyptic or syncretic; or they can be, and often are a combination of several of these. Both secular and religious forms of these movements are common around the world and throughout history.[29] They are one means by which a society innovates its culture and are generally believed by scholars to emerge from basic aspects of human nature.

To describe this more simply: these movements are centred around a prophet who emerges in a society experiencing stress or crisis. This individual usually claims to have died, or at least has physically withdrawn from society for a short period. The prophet claims to have journeyed to the spirit world and received a message from "the Great Spirit." This is quite often put in terms of Christian mythology – a visit to Heaven and Hell, and a message from God. What makes this type of journey distinct from a vision quest or the dreaming of an animal helper, is the nature of vision itself and the action required of it. The message which the prophet brings back is an explanation for all that is wrong in the society, and contains information on how to rectify the cause of the breakdown. Followers modify and reject or accept their new society and a new relationship with the supernatural is established.

There exist very few studies specifically on prophet movements in British Columbia. One notable exception is Leslie Spier's, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance*,[30] which although an older work caught up in the nebulous debate over the pre-contact or post-contact origins of prophet movements, does pay particular attention to the integration of Christian elements into native religion. There are also at least two studies which focus on the prophet dance as it appears in individual native groups: Wayne Suttle's study on the prophet dance among the Coast Salish, and Robin Ridington's continuing interest in Dunne-za (Beaver) prophets.[31] With these exceptions, almost all of the research on British Columbia prophet movements is centred around the Plateau culture area or stems from an interest in American-based movements. This is rather ironic, as many sources on British Columbia during the nineteenth century are littered with references to prophet movements. Most frequently they are mentioned as curiosities often associated with conversion to Christianity. Usually the debate over the origins of such movements tries to determine whether the phenomena was pre-contact or post-contact. From early on, scholars have chosen to write about prophets in British Columbia from an interest in similar movements in the American Northwest or the ghost dance(s) of the 1890s. Spier's study on the prophet dance, various works on the Smohalla cult (a prophet movement along the Columbia River circa 1870s with decidedly nativistic, anti-white features), and several monographs on the origins of the Shaker church (an institutionalized prophet movement originating in the southern Puget sound region in the 1880s), fall into this category. The

influence of these movements often extended into British Columbia, and were sometimes very long-lasting. The belief in prophets and the use of prophecy continues today in many native communities. Although prophets played many different roles and may be interpreted in a variety of ways, one model useful to my examination is to view prophets as one of two religious mediators.[32]

Bini, the Prophet

One example for which there is some information concerns a mid-century prophet known as Bini.[33] As with many nineteenth-century prophets, documentary references to Bini are usually brief and few and far between.[34] Most are derived from oral sources collected by ethnographers early in the twentieth century. There is some mention of this individual by missionaries as well, in particular, Roman Catholic Oblate father, Adrien Gabriel Morice.[35] Many narratives of Bini differ, even contradict one another. However, there are a number of commonalties. Bini is usually identified as being a Carrier (now known as Wet'suwet'en) from the Bulkley River area. During the nineteenth century, Bini taught a syncretic form of religion, which he claimed to have learned after having died and visited heaven. All versions indicate that it was before the introduction of Christian missions into the colony although several accounts insist that Bini lived to see the coming of the white missionaries.[36] Regardless of when Bini was actually around, it is clear that this prophet movement had considerable influence among a wide variety of native groups. In other words, oral history adds credence to the existence of this cross-cultural prophet movement.[37]

Common elements in versions of the Bini narrative include his death and subsequent resurrection, an ascent to heaven and a meeting with a strange people dressed in white who resembled ghosts known as the Sky people. Upon his revival, Bini is said to have acted differently and spoke a strange language, which had to be interpreted by an assistant who is sometimes identified as his nephew. Bini travelled widely among many native groups, preaching what the Sky people had taught him using many obvious Christian elements: the sign of the cross, special songs and dances, use of a wooden cross, forms of baptism, confession, the concept of penance and the "Five Commandments." In many versions, miracles are attributed to him and almost all refer to confrontations with native

shamans. He predicted the coming of the "Sky people" who were said to dwell in the east and the south. Bini also anticipated the arrival of European trade goods, horses, disease and newcomers who would also teach this new religion.

Many scholars who study Bini and similar prophet movements which obviously combine native and Christian elements are preoccupied with just "where" the prophet might have learned Christian ideas. It is very likely Bini knew of Europeans and their goods through native trading networks. Did Bini encounter pious fur traders or Christianized Iroquois coureur-de-bois? Did he have contact with missionized native groups, or perhaps with the Russian missionaries who had been in Alaska since the late-eighteenth century? Others dismiss the historical validity of these types of prophets entirely by suggesting that they are biased by hindsight because they were told by informants only after extensive Christianization. They project present realities into the past. This argument claims prophet traditions act as a sort of reverse myth.[38] Myths usually make sense of the present by relating it to the past. Prophecy, on the other hand, anchors the present in the future. When a society where usual modes of explaining the present situation are being challenged people often look to the future as a means of coping. But because the future is unknown, prophets are seldom taken seriously by historians. Diamond Jenness, for example, summarily dismisses the historical value of oral traditions about prophets, saying:

> The Indians of the British Columbia coast and hinterland . . . have so interwoven fact and fancy in their legends that, unless we can confirm them from other sources, we cannot trust them even for the events of the early-nineteenth century. The many conflicting accounts given of Bini's career strikingly illustrate this 'romanticism' in traditional lore."[39]

He calls for comparison with written texts, such as Morice's account, and with other oral versions. Ultimately he concludes the "discrepancies and impossibilities in these biographies of the same reformer . . . show how little we can rely on Carrier traditions for reconstructing their earlier history."[40]

I would agree with this assessment only so far as to recognize that oral traditions cannot be sifted for "facts," or indeed, handled as if they were written documentary evidence. Nonetheless, it is very significant that

native informants told versions of the Bini prophet which always closely connected him to Christianity or some kind of syncretic melding of native and Christian beliefs. It suggests that native groups have never viewed themselves as passive recipients of Christianity. It also suggests that native peoples rarely accepted Christianity as an "all or nothing" proposition.

On the one hand, native catechists, operating within the framework of missions and the institutional structure of the church, were the religious mediators facilitating conversion yet acting as the go-betweens for the two cultures. Prophets, on the other hand, were "power-brokers." They appropriated ideas. They incorporated and adapted teachings. They fit obvious Christian elements into a native spiritual context. Most writers view these types of prophet movements as a "readjustment" of native spirituality caused by the encounter with Christianity, an erosion of the former native relationship with the supernatural, and blending of two belief systems. However, I suggest we should also interpret this phenomenon, particularly in the local context, as a religious encounter which saw Christianity conforming to native religion. At times, it was the European religion which experienced the "adjustment" and "erosion."

New Religious Identities: Translations of Christianity and Discourse of Religions

It is obvious that labels like "traditional" native religion or Christianity do not get at the heart of the dynamics of religious encounters in nineteenth-century British Columbia. Religious change, both native and non-native, and the points of contact between the different belief systems sparked creative processes. In conclusion, I will briefly summarize the main points made in this paper: firstly, native people were not passive recipients of Christianity. They should be included in church historiography as active participants. We must continue to find ways to portray church history in a native cultural context, and to find alternatives to missionary biography which so often allots the secondary position in missionization. Secondly, natives had an important role in mission work. They were preachers, mediators, innovators, power brokers and opposers. Many played a vital role in spreading Christianity. Their histories are not only worth telling, but we *need* to know more about their contributions to understand fully the nature of religious interaction in nineteenth-century British Columbia. And thirdly, we have to remember that Christianity was

accepted on native terms. British Columbia's native peoples made their own choices; they had their own agendas. Some borrowed ideas, some used Christian teachings according to their own needs, some adapted European religion and placed it within a native cultural context. Others rejected and resisted Christianity entirely. And many accepted it whole heartily. Acceptance, however, did not necessarily mean replacing older, indigenous beliefs. Nineteenth-century religious encounters in British Columbia were more than merely the meeting of the shaman and the missionary.

Endnotes

1. I gratefully acknowledge funding provided by a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Doctoral Fellowship and from a History Scholarship given by the Foundation to Commemorate the Chinese Railroad Workers in Canada. I also thank Dr. A.J. Ray, D. Marshall, L. Perry for comments and encouragement.

2. The nature of religious native-white relations seems to be evoking a renewed interest among Canadian scholars. As I have already suggested, these encounters have often been addressed rather narrowly. The most common approaches are missionary biographies (see, for example, Jean Usher, *William Duncan of Metlakatla: A Victorian Missionary in BC* [Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1974]; David Mulhall, *Will to Power: The Missionary Career of Father Morice* [Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986]; Clarence Bolt, *Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian: Small Shoes for Feet Too Large* [Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992]), histories of a single church or denomination in a particular region (for example, Margaret Whitehead, *The Cariboo Mission: A History of the Oblates* [Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1981]; Frank A. Peake, *The Anglican Church in British Columbia* [Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1959]; Palmer Patterson III, *Mission on the Nass: The Evangelization of the Nishga (1860-1887)* (Waterloo: Eulachon Press, 1982]), and ethnographic studies of the decline of traditional native religion within a single tribe or culture group (for example, Diamond Jenness, *The Faith of a Coast Salish Indian* [Victoria: BC Provincial Museum, 1955]; Robin Ridington, *Swan People: A Study of the Dunne-za Prophet Dance* [Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1978]; John James Collins, *Native American Religions: A Geographical Survey* [Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991]). For the most part, this religious interaction has also remained apart from mainstream Canadian religious or church history, in the same way native history is often regarded as separate from Canadian historiography. Recently, however, new approaches have begun to yield fuller and more inclusive interpretations of these encounters. It is

encouraging, as anthropologist John Barker has noted how "scholars have . . . [now] begun to study mission influences on native settlement patterns, religious ideas, gender, feasts, religious movements, and land claims" (John Barker, "Bibliography of Missionary Activities and Religious Change in Northwest Coast Societies," *Northwest Anthropological Research Notes* 22, No. 1 [Spring 1988]: 13).

3. Terence Turner, "Ethno-Ethnohistory: Myth and History in Native South American Representations of Contact with Western Society," in *Rethinking History and Myth: South American Perspectives on the Past*, ed. Jonathan D. Hill (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 240-241.

4. Laurence C. Thompson and M. Dale Kinkade, "Languages," in *Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 7, Northwest Coast*, ed. Wayne Suttles (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 30-51; Marlita A. Reddy, ed., *Statistical Record of Native North Americans* (Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1993).

5. Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 62.

6. However, as much as Grant describes the "taming" of native beliefs, he is also careful to examine native participation in this process.

7. Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977).

8. Robin Fisher, "Missions of the Indians of British Columbia," in *Early Indian Village Churches: Wooden Frontier Architecture in British Columbia*, eds., John Veilette and Gary White (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977), 3.

9. Wilson Duff, *The Indian History of British Columbia, Vol. 1, The Impact of the White Man*, Anthropology in British Columbia, Memoir No. 5 (Victoria: Provincial Museum of British Columbia, 1977), 87. The Department of Indian Affairs census of 1900 which reported of the nearly 25,000 estimated natives in British Columbia, 19,504 were called Christian. Only 2,696 remained "pagan," while 2,900 were of unknown religious affiliation (Department of Indian Affairs, Annual Report [1900], cited by Fisher, "Missions of the Indians in British Columbia," 10).

10. Few seem to have drawn on this larger context for studies on British Columbia missions, whereas the literature on native North American prophet movements draws heavily on an international and multi-disciplinary literature.

11. Greg Dening, “Priests and Prophets,” chapter in *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land, Marquesas 1774-1880* (Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1980); Jonathan D. Hill, ed., *Rethinking History and Myth: Indigenous Perspectives on the Past* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988); John Barker, ed., *Christianity in Oceania: Ethnographic Perspectives* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990); Geoffrey White, *Identity Through History: Living Stories in A Solomon Island Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge U Press, 1991); Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Robert W. Hefner, ed., *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

12. Citing Antonio R. Gualtieri, “Indigenization of Christianity and Syncretism among the Indians and Inuit of the Western Arctic,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 12, No. 1 (1980): 57, as paraphrased in Sergei Kan, “Russian Orthodox Brotherhoods Among the Tlingit: Missionary Goals and Native Response,” *Ethnohistory* 32, No. 3 (1985): 196.

13. Bolt, *Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian*. See my review of Bolt in *The Graduate* (UBC) XVII, No. 4 (April 1993).

14. Jean-Guy Goulet, “Religious Dualism Among Athapaskan Catholics,” *Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 3, No. 1 (Fall 1982): 1-18; and Antonio R. Gualtieri, “Indigenization of Christianity and Syncretism Among Indians and Inuit of the Western Arctic,” 47-57.

15. Perhaps it has just been my choice of books. In his introduction to *Christianity in Oceania*, John Barker suggests quite the opposite for South Pacific studies: “several anthropologists have called for studies of ‘missionization’ in recent years and some have published innovative ethnohistorical studies of conversion in a number of societies. But few have attempted ethnographic appraisals of Christianity as it is currently experienced and practised in Pacific societies” (1).

16. Several scholars (Bruce Trigger, James Axtell, Francis Jennings) have promoted the use of ethnohistory in the study of native-white relations. Much of the discussion on ethnohistory appears in the journal by the same name.

17. Goulet argues “that two religious systems, one aboriginal, the other Christian, are generally socially available and meaningful to aboriginals” (“Religious Dualism Among Athapaskan Catholics,” 1-18). However, much of his research (as is the case with similar explorations by anthropologists) is based on ethnographic descriptions and a cultural analysis of events experienced by

living Athapaskans where clarification and uncovering of religious expression or belief may be made directly with the individuals involved. I will attempt a similar inquiry from written documents, which poses a particular problem since most are derived from the "outsider" perspective alone.

18. The work of James Axtell and Robert F. Berkhofer Jr. writing about missions in the eastern United States come to mind, although a few ordained native Canadian missionaries have received biographical attention: e.g., Katherine Pettipas, ed., *Diary of the Reverend Henry Budd, 1870-1875* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Record Society, 1974); Donald B. Smith, *Sacred Feathers – The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987). For an examination of how native individuals differed in their approaches and attitudes towards mission-work see Nora Jaffary, "'The labours of native missionaries': Peter Jones, Allan Salt, Peter Jacobs, and George Copway – Methodist Missionaries in Nineteenth-Century Ontario," unpublished paper, University of Toronto, 1993.

19. Hilary Eileen Rumley, "Reactions to Contact and Colonization: An Interpretation of Religious and Social Change Among Indians of British Columbia," M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1973; Clarence Bolt, "The Conversion of the Post Simpson Tsimshian: Indian Control or Missionary Manipulation?" *BC Studies* 57 (Spring 1983): 38-56; Andrew Rettig, "A Nativistic Movement at Metlakatla," *BC Studies* 46 (Summer 1980): 28-39; Oliver R. Howard, "Fire in the Belly: A Brief Introduction to a few of the Methodist Men and Women who presented the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the Natives of British Columbia," *Papers of the Canadian Methodist Historical Society* 8 (1990): 223-243.

20. In her thesis on the mission work of the Church Missionary Society at Red River, historian Winona Stevenson explored the contributions of native catechists in Western Canada. Her conclusions suggest avenues of possible inquiry for the British Columbia region. For example, the CMS at Red River was driven to utilize native workers for practical financial considerations than a desire to develop a native ministry. She also found that missionaries of Metis or "country-born" heritage were more likely to be posted as assistants to Euro-Canadian missionaries, whereas "Indian catechists" were often sent alone to establish a mission station in the field. Could similar observations be made about British Columbia's missionization? My ongoing research aims, in part, to address the inadequate recognition of these native catechists in church historiography (see Winona L. Stevenson, "The Church Missionary Society Red River Mission and the Emergence of a Native Ministry 1820-1860, with a Case Study of Charles Pratt of Touchwood Hill," M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1988; Winona L. Stevenson, "'Our

Man in the Field': The Status and Role of a CMS Native Catechist in Rupert's Land," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 33 [April 1991]: 65-78).

21. For good discussions of how Venn's policies were utilized by missionaries to natives in Canada, see David A. Nock, "Wilson, Venn, and the Church Missionary Society: A Policy of Cultural Synthesis," in *A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy: Cultural Synthesis vs. Cultural Replacement* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, for the Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion, 1988), 33-66; and Jean Usher, "Apostles and Aborigines: The Social Theory of the Church Missionary Society," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 7 (April 1971): 28-52.

22. Crosby is probably the best known of the Methodist missionaries of the B.C. region. Crosby worked extensively among the Coast Salish in the 1860s before moving to the North Coast in 1874 where he served until his retirement in 1897.

23. William Henry Pierce, *From Potlatch to Pulpit: Being the Autobiography of the Rev. William Henry Pierce, Native Missionary to the Indian Tribes of the Northwest Coast of British Columbia*, ed., Rev. J.P. Hicks (Vancouver: Vancouver Bindery Ltd., 1933), 8. For brief biographical sketches of Pierce (and other native missionaries) see Howard, "Fire in the Belly," 229-230.

24. Pierce, *From Potlatch to Pulpit*, 16.

25. Thomas Crosby, *David Sallosalton* (Toronto: William Briggs, n.d.); Thomas Crosby, *Among the An-ko-me-nums or Flathead Tribes of Indians of the Pacific Coast* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1907), 209-223.

26. Crosby includes a brief account of Sallosalton's sermon and audience reaction in *Among the An-ko-me-nums*, 210-213.

27. Crosby, *Among the An-ko-me-nums*, 215-217.

28. Anthony Wallace, "Revitalization Movements" *American Anthropologist* LVIII (1956); abridged version in William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt, eds., *Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthropological Approach*, 4th ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1982), 422.

29. In the course of my review of the historiography on revitalization movements many questions about the importance of notions of time and culture, and the significance of contact itself illuminated the differences in how anthropologists, historians and ethnohistorians handle the topic. Anthropologists (certainly the most prolific writers on revitalization movements) emphasize the form and process of prophesy, i.e., narrative structures or the now dated

concept of acculturation. Historians are more attentive to the specific circumstances, i.e., the historical context out of which these movements arise. Ethnohistorians, combining ethnological and historical sources and methods to explain change in native cultures, have contributed new perspectives on prophesy. Similarly, recent research by sociologists and work being done with folklore analysis, oral history and on prophets/witches in other cultures (e.g., Africa, Melanesia) serves to further our understanding of this phenomenon.

30. Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance* (Menasha, WI: George Banta Publishing, 1935).

31. Wayne Suttles, "The Plateau Prophet Dance among the Coast Salish," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 13, No. 4 (Winter 1957): 352-396; Robin Ridington, *The Swan People: A Study of the Dunne-za Prophet Dance* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1978), along with more recent works, *Trail to Heaven: Knowledge and Narrative in a Northern Native Community* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1988), and *Little Bit Know Something: Stories in a Language of Anthropology* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1990).

32. I want to make it very clear that my interpretation of prophets as connected to the religious encounters between Christian missionaries and native spirituality is only *one* among many. Prophets played, and continue to play, many different roles, and I by no means intend my perspective to be all inclusive. Rather, the view of prophets as one of two religious mediators is exclusive; it is a model useful to my research and not intended to be universal or definitive.

33. Also called Beni, Beeney, Peni, the Bulkley River Prophet or the Carrier Prophet.

34. Marius Barbeau, *Indian Days in the Canadian Rockies* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1923), 17-58; Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest*, 62-631; Diamond Jenness, *The Carrier Indians of the Bulkley River: Their Social and Religious Life*, Anthropological Paper No. 25 from the Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 133 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1943), 547-559; Jay Miller, "Tsimshian Religion in Historical Perspective: Shamans, Prophets and Christ," in *The Tsimshian and Their Neighbours of the North Pacific Coast*, eds., Jay Miller and Carol M. Eastman (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984), 137-147.

35. A.G. Morice, *The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia* (Smithers, BC: Interior Stationary Ltd., 1978), 239-240.

36. It is unclear exactly when during the nineteenth century this took place because Bini had a number of disciples and imitators who took his name. Some suggest Bini gained influence around 1800, although between the 1820s to the 1840s seems most likely. Several accounts pinpoint his final death in the 1870s.

37. Bini was known as far north as Haines Alaska, as far south as Vancouver Island, and as far east as the plains over the Rockies (Barbeau, *Indian Days*, 42; and Jay Miller, "Tsimshian Religion in Historical Perspective," 142).

38. Percy S. Cohen, "Theories of Myth," *Man* 4, No. 3 (1969): 351-352.

39. Jenness, *The Carrier Indians of the Bulkley River*, 553.

40. Jenness, *The Carrier Indians of the Bulkey River*, 557.

The Form Without the Power? Wesleyan Influences and the Winnipeg Labour Church

JOANNE CARLSON BROWN

> I am not afraid that the people called Methodists should ever cease to exist either in Europe or America. But I am afraid, lest they should exist as a dead sect, having the form of religion without the power.[1]

John Wesley's often quoted fear has clear meaning when examining the Methodist Church in Canada and its involvement in the social gospel. Many have argued that the social gospel's theology is shallow, based on discredited liberal theology and that churches who fell into its spell sold out their theological foundations for a liberal progressive secularism. The Labour Church movement in Canada has been uniformly so critiqued. The Methodist clergy who founded and led the Labour Church had abandoned their Methodist heritage and the result was a "church" in form only – one that lacked any power at all. The leaders of the Labour Church, however, were equally insistent that the Methodist Church had lost its power by acquiescing to the capitalist society in which they found themselves in twentieth-century Canada.

No denomination in Canada was more actively involved in the twentieth-century social gospel movement than was Methodism. Despite its growing support for the goals of the social gospel movement as reflected in its official statements, many of the denomination's social gospel leaders left the church for politics and to establish a Labour Church movement in Canada. Both of these Methodist factions are heirs of John Wesley. By examining the development, theology and actions of these

movements and churches an insight into the value and use of an eighteenth-century reformer's thought for addressing twentieth or twenty-first century issues can be gleaned.

Methodism in Canada developed from two streams of Methodism. The first was from Britain in the form of Wesleyan Methodists. The second, from the United States came from two sources: one arrived with the British Empire Loyalists who fled America during and following the American Revolution; the second, later stream, came from the Methodist Episcopal Church in America which dominated the development of Methodism in Upper Canada and the western territories. Each of these streams brought their version of Wesley's teachings to Canadian Methodism. But their main focus was satisfying the religious needs of the settlers in their part of the world. They found many people who had been involved with some religious group before coming to this land. They also found many who had not heard the good news of the Bible; included in this latter group were the native peoples of Canada. With all these groups of people, the Methodists saw it as their duty to bring the saving grace of God into their lives. It was a matter of saving souls.

With the large number of people involved and the long distances to be travelled (due to the remoteness of the places where the settlers lived), the task of ministering to the people was tremendous. One of the ways that the task was accomplished, with the limited human resources available, was through camp meetings. "These meetings proved mighty agencies in keeping before the people the doctrine of forgiveness of sin, not as a theory, but as a conscious experience, attested by the Holy Spirit."[2] A significant aspect of the meetings was the emphasis placed on Wesley's doctrine of entire sanctification or holiness. Methodism's distinguishing doctrine was held high, a doctrine that people treasured and did not want to lose. Included in this is the fact that it was a conscious experience. These points were again emphasized when in October/November 1871 it was noted that "Methodists believe in the experience of religion, the knowledge of sins forgiven, and the witness of the Spirit."[3]

Camp meetings were one way to keep the people true, but something was needed to provide spiritual nurturing on a regular basis. This was accomplished through the class-meeting as it had been done in Britain. Both of these phenomenon were part of the general overall movement of revivalism which was central to Canadian Methodism. Revivalism in fact became the hallmark particularly of nineteenth-century Canadian Metho-

dism. Even though camp-meetings and class-meetings declined, the sense of revivalism remained alive in people but in a quieter way.

This quieter experience was emerging under the impact of education. "From 1854 to 1884 the Methodist Church was 'transformed from a select body of converts into a far reaching social institution.'"[4] As Canadian Methodists developed their institutional church, Canada was also growing and struggling with its own institutional and social identity. At the time of confederation in 1867 Methodism was the largest of the Protestant denominations in Canada. It was the "national" church of Canada and it felt keenly its responsibility. Thus its heritage and its sense of calling and duty led the Canadian Methodist Church to the forefront of the social gospel movement.

Canada was behind both Britain and the United States in becoming an industrialized society. Its economic situation post-confederation was confused and depressed. The turning of the century brought the industrial revolution to Canada.

> After 1900 market forces, capital, new technologies, and mergers combined to produce a Canadian version of the "big business" that we think of as part of the nineteenth century in other industrialized nations. The "Laurier boom," fuelled by Canada's natural resource industry, brought almost uninterrupted economic growth between 1900 and 1913. The long awaited immigrants finally arrived to fill the prairies . . . News of large profits was commonplace and there seemed to be no end to prosperity. Laurier's boast that this would be "Canada's century" suddenly seemed to have more substance than most election promises.[5]

With this prosperity came the development of competitive capitalism to Canadian business, altering not only the business sector but also Canadian society. The middle-class grew as did the class of industrialists. The size of the cities swelled with immigrants and folks lured in from the rural areas by the promises of prosperity. Slums and poverty grew along side prosperity. A vigorous organizational program by labour groups developed with a large number of workers becoming unionized in order to strive more effectively for a fuller share in the developing prosperity.

The churches in Canada also took note of the new patterns of economic and social life and began to exhibit an awareness of the need for a new ethical witness which would demonstrate the relevance of the Christian gospel to the contemporary situation and assist in promoting the

ends of justice and human welfare. In the midst of this movement was the Methodist Church. The social problems which accompanied the nation's economic and social transformation was one of the factors which pulled the Methodist Church into the social gospel movement. Methodists were particularly affected by the rural migration to the cities. A large number of those migrants were Methodist. The church felt deeply the need to keep them from feeling alienated from the church and as a result turning to secular socialism. The early responses to these "new" problems were city missions, institutional churches and settlement houses. The social Christianity that was "preached" and practised in these organizations did much to develop the practical theology of the Methodist social gospel.

But there was also an internal motivation for Methodist involvement in the social gospel movement. The Christian perfection revival pietism which was so crucial to Methodist identity called Methodists to transform the society as they themselves had been transformed. It was a message that John Wesley had preached and lived and which was still alive in the Methodist movement.

This was not a cut and dried proposition, however. As Phyllis Airhart ably describes in her book, *Serving the Present Age*, the revival movement split and the more quietistic holiness groups joined Methodists in claiming souls for Christ but with a very different social agenda. Methodists began to critique these "new kids on the block" and asserted the intimate connection between religion and everyday life. E.H. Dewart, editor of the *Christian Guardian*, the Methodist newspaper in Canada, and a strong supporter of special revival services and the holiness movement, expresses this sentiment in an editorial entitled "Some Dangerous Tendencies" when he labelled the separation of religion and lived experience as a dangerous tendency. In this editorial he was arguing with the position that nothing one could do affected one's salvation.[6] His successor, W.B. Creighton, who took over as editor in 1906, wrote editorials suggesting that if the kingdom was to come, political participation was sometimes as important as attending prayer service, teaching Sunday School, or giving to the Church. "The religion that cleanses the city slums, purifies the politics of the state . . . was the real and only type of religion that is worth considering."[7]

This involvement in the social gospel was evident not only in church publications, but also in the official statements made by the church. Throughout the 1880s the responses to labour unrest reflected the more

individualistic aspect of revivalism. Collective forms of action for labour such as unionization and strikes were viewed with coolness or hostility, and as late as 1894 urban poverty was attributed to "indolence and intemperance" although "unsatisfactory economic conditions" were also held partially responsible. Yet the creation of a Committee on Sociological Questions in 1894 showed that Methodists were beginning to consider environmental factors in the human condition. In 1898 the Committee acknowledged that the city posed a special challenge for the individual and that social and economic forces contributed to an individual's moral and economic circumstances. Accordingly, unionization and strikes were now recognized as legitimate methods by which workers could seek an improvement in their condition, a recognition that their efforts as individuals were sometimes insufficient. In 1906 the General Conference accepted committee reports which were virtually proclamations of the social gospel. Canadian society was condemned as being "far from an ideal expression of the Christian Brotherhood," and the church was challenged "to set up the Kingdom of God among men, which we understand to be a social order founded upon the principles of the Gospel – the Golden Rule and the Sermon on the Mount." General Conference recommendations for 1906, 1910 and 1914 included an eight-hour day for labour and any form of public ownership which would enrich both the community and the individual; it was assumed that the new social order ultimately would "be made possible through the regeneration of men's lives." Similarly, while willing to use the state as an instrument for social change, the General Conference policy statements placed greater weight on philanthropy, charity and the willingness of individual businessmen to regard fair labour practices as moral obligations. This shows the vestiges of the traditional Methodist approach to reform – through the individual to the society. There is a radical shift in the 1918 General Conference. In its reports are found a rejection of the capitalist system stemming from a conviction that the idea of changing society by changing individual minds and spirits had to be abandoned in the face of "moral perils inherent in the system of production for profits." It was becoming clear that in Canada more and more Methodists were convinced that the mission of Methodism was to spread scriptural holiness by reforming the nation.

They found support for this altered standard phrase even in John Wesley. For these revival social gospel Methodists, John Wesley was no longer merely a revivalist but a social reformer with the world as his

parish. It was Wesley, not Moody, whom the Methodists credited with having inspired them to join Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the "new evangelism."[8] Even secular historians acknowledge Wesley's influence on the Canadian Methodist social gospel movement.

> True to the strong social gospel of the founder, no circuit rider neglected man's duty to his neighbour. The Methodists became a people with a deep social conscience, the leaders in all movements of social progress. Though they might not then realize it, that road led straight to politics and if they were to be true to their faith, to the left wing in politics. Some interesting phenomena in Canadian life spring from this.[9]

Many prominent Methodists of the time grounded their work in the social gospel in Wesley's thought. James Henderson, a clergyman in Ontario, most notably at Timothy Eaton Memorial one of Toronto's largest churches, was convinced that Wesley's assumption that Christianity impinged on all aspects of life, including the social, still provided the strongest basis for social action: "I do not say we must preach just as Wesley did, but I say we must preach the same old Gospel in terms of the evangelical thinker today."[10] Wesley's emphasis on Christian Perfection and holiness as lived experiences which transformed people who in turn transformed society, as well as his strong emphasis on perfect love, was what Canadian Methodists understood as the basis of their faith and action, their Christian ethics. Wesley's ideas on theology and social justice spurred Canadian Methodists on to be involved in the social gospel movement. His influence pervaded the church press, conference pronouncements, prominent preachers and theological professors. All this could not fail to influence the Methodist in the pew. And it did create Canadian Methodism's progressive revivalism which moved naturally into social gospel. But for some Methodists, the church was not going far enough in its work and support for the poor, the oppressed, the workers, the marginalized. These folks clashed with official Methodism and some left or were dismissed. But they did not leave their Methodism behind, nor did they shake off the influence of John Wesley. It was these folks who formed the Labour Church in Winnipeg.

The economic situation in Winnipeg was reflective of the growth of the earlier part of the century followed by economic recession during and following the war. A Royal Commission appointed to consider the causes of labour unrest in Winnipeg reported some important findings. It estim-

ated that between 1914 to 1919 the cost of living rose 80% while wages climbed only 18%. It indicated that while the minimum wage board of Manitoba had estimated that an individual woman would require $12 per week in order to support herself and secure the bare necessities of subsistence, one man testified that he was working seven days a week, 12 hours a day for $20 per week to support his family of five children. Other men reported working 74 hours a week for $55 a month.[11]

These conditions as well as their controversial pacifism led a number of prominent Methodist clergy to form and lead the Labour Church in Winnipeg. The Labour Church movement had antecedents in Britain and the States as well as some similar moves in Canada. G.S. Eby, a Canadian Methodist minister, former missionary and literary contributor to the holiness movement, became disillusioned with the holiness movement in Canada. In an article in the *Guardian* he remarked, "holiness has degenerated into a badge of cranks, or the experience of a few." He praised the more effective holiness of Hugh Price Hughes in England.[12] His solution was to organize a Socialist church in Toronto in 1909.

The Labour Church in Winnipeg was organized by William Ivens following his dismissal from the pulpit of McDougall Methodist Church in Winnipeg for his radical views – especially his staunch pacifism. He had accepted the editorship of the *Western Labour News*, but still felt called to preach. On 8 July 1918 Ivens started the Church in the Labour Temple. The church had many guest speakers, among them the most prominent of the social gospel Methodists: J.S. Woodsworth (who took over as General Secretary and organizer in 1921); Salem Bland; A.E. Smith (Iven's former pastor and President of the Manitoba Conference); and F.J. Dixon (M.L.A.). These folks along with the Labour Church would soon become deeply involved in the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919. A full discussion of the strike is beyond the scope of this paper, but it focused the issues and provided a rallying point for the new Church.

> The Winnipeg strike was . . . under the leadership of men who had had their views formed in British left-wing Labour circles, with co-operation from some who through Methodism had been deeply moved at the spectacle of injustice . . . Most of these latter trained in Wesley College Winnipeg, the Methodist Arts and Theological foundation in the University of Manitoba, a college which took the teachings of Christ seriously enough to father a remarkably large share of the movement for social justice in Canada.[13]

All the above mentioned folks were connected to Wesley College and the influence of their Methodist theology and practices is clear in the Labour Church.

The Labour Church was announced as a creedless church, but it was said to be founded on the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Its aim was "the establishment of justice and righteousness on earth, among all men and nations," and its motto was "If any man will not work, neither shall he eat."[14] The meetings opened with devotional exercises, "more or less after the Methodist form" but the platform was open to anyone with a message and there was considerable freedom of discussion. The Church was composed chiefly of Labour people and it came to be a rallying place for the more idealistic type of radical thought.[15] The Labour Church's organization strongly resembled a Methodist church. The Labour Church held regular Sunday meetings, conducted Sunday Schools, organized Young People's Societies, Women's Guilds, a Sick Visiting Committee, and choirs. Some of its more unique activities were Teacher's Training Classes, Economics Classes and orchestras.[16]

The Labour Church has been criticised for having little or no theological base. This is an unfair and biased assessment. The Labour Church did not want to be a creedal Church, that is true, but neither did Wesley lay down creeds for his new movement. They did not even want to build up an institution – again akin to Wesley's commitment to developing societies not a new church. Woodsworth is clear that they had strong beliefs and standards: "while the Labour Church refuses to be bound by dogmas we believe it is essentially in line with the teachings and spirit of Jesus of Nazareth. Most of us gladly, if humbly, acknowledge his leadership and inspiration."[17]

The Labour Church was the fastest growing church in Canada. Within six months of its founding its membership had grown to 4,000. In June 1919 in the middle of the strike no building in Winnipeg could hold the congregation. At its service in Victoria Park, 10,000 were estimated to be in attendance. During 1919, nine branch congregations developed in Winnipeg alone.[18] The Labour Church had become a movement of the people guided by these renegade Methodists. But it was not without its problems. The Church had folks who identified themselves as Christian as well as folks who had abandoned religion and were Marxist. Woodsworth tells of an incident revolving around Sunday School.

> The parents who had taken their children from the "regular" Sunday School, decided that they must have one of their own . . . We got the teachers together. They didn't know what to teach. One group said: "We don't like to give up the Bible and the old teachings altogether. There is some good in the old, but we want a new application." The other group said: "We're tired of that old dope. We want to teach the children Marxian economics." Then one man made a happy suggestion: "Don't you think you could mix them a bit?" That put in a crude way, is the position of the majority. They want the teachings of Jesus applied to the complex condition of our modern industrial life. They are reaching after a viewpoint different from that of either Orthodox Christianity or Orthodox Marxism.[19]

This, in essence, is the Labour Church and in fact is the social gospel, the teachings of Jesus applied to today's conditions. It was Wesley's program too. The Labour Church did put a spin on everything they did. For example, one of the preachers at the Labour Church used the following text: "Seek ye first God's Kingdom" – a Kingdom of justice and love – other things – jobs and wages – will be added.[20]

In order to assess fully the influence Wesley had on the Labour Church it is necessary to look at the theology and actions of the principle organizers. The length of this paper precludes an in depth study of these men, but it is hoped that the brief discussions of each will give a sense of Wesleyan influence.

William Ivens was born at Baford in Warwickshire, England on 28 June 1878. He came to Canada in 1896 and for a time worked as a market gardener in Winnipeg. He attended McDougall Methodist Church and was admitted to full membership in 1904. He attended Wesley College and was ordained into the Methodist ministry in 1909. After ordination he served rural pastorates until 1916 when he became minister of his home church, McDougall Methodist, Winnipeg. He was dismissed from McDougall in 1918 but did not leave the Methodist ministry as he was granted a leave for one year. In 1919 he applied for further leave to work at the Labour Church; this was denied. The decision was taken to the court of appeal of the Methodist Church of Canada where the decision was upheld. Ivens was arrested for his role in the 1919 strike and spent a year in jail. He was later elected to the Manitoba legislature in 1920 while still in prison. He was re-elected in subsequent elections. Following his defeat in 1936 he became an organizer for the CCF Party in Manitoba and throughout the remainder

of his life was an untiring writer and advocate of socialism. He died in June 1957 at the age of 79.

Ivens was committed to what he understood as the Methodist cause. And in a real sense he felt betrayed by that same Methodist Church to which he had given his life. At his appeal trial the Rev. John A. Haw spoke in his defense and expressed the sentiment of a number of reforming folks within the church.

> William Ivens is not on trial. But the Manitoba Conference is on trial; and the whole character of Methodism is on trial; and the genuineness of our desire to readjust ourselves to the people we have lost is on trial. For here is the first case of a minister risking his position to carry the Gospel to a class who, owing to a social position, are disinherited and despoiled.[21]

This sounds like a young Anglican priest who risked his position and received the scorn of his church for carrying the gospel to the disinherited and despoiled. Indeed Ivens' own reflection on his circumstances echoes Wesley. In his sermon on the second anniversary of the Labour Church Ivens summed up his and the church's mission:

> two years ago circumstances rather than choice compelled us to move forward from the static Orthodox Church into the untrodden field of the Labour Church Movement. We had to choose between the respectability of a formal movement, controlled not by the spirit of Christ so much as by the powers of finance, custom and ritual religion, and a new movement that would be misrepresented and maligned, but that represented a truer interpretation of the essentials of real religion. We made that choice; we found a home, not in a finely ornamented building with towers and spires, but in the commodious Temple of Labour in Winnipeg. From that first hour the response of Labour to the new interpretation of a religion for life and men rather than for death and angels was spontaneous and whole-souled . . . We have proven that while the masses of people were turning away from the established churches, they were not turning away from religion as such. It seemed then increasingly clear that our movement was divinely inspired and that in the future the heart of humanity would respond to our ministries . . . Pressed though we have been by government, financial and religious opposition; circumscribed as have been our efforts by lack of adequately prepared speakers; cramped as we have been by the persistent refusal of those in power to accord us places in which to meet, yet our movement has deepened and enlarged.[22]

This report, again, echoes Wesley's journal entries describing his trials and tribulations as he tried to carry out his call. This could not have been lost on Ivens.

Ivens' condemnation of wealth and critique of the state of the church again reminds one of Wesley:

> God requires justice, not ceremonialism. The church is fast losing its hold. The conviction is growing that the Church is controlled by wealth in the interests of reaction. It has lent itself to the government and has fostered the worst instead of the best in the hearts of the people. It has crushed free thought and expression by expelling its prophets and lauding its priests. The need is for a religion based on the Christianity of Christ. Inertia and formalism must go, and a religion throbbing with justice must take its place. Then, and then only, will civilization rise to its great objective, the brotherhood of man. Then, and then only, will peace replace war, competition give place to co-operation, and love to hate.[23]

Ivens was also the hymn writer for the Labour Church. He set to music the principles and theology of the Labour Church. It was his texts that were sung with enthusiasm at meetings, reported observers and news articles covering the meetings. The fourth verse of the Labour Anthem which Ivens wrote for the second anniversary gives voice to the primary principle of the social gospel movement and lifts up Wesleyan justice themes as well.

> Hasten Thy Kingdom, Lord,
> When men of one accord
> Shall do the right;
> When profits curse no more,
> Strife, hate and war are o'er,
> Love's banner goes before,
> God bless our cause.[24]

J.S. Woodsworth is the major figure in the Canadian social gospel. He was born on a farm near Islington, Ontario in 1874. His father was a Methodist minister and Superintendent of Methodist missions for Manitoba and the Northwest with a territory of 2,000 miles from the Lakehead to Vancouver Island. J.S. received his B.A at Wesley College in 1896 and his B.D. from Victoria, Toronto three years later. Following this he did a year's post-graduate study at Oxford. In 1900 he was ordained into the

Methodist ministry. He served rural churches, then moved to Grace Methodist in Winnipeg. He then was appointed to direct All People's Mission in Winnipeg. He resigned from the ministry in 1918 after two previous attempts to do so had been turned down by the Conference, and worked as a long-shoreman for a year in British Columbia. He then came back to Winnipeg and was involved in the Labour movement and the Labour Church. He was elected to Parliament from Winnipeg in 1921, a position he held until his death in 1942. He was one of the founders of the CCF Party in 1932. His major contribution to Canada was helping the country develop a social conscience.[25]

Woodsworth was an intelligent person who struggled with ideas and actions his whole life. He based his social principles on his experiences, especially the time he spent at the Mansfield Settlement House in London in 1899. He felt his experiences were the foundation of his beliefs, and this he felt led him away from the ministry of the Methodist church.

> In this matter of personal experience lies the root of the difficulty. My experience has not been what among Methodists is considered normal. From earliest childhood, I was taught the love of God, and have endeavoured to be a follower of Jesus. My experience has determined my theology, and my theology my attitude toward the Discipline. And all three, according to our Standards, are un-Methodistical.[26]

Woodsworth here is referring to the fact that he had never had a conversion experience and felt this placed him outside the bounds of Methodist standards. He also had many reservations about basic orthodox Christian doctrines such as the Trinity, the atonement, the sacraments and the articles of religion. After outlining his concerns he concludes, "I still maintain my loyalty to our common Master. I still feel the call to service . . . If it were possible I would still be willing to work under the direction of the Methodist Church."[27] His resignation letter was rejected on the grounds that there was not enough basis. The wide interpretation of doctrine in the Methodist tradition had come into play. Woodsworth's resignation was accepted in 1918, not because of doctrinal issues but because of his radical pacifist stance and his critique of the church. "The church, as many other institutions, is becoming increasingly commercialized. This means the control of the policies of the church by men of wealth, and in many cases, the temptations for the minister to become a financial agent rather than a moral and spiritual leader. It also means that anything like a radical

programme of social reform becomes almost impossible."[28]

At first glance it may seem that Woodsworth is far from Wesley. It is true that his theology differs greatly from Wesley in doctrinal matters but Wesley continued to have an influence as Woodsworth developed his practical theology within the social gospel movement. Woodsworth took history very seriously and used many historical references in his speeches and writing. He had two different series of lecture notes in his files based on De Gibbons, *English Social Reformers*.[29] It is telling which people Woodsworth selected for special attention: William Langland, Thomas More, William Wilberforce, Richard Oastler, Lord Shaftsbury, Robert Owen, Thomas Carlyle, Charles Kingsley, F.D. Maurice and John Ruskin. Woodsworth had a special section in his notes for the Wesleys who were specially raised up for their fight to counteract the coarseness and brutality of eighteenth-century industrial Britain. He used Wesley to undergird his social action.

> Christian perfection, personal holiness, entire sanctification are familiar phrases in the ears of all Methodists. But how about social perfection? What of God's place in the world? The current idea is that there are two kingdoms more or less antagonistic – the Kingdom of heaven and the Kingdom of this world. Do we not need a second Wesley to insist that light must and can banish darkness, that He must reign until He hath put all his enemies under his feet?[30]

A new Wesley, indeed. For Woodsworth, Wesley's message and actions were crucial if society was to act in a godly and just manner. Indeed, Woodsworth's writings constantly echo Wesley.

> A curse still hangs over inactivity. A severe condemnation still rests upon indifference. Christianity stands for social righteousness as well as personal righteousness. It is quite right for me to be anxious to save my never dying soul, but it is of greater importance to try to serve the present age. Indeed, my friend, you will save your own precious soul only as you give your life in the service of others. We have tried to provide for the poor. Yet have we tried to alter the social conditions that lead to poverty?[31]

Woodsworth's theology was intricately intertwined with his work for the poor, the labourer, the marginalized. He worked to overturn the structures that kept people in grinding poverty. The articles of faith he

developed for the All People's Mission reflect this clearly: "We believe,"

> 1. Pauperism can be eliminated.
> 2. Poverty is curable.
> 3. Both pauperism and poverty can be prevented.
> 4. In order to eliminate the one, cure the other, and prevent both, individual sentimentality must make way for enlightened sympathy and co-operative social effort.
> 5. Attempts to treat a poverty-sick man without finding out the cause of his poverty are like unto the efforts put forth to cure a fever-stricken patient without diagnosis. The one is the method of the charity quack, the other the method of the medical quack. Both cause mischief. There is no cure in either instance.
> 6. On account of the complicated neighbourhood, industrial, social and economic conditions in a large city, special knowledge and training and special personal fitness are called for in those who would deal effectively with human wreckage.
> 7. Careful attention to the condition of the children of the poor is absolutely necessary in the effort to reduce the volume of future poverty.
> 8. While scrutiny of the personal causes of poverty is important, still without the examination and remedying of social and economic causes little advance will be made in the campaign against misery, want, disease and death.
> 9. Winnipeg can have just as much beggary, poverty and pauperism as she is willing to pay for and can have just as much freedom from beggary, poverty and pauperism as she is willing to work for.[32]

This work was undergirded by a theology based on the teachings of Jesus. If you look around you and see poverty and ignorance and vice does that mean that the work of Jesus had been a failure? "No! His work had to be carried a step further – a step nearer completion – by each generation."[33] In fact, Woodsworth was clear that the teachings of Jesus had been such a strong influence on his life that they forced him to break with the church, which though it called itself Christian, "sanctioned the war; strong enough to lead me to denounce the present social system as out of harmony with the teaching and spirit of the Carpenter of Nazareth."[34] The work of the carpenter must be done by each generation and must be done by each person: these convictions were shared by both Wesley and Woodsworth. "How can I help? Begin by trying to meet the nearest need. That need reveals one still deeper and soon you reach a great social problem. Work at that and the whole field of social service opens up to you. Help

effectively one man and you lift the world."[35] Woodsworth exhorted his generation with same the power and conviction that his Methodist founder had exhorted his. Woodsworth may have resigned from the Methodist ministry but he did not lose his Methodist conscience or his Wesleyan influences.

Like Woodsworth, Salem Bland was the son of a prominent Methodist minister. He began his ministry in 1880. In 1903 he was persuaded by J.S. Sparling, President of Wesley College, to come to that institution as professor of Church History and New Testament. There his outspoken radical convictions on poverty and wealth got him into trouble. In 1917, amid considerable controversy, Bland was dismissed from his chair at Wesley College. His dismissal was on the ostensible grounds of financial retrenchment. He became even more active in labour and social gospel activities. He then went to serve a church in Toronto. Just after church union in 1925 Bland completed his formal ministry and began a twenty-year career as a journalist with the *Toronto Daily Star*. In 1950, Salem Goldworth Bland died.

Bland's major work, *The New Christianity*, has been called the theology for the Canadian social gospel. While not as theologically detailed as Rauschenbusch's work, Bland does set out the manifesto for the new christianity which will be needed to address the burning issues of this and future generations. He, like Wesley, had little patience for the sort of pious, other-worldly religion espoused by Bernard of Cluny. Bland tersely declared, "It is not Christianity"; rather, "it is only the pale bloodless spectre of Christianity. Christianity is a torrent. It is a fire. It is a passion for brotherhood, a raging hatred of everything that denies or forbids brotherhood – it was a brotherhood at the first. Twisted, bent, repressed for nearly twice a thousand years, it will be a brotherhood at the last."[36] Bland was very clear that Christians could not permanently acquiesce in a society organized on unchristian principles. He asserted in a sermon preached at Grace Methodist in Winnipeg in 1913 (six years after Woodsworth had resigned) that all Christians have to share the blame for allowing economic conditions to become so corrupt that you cannot expect a businessman to live a Christian life today. "We must begin the great work of attacking all the cruelties of our commercial life, all the rascalities of high finance, all the abominations of our political system."[37] Not exactly the way to win scribes and influence pharisees! Again, we hear echoes of Wesley's bold pronouncements to congregations who were being

complacent in their comfort. Bland condemned profit as anti-christian and wealth derived from profit as theft. Wesley has similar sentiments in some of his sermons. Bland carries it further however in a call to overthrow the capitalist system: "in the name of the brotherhood of Christianity, in the name of the richness and variety of the human soul, the Church must declare a truceless war upon this sterilizing and dehumanizing competition and upon the source of it, an economic order based on profit."[38]

The great Christianity which was Bland's proposal needed new prophets and new prophecy for its inspiration. Three of these prophets, Bland asserts, are found already in Christian history: St. Francis of Assisi, John Wesley and William Booth. After discussing Francis, Bland turns to Wesley.

> Wesley and Francis are not far removed. The Saint of Epworth was almost as ardent a devotee of poverty as the Saint of Assisi. If he did not absolutely strip himself, he gave away immensely more. He, too, had a passion for the souls of men, all of St. Francis' pity for the poor, and he won a wealth of reverence and love. He was a far wiser man, living in a more rational age. But he was not only extraordinarily competent. He knew, too, his own competence.[39]

Unfortunately, notes Bland, Methodism failed to realize the full dream of its founder. It failed to develop the ethical implications of his doctrine of perfect love. While it "cherished his memory and his organization . . . it refused to inherit his dread and hatred of riches."[40] Bland then goes on to state that Wesley's true concern for his followers was that they would become too monetarily successful: "its very thrift and industry and morality have been its undoing. It became, like Protestantism in general, a bourgeois religion."[41] While Bland has hope for it due to the recent (1918) General Conference reports he is not completely confidant that any existing christianity can carry out the work which needs doing. In short, it is Bland's new Christianity which carries the hopes of the world.

> The struggle will not be over religious opinions, or political theories, though both are involved. It will be over what touch men ordinarily much more deeply, their livelihood and their profits . . . Nothing but Christianity can carry the Western peoples through this unparalleled crisis. But it must be Christianity in its purity and fullness, not a Christianity wasting its energy on doctrinal controversy, broken by denominational divisions, or absorbed in taking care of its machinery. It must, in short, be a

> Christianity neither intellectualized nor sectarianized nor institutionalized. It must be a Christianity, born as at the first in the hearts of the common people.[42]

D. Summers offers a common conclusion about the Labour Church by asserting that it failed because it tried to enjoy the fruits of the Christian ethic without the roots of the Christian faith.[43] The above discussion at least calls that into question. The Labour Church, the people who led it and the social gospel which nurtured it, did have a deep and abiding faith. No, it was not the strict orthodox christian faith, But that had been tried and found wanting over two thousand years of corruption. These folks were empowered by the teachings of Jesus and supported in their work by the founder of their movement, John Wesley. While Wesley would not have agreed with some of their unorthodox theology he would have recognized a large amount of what they were saying about the critique of society, especially wealth and poverty as stemming from his teachings. These three leaders of the Labour Church all acknowledged Wesley as a crucial social reformer and claimed him as a father. Indeed, the Labour Church and these three men resemble Wesley and his movement during the eighteenth century more than anyone has acknowledged.

The church had become irrelevant, but religion had not. It was at the heart of the social idealism which expressed itself in the hopes and aspirations of labour for a new social order of justice and equality. These are the same conditions which Wesley faced. The church had become irrelevant and was not meeting the needs of the people in the cities. Both situations stemmed in part from a rural migration to the cities to work within the newly industrialized society. Both based their theology and their actions on first-hand experience with the poor and the oppressed. The same spirit of revival was present. Woodsworth reported that the service at the Labour Church, 9 June 1919, felt like "the spirit of a great revival."[44] The description of the Labour Church given by Woodsworth in the following quote could also describe the Methodist Society in John Wesley's time:

> Iven's Church had become a "movement" – a spontaneous movement of the people – an insistence upon a social code of ethics – a revolt against denominationalism and formality and commercialism in the churches – a hunger after righteousness and spiritual truth – a sense of fellowship in suffering and inspiration . . . This movement became solidified by the opposition of the ministers and the churches to the strikes. Staid old

> Presbyterian elders refused to darken the doors of the Kirk. Wesleyan local preachers could no longer be restrained. Anglican Sunday School teachers resigned their classes. Class lines became clearly drawn and the "regular" churches stood out as middle-class institutions.[45]

Ted Jennings makes a strong case in support of the Wesley who influences these Labour Church and Canadian social gospel folks.

> Wesley had in view the transformation of all of life on the basis of the Gospel. And this transformation was so intimately linked to economic issues that the enterprise of scriptural Christianity could be said to succeed or fail depending on the way in which it did or did not transform the relation to wealth, poverty and the poor.[46]

Wesley's evangelical economics undergirds the theology and work of Woodsworth, Ivens and Bland. It helped take an irrelevant religion and turn it into a transforming and revolutionary force for change. The teachings and the work of the Carpenter of Nazareth came alive in these people of conviction and deep faith. May we take the time to learn their lessons in order to transform our oppressive society through a church and a religion made newly alive and relevant, a church that will have the power and the form.

Endnotes

1. John Wesley, "Thoughts Upon Methodism," in *The Works of John Wesley*, Jackson edition, XIII, 258.
2. J.E. Sanderson, *The First Century of Methodism in Canada* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1910), 2: 173.
3. Sanderson, *First Century of Methodism*, 2: 259.
4. Semple, "The Nurture and Admonition of the Lord," cited in Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1989), 15.
5. Phyllis D. Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1992), 63-64.
6. *Christian Guardian*, 10 November 1880, 356.

7. *Christian Guardian*, 4 Dec. 1907, 7; *Christian Guardian*, 24 July 1907, 5.
8. Airhart, *Serving the Present Age*, 139.
9. Arthur Lower, *Colony to Nation: A History of Canada* (Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co., 1946), 16.
10. Salem Bland, *The Life of James Henderson* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1926), 108.
11. H.A. Robson, "Royal Commission Report," Government of Manitoba, Archives of the Manitoba Legislature Library, Winnipeg.
12. G.S. Eby, "To the Angel of the Church of Canadian Methodism," *Christian Guardian*, 20 August 1902, 533.
13. Lower, *Colony to Nation*, 499.
14. J.S. Woodsworth, *The First Story of the Labour Church*, n.p., n.d., 8.
15. J.S. Woodsworth, *The First Story of the Labour Church*, 8.
16. J.S. Woodsworth, *The First Story of the Labour Church*, 11.
17. J.S. Woodsworth, *The First Story of the Labour Church*, 12.
18. D. Summers, "The Labor Church and Allied Movements of the Late-nineteenth and early-Twentieth Centuries" (Ph.D. Diss., Edinburgh University, 1958), 465-470.
19. J.S. Woodsworth, *The First Story of the Labour Church*, 11.
20. J.S. Woodsworth, *The First Story of the Labour Church*, 11.
21. D.F. Pratt, "William Ivens and the Winnipeg Labour Church," (unpublished thesis, St. Andrew's College, Saskatoon, 1962).
22. William Ivens, "Address on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Labour Church," n.p., 1920.
23. William Ivens, excerpt from sermon delivered at Labour Church, *Western Labour News*, 12 December 1919.
24. Ivens, *Western Labour News*, 12 December 1919.
25. See Kenneth McNaught, *A Prophet in Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959); Olive Ziegler, *Woodsworth, Social Pioneer* (Toronto: Ontario Publishing Co., 1934); and Grace McInnis, *J.S. Woodsworth, A Man to Remember* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1953).

26. J.S. Woodsworth, *Following the Gleam*, n.p., n.d., 7.

27. J.S. Woodsworth, *Following the Gleam*, n.p., n.d., 7.

28. J.S. Woodsworth, *Following the Gleam*, n.p., n.d., 9.

29. Benjamin G. Smillie, "J.S. Woodsworth, Civic Pedagogue" (Ed.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1970).

30. J.S. Woodsworth, "Social Perfection," *Christian Guardian*, 23 April 1913.

31. J.S. Woodsworth, Sermon at Grace Methodist, Winnipeg; cited in McNaught, *A Prophet in Politics*, 26.

32. J.S. Woodsworth, *My Neighbour* (Toronto: Young People's Forward Movement for Missions, 1911), 287-288.

33. J.S. Woodsworth, *Hours that Stand Apart*, n.p., n.d., 25.

34. Woodsworth, *Following the Gleam*, 18.

35. Woodsworth, *My Neighbour*, 332.

36. Salem Bland, *The New Christianity* (1920; reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), 20.

37. Cited in Richard Allen, "Salem Bland and the spirituality of the social gospel: Winnipeg and the West, 1903-1913," in *Prairie Spirit: Perspectives on the Heritage of the United Church of Canada in the West*, eds., Dennis L. Butcher, et al. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985).

38. Bland, *The New Christianity*, 27.

39. Bland, *The New Christianity*, 81.

40. Bland, *The New Christianity*, 82.

41. Bland, *The New Christianity*, 82.

42. Bland, *The New Christianity*, 90.

43. Summers, "The Labour Church and Allied Movements," 298, 474.

44. Woodsworth, *The First Story of the Labour Church*, 6.

45. Woodsworth, *The First Story of the Labour Church*, 9.

46. Theodore W. Jennings, Jr., *Good News to the Poor: John Wesley's Evangelical Economics* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1990), 15.

“To Lead Them to the Higher Life”: Women Workers at All Peoples’ Mission, 1907-1914

MATTHEW G. NEUFELD

The experience of Christian women is a component of church history that is being investigated by increasing numbers of historians. Areas of research once thought to be exhausted are yielding new interpretations as historians consider the place of gender in shaping the story of Christianity. One such subject is the work of a Methodist mission among poor immigrants in Winnipeg’s North End known as All Peoples’ Mission. The Mission has intrigued some historians because of its connection to the social gospel movement and J.S. Woodsworth, the first leader of the socialist Canadian Co-operative Commonwealth Party (CCF).[1] Until now, however, there has been no attempt to examine the nature and purpose of the tasks carried out by the majority of All Peoples’ staff, that is, its female employees.

It is my contention that the nature and the purpose of the work performed by women while employed by the Mission was circumscribed by their gender and was consistent with an ideology of maternalism. This maternalist, or “maternal feminist” ethic, held that a woman’s supposedly innate nurturing, care-giving and “mothering” qualities gave her a right and a duty to circulate outside the home and participate in public activities such as social service work.[2] The work performed by the women workers at All People’s Mission was shaped fundamentally by maternalist ideas, and was directed primarily at the homes of immigrants.

This essay will begin by placing my research on the Mission’s female employees in an historiographical context. The paper will then

briefly examine the background and identity of the women, followed by an analysis of the nature and purpose of their work during the period of Woodsworth's superintendency, 1907-1913. The All Peoples' Mission papers housed in the United Church Archives at the University of Winnipeg, issues of the *Christian Guardian* from 1907-1914, and Methodist conference reports were consulted in order to identify the Mission's female employees and their responsibilities.[3] The tasks women at the Mission were given to perform were assumed to suit their maternal aptitudes. Whether these duties served to advance the status of women in the church is an unresolved issue.

There is no general agreement on whether the work Protestant women performed while serving in church orders like the diaconate helped or hindered the movement to female autonomy. In other words, did deaconesses and their work represent a "side road" on the way to female ordination? If the diaconate was indeed a diversion from the path to autonomy, was their maternalistic approach to social work the cause of the detour? The connection between a maternalist ideology and social service has been noted in several studies of female church workers.[4] John Thomas argues that deaconesses (a category that included the majority of the Mission's female workers) did not jeopardise the traditional, patriarchal structure of the church's hierarchy. The diaconate was a poor source for feminist autonomy in Canadian Methodism.[5] Nancy Hall does not entirely accept this negative assessment of Methodist deaconesses. She maintains that while deaconesses generally did not agitate for female ordination, they did expand the opportunities of women within the church.[6] More recently, Phyllis Airhart has noted that missions like All Peoples' in Winnipeg did "provide unique opportunities for Methodist women."[7] The significance of Methodist women's organizations and their work is clearly an unresolved historical issue. There is not as much debate, however, on the identity and background of the women who made up the diaconate and worked at institutions like All Peoples' Mission.[8]

The women who were employed at the Mission came from the English-Canadian, middle-class, Protestant homes.[9] Most were from Ontario. Three of the four deaconesses sent to All Peoples' Mission in 1909 were Ontarians: Maud Barlow, Woodstock; Annie Joynt, Lucknow; Evalyn Scrigley, Sault Ste. Marie.[10] A deaconess employed at the Mission would have completed one or two years of training at the National Training School in Toronto established in 1894.[11] Hall has argued that

because monetary provision for room and board had to be made for the school, the majority of those who joined the diaconate were from the middle-class. Thomas concurs, noting that the deaconesses were drawn from "families of the middling sort."[12]

Methodist women who left their comfortable homes to become deaconesses and eventually work at All Peoples' seem to have done so because they felt called to social service within the church. Hall claims that most deaconesses had strong Christian family backgrounds and responded to the church's call for committed Christian female workers.[13] The testimonies of the women at the National Training School in Toronto, which were printed in the *Christian Guardian*, have a religious flavour that support Hall's assertion.[14] It is unlikely, however, that the *Guardian*, a church organ, would print the testimony of a woman who joined the order for reasons other than Christian commitment.

An unpublished reason a woman may have become a deaconess was her desire to remain single in order to pursue a vocation of teaching and/or social work.[15] In an era when the opportunities for women outside the home were limited, a deaconesses, consecrated by her commitment to Christian service and set apart from other women by her dark navy cravenette uniform, would be free to work outside the home with the church's sanction.[16] Yet, although released from the responsibilities of marriage and motherhood, the nature and purpose of women's work at the Mission was founded on the belief of the inseparable connection between women, their maternal gifts, and the home. Despite their singleness, the women at All Peoples' incarnated an ideology of maternalism through their work.

The women working at All Peoples' were seen to be using their supposedly inborn maternal qualities to enlighten the residents of the North End. Walter Pavy, a minister at the Mission, claimed that its female staff needed "warm mother hearts [in order to] to teach other mothers the value of cleanliness of life and home, and the sacredness of a child."[17] A women's work was directed towards either children, young girls, or married women.[18] Her essential duty was to educate immigrant children and mothers in order to transform their family environment, that is, their homes. This domestically oriented work sprang from a growing fear of what might become of the immigrants were their homes not redeemed.

If there was one area in Western Canada prior to the First World War where the traditional English-Canadian idea of the home was being actively undermined, it was the district north of the Canadian Pacific

railroad tracks in Winnipeg, the North End. The North End, home to most of the city's poorer immigrants, was well known for its crowded tenement houses and lack of adequate sanitary works.[19] The Mission's female employees were deeply concerned about the condition of many homes around the Mission, especially those belonging to foreign, that is, non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants. Agnes Allen could not see how a dirty home, full of boarders and liquor could possibly allow children to develop properly; Lillian Mason wondered how some immigrants could even stand to live in miserable conditions.[20] When the women did have something good to say about an immigrants' home, it was usually related to the dwelling's cleanliness and order. One deaconess, visiting the "cleanest Polish home she had ever seen," noted that within it, "order prevailed everywhere, from the well washed floor to the dishes washed and neatly piled on the table."[21] The home's cleanliness may have impressed the woman because cleanliness, often associated with moral purity, was part of a middle-class view of a proper English-Canadian home.[22]

Some male middle-class, English-Canadian, Methodist Church leaders also expressed their anxiety over the living conditions of families in the North End. Their concern, however, seems to have been motivated more by patriotism that a sense of propriety. They worried about the future of Canada, and the church in Canada, if crowded, dirty homes were allowed to become a permanent part of society. In an article entitled "The Raw Material of Canadian Citizenship," which appeared in the *Christian Guardian* in 1908, Winnipeg clergyman S.P.Rose wondered how honest men and clean women could emerge from homes where "light, cleanliness, good food, and reserve [were] particularly out of the question."[23] J.W. Aikens, Field Secretary of the Methodist Temperance and Moral Reform Society, believed that the was a major factor in the assimilation process. He claimed that "by uniting the various nations we may produce a great national character, and the most important factor contributing to it will be the homes of the people."[24] These ministers, however, would not be the ones labouring to transform the homes of the North End. The persons set apart for that task were All Peoples' Mission's female employees.

The ultimate goal of the women's work was to transform North End immigrant homes along Canadian, preferably middle-class, lines. These regenerated homes would be beacons of order, temperance, reserve, and cleanliness in a sea of filth and immorality. The girls' clubs, the sewing, cooking, house-keeping, and kindergarten classes which the women led

were meant to educate immigrant girls on how to organize and run a middle-class Canadian home. Even the Fresh Air Camps, which the deaconesses managed in the summer, were meant to give immigrant children "a glimpse of true home life . . . a chance to escape the cramped close quarters they call home."[25] Nellie McClung, in her introduction to the Mission's Annual report of 1912, noted that the women's work was a great influence on an immigrant home because concepts like cleanliness were passed on from the kindergarten to the child's family.[26] Lillian Mason, in her report for May 1911, believed that the "seed sown" by her kindergarten work was bearing fruit in the improvements to both the children and their homes. As an example of this success, she related how Madeleine Foley, another kindergarten worker, had taken one little girl under her wing, a girl who, thanks to Foley's influence, now came to class with "a fairly clean dress and hair."[27] Foley had been a positive influence on the child and the child's mother, since the girl now came to class every day in proper style.[28] In the eyes of deaconesses like Mason, this little girl, thanks to the work of the kindergarten, was on her way to becoming a respectable Canadian citizen.

The Deaconess Board of Management of All Peoples' summarized its intentions by declaring that "the purpose [of the work] is to Canadianize and Christianize these future citizens our country."[29] Nellie Malone, for example, thought the kindergarten would "unite for the common good the many people in this beloved Canada of ours."[30] Annie Joynt thought her work with girls would "sow the seed of truth and virtue and loyalty for home and country," thus making them "better citizens and Canadians."[31] Joynt believed that the native cultures of her pupils had a smaller portion of truth and virtue than Anglo-Canadian culture, a view consistent with contemporary ideas of Anglo-Saxon superiority.

Women at the Mission also believed it was their duty to share the truth of the gospel with the immigrants. Evangelism was the second major goal of the women's work. The assimilation of an immigrant was not complete until he or she had converted to Methodist Christianity. Grace Tonkin believed that her classes, along with instilling higher ideals in her pupils, "led them to the One who is able to keep them from falling."[32] Maud Barlow hoped her work presented the "Christ-life" to the immigrants, so that they could then pattern their lives after Him and "realize the fullness of life."[33] Agnes Allan claimed that:

> All [our] work points to one end, the giving of life to Jesus. I believe that outside of the fact that in my classes we teach Christ, that every stitch learned in sewing, every ideal taught in kindergarten, every refinement shown, help in the foundation of character.[34]

Thus, it appears that the women's duties, directed at the North End's immigrant population, had both social and religious ends. The service work the women engaged in, such as leading kindergartens, teaching sewing, cooking, and English-language classes, fit the Methodist's social "Canadianization" objective; while the Sunday School and Bible classes they led were part of the church's evangelistic thrust. They may have understood the church's twin goals of assimilation and evangelism to be fused by their work. Or, perhaps some saw social welfare as a vehicle for promoting Christian beliefs and values. The women's good deeds became a vehicle for spreading the Good News.

It is not easy, however, to determine exactly how the people to whom the women ministered reacted to their deeds and words. Nevertheless, Christina Simmons has argued that working-class women living near the Jost Mission in Halifax used its services to aid in their struggle for survival and self-improvement.[35] The same can very likely be said for the immigrants served by All Peoples' female employees. Some North End residents may have treated the Mission's kindergartens as a type of daycare centre. Many poorer people no doubt appreciated the second-hand clothes the Mission supplied free of charge during the winter. It is beyond the scope of this paper, however, to examine the influence the women's maternalistic ethic had in Canadianizing the immigrant's and their homes.

The nature and purpose of the tasks the women workers performed was consistent with their supposedly innate maternal qualities. Their calling to make the immigrant's homes into proper Canadian dwellings was based on the belief that their maternal aptitudes (despite their being single) allowed them special entrance into the newcomer's hearts and hearths. Methodist minister S.P. Rose paid tribute to Lillian Mason's kindergarten work by exclaiming that "she belongs to that company of universal mothers whose large hearts find room for any [in] need . . ."[36] The church was thus harnessing the women's inborn nurturing qualities in order to assimilate and evangelize the immigrants of the North End. The work was ultimately part of the Methodist Church's attempt to further the Kingdom of God in Canada and aid, according to Rev. Armstrong of Toronto, in the

"uplifting and ennobling of man."[37] In the case of All Peoples' female workers, the ennobling of man meant the Canadianization and Christianization of women, children, and the homes in which they lived.

The Mission's work was structured along lines of gender. Women could teach the kindergarten and domestic science classes, or lead a group of older women in a Bible lesson, while preaching and administering was left to men such as Woodsworth or Walter Pavy.[38] There is some evidence, however, to suggest that Woodsworth thought that the church was not treating its female servants altogether fairly. The *Christian Guardian* published a letter by Alice Chown in November of 1911 which was highly critical of deaconesses themselves ("sentimental sops"), their superficial knowledge of sociology and the causes of poverty, and the pitiful amount of money the church paid them for their work.[39] Woodsworth's reply to this letter, prompted by a deaconess at All Peoples' Mission, was in agreement with Chown's criticism's.[40] He reserved his sharpest comments for the church's inconsistency in requiring deaconesses to live on a small allowance while paying some of its male ministers comfortable salaries. A deaconess employed at All Peoples' in 1913 received an allowance of ten dollars per month, while the senior minister of the Fort Rouge Methodist Church in Winnipeg was paid a salary of $2500.[41] In Woodsworth's eyes, the practice that women should serve the church "merely 'for the love of the work'" was hypocritically supported by those (men) who themselves enjoyed every comfort.[42] Ultimately, however, it would be the church's male hierarchy, living for the most part in middle-class comfort, who set out what of type of work the women performed and the payment they would receive for it. It seems that the church hoped the women workers at All Peoples' Mission would be content to store up treasures in heaven while labouring for the Kingdom on earth.

A Manitoba Conference reporter in the *Christian Guardian* hoped that when the "books of nationhood are made up, Canada will not forget the women in the blue uniform [deaconesses] who toiled so patiently and kindly to bring light and order to the chaos of immigrant life."[43] The women at All Peoples' believed they were helping Canada and their church by working to assimilate and evangelize the residents of Winnipeg's chaotic North End. Coming from Methodist, English-Canadian, middle-class backgrounds, they gave part of their lives to the church for a task they believed was right and important. They went about fulfilling that purpose in a way that was consistent with a maternalist ideology, an

ideology which held that a woman's intrinsic nurturing qualities made her the ideal candidate to solve the North End's domestic difficulties. Were this study to be pursued further, it would be appropriate to explore the holdings of the United Church Archives in Toronto in order to learn more biographical details of the women, and find out where their lives led them led after their time of service at All Peoples' Mission.

Endnotes

1. All People's Mission enjoyed a certain notoriety within the Canadian Methodist Conference immediately prior to the First World War as a result of the textbooks on immigration and urban problems written by its Superintendent Woodsworth. See J.S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates, or Coming Canadians* (Toronto: F.C. Stephenson, 1909), and *My Neighbour* (Toronto: Young People's Forward Movement for Missions, 1911). The standard study on the social gospel in Canada is Richard Allen's *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1973).

2. Linda Kealey has argued that maternal feminists who became involved in social and political activities were predominately middle-class, English-Canadian women. See Kealey's introduction in *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880-1920*, ed. Linda Kealey (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1975), 1-14. See also Wayne Roberts, "Rocking the Cradle for the World: The New Womanhood and Maternal Feminism, 1877-1914" in the same volume. Roberts notes a connection between maternal feminism and the "helping professions" such as nursing, teaching and charity work which were, he claims, designed to extend the character of female subordination from the family to the public sphere (15-45).

3. For an overview of the Mission's origins and development until 1914 see George N. Emery, "The Methodist Church and the 'European Foreigners' of Winnipeg: All Peoples' Mission, 1889-1914," *Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions, Third Series*, n.s. 28 (1971-72): 85-100.

4. John Thomas, "Servants of the Church: Canadian Methodist Deaconess Work, 1890-1926," *Canadian Historical Review* 65, No. 3 (1984): 371-395. Diane Haglund argues that maternal feminism was linked with the social gospel's notion of love and self-sacrifice to provide the ideological basis for the work of deaconesses. See Diane Haglund, "Side Road to Autonomy: The Diaconate prior to Church Union," *Women Work and Worship in the United Church of Canada* (Toronto, 1983), 206-227; and Phyllis D. Airhart, *Serving the Present*

Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada (Montreal: McGill-Queens University, 1992).

5. Thomas, 374.

6. "'Not by Might Nor by Power but by My Spirit': Women Workers in the United Church of Canada," M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1986, 60-69.

7. Airhart, 76.

8. For a brief examination of the background of Methodist deaconesses in Canada, see Thomas, 383-385.

9. By my calculations, thirty-one women worked at All Peoples' Mission between 1907-1914: this included eighteen deaconesses, nine kindergarten workers, and four who did other work. See Appendix I for a list of the women who worked at the Mission and their tenure. The table was constructed using information found in the All Peoples' Box B, Woodsworth's two textbooks, and issues of the *Christian Guardian*, 1907-1914. Based on a reading of their surnames, the women appear to have been English Canadian, except for A. Kochellea, who was a Polish woman. I was unable to determine whether or not she too was a deaconess, or a local women taken on by the Mission.

10. *Christian Guardian*, 22 May 1907 and 19 May 1909. Deaconesses were stationed "in an arbitrary fashion by the Deaconess Board of Management," Hall, 51.

11. Rosemary R. Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University, 1992), 60.

12. Hall, 49; Thomas, 383. In 1910 Woodsworth received several letters from a Methodist minister in British Columbia suggesting a certain Susie Kometz as a potential deaconess. She herself finally responded and admitted that she did not have enough money to go the National Training School. The course of training at the School was eight months until 1910 when it was increased to two years. The only hint I found of the background of a kindergarten worker at the Mission was a reference in the *Christian Guardian* to the appointment of Nellie Malone, "a recent graduate of the Ottawa school."

13. Hall, 125.

14. "Deaconess Work," *Christian Guardian*, 2 March 1910 and 19 February 1913.

15. Thomas has suggested that since some women entered the order above the median age of marriage, the diaconate may have been for them a viable alternative to spinsterhood (384).

16. This idea was first discussed by Marta Danlewycz with regards to nuns in Quebec (*Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood, and Spinsterhood in Quebec, 1840-1920*, eds. Paul-Andre Linteau, Alison Prentice, and William Westfall [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987], 84).

17. "Practical Christianity: Report of All Peoples' Mission, 1910-11," United Church Archives, Conference of Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario at the University of Winnipeg, All Peoples' Mission papers, Box B, File 1 (hereafter UCA BB F1). It is interesting to note that women only needed to have warm mother *hearts* not to be biological mothers.

18. In this way the work of the women employed at All People's was remarkably similar to the female church workers at the Jost Mission in Halifax. See Christina Simmon, "Helping the Poorer Sisters: The Women of the Jost Mission, Halifax, 1905-1945," *Acadiensis* 14, No. 1 (Autumn 1984): 3-27. A deaconess at All Peoples' worked mainly with school-age girls and older women, while a kindergarten worker spent most of her time with pre-school aged children.

19. For a brief description of social conditions in Winnipeg's North End prior to the First World War see Alan F.J. Artibise, "Divided City: The Immigrant in Winnipeg Society, 1887-1921," in *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History*, eds. Alan F.J. Artibise and Gilbert A. Stetler (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), 300-336.

20. Woodsworth, *Strangers*, 330; and *Christian Guardian*, 6 November 1907.

21. Anonymous Deaconess, *Christian Guardian*, 14 October 1908.

22. See Mariana Valverde's *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), for an analysis of the mentality behind the drive for purity and cleanliness in urban Canada.

23. S.P. Rose, "The Raw Material of Canadian Citizenship," *Christian Guardian*, 19 August 1908.

24. J.W. Aikens, "The Home in Relation to Social Problems," *Christian Guardian*, 5 October 1910.

25. P. Smith, "Fresh Air Work in Winnipeg," *Christian Guardian*, 1 September 1909.

26. "Organized Helpfulness: Report of All Peoples' Mission, 1911-12," UCA APM BB F1.

27. L. Mason, Sutherland Avenue Kindergarten report, May 1911, UCA APM BB F11 and 12.

28. Mariana Valverde has noted that the women's work at the Methodist's Fred Victor Mission in Toronto was also aimed at families or homes, with girls being used "as a kind of fifth column for respectability and proper English cooking" (144).

29. Journal of the Methodist General Conference, 1910, 180.

30. Nellie Malone Report: Stella Avenue kindergarten, 1911, UCA APM BB F12.

31. Annie Joynt, Report: Sutherland Avenue girls work, 1910, UCA APM BB F11.

32. Grace Tonkin, Report: girls work; Woodsworth, *Strangers*, 334.

33. UCA APM BB F12.

34. UCA APM BB F12.

35. Simmons, 27.

36. S.P. Rose, "A Kindergarten Pilgrimage," *Christian Guardian*, 8 April 1908.

37. Rev. Armstrong, "Deaconess Work: Commencement Sermon," *Christian Guardian*, 11 May 1911.

38. See Woodsworth's reports in UCA BB F2 for his activities in 1907-08.

39. Alice Chown, "Some Criticisms of the Deaconess Movement." *Christian Guardian*, 15 November 1911.

40. J.S. Woodsworth, "The Deaconess Work," *Christian Guardian*, 29 November 1911. He was also concerned about the lack of professional social science training a deaconess received at the Training School.

41. Minutes of the Manitoba Methodist Conference, 1909, 68. *Christian Guardian*, 17 January 1912. Some months when the Mission's finance's were tight, the women workers were not paid. When this occurred the women had to rely on the generosity of family and friends to survive. Woodsworth's report of October 1907, UCA APM BB F2.

42. Woodsworth, *Christian Guardian*, 29 November 1911.

43. "Manitoba Conference: Report," *Christian Guardian*, 1 November 1911.

Appendix I

Women Workers: 1906-1914[1]

Deaconesses

Name	***Tenure***	***Occupation***	***Branch***
Adair, Marion	1906-08	Deaconess	Stella
Allen, Agnes	1906-09;13-14	Deaconess	Stella
		Deac. Superintendent	
Barlow, Maud	1909-10	Girls Worker	Sutherland
Bradley, Florence	1912-14	Girls worker	Stella
Dickenson, Maud	1911-14	Girls worker	Sutherland
Hallum, Margaret	1909-14	Polish work	Burrows
Hart, Wilberta	1908-09	Girls worker	Sutherland
Hartley, Martha	1907-14	KGD Canvasser	Sutherland
		Boys work/KGD Assistant	
Irwin, Annie	1906-09	Deac. Superintendent	Deac. home
Joynt, Annis	1909-10	Girls work	Sutherland & Maple
		English MM	
Lee, Eva[2]	1911	uncertain	
Malone, Nellie	1909-11	KGD Directress	Stella
		Y.P. Society	
Milliken, Lillian	1910-14	KGD Canvasser (‘11)	Sutherland
		Supply Room/Asst. KGD (‘12)	
Scrigley, Evalyn	1909-11	Boys work	Stella
		Night School/German MM	
Sherwood, Amy	1910-11	Adult worker	Stella
		Friendly visitor/German	
Smith, Priscilla	1907-12	Nurse	
		Superintendent (‘10)	
		Deac. Home	
Tonkin, Grace	1906-11	Girls Worker	Stella
Young, Louise[3]	1909	uncertain	

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[1]KGD denotes kindergarten; MM indicates mothers’ meeting.

[2]This woman does not appear in any of the All Peoples’ Mission papers.

[3]This woman does not appear in any of the All Peoples’ Mission papers.

Kindergarten Workers and Others

Name	*Tenure*	*Occupation*	*Branch*
Bawden, Maud	1912-1	KGD Assistent	Stella
Bedford, Olive	1912-14	KGD Canvasser	Stella
Blanchard, E.L.	1907-10	KGD Assistent	Stella
Curtis, Mabel	1911-14	Girls worker	Stella
Foley, Madeline	1911-13	KGD Canvasser	Burrows
		Polish M.M.	and Stella
		Assist Tonkin,	
		A.C. Visitor	
		Sec. ('12)	
		Visitor ('13)	
Hall, Bella	1912-13	Women's Worker	Stella
		Head worker	
James, Hilda	1907-14	KGD Assistent	Sutherland
		KGD Directress ('11)	Stella
Kochella, A.	1907-08	Bible Woman	Stella
Lyons, Ms	1910	KGD Assistent	
Mason, Lillian S.	1907-14	KGD Directress	Sutherland
Robinson, Lottie	1914	Canvasser	Stella
Wigle, C.V.	1907-08	KGD Directress	Stella
Woodsworth, Edith	1911	KGD Assistent	Stella

The New Age of Evangelism: Fundamentalism and Radio on the Canadian Prairies, 1925-1945

JAMES W. OPP

The pairing of radio with what is commonly regarded as "fundamentalism" in Canada has been recognized in a general manner, but is rarely detailed beyond the exploits of William Aberhart. Too often radio is viewed as simply another vehicle for fundamentalists (and others) to promote themselves and their message; few have seriously examined the significance of this new media in terms of its influence on the message and behaviour of those who utilized it. From its meagre amateur beginnings in the mid-1920s, fundamentalist broadcasting had achieved a new standard of professional production by 1945, a situation which both reflected and contributed to the efforts of fundamentalism to shed its negative stereotypes and incorporate itself within a broader sense of evangelicalism.[1]

The Canadian prairies offered a somewhat unique environment for the development of religious radio. Unlike Toronto's T.T. Shields who faced a number of complaints from listeners regarding frequency interference from powerful American stations, western stations generally had clearer reception.[2] The scattered and often isolated agrarian population base has often been cited as a explanation for the appeal of religious radio,[3] but such generalizations can easily be overstated. Perhaps the rapid development of a network of Bible Schools across the prairies helped to lay the groundwork for the type of "transdenominational" activity which became an important feature of fundamentalist religious broadcasting.[4]

Undoubtedly a combination of circumstances and events gave radio a prominent role in the cultural activity of the Canadian prairies. However,

it should not be assumed that the use of radio was simply a natural or logical extension of the impressive array of evangelistic outreach endeavours organized by fundamentalists. Considering their previous attacks on the frivolous and possibly immoral activities associated with the theatre and movies, it is somewhat surprising to see fundamentalist preachers sharing the airwaves with programmes like "Amos and Andy" or "Music for Moderns." Unlike other forms of evangelism such as Bible schools, professional campaigns and correspondence courses which all had their roots in nineteenth-century evangelicalism, radio was a completely new technology with which fundamentalists were forced to come to terms. By the early 1940s, the use of radio had become a staple method of evangelism among a number of groups who clearly aligned themselves with the fundamentalist movement in the 1920s. In many ways the adoption of radio played an important role (symbolically and practically) in shifting the orientation of fundamentalism towards a broader sense of evangelicalism and thus deserves to be recognized as a significant element in marking a "new age of evangelism."[5]

Fundamentalism and Evangelism

The first obstacle in understanding the relationship between fundamentalism and radio is defining the frequently maligned term, "fundamentalism." Perhaps the most commonly accepted meaning has been developed by George Marsden, who identified the movement as a loose confederation of those espousing a "militantly anti-modernist Protestant evangelicalism" which was influenced by a wide variety of sources including revivalism, pietism and Scottish Common Sense philosophy.[6] While Marsden's perspective has found wide acceptance among a number of Canadian historians, John Stackhouse has recently argued that fundamentalism thus defined "was not in fact central to Canadian evangelicalism."[7]

This limited study cannot hope to provide an extended discussion of the definition and role of fundamentalism in Canada. However, if one shifts the focus of historical pursuit from the religious controversies of the 1920s to the "cultural forms" constructed by fundamentalists, especially in the area of evangelism, it is difficult to relegate fundamentalism to an insignificant hinterland. In this respect I agree with Virginia Brereton who argues that the parameters of fundamentalism, often confined to Calvinist or Reformed circles, should be broadened to include Holiness and Pente-

costal groups who, although not always accepted by "traditional" fundamentalists, clearly aligned themselves with fundamentalism against the growing threat of modernism.[8] Certainly in terms of evangelism, cultural forms such as radio transcended theological boundaries.

While "militant" in its resistance of "modernistic" ideas such as evolution and Higher Criticism, fundamentalism was not simply an "Old Light" negation of progressive liberal theology. Cultural revitalization within a Christian context was the goal of both modernists and fundamentalists, but the means to this end divided protestantism because the assumptions and methods of liberal "reform" conflicted with the prescribed course of "revival" or "awakening." Where liberals attempted to keep Christianity relevant by adapting to the "new historical situation" of an encroaching secular society, the emerging fundamentalists believed that any accommodation was sacrosanct and needed to be countered with a true "revival" based on personal religious experience. Fundamentalists were not simply reacting to modernism in a negative way, but were also promoting their own concept of revitalization through a wide variety of evangelistic techniques.

Of course promoting a revival within a secular world meant that fundamentalists needed to find a means to engage the world in evangelism while at the same time remaining separate from it. The professional evangelistic campaigns of figures such as Dr. Charles S. Price were popular in the early 1920s, but by the end of the decade were being severely criticized both within and without for their sensationalism in style and advertising. Questions regarding financial accountability plagued many campaigns, and if the growing censure upon them were not enough, the onset of the Depression years assured that this technique would not be able to sustain its former grandiose standing. The impressive degree of "small scale" evangelism surrounding the expanding network of Bible schools was more effective and acceptable in methodology. Despite periodic outbreaks of isolated "revivals," these efforts were generally ignored by the mainstream media and, by extension, mainstream society. Although they defended their theology in the face of a growing apostasy of mainline churches, fundamentalists had been unable to achieve a spiritual revival on the scale of earlier "Great Awakenings." The advent of radio, however, offered new hopes, and new dangers, in this pursuit.[9]

Fundamentalists and Radio

The first non-experimental regular radio station to be established in North America was station KDKA in Pittsburgh. Within two months of going on the air in 1920 it also carried the first religious broadcast by transmitting a church service from Calvary Episcopal Church. By 1925, over 600 stations were operating in the United States and more than 60 of these were licensed to religious organizations.[10] Although Canadian commercial broadcasting began at practically the same time with a Montreal station, XWA (later CFCF) in December 1920, the expansion of radio in Canada was much slower. The number of commercial stations operating in Canada fluctuated greatly between 1922 and 1929 from a low of 46 to a high of 84, and a great majority were underpowered compared to the strength of the signals being produced south of the border. However, it is clear that the Canadian public was enthusiastic about the new medium as the number of receiving licenses jumped from less than 10,000 to close to 300,000 in the same period.[11] This number is almost certainly under-representative, since many people likely did not apply for or renew the $1.00 license that was technically necessary to operate a radio receiving set.[12]

When William Aberhart broadcast his first message over CFCN Calgary in November 1925, few could have anticipated the enormous influence that would be wielded by a single lay preacher within his broadcast area. Through a number of popular schemes, such as selling different classes of "memberships" for his "radio church," Aberhart was able to raise enough capital to build the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute in 1927. By 1939, enrolment in the Institute's "Radio Sunday School" had reached 9,141.[13] After he was elected as Premier in 1935, Aberhart found that constantly returning to Calgary for broadcasting was difficult and decided to inaugurate a Sunday evening programme from Edmonton. This venture was greatly feared by many churches who felt that their evening services would suffer,[14] and one Presbyterian minister informed the Premier that his own wife had threatened, "let the church go[,] I [will] remain home and listen to Mr. Aberhart."[15]

The eventually-named *Back to the Bible Hour* was punctuated with gospel songs, short dialogues and dramatic representations, although the most elaborate of the latter did not develop until after the introduction of Social Credit when characters like "Professor Orthodox Anonymous" and

the "Man from Mars" made their appearance. However, despite the generally recognized importance of Aberhart's broadcasts, the encroachment of economic ideology in his religious programmes illustrates their uniqueness. Many fundamentalists took exception to these political activities and therefore it is questionable as to whether or not Aberhart can be regarded as typical of fundamentalist broadcasting.[16] It is perhaps more enlightening and more accurate to examine some of the lesser-known broadcasting carried on by other fundamentalists between 1925 and 1945.

Transmitting the Gospel: CHMA

One of the most unique enterprises in the field of religious radio was the establishment of radio station CHMA in Edmonton by the Christian and Missionary Alliance. A young radio hobbyist, Reuben Pearson, from the small town of Gwynne (southeast of Edmonton), had recently been converted to the Alliance. The Superintendent of the Western District, J.H. Woodward, gave the amateur engineer permission to experiment with this new technology in the basement of his house. By 1927 the Alliance was prepared to enter the field, applying for a broadcasting license and ordering its equipment from Cleveland, Ohio. Unfortunately, by this time, attitudes towards religious radio in Canada had soured.

Although CHMA did serve as the only religious radio station in Canada for a period of time in the early 1930s, they were far from being the first to use this format. It is often forgotten that the real "pioneer" of religious radio in Canada on a national scale was the International Bible Students Association (Jehovah's Witnesses), which operated four stations across the country. However, concern was being raised by the government about the high number of complaints being received over the "unpatriotic and abusive" content of the IBSA broadcasting.[17] In 1927, P.J.A. Cardin, Minister of Marine and Fisheries (the department where radio regulation was originally assigned), revoked all four licenses. The controversy that followed prompted the government to consider seriously not only the role of religion on the air (an issue which quickly faded into the background), but also to evaluate the entire state of radio in Canada through the Aird Commission of 1928. When the final report was released, the commission recommended that a full public broadcasting system be established along the British model. Religion received only a sparse comment suggesting the implementation of "some regulation which would prohibit statements of

a controversial nature and debar a speaker making an attack upon the leaders or doctrine of another religion."[18]

A by-product of this controversy was that many station managers became increasingly wary of religious content. In Woodward's opinion, "Jehovah's Witnesses killed all gospel broadcasting,"[19] and within this air of uncertainty it is not surprising that the Alliance's application for a license was rejected three times. Finally, with the interjection of A.M. Carmichael, Member of Parliament from Kindersley, Saskatchewan, a broadcast license was granted and following a memorable experience getting the radio equipment through Canadian customs, station CHMA made its broadcasting debut Easter Sunday, 17 April 1927.[20]

With only a 125 watt transmitter, CHMA shared its frequency with four other Edmonton stations (reduced to three after the IBSA station had its license revoked). The onset of the Depression made it difficult for the Alliance to maintain its equipment, but when it attempted to sell in 1930, the recently-elected Bennett government was in a wake of indecision over the Aird report and blocked CHMA from transferring its license.[21] After revoking the IBSA stations and only reluctantly approving the Alliance application, the situation had now reversed itself with the government effectively forcing Alliance to stay on the air. Despite the difficult times, the medium must have had an impact; not only did it continue broadcasting, but when the Great West Bible Institute closed down in 1930, CHMA also moved into its own broadcasting centre in downtown Edmonton upgrading its transmission to 250 watts.

Sunday was the busiest broadcasting day for the young station in an age when the total weekly broadcasting period was split up among the different stations sharing frequencies. A Sunday morning service often started off the day, followed by a radio Sunday School produced by the Great West Bible Institute. A brief programme of religious music preceded a commentary on current events in light of prophecy. The hour from 5:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. featured recorded gospel songs for the *Hospital Hour*, followed by *Missionary Radiographs* and the *Children's Story by Aunt Dora*. The day wrapped up with *By the Fireside* Sunday nights.[22]

The entrance of the Alliance into the business of broadcasting meant more than simply an expanded outreach for the Christian and Missionary Alliance in central Alberta; it also opened the doors for a number of other groups to embark on their own radio ventures. CHMA reserved most of Sunday and about an hour per day over the rest of the week for Alliance

broadcasts, but eagerly rented out the remaining time to other religious organizations. For a small fee (one year they only totalled $280), CHMA broadcast shows for a wide variety of groups, including the Pentecostal Assemblies, Lutherans, Holiness Movement, Nazarenes, Regular Baptists, Western Union Baptists and a number of others.[23] While low in power, CHMA was strong enough to carry remote broadcasts from the Alberta Baptist Bible Academy in Wetaskiwin and the *Camrose Lutheran Hour*.[24] Although not all who purchased time on CHMA were necessarily "fundamentalist," the majority of these were at least strongly evangelical in character.

Despite the general success of CHMA, new governmental regulations by 1934 made it impossible for the Alliance to upgrade adequately their equipment to the required standards. The station was sold and eventually converted to the 5,000 watt CFRN, but in settling this transaction, the Alliance negotiated the right to book six and a half hours of airtime every Sunday. As it did when it owned the station, the Alliance sold what time they did not need or could not fill to other denominations.[25]

As religious broadcasting evolved between 1925 to 1945, two different but not exclusive conceptions of radio were being developed over how this media could and should be used in a religious context. Originally, the most common expression of religious radio was the broadcast of live church services, a practices carried on by both "fundamentalist" and "modernist" churches. Many fundamentalists viewed radio as representing a vaguely-defined extension of existing congregations, although Aberhart was the only to one to go so far as to offer a series of radio "club" memberships.[26] CHMA was initially very active in this field as well. Out of a total of 250 hours of broadcasting in one year (1933), CHMA transmitted 88 church services from a variety of denominations (50 were from the Alliance's Beulah Tabernacle alone).[27] The Alliance even experimented with a radio communion service, advising listeners to have bread and wine by their receiving set.[28]

Gradually, however, congregational extension began to take a second place to the idea that radio could best be used as a tool for evangelism. But reaching the unconverted through the airwaves called for a different approach and style than simply re-broadcasting church services. A whole new format was necessary to making the gospel message more appealing.

The Re-making of Religious Radio

Briercrest Bible Institute began broadcasting the *Young People's Hour* over Regina's CKCK in 1936. Originally students rose at 4:30 a.m. Sunday mornings to make the trek to Regina in time to put on their show, but by the end of 1937 a remote amplifier had been installed at the school. The *Young People's Hour* opened with the school's venerable founder, Henry Hildebrand, greeting the audience while students sang a popular gospel song in the background. A short prayer was spoken and followed quickly by more gospel songs, variously led by the choir, quartet or soloists. The gospel songs were an invaluable element in fundamentalist broadcasting, providing smooth transitions between different sections of the programme or serving as a background for a closing prayer.[29]

In addition to offering their musical talents, students often supplied dramatized conversations to convey simple messages. At times the *Young People's Hour* was the scene of a "classroom lecture" (all scripted) where students debated theological issues and answered questions with Hildebrand showing all the true light.[30] This dialogue portion of the show was later standardized as a conversation between two students, "Jean" and "Homer" who turned everyday events into analogies of salvation:

> *Jean*: Well there is something about good news that thrills one.
>
> *Homer*: Like hearing about an inheritance that you've fallen heir to. That would be thrilling enough for me.
>
> *Jean*: But Homer, I know some good news which is more thrilling than that. It is a message of love and forgiveness to the undeserving and guilty . . .[31]

The style of religious broadcasting had changed dramatically from the early days of CHMA when re-broadcasting church services was the dominant format used to reach into the community. The refinement of these techniques added to the appeal of religious radio, but it also made parts of these broadcasts practically indistinguishable from contemporary secular programming.

The trappings of the broadcast should not overshadow the fact that the heart of the programme was the sermon or devotional message. The

majority of Hildebrand's radio sermons illustrate common fundamentalist themes of redemption, atonement, grace, dispensationalism and the Second Coming. Although militant tones did not dominate his broadcasting, occasionally the radio preacher could be very spirited in his exposition:

> Some have thought and lived as though a Christian was put into a band-box immediately after his conversion and labelled for heaven – marked, "This side up? Handle with care, please" . . . Does the Bible picture the Christian as a spiritual loiterer or as a sluggard sound asleep? Far from it. The apostle Paul described the Christian life as the life of a warrior . . . The Christian is not called to a holiday, but a campaign . . . There is a war on, the world, the flesh, and the devil, yea all the forces of darkness are arraigned against him . . .[32]

Hildebrand often employed popular anecdotes and analogies to get his point across, but while vague references to the heresy of some "religious professors" were common, Hildebrand was careful never to criticize personalities or congregations directly.[33] This type of rhetoric was rarely offered as serious exposition or critique, but was rather employed to generate listener interest in a subject for the purpose of evangelism. The sermons of H.C. Gardner's *A.B.I. Gospel Hour* was similarly oriented towards a very general invitational message of salvation.[34]

Appeals for monetary support were generally treated very delicately by fundamentalists. Hildebrand felt uncomfortable with this aspect of the programme and avoided it when possible:

> . . . let me remind you friends in radio land that this broadcast is supported by the free will offerings of our listeners. This is the first time this season that we are making mention of this pressing need to you. But since the Young Peoples' Hour is passing through a time of severe testing, I felt at liberty to lay this work upon your heart.[35]

Gardner made similar, if somewhat starker, appeals by noting "it is hard to pay the radio bills unless donations come in."[36] Compared to the elaborate fund-raising schemes of Aberhart, it would appear that fundamentalists more commonly relied on a much simpler approach by employing a direct but brief appeal to the general public.

W.E. Mann claims that the reasons mainstream churches were slow in realizing the potential of radio were the internal tendencies toward

"conformity, respectability, careerism, and centralization of policy," in addition to the fact that by the time they were ready to enter the field of radio, the best time slots had been long occupied by fundamentalists.[37] However, mainstream churches did periodically broadcast services even prior to Aberhart's entrance to the field and at one time the United Church operated its own radio station in Vancouver. More credit should be given to the style of programming developed by fundamentalists; while some remained committed to only broadcasting church services, many fundamentalists realized that something different was necessary to utilize the evangelistic potential of radio. Instead of simply relying on active worship with the inevitable spots of dead-air during the sacraments, the offering, or waiting for lectors to reach the pulpit for Scripture readings, fundamentalists produced shorter, smooth-flowing programs that presented a simple format of gospel songs, prayers, and a short but direct message. By the early 1940s, this technique had been fine-tuned to a new level of proficiency.

The Professionalization of Religious Radio

Both Prairie Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute supported a unique "Evangelistic Campaign by Radio" led by California evangelist Dr. Oscar Lowry in 1938. Starting in Regina and then moving to Calgary, Lowry preached twice daily on weekdays and on Sunday evenings for six weeks. CFCN apparently charged him double the standard commercial rates for his half-hour period early in the morning, putting the cost of air time at $3,000 for the full period. However, within the six weeks spent at Calgary the virtually unknown preacher received 5,700 letters and a gross income of more than $10,000.[38] That Lowry could make such an impact in an area blanketed by a variety of religious broadcasts was remarkable. One listener commented that Lowry's campaign "wasn't just a 'preaching program' like Aberhart, but something warm and encouraging and helpful in spiritual growth."[39]

Repeated requests to continue the broadcasts led Lowry to invite an acquaintance from California to come to Calgary. C.A. Sawtell was a studious graduate of Moody who founded the Sunrise Gospel Hour in 1939 along with Trevor Kelford, a charismatic soloist, and pianist Brian King. King was soon replaced by a young pianist from Calgary, T. Elgar Roberts. Broadcasting weekday mornings and Sundays, the show was an

immediate success. However, friction developed between Sawtell and Kelford in 1941 over the signing authority of the radio contracts.[40] Sawtell left the broadcast and Roberts accepted a call to serve as musical director at Beulah Alliance Tabernacle in Edmonton, where he was involved with music on the remnants of CHMA broadcasting. Soon after, Sawtell moved to Edmonton and reunited with his pianist in founding the *Heaven and Home Hour* on CFRN.

In the meantime, Kelford sold his interests in the *Sunrise Gospel Hour* and a small Christian bookstore to J.D. Carlson, who was serving as pastor of Beulah Alliance at the time. Carlson was an ex-orchestra leader and a talented musician with a programme loosely patterned after Sawtell's, but was generally more informal in nature. In 1947 Carlson reported that he received over a hundred letters a day in the summer and 300 to 400 during the winter.[41]

Both Carlson and Sawtell employed innovative fund-raising schemes, often involving religious tracts or books. Both programmes made appeals supporting inter-denominational societies like the China Inland Mission and the Sudan Interior Mission, whose missionaries often made guest appearances. Sawtell inaugurated a very successful "Fifty Club Plan" whereby people were able to pledge twenty-five cents a week to support the personal needs of a missionary in the field.[42] Sawtell also encouraged memorization contests, offering various books and tracts as prizes.[43]

Sawtell and Carlson both gained minor celebrity status in Alberta and surrounding areas, which was indelibly enhanced by their willingness to answer the many requests they received to visit the communities within their broadcast area. On weekends, both evangelists conducted campaigns in surrounding small towns to encourage revivals which occasionally led to the establishment of new churches.[44] One participant commented that these campaigns were "a highlight . . . the country people were thrilled to meet personally those 'voices' that had been such a blessing to them."[45]

Lowry's campaign and its resulting spin-offs marked the professionalization of religious radio in western Canada in the early 1940s. Radio was no longer viewed as congregational extension or even as simply one more method of evangelism; it had become a full-time occupation for a new class of "radio preachers" like Carlson and Sawtell. According to Roberts, in order to maintain the hectic and constant schedule of broadcasting, at least $100 needed to be in the mail bag every morning to pay for the airtime and a staff of four to five people.[46] This was in sharp contrast

to the early 1930s when Pearson reported that CHMA had been able to reduce their costs to a spare four dollars per hour of broadcasting.[47] Sawtell held semi-annual audits of the *Heaven and Home Hour* which was incorporated in 1942 with a seven-member Board to govern it.[48] Everything from the musicians to the accounting had been raised from the shaky amateur beginnings of individual congregations or Bible institutes to a slick, professional business-like venture. Even CHMA (now under CFRN) as an early proponent of broadcasting church services had shifted its programming by 1945 to a collection of easy-listening evangelistic-style shows such as the daily *Chapel Chimes*, and Sunday evening's *Evening Meditation* and the *Fireside Hour*.[49]

The Medium and the Message

L.E. Maxwell of Prairie Bible Institute hailed Lowry as "one of those few present-day evangelists who has remained loyal to his call . . . having avoided the pitfalls into which evangelists so often stumble."[50] Maxwell never outlined exactly what he meant by "pitfalls," but like many other fundamentalists he was excited about the potential of the new medium. Professional evangelism had been criticized for its sensational methods, but up until the mid-1920s it at least had kept fundamentalists in the eye of the mainstream media. Following the Scopes "Monkey" Trial in 1925, however, fundamentalism was tainted with images of anti-intellectualism and backwardness. With the exception of Shields and Aberhart, few fundamentalists could hope to attract the kind of secular press coverage that had intently followed the highly-touted urban campaigns preceding the Scopes debacle. As Stewart Hoover notes, "[fundamentalism's] problems were partly, then, problems of communication. It had lost its ability to command public attention."[51] Radio offered a vast and immediate audience that did not "filter" the message or image presented by fundamentalists. Carlson and Sawtell became minor celebrities within their broadcast areas, and through the radio American evangelists such as Charles Fuller and Paul Rader had also regained the "superstar" status accorded to the earlier vintage professional evangelists.[52]

The religious content of the fundamentalist message was not unaffected by the new medium. Theologically little had changed, but the tone of radio broadcasting in comparison to early professional evangelism or print media was decidedly different. Government regulations meant that

attacking popular targets like Catholicism or the United Church could not be a part of fundamentalist radio rhetoric. Even "modernism" per se was rarely mentioned on the air. When liberal theology was criticized, it was generally couched in ambiguous and vague terminology, such as Henry Hildebrand's comment that "I fear that some religious professors may know much about being tempted, but they know little about temptation."[53]

Fundamentalists were not, however, simply following government recommendations in shifting their message. With the exception of Aberhart, few directed any polemics against these restrictions, which may suggest that fundamentalists were aware that radio was a "delicate" media that needed careful consideration, regardless of legalities. Unlike the religious press which was shamelessly employed to expose and attack the evils of modernism, Catholicism or adventist sects,[54] the use of radio meant that fundamentalists could attack little more than vague references to "worldly" or "carnal" pleasures. Even these denunciations are somewhat ironic considering how "worldly" the fundamentalist broadcasts had become. Mann notes that their programming was "similar in character to successful secular broadcasts such as soap opera drama, mystery stories, cowboy and jazz music."[55] Fundamentalists were even becoming adept at employing the popular jargon associated with broadcasting; Winnipeg evangelist Zelma Argue equated the reception of spiritual gifts with listening to "God's 'radio' . . . getting tuned in to the 'waves.'"[56]

Exactly what effect the use of radio had on fundamentalism is difficult to judge. The presentation of a general evangelical message without the schismatic overtones of earlier fundamentalist controversies undoubtedly attracted many listeners from mainline churches. While some may have felt attracted to fundamentalist denominations, many others clearly saw nothing wrong with maintaining traditional denominational ties while at the same time financially supporting a "fundamentalist" broadcast (a term rarely heard on the airwaves), especially one that proclaimed to be inter-denominational.[57] It is conceivable that radio converts attracted by a moderated message would in turn exert a moderating influence on the movement, but it is more likely that radio was only one of many factors involved in shifting fundamentalism towards its general orientation as "neo-evangelicalism" in the 1940s.[58]

The behavioral patterns of fundamentalism were affected in other ways as well. Radio was an expensive enterprise which eventually required elaborate schemes to finance effectively. Although some, like Hildebrand,

were uncomfortable with this aspect of evangelism, the growth of "pan-professional" radio preachers standardized this methodology. At one point, Kelford had even asked people to send in any gold items they had, from teeth to frames for glasses, which could be melted down to finance the show.[59]

This fund-raising style, combined with the increasingly prominent emphasis on "entertainment" items like chatty dialogue and gospel songs would appear to make radio evangelism a good candidate for the types of criticism directed at professional evangelism. While some preachers were attacked for financial accountability by critics outside fundamentalist circles, there was very little reproach from within. In attempting to engage the world through evangelism, fundamentalism found itself being conditioned to certain cultural trends that they had rejected less than twenty years previously.

Conclusion

Radio marked the "New Age" of evangelism for a number of reasons. Although fundamentalists had innovatively adapted other forms of evangelism, radio was the first to be uniquely pioneered by fundamentalists since there was no nineteenth-century evangelical precedent for comparison. The original justification for radio was that it could reach invalids and others that were isolated or otherwise prevented from receiving regular services. CHMA's mission was to present "the Message of the Gospel in Music and in Song especially to remote places where there is no church or witness of the Gospel, to homes and hospitals where listeners are unable to attend a house of worship."[60] In effect, however, religious radio became a separate and additional component to the religious culture of Western Canada, rather than a selective replacement for regular worship. Daily professional programmes gave many people a method of religious participation outside of their regular church life. Since the messages were broad and general rather than heavy-handed with doctrine, many saw no contradiction between attending a church while at the same time supporting a radio broadcast which was often sponsored or produced by another denomination or an inter-denominational organization.[61]

The use of radio also marked a different way of thinking about the methodology of evangelism. Since the rise of professional evangelism,

concerns had been raised about adopting too much of a "sensational" or "worldly" style and therefore fundamentalists were adamant in separating themselves from secular entertainment and frivolities. However, maintaining a sense of integrity while still being able to attract crowds was not easy.[62] But by the early 1940s fundamentalist perceptions of society had shifted somewhat as fundamentalists found a new home on the radio. The new media was effective in spreading the gospel, but this wonderful new technology also played questionable music such as jazz and offered humorous entertainment like Amos and Andy. By trying to engage mainstream culture in order to evangelise it, fundamentalists had been forced to accept a different way of thinking about the world. The categories of "sacred" versus "secular" shifted its boundaries to allow for media like radio to become morally neutral. By redeeming the medium, fundamentalists were able to rationalize increased broadcasting of "Christian" (or sacred) shows in order to balance the secular message of the growing entertainment industry.[63]

Quentin Schultze has argued that the fundamentalist/evangelical entrance into radio marked the creation of a "mythos of the electric church" which involved a "grafting" of technological optimism to a sense of Christian progress. Assuming that the gospel could be spread like a consumer product, Schultze criticizes evangelical broadcasters for overlooking the complexity of human communication.[64] Clifford Christians similarly claims that evangelicals were "devoid of a theory of culture" and were "inarticulate about the symbolic character of cultural forms."[65] While it is difficult to argue with these assertions in light of the recent scandals that have marred the field of television evangelism, it would be unfair to place too much blame on fundamentalism for not recognizing the cultural associations of radio since their broadcasts obviously predated the rise of modern media analysis. Nor did they necessarily treat their conception of culture "glibly"; the encroachment of "modern" methods had been a prominent concern within the movement since its inception.

In a sense, many fundamentalists did realize that radio represented more than the words being preached over it and welcomed this means to bring fundamentalism closer to a broader sense of evangelicalism. From being outcasts following the public controversies of the mid-1920s, many realized that radio was a method of re-inventing the movement along a broader evangelical base without the previous attachments of negative militancy. Joel Carpenter argues that "progressive" fundamentalists used

radio to encourage a new surge of panevangelical cooperation which eventually emerged as the "neo-evangelical" movement.[66] Radio marked not only a "new age" for evangelism, but pointed fundamentalism towards a new era of general acceptability within the context of a re-forming evangelical movement.

Endnotes

1. Much of this paper is based on my M.A. thesis "'Culture of the Soul': Fundamentalism and Evangelism in Canada, 1921-1940," University of Calgary, 1994.
2. Few have written about Shields' involvement with radio, but static interference was a constant concern to his "phantom" station CJBC (see "Radio File," Jarvis St. Baptist Church Archives).
3. See W.E. Mann, *Sect, Cult, and Church in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955), 119, 128-129.
4. The fact that many of these schools were actively involved in broadcasting might suggest that this relationship was more than coincidental.
5. The relationship between radio and the emergence of a broader evangelical coalition in the United States has been explored by Joel A. Carpenter, "From Fundamentalism to the New Evangelical Coalition," in *Evangelicalism and Modern America*, ed. George Marsden (Grand Rapids: Eerdman's Publishing Company, 1984). Joel Carpenter was gracious in allowing me to view a draft of a work in progress, currently entitled *Revive Us Again: The Recovery of American Fundamentalism 1925-1950*, notably chapter seven which focuses on the role religious radio played in promoting pan-evangelical cooperation.
6. George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 4.
7. John G. Stackhouse, Jr., *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to its Character* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 12.
8. Virginia Lieson Brereton, *Training God's Army: The American Bible School, 1880-1940* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 165-170.
9. How these overlapping stages of evangelism related to each other and to the broader fundamentalist movement is examined in more detail in "Culture of the Soul."

10. See Dennis N. Voskuil, "The Power of the Air: Evangelicals and the Rise of Religious Broadcasting," in *American Evangelicals and the Mass Media*, ed. Quentin J. Schultze (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Academic Books, Zondervan Publishing House, 1990), 70-75.

11. "The Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting," 11 September 1929, 26-27.

12. Frank W. Peers, *The Politics of Canadian Broadcasting, 1920-1951* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 6. The best study of the early (pre-CBC) days of radio is Mary Vipond, *Listening In: The First Decade of Canadian Broadcasting, 1922-1932* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

13. David R. Elliott, "The Dispensational Theology and Political Ideology of William Aberhart" (M.A. thesis, University of Calgary, 1975), 89.

14. Petitions from the Anglican church in Athabasca and the Presbytery of Edmonton both requested that the timing not interfere with regular services (F.D. Roxburgh to W. Aberhart, 5 December 1935; C.H. Conquest to W. Aberhart, 23 December 1935, Premiers' Papers, 69.289/1161, Provincial Archives of Alberta [PAA], Edmonton).

15. Rev. R.S. Stevens to W. Aberhart, 14 January 1936 (Premiers' Papers, PAA, 69.2389/1161. This letter is also published in *Aberhart: Outpourings and Replies*, ed. David R. Elliott (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta), 159-160.

16. *Aberhart: Outpourings and Replies* includes some notable examples of this (see especially an address by the President of Prairie Bible Institute, J. Fergus Kirk, entitled, "Social Credit and the Word of God," 109-122).

17. See Wayne Schmalz, *On Air: Radio in Saskatchewan* (Regina: Coteau Books, 1990), 37-42; and Peers, *The Politics of Canadian Broadcasting*, 30-31; and Vipond, *Listening In*.

18. "Royal Commission," 11.

19. J.H. Woodward, "The History of the Western Canadian District of the Christian and Missionary Alliance," transcripted address, 11 (Beulah Alliance Church, Edmonton).

20. According to Woodward, the Alliance had not realized that Canadian duties on the goods would entail close to 50% more in additional costs. After mentioning that the station was to be set up in the Great West Bible Institute, the customs agent declared that since it was to be used for educational purposes, no duty would be necessary ("History of the Western Canadian District of the Christian and Missionary Alliance," 12-13).

21. J.H. Woodward, “District Superintendent Report”, April 1930, 1 (Beulah Alliance Church).

22. This section on CHMA’s programming has been greatly aided by the work of Terry Rosenau’s unpublished research paper “Rev. Charles H.C. Jackson: A Buffer Between Giants” (on file at Beulah Alliance Church). See also *Edmonton Journal*, 28 January 1928, 8; and 9 March 1929, 16.

23. In 1931, CHMA broadcast from 28 different churches (see “18th Anniversary: Radio Gospel Broadcasts from Beulah Tabernacle, 1927-1945” [Beulah Alliance Church]).

24. “18th Anniversary” pamphlet (Beulah Alliance Church).

25. Mann, *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, 121.

26. This scheme is outlined in the “Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute Calendar,” ca. 1928, Aberhart Papers, Provincial Archives of Alberta, 69.230/1a, 12.

27. Reuban Pearson, “Radio Report,” 17-22 April 1933, 1 (Beulah Alliance Church).

28. *Edmonton Journal*, 10 March 1928, 9.

29. On the role of gospel songs within the fundamentalist movement, see James Opp, “Gospel Songs and the Emergence of Twentieth-Century Fundamentalism,” *The Christian Librarian* 36, No. 4 (1993): 105-107.

30. H. Hildebrand, “Walking In The Light,” 1 (Hildebrand Radio Sermons, Briercrest Bible College Archives).

31. *Young Peoples’ Hour*, Programme 12, 29 November 1942 (taped copy from Briercrest Bible College Archives).

32. Henry Hildebrand, “Conquerors through the Blood,” 1 (Hildebrand Radio Sermons, Briercrest Bible College Archives).

33. From Hildebrand’s notes, it appears that even the word “modernism” was rarely (if ever) mentioned over the radio.

34. Selected recordings of the *A.B.I. Gospel Hour* are available at Gardner Bible College.

35. *Young Peoples’ Hour*, Programme 13, 21 January 1945 (Taped copy from Briercrest Bible College Archives).

36. *ABI Gospel Hour*, “Churches and the Church,” n.d., Gardner Bible College.

37. Mann, *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, 132-133.

38. Mann, *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, 122. Some of these letters were from Saskatchewan, and although they arrived during the Calgary campaign, most of these were likely responses from the previous campaign in Regina. Samples were printed in the Prairie Bible Institute journal, *Prairie Pastor* 12, No. 1 (January 1939): 3-11.

39. Correspondence with Gene A. Friesen, May 1994.

40. Interview with T. Elgar Roberts, April 1994.

41. Mann, *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, 125.

42. Mann, *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, 124.

43. Correspondence with Gene A. Friesen, May 1994.

44. At least one Alliance church (Barrhead) was founded in this manner, following a community hall meeting by Carlson (Mann, *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, 126).

45. Correspondence with Gene A. Friesen, May 1994.

46. Interview with T. Elgar Roberts, April 1994.

47. "Radio Report," 17-22 April 1933, 1 (Beulah Alliance Church).

48. Mann, *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, 123.

49. "18th Anniversary" pamphlet (Beulah Alliance Church).

50. *Prairie Pastor* 12, No. 1 (January 1939): 2.

51. Stewart M. Hoover, *Mass Media Religion: The Social Sources of the Electronic Church* (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1988), 40.

52. Fuller's "Old Fashioned Revival Hour" was established in 1942 and was carried by a variety of stations in Canada. For more on Fuller, see George Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1987), 13-16.

53. H. Hildebrand, "Conquerors through the Blood," 2 (Hildebrand Radio Sermons, Briercrest Bible College Archives).

54. See for example L.E. Maxwell's denunciation of the United Church journal *The New Outlook* in *The Prairie Pastor* 5, No. 2 (February 1932), 4-11. This also indicates that "militancy" was not unique to Aberhart and T.T. Shields as suggested by Stackhouse (*Canadian Evangelicalism*, 11-12, 20-45).

55. Mann, *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, 133.

56. Zelma Argue, "God's Radio", *The Revival Broadcast* 1, No. 1 (December, 1923). The radio analogy extended not only to the name of the paper, but also to its logo which included crackling electrical lines and the title.

57. This may have been the case with my great-grandmother, Mary Chilton, who was a Scottish-born Presbyterian and later member of the Claresholm United Church. According to records kept by Charles Pearce, she is listed as having given $1.00 to the Prophetic Bible Institute (presumably to support the broadcast).

58. In some contexts, "neo-evangelicalism" refers specifically to members of the National Association of Evangelicals established in 1942, but it is also a more general term to describe a section of American fundamentalism which was "convinced that if the voice of fundamentalism could be tempered slightly, evangelical Christianity could 'win America'" (George Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* [Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdman's Publishing Company, 1991], 64). Although Canadians lacked the organizational structure of the NAE, this study suggests many fundamentalists had clearly started to downplay previous controversies and broaden their appeal in a similar fashion (see also Carpenter, "From Fundamentalism to the New Evangelical Coalition," and Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism*).

59. Interview with T. Elgar Roberts, April 1994.

60. "18th Anniversary" pamphlet (Beulah Alliance Church).

61. Even the denominationally-sponsored programmes often presented a very "inter-denominational" type message. The Alliance pledged to promote "a bond of friendship between church organizations for the promulgation of the Gospel in the providing of Radio Broadcast time to other denominations" ("18th Anniversary" pamphlet [Beulah Alliance Church]).

62. This theme is explored in "Culture of the Soul." An excellent example of the internal criticism directed against professional evangelism is R.E. McAlister's comment that, "The Church doesn't need to copy after Hollywood . . . Did [Jesus] ever cater to worldly men or worldly principles in order to accomplish His end – Absolutely No" ("A Sceptre of Righteousness," *Pentecostal Testimony* [November 1929]: 5).

63. This point is made in Quentin J. Schultze, “The Mythos of the Electronic Church,” *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 4 (1987): 249.

64. The primary article outlining Schultze’s argument is “The Mythos of the Electronic Church.” These ideas were expanded in “Keeping the Faith: American Evangelicals and the Media,” in *American Evangelicals and the Mass Media*, ed. Quentin J. Schultze (Grand Rapids: Academie Books, Zondervan Publishing House, 1990).

65. Clifford G. Christians, “Redemptive Media as the Evangelical’s Cultural Task,” in *American Evangelicals and the Mass Media*, 331-332.

66. Joel A. Carpenter, “From Fundamentalism to the New Evangelical Coalition,” 10-12.

Missionaries, Indirect Rule and the Changing Mandate of Mission in Colonial Northern Nigeria: the Case of Rowland Victor Bingham and the Sudan Interior Mission[1]

BRAD FAUGHT

In the latter part of Victoria's century Christianity seemed literally to be on the march, redrawing its historic Mediterranean and Euro-centric map to include the far-flung territories of the British Empire. North America, India, the South Pacific, all had by now experienced to a greater or lesser degree the impact of the King James Version. And by the 1890s Africa, too, was a target of the missionary imperative characteristic of earnest late-Victorian Christianity. This essay examines the early history and changing philosophy of one example of that imperative: the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM). Founded in the late 1890s by the British-born Canadian evangelical Rowland Victor Bingham, the SIM was at the time of his death in 1942 the largest Protestant interdenominational mission in Africa.

At the time of the SIM's founding much of sub-Saharan Africa was known generically as the "Soudan," literally, "land of the blacks." However, the early focus of the mission was Northern Nigeria, whose place in the annals of British colonial administrative history is assured mainly because of its demonstration of indirect rule, the system of governance inspired principally by the colony's first high commissioner and the "doyen"[2] of British colonial administrators, Sir Frederick (later Lord) Lugard (1858-1945). And it is the intersection of Bingham's SIM with Lugard's indirect rule that forms the core of this study.

Changing the Verities of Mission: From Commerce to Christianity

By the 1890s mission Christianity in sub-Saharan Africa was no longer dominated by the mid-century Livingstonian axiom of "commerce and Christianity." The missionary enthusiasm that had been rekindled by the great man's famous 1857 speech to scores of highly receptive undergraduates at Cambridge had by now waned. The alliance between commerce and Christianity, though not dead, had ceased to be the guiding principle upon which the extension of the evangelical faith was based. The Lancashire cotton depression of the 1860s contributed decisively to this change. Later, the emergence of a commitment to an evangelism unsullied by commercial associations would confirm commerce and Christianity's "disestablishment."

But for the time being, "[t]he Christianity," as Brian Stanley has told us, "which espoused the ideal of 'commerce and Christianity' was Christianity of a fundamentally evangelical variety."[3] He argues that the market orientation of "free trade in religion," made clear and irrevocable by the English constitutional revolution of 1828-32 which had the effect of reducing the Church of England to "one sect among many," naturally extended to the mission field where most evangelicals thought in terms of investment and return, in both souls and commodities.[4] Other missionaries, however, did not, notably Roman Catholics who were forbidden to engage in trade by canon law, and the High Anglicans of the Universities' Christian Mission, who were primarily concerned with establishing an episcopal system in sub-Saharan Africa. The evangelical Protestants though, infused with the Calvinist work ethic and inspired by Livingstone's injunction that "[w]e ought to encourage the Africans to cultivate for our markets as the most effectual means next to the Gospel for their elevation,"[5] disagreed. For them, the mission fields were "white already to harvest"[6] with the unsaved waiting for the "lifeline"[7] to be thrown their way. As such, most evangelicals initially considered their capitalist economic verities to be coterminous with their Christian faith. But, by the end of the century, this association could no longer be so easily made.

In fact, as Andrew Porter suggests, the relationship between "commerce and Christianity" "was never complete,"[8] and the missionary move away from its strictures was clear after about 1860. Its completeness was never assured because mammon was never at all times or in all places thought by all evangelicals to be their ineluctable partner in missionary

endeavour. And certainly when Livingstone's plans failed to materialize, especially at the Makololo Mission in south-central Africa,[9] the trial balloon that was "commerce and Christianity" was pricked. In any case it can be argued, as Robinson and Gallagher did in their classic account of the Victorians in Africa, that public interest in the continent in the late-nineteenth century was low and sporadic consisting only of "vague benevolence."[10] Such an interpretation led them to conclude that "[m]ost Britons still agreed on the need for preaching the Gospel of Christ in the Dark Continent, if few regarded it as the duty of the state."[11] Fewer still, perhaps, regarded it as the Church's duty to give pride of place, rhetorically at least, to "commerce," in its best-known slogan.

At the London Missionary Conference of 1888 this idea dominated the proceedings. As Porter observes, "participants [were] conscious that far more often than not experience showed that commerce and Christianity had failed to support each other. Criticism of the standards of native converts everywhere began to grow, and was frequently directed at their involvement in commercial pursuits."[12] This feeling had been growing over the preceding two decades, spearheaded by the "faith" missions for whom "commerce and Christianity" had become an increasingly untenable association.

In West Africa, where the SIM would soon make inroads, "[m]any of evangelical persuasion felt that the Bible should no longer be yoked to the plough."[13] Even though most evangelical missionaries during this period of intense missification believed in the superiority of their own civilization,[14] and tended, in the words of Adrian Hastings, "to despise both African culture and African capacity,"[15] they had largely ceased to espouse the old saw of "commerce and Christianity." And moreover, they had no time for its perverted cousin, the bully capitalism of Cecil Rhodes and Alfred Beit, leaders of the European imperial project in South Africa.[16]

In addition to these reasons for the shift away from "commerce and Christianity" on the mission field, can be added the advent of premillennialism. This belief, the expectation of Christ's return before the thousand years of peace on earth, gained widespread currency among many evangelicals and fundamentalists in the United States in the 1870s. It spread rapidly, and in missionary circles had the effect of stimulating a drive towards evangelization as opposed to conversion. If human history was going to end due to an act of ultrasupernaturalism, as the aggressive premillennialists impressed upon their often reticent colleagues and

superiors, what was the point of the traditional missionary concerns of civilization, education and commerce? Even the long-established (Anglican) Church Missionary Society felt this cleavage, especially in its West African work where missionary G.W. Brooke's unrelenting haste in evangelizing as many Africans as possible was powered by his premillennialism.[17]

The Embodiment of Mission: R.V. Bingham

It was within this changing missionary milieu that the SIM was founded. R.V. Bingham was a premillennialist, which helps to explain his zeal for missionary work. Born in Sussex in 1872, he emigrated to Canada as a teenager and settled in southern Ontario. Raised a Methodist, Bingham's "conversion" came at the hands of the Salvation Army, although he later left the denomination due to its policy of making financial appeals at open-air meetings.[18] Shortly after his conversion he received a "heavenly call"[19] to evangelism. A few years later this "call" was confirmed and strengthened as a result of a series of missionary sermons preached by the well-known Boston Baptist A.J. Gordon at the opening of Walmer Road Baptist Church in Toronto. "For three days," Bingham recalled years later,

> in that beautiful new building, he spoke on 'The Holy Spirit and Missions' and laid out before me the plan of Christ to give His Gospel to the whole world. When he closed his messages with an appeal to every young man and woman to surrender his or her life to Him, to go whithersoever He sent, I felt such a call in that challenge, that, however imperfectly, I surrendered this earthen vessel. I there enlisted as a real soldier of Christ.[20]

In June 1893, a short while after Bingham's missionary epiphany, he chanced to meet in Toronto a Mrs. Gowans, a woman with keen missionary instincts, who impressed upon the earnest twenty-year old the spiritual needs of the Sudan. "She spread out the vast extent of those thousands of miles south of the Great Sahara," Bingham recounted. "As she told of the sixty to ninety millions of people without a single missionary, she led me on from the rising waters of the Niger and the great river Nile . . . [A]nd ere I closed that first interview in her home she had placed upon me the

'burden of the Sudan.'"[21]

Acting on this deep conviction, Bingham and two colleagues, Thomas Kent and Walter Gowans (Mrs. Gowans' son) set out for Africa and in December 1893 landed on the Nigerian coast. Almost immediately Bingham took ill with malaria, and it was decided that he should remain in Lagos while Gowans and Kent proceeded to the interior. But dysentery and malaria respectively – the twin scourges of Africa – claimed their lives.[22] The expedition a failure, the recovered Bingham eventually returned to Canada in the spring of 1895.

Deeply disheartened[23] but not bitter, Bingham proposed "to arouse interest in the Sudan and to form a responsible Board,"[24] something which Mrs Gowans, despite her indomitable spirit, could not alone provide. This activity was to engage him for the next five years. During this period Bingham considered becoming a medical missionary and to that end received some rudimentary medical training in Cleveland. As well, he attended the Bible Institute established in New York City by A.B. Simpson, the founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance. In 1897 Bingham married, and shortly thereafter officially organized an interdenominational mission board in Toronto.[25] In January 1899 he became the full-time but unpaid secretary of the mission. And from this position he launched another missionary assault on the Sudan.[26]

During the previous summer Bingham, in a late-century and therefore, as we have seen, anachronistic echo of Livingstone, had stated the philosophy of the newly-founded Africa Industrial Mission (AIM)[27] in the pages of the *Faithful Witness*, the missionary bulletin which he had begun and of which he was both publisher and editor. Entitled "Modern Industrial Missions: A Plea for Self-Supporting and Self-Propagating Industrial Missions in Africa," Bingham argued for the Biblical and historical continuity of commerce and Christianity: "From its inception the early Church refused to divorce the spiritual from the secular . . ." Instancing William Carey, the "Father of Modern Missions," Bingham argued for "the use of Industries as an auxiliary to the preaching of the gospel." Reaching a crescendo he argued that "[i]ndustrial missions are not to be claimed among those innovations in the Church of Christ which are justified by the exigencies of the times, but historically date their existence not later than the period of Apostolic labours."[28]

The AIM had its first public meeting at the end of January 1899 at the Toronto Bible Training School, located at Walmer Road Church. After

prior consultation with the Zambezi Industrial Mission in Nyasaland, it was agreed that the AIM's two recently selected missionaries would go there for training in industrial techniques, followed by Hausa language instruction in Tripoli in the north, the site of a large Hausa community.[29] The plan then called for the purchasing of 1000 acres in Northern Nigeria, and the planting of coffee. The hope was that this mission station could achieve self-sufficiency in three years. The *Faithful Witness* reported: ". . . once the crop comes to maturity, no further money should be required for this station, and the Mission will then be free to establish others."[30]

Given what we have already seen of the decline by this time in the efficacy of "commerce and Christianity" as a missionary slogan, the AIM's enthusiasm for a dormant, if not dead, style of enterprise is surprising. It is especially so because the AIM's theological underpinnings put it in the camp of the "faith" missions. Nevertheless, Bingham and the board were determined to keep alive the Livingstonian tradition – at least for awhile.

The SIM's first concerted effort to establish a station in Northern Nigeria occurred in the same year that the Union Jack was hoisted over the territory. Northern Nigeria was now a British protectorate, and that meant an inescapable encounter with its high commissioner, Sir Frederick Lugard.

Lugard and Indirect Rule: A "Theologian" and his "Theology"

Lugard, described in a recent book as an "imperialist entrepreneur,"[31] is perhaps the best-known of British colonial theorists on Africa. He first came to prominence in this regard with the publishing of *The Rise of Our East African Empire* in 1894. He was "the archetype of the paternal imperialist,"[32] as a popular writer on the Empire notes, active in India, East Africa, and later in Hong Kong. But it was in Northern Nigeria that Lugard made his most lasting impact, and from which he popularized the system of indirect rule for which he became famous.

Indirect rule did not, however, originate in Nigeria. Since about 1870 newly-acquired British territories in Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific had been governed through this system whereby traditional authorities retained their local ascendancy behind which stood British supervision. But Lugard refined indirect rule and turned it into *the* structure of government for Northern Nigeria, as well as for other colonial dependencies.[33] His theories were later codified in *The Dual Mandate in British*

Tropical Africa, published in 1922. Liberty and self-government for Africans comprised this "dual mandate." Lugard declared in the book's introduction:

> It was the task of civilisation to put an end to slavery, to establish Courts of Law, to inculcate in the natives a sense of individual responsibility, of liberty, and of justice, and to teach their rulers how to apply these principles; above all, to see to it that the system of education should be such as to produce happiness and progress. I am confident that the verdict of history will award high praise to the efforts and achievements of Great Britain in the discharge of these great responsibilities. For, in my belief, under no other rule – be it of his own uncontrolled potentates, or of aliens – does the African enjoy such a measure of freedom and of impartial justice, or a more sympathetic treatment, and for that reason I am a profound believer in the British Empire and its mission in Africa.[34]

Lugard, like many another son of the vicarage,[35] wore his Christianity lightly. And therefore, while it was clear to him that part of the "white man's burden" was to take his faith to the far-flung areas of the earth, such faith was not to obstruct the achieving of the more general goal of civilization. After all, Lugard's childhood hero apparently was Livingstone.[36] And though it may be ironic that some of indirect rule's detractors have derided it for being a "theology,"[37] it certainly never overtly espoused a distinctly Christian one. Like his fellow imperialist the Canadian Sir George Parkin, first secretary of the Rhodes Trust, of whom it was said that God, Oxford, and the Empire were indistinguishable from one another,[38] Lugard believed the imperial mission to be a divine one. But "God works in mysterious ways his wonders to perform," and such, in Lugard's view, did not include over-zealous missionaries. And this prohibition was especially applicable to the laboratory of indirect rule, Northern Nigeria.

During the early 1900s the British consolidated their power in Northern Nigeria thanks to the combination of the maxim gun, little tribal resistance, and Lugard, who dissented from the Foreign Offices's gradualist plan for exerting British suzerainty in the region and instead "was determined to carry through an altogether different program."[39] "[R]eal control,"[40] Lugard's goal, demanded anything but non-interference. Accordingly, in March 1903 the conquered people of the Sokoto Caliph-

ate, the largest and economically[41] most promising of the colony's regions, were addressed by Lugard:

> Every Sultan and Emir and the principal officers of State will be appointed by the High Commissioner throughout all this country. The High Commissioner will be guided by the usual laws of succession and the wishes of the people and chiefs, but will set them aside if he desires for good cause to do so. The Emirs and Chiefs who are appointed will rule over the people as of old time and take such taxes as are approved by the High Commissioner, but they will obey the laws of the Governor and will act in accordance with the advice of the Resident.[42]

In this enunciation of the paradoxical way in which "indirect" rule would work in Sokoto Lugard also pledged that the government would not interfere with the Muslim religion.[43] Naturally pleased with this assurance "a murmur of deep satisfaction arose from the assembled masses."[44] Local religion and the colonial state were now in formal relationship. What did this mean for mission Christianity?

During the nineteenth-century missionary endeavours in Northern Nigeria, especially the expeditions of 1841, 1854 and 1857, had been supported by both metropolitan and local political and commercial interests.[45] However, later in the century when Sir George Goldie and the Royal Niger Company dominated affairs in the region,[46] the relationship between missions and mammon deteriorated due to Goldie's desire to exclude African middlemen – who were often the relatives, friends, and parishioners of African missionaries – from trade.[47] Thus by the time the SIM entered the scene missions were no longer seen as a necessarily desirable means for extending Western civilization. More often than not they were seen as disruptive of the political and commercial relationships built up by the imperialists, whose aims did not usually include any concerted effort at adhering to the Great Commission.

For the evangelical missionaries of Northern Nigeria, whose activities had been inspired in part by the idea of trusteeship – the so-called "code of the British colonial empire" – the fraying of the relationship between missionary and trader marked a critical change in the equations hitherto worked out between them in the region. As Robinson writes of the earlier days of West African empire, "[b]y means of the trust idea . . . the

missionary could lean on the arm of the trader and official without hypocrisy."[48] Now, it seemed, such accepted verities were no longer in force.

"Leaning" on the colonial official in Northern Nigeria was a task that fell to the SIM in earnest in 1900 when Bingham went out to the protectorate to scout for a suitable location for the establishment of the first station. The official policy of excluding Christian missionaries from the far-northern emirates meant that finding a site would be difficult. Since "Lugard's policy was to disturb things as little as possible,"[49] missionary activity in the north was not encouraged. "I myself am of opinion," Lugard stated in defence of his policy,

> that it is unwise and unjust to force missions upon the Mohammedan population, for it must be remembered that without the moral support of the Government these missions would not be tolerated. And it they were established by order of the Government the people have some cause to disbelieve the emphatic pledges I have given that their religion shall in no way be interfered with.[50]

But Lugard did not actively campaign against the expansion of missionary work in the north. And so, despite misgivings then and later about the "hostility"[51] accorded the missionaries by some British officials, it was there, at Patigi, in the province of Ilorin, that the SIM established itself.

Emirates divided the vastness of Northern Nigeria into a less daunting landmass. Prior to the British conquest missionaries had been allowed to proselytize a village only on permission of its chief. Under the new colonial regime the importance of such chiefs was magnified because of the requirements of indirect rule. The cooperation of indigenous rulers was the cornerstone of the theory and therefore it was something that Lugard was loath to endanger. In the areas populated by "pagans" – so-called because of their non-Muslim animistic beliefs – the ruling Fulani emir was given free reign to continue as the local suzerain.[52] The ruling classes of Northern Nigerian society were the ones that most interested Lugard, and his policy of religious neutrality was designed to ensure their continued cooperation.

By the time Lugard took up his proconsular position in Northern Nigeria his childhood evangelicalism had metamorphosed into a set of

unorthodox beliefs, guided largely by the firm conviction that the British were in Africa to fulfil their God-given mandate as imperial benefactors. And despite his occasional annoyance with the missionaries that caused him to write to his wife about "[t]heir ignorance of the usages of the world, their efforts to please and their damned bad tea. Their unconscious assumption that nothing matters except themselves . . ,"[53] their admiration of him was not diminished. Such should come as no surprise since, as Clive Dewey maintains, Lugard's "crusade for the regeneration of Africa reads like an evangelical morality tale."[54] As "the chivalrous soldier protecting Christian missions"[55] Lugard embodied the best of his own middle-class evangelical traditions. It was thought that his "muscular Christianity" was precisely what was needed on the African frontier in order to subdue the manifestly barbarous native and extend the enlightening Gospel. All over the Empire paternalism was hitting stride,[56] and Lugard's complete identification with it drew the highest praise from various missionary groups. Notably, Dr. Walter Miller, leader of the CMS in Hausaland, dedicated his first book[57] "To Lord Lugard, Africa's Friend."[58] And in his history of the SIM Hunter refers to Lugard as "an ornament to British colonial administration" and as someone who had the "highest regard"[59] for Christian missionaries.

In allowing the SIM to establish itself at Patigi Lugard had given at least tacit approval to their stated goal of bringing about an industrial mission. As we have seen, such a goal was an old one on the African mission field and during its early articulation was invariably offered in the context of the anti-slavery movement. As one-time CMS secretary Henry Venn flatly stated: "You [missionaries] must show the native chiefs that it is more profitable to use their men for cultivating the ground than to sell them as slaves."[60] Slavery was still highly prevalent in Northern Nigeria and, for Lugard, the most pressing of problems: ". . . there is none more engrossing than that of slavery, and as to assist in its solution has been the consistent object of my efforts since I entered Africa."[61]

To that end, Lugard supported "legal-status" abolition of slavery, first adopted in British India in 1843. Under this scheme slavery itself was not actually abolished, but the distinction between slave and free was removed and slaves could leave their masters without any formal emancipation.[62] In effect, it was a system that granted "permissive freedom" to the slaves. Given the commonplace nature of slavery in Northern Nigeria, "[i]t was," writes Margery Perham, "out of the question for the Government to

abolish slavery: as an immediate measure it was neither possible nor desirable, as the bottom would have dropped out of society and the country would have been flooded with masterless and homeless people."[63] Accordingly, Lugard adopted a cautious approach to the eradication of slavery in the protectorate, as evidenced by his Slavery Proclamations of 1900 and 1901, and the memo on slavery he released in 1906.[64] In addition to the reason Perham gives for caution, however, there was also the question of political hegemony over the areas of the protectorate which were not under British control, and, most importantly, the support of the slave-holding chiefs required to ensure the maintenance of indirect rule.[65]

By co-opting the Fulani, the leading native element in Northern Nigeria, Lugard was able to satisfy the indigenous authority's claims on power while at the same time ensuring British paramountcy. Slavery, a key constant in native hierarchy, was therefore kept in place until its existence no longer mattered to its purveyors. That, of course, came later in the century when new relationships were worked out with the imperial overlord and is beyond the scope of this study. But for the SIM, Lugard's slavery policy gave credence to its own advocacy of industrial missions, and goes some distance in answering the question of why the SIM set itself up on the Livingstone model. If "legitimate" commerce was still the goal in Northern Nigeria, then the SIM would help provide the means for its attainment. For "[i]t was the needs of the 'Dark Continent,'" explained one writer in the December 1899 issue of the *Faithful Witness*, "and the conviction that more could be done to utilise industries as an aid to the spiritual work that brought the society into existence."[66]

Among the needs identified were "HEATHENISM, SLAVERY, [and] NAKEDNESS." As for the latter, one missionary opined that "[n]one of them – men, women, or children – have more than a few inches of goatskin, bark-cloth, or a rag of cotton to cover their nakedness. Oh! the heart-breaking pity of it!"[67] But, such Victorian prudery was tempered by the measured tones of those like James Acton, AIM treasurer, who felt that nakedness might not be the most pressing of African problems. He emphasised that "as a Christian *business* man, the Industrial Mission appealed most strongly to him."[68] Missionaries were expected to develop the resources on the field by employing and encouraging the natives in industry and self-support. They were forbidden to "trade, speculate or invest money on the foreign field for private gain."[69] Industrial work – mainly meaning coffee production – was to be engaged in wholeheartedly

but never at the expense of the Gospel. Here we see an example of the tensions in the missionary world at this time between the old verities of civilization and commerce, and the rejuvenated injunction of preaching the Good News alone. The AIM's "Practises and Principles" stated unequivocally that its first work was "to evangelize."[70] Yet its working arrangement with the colonial authorities in Northern Nigeria was to school the native population in the ways of western commerce so as to gradually wean them away from slavery without at the same time imperilling indirect rule.

The AIM's approach to mission work was certainly not new. But what it illustrates is the resilience of the Livingstonian tandem of beliefs at such a late date – and within a "faith" mission. And such was true on both sides of the Atlantic. As the *Faithful Witness* reported:

> The importance of industries as an aid to missions has received such prominence in England that a society entitled "The Industrial Missions Aid Society" has been formed . . . It is beyond dispute that Industrial Missions wisely managed are a valuable auxiliary to ordinary missionary work, and undoubtedly can be usefully and safely employed in such undertakings . . .[71]

The Calvinist current was strong in this propaganda. In a clear articulation of the Protestant work ethic, the successor of the *Faithful Witness*, the *Missionary Witness*, observed that "[t]he bulk of Christians are enjoined by apostolic teaching to pursue their ordinary avocation in life, and therein to labour as witnesses for Christ . . ." Ever more expansive it continued:

> The opening of the field of industry to world-wide competition, and the international progress of commercial intercourse, is furnishing one of the grandest opportunities afforded to any age for men and women to plant themselves in every land, and, while pursuing their ordinary avocation, to become witnesses for Christ to the ends of the earth . . .[72]

Philosophical Shifts within the SIM

Meanwhile, the Patigi station itself was meeting with less than success in its "industrial" ventures. Soil in the area was not proving conducive to the growing of either coffee or cotton. Moreover, the spiritual

harvest was equally depressing.[73] A member of the first group of missionaries to go to Patigi, Edwin Judd, wrote Bingham a long letter in 1903 detailing these and other problems, part of which reads as follows:

> Regarding the industrial part of our work I see nothing discouraging though it is easy to see many difficulties in the way of making it a success . . . I am going to continue my search for good soil and next season we will plant the different things we desire to grow in the different places where good soil is found and after finding the soil needed we will have to have our farm in that place if possible . . . If we are to have industrial missions we must go to the places suitable for the industries we desire to take up . . . In a conversation with Mr. [William] Wallace, the high commissioner of Nigeria [he was in fact the Lieutenant Governor of Northern Nigeria], he said that the government was much in favour of our Mission and would be glad to help us in any way in our industrial work and would be willing for us to establish a mission in almost any small town within the protectorate but said that it would not be advisable to go to any of the large cities such as Kano or Sokoto.[74]

This letter is interesting and revealing for at least a couple of reasons. First, it suggests that the idea of "industrial missions" was a hazy one. Apparently, Judd did not think that Patigi was ever going to bear much industrial fruit. Though the lines of international communication were relatively slow, it is doubtful that Judd would have been completely ignorant of the debate going on at home over whether or not missionary work should be linked to commerce. Could he have been presaging a change soon to become more routinized amongst evangelical missions, and by indicating as much hope to relieve the Patigi station of the added industrial burden? Second, it shows the degree to which indirect rule influenced missionary work in the north. William Wallace's advice to the AIM to stay out of the larger cities is evidence of the government's desire to limit the disruptive activities of missions and to honour its pledge to the emirs that precluded interfering with Islam. Patigi itself had a Muslim ruler, but it was an obscure place and not likely to engender much indigenous criticism. Nevertheless, in later years even some chiefs in the Patigi area "were irritated by young men from the educational institutions of the S.I.M. who went about preaching in what they considered to be an arrogant manner as if they knew everything about the world and their

elders knew nothing."[75]

Influenced partly by reports from the field and partly by his own premillennialism, Bingham was slowly coming to the conclusion that "industrial" missions might in fact be an impediment to the true work of the Gospel – evangelisation. Missionary self-support in the Livingstone tradition was not at issue as Bingham's reply to Judd's letter suggests: "I am still of opinion that cotton growing and its manufacture will prove one of the best industries . . ."[76] But the pervasive industrial and commercial ethos of the West, and its obvious divergence from the material simplicity of the New Testament, was having an effect on the purveyors of AIM-style missionary activity. In this vein Bingham mildly reprimanded Judd for allegedly patterning himself "too much after the CMS in the matter of food and meals, and many of their customs find their source in the English aristocracy. I would rather pattern after a simpler model if we are ever to have an extensive work in the Soudan."[77]

While it is undoubtedly the case that what passed for extravagance in Bingham's eyes would have done so in those of few others, it is equally clear that the model missionary for the SIM was to be the highly spiritual ascetic. And this shift in emphasis was seen swiftly at the Board level. In the late-summer of 1905 the trustees of the AIM decided to change their enterprise's name to the "Africa Evangelistic Mission." In true evangelical style a "season of prayer" and "lengthy discussions"[78] preceded the decision which was explained thus:

> Owing to undue emphasis upon the industrial phase of the work in the minds of the people, many of whom have thought that the object of the Mission was to civilize rather than to evangelize, it has been decided to drop the central word from the old name . . . The primary object of the Mission has ever been to make known the Glad Tidings to the benighted heathen. Industrial, medical and educational operations have simply been an adjunct to the spiritual work.[79]

These evangelicals, it seems, were attempting to heighten the sense of evangelistic urgency in mission work and in so doing distance themselves from the secular civilizing mission of the larger imperial thrust, as well as from some of their own co-religionists on the mission field. For Bingham, his premillennialism compelled him to pull back from the creeping materialism and secularism of the industrial West because this

new belief placed before him a vision of a stripped-down Christian spirituality, unencumbered by the trappings of empire. Along with many others, he did not want the spirit of Christ presented as an incident of Imperial conquest.[80]

In 1906, the year after the SIM had removed "industrial" from its masthead, Lugard left Northern Nigeria to take up the governorship of Hong Kong. (He returned in 1912 to orchestrate the unification of the North and the South.) He was succeeded as high commissioner by the Canadian railway builder Sir Percy Girouard.[81] A Roman Catholic, Girouard had little sympathy for evangelical Protestant missionaries, whom he thought "half-civilized."[82] He continued Lugard's policy of non-interference in Muslim areas, but "[p]ersonally I should like to see the Missions withdraw entirely from the Northern States," he wrote to the former high commissioner, "for the best missionary for the present will be the high-minded, clean-living British Resident."[83] Girouard did not get his wish, but neither did the government waver in its insistence that "[w]hat-ever threatened the Muhammedan religion threatened the authority of the Emirs and so imperilled the organisation of 'Indirect Rule.'"[84] Girouard's animosity towards missions was reciprocated by the SIM (after praising Lugard, Hunter is silent on Girouard, his fellow countryman).

Lugard's departure from Northern Nigeria marks the end of the period upon which this study has focused. Indirect rule's entrenchment in Northern Nigeria of course continued long after Lugard's time, remaining in place until Nigeria achieved independence in 1960. During indirect rule's earliest years in the protectorate the SIM was able to coexist with it largely because of Lugard's essential receptivity to the idea of missions – if not always to their fact – and because the SIM did not greatly dissent from the general civilizing thrust that was indirect rule's rhetorical backbone. Though indirect rule is now criticized by some for having been "negative and conservative,"[85] and Lugard himself is mocked by others for being great only in his ability to propagandize,[86] such an adversarial stance was not one conceivable to Bingham at the time. Lugard and the colonial state were the guarantors of the SIM's operations, even though the apparent succour given to Islam in the name of indirect rule rankled.[87] But official religious neutrality was no barrier to general ideological receptiv-ity. And such is what Lugard, as "the idol of the missionary lobby,"[88] offered to the SIM.

It was "commerce and Christianity" as a missionary slogan and as

a philosophical bulwark that was the SIM's chief focus for debate, not indirect rule. Helped along by Bingham's premillennialism, and by the increasing commercialization characteristic of life in the West – indicative of the Christian-Imperial "cultural hegemony" of which Gramsci later wrote so influentially[89] – the SIM partially jettisoned its commitment to the old verities of missionary service in order to embrace the premillennialist imperative of the lean and urgent evangelistic message. If indirect rule allowed for that to exist – indeed to flourish – then it comes as no surprise that Lugard's popularity would be widest among those whose missionary success could be attributed partly to his beneficence. Ironically, later in the century, it was often mission-educated Africans who were prominent in the drive for independence, and with its attainment came, of course, the end of indirect rule.

Endnotes

1. I would like to thank Professors George Rawlyk and Robert Shenton of the Department of History at Queen's University for their helpful suggestions when part of this paper was contained in an M.A. thesis, and Professor Paul Kingston of the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto for reading it in its penultimate form.

2. Donald A. Low, *Lion Rampant: Essays in the Study of British Imperialism* (London: F. Cass, 1973), 68.

3. Brian Stanley, "'Commerce and Christianity': Providence Theory, the Missionary Movement, and the Imperialism of Free Trade, 1842-1860," *The Historical Journal* 1 (1983): 72.

4. Stanley, "Commerce and Christianity," 76.

5. Quoted in *Christianity in Tropical Africa*, ed. C.G. Baeta (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 202.

6. A favourite image taken from John 4:35 used often by evangelical missionaries.

7. "Throw out the Lifeline," is the title of a popular missionary hymn, still found almost unfailingly in evangelical hymnbooks.

8. Andrew Porter, "'Commerce and Christianity': The Rise and Fall of a Nineteenth Century Slogan," *The Historical Journal* 28, 3 (1985): 616.

9. See Tim Jeal, *Livingstone* (New York: Putnam, 1973), 175-84.

10. Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher with Alice Denny, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1981), 24.

11. Robinson and Gallagher, *Africa and the Victorians*, 24.

12. Porter, "Commerce and Christianity," 618.

13. Andrew Porter, "Evangelical Enthusiasm, Missionary Motivation and West Africa in the Late Nineteenth Century: The Career of G.W. Brooke," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 6, 1 (October 1977): 25-6.

14. As one historian forcefully puts it, "[t]he missionaries' unilinear, biblical, and teleological model of cultural development necessarily culminated in 'Christian culture,' and Christianity's first task was seen as bringing 'culture' to 'uncivilized' peoples . . ." (Horst Grunder, "Christian Missionary Activities in Africa in the Age of Imperialism and the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885," in *Bismarck, Europe, and Africa: The Berlin Africa Conference of 1884-1885 and the Onset of Partition*, eds., S. Forster, W.J. Mommsen and R.E. Robinson [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988], 100).

15. Adrian Hastings, *African Christianity* (New York: Seabury Press, 1976), 3.

16. For a recent study of the economics of empire, see Lance E. Davis and Robert A. Huttenback, *Mammon and the Pursuit of Empire: The Economics of British Imperialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

17. Porter, "Evangelical Enthusiasm, Missionary Motivation and West Africa," 40.

18. B.A. McKenzie, "Fundamentalism, Christian Unity, and Premillennialism in the Thought of Rowland Victor Bingham (1872-1942): A Study of Anti-Modernism in Canada," Ph.D. Diss., Toronto School of Theology, 1985, 39.

19. Quoted in McKenzie, "Fundamentalism, Christian Unity, and Premillennialism in the Thought of Rowland Victor Bingham (1872-1942)," 34.

20. R.V. Bingham, *Seven Sevens of Years and a Jubilee! The Story of the Sudan Interior Mission* (Toronto: Evangelical Publishers, 1943), 14-15.

21. Quoted in J.H. Hunter, *A Flame of Fire: The Life and Work of R.V. Bingham* (Toronto: Sudan Interior Mission, 1961), 55.

22. Gowans died in November and Kent in December 1894.

23. "My faith was being shaken to the very foundation," Bingham recalled. Quoted in Hunter, *Flame of Fire*, 69.

24. Bingham, *Seven Sevens of Years and a Jubilee*, 25.

25. Among those on the board was the influential Elmore Harris, scion of the latter half of the country's largest corporation at the time, Massey-Harris, first pastor of Walmer Road Baptist Church, and founder of the Toronto Bible Training School, forerunner of Toronto Bible College (John G. Stackhouse, Jr., *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to Its Character* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993], 55).

26. The above biographical sketch is fleshed out in McKenzie's and Hunter's accounts, as well as in Bingham's own.

27. The SIM was known by various names before settling on the one that it has retained to this day.

28. *Faithful Witness*, 19 July 1898, Archives, SIM International, Toronto.

29. *Faithful Witness*, 7 February 1899.

30. *Faithful Witness*, 7 February 1899.

31. Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993), 24.

32. James Morris, *Farewell the Trumpets: An Imperial Retreat* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979), 388.

33. Lugard, observes one historian, raised indirect rule from being "just an expedient in times of financial hardship and lack of staff to a complete philosophy of Government for Britain's colonial peoples" (Michael Crowder, *The Story of Nigeria* [London: Faber and Faber, 1962], 201). Similarly, John Flint remarks that the British, "made native administration both a blueprint for action and a moral and theoretical philosophy with which to justify imperial rule in the twentieth-century" ("Frederick Lugard: The Making of an Autocrat (1858-1943)," in *African Proconsuls: European Governors in Africa*, eds., L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan [New York: Free Press, 1978], 291).

34. F.D. Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (London: Blackwood, 1926), 5.

35. His father was a Church of England chaplain in Madras, and his mother was a missionary.

36. Flint, "Frederick Lugrad."

37. Notably, Ronald Robinson. See, for instance, his "European Imperialism and Indigenous Reactions in British West Africa, 1880-1814," in *Expansion and Reaction: Essays on European Expansion and Reactions in Asia and Africa*, ed. H.L. Wesseling (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1978), 162.

38. Richard Symonds, *Oxford and Empire: The Last Lost Cause?* (London: Macmillan, 1986), 253.

39. Flint, "Frederick Lugard," 298.

40. Flint, "Frederick Lugard," 298.

41. For a tightly-argued economic history of Sokoto see Robert Shenton, *The Development of Capitalism in Northern Nigeria* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), especially chapters three and four.

42. Quoted in Margery Perham, *Lugard: The Years of Authority 1898-1945* (London: Collins, 1960), 13.

43. Perham, *Lugard*.

44. Charles Orr, *The Making of Northern Nigeria* (London: Cass, 1965), 128.

45. E.P.T. Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria* (London: G. Chapman, 1979), 16-22.

46. See J.E. Flint, *Sir George Goldie and the Making of Nigeria* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960).

47. Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*, 22.

48. R.E. Robinson, "The Moral Disarmament of African Empire," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 8, 1 (October 1979): 87-88.

49. Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*, 52.

50. F.D. Lugard, *Political Memoranda*, 3rd. ed. (London: F. Cass, 1918), 24.

51. Hunter, *Flame of Fire*, 116-17, 123-25.

52. For an elaboration of Northern Nigerian emirship see Michael Crowder and Obaro Ikime, eds., *West African Chiefs: Their Changing Status under Colonial Rule and Independence* (New York: Africana Pub. Corp., 1970), 162-210.

53. Quoted in Andrew Porter, "Margery Perham, Christian Missions and Indirect Rule," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 19, 3 (October 1991): 83.

54. Clive Dewey, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes: The Mind of the Indian Civil Service* (London: Hambledon Press, 1993), 25.

55. Dewey, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes*, 42.

56. The best example I have seen of this phenomenon is that of Cecil Earl Tyndale-Biscoe who was head of Kashmir School from 1890-1947, and whose philosophy is captured exactly by the title of his book, *Character Building in Kashmir*.

57. W.R. Miller, *Reflections of a Pioneer* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1936).

58. Quoted in Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*, 55.

59. Hunter, *Flame of Fire*, 88.

60. *Faithful Witness*, 7 September 1990, Archives, SIM International, Toronto.

61. Lugard, *Political Memoranda*, 354.

62. See Jan Hogendorn and Paul Lovejoy, "The Development and Execution of Frederick Lugard's Policies Toward Slavery in Northern Nigeria," *Slavery and Abolition* 10 (1989): 1.

63. Margery Perham, *Native Administration in Nigeria*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 50.

64. See Hogendorn and Lovejoy, "Development and Execution of Frederick Lugard's Policies," 9-10, 27-30.

65. Philip Igbafe, "Slavery and Emancipation in Benin, 1897-1945," *Journal of African History* 16 (1975): 417.

66. *Faithful Witness*, 19 December 1899.

67. AIM Leaflet No. 3, "Africa!! Its People and Their Needs," 1900, Archives, SIM International, Toronto.

68. *Faithful Witness*, 19 December 1899.

69. Edward Rice, *et al*, "Practises and Principles of the AIM," 1903, Archives, SIM International, Toronto.

70. Rice, *et al*, "Practises and Principles of the AIM."

71. *Faithful Witness*, 7 November 1899.

72. *Missionary Witness*, 15 November 1904.

73. During the first thirty years of the Patigi station's existence only seven Nupes, the prominent local tribe, were baptized (Patigi, Miscellaneous, 1904-1945, SR-28/A, Archives, SIM International, Toronto).

74. Edwin George Judd, Patigi, Nigeria (N.) to R.V. Bingham, Superintendent, Toronto, 2 August 1903, Archives, SIM International, Toronto.

75. Crampton, *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*, 54.

76. R.V. Bingham, Superintendent, Toronto, to Edwin George Judd, Patigi, Nigeria (N.), 7 October 1903, Archives, SIM International, Toronto.

77. R.V. Bingham, Superintendent, Toronto, to Edwin George Judd, Patigi, Nigeria (N.), 7 October 1903, Archives, SIM International, Toronto.

78. Board of Trustees minutes, 12 September 1905, Archives, SIM International, Toronto.

79. *Missionary Witness*, 17 October 1905.

80. Margery Perham, *Lugard*, 509.

81. See A.H.M. Kirk-Greene, "Canada in Africa: Sir Percy Girouard, Neglected Colonial Governor," *African Affairs* 83, 331 (April 1984): 207-39.

82. Quoted in E.A. Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1918* (New York: Humanities Press, 1967), 146. See also, Ayandele, "The Missionary Factor in Northern Nigeria 1870-1918," in *The History of Christianity in West Africa*, ed. O.U. Kalu, (New York: Longman, 1980), 133-58.

83. Ayandele, *The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria 1842-1918*, 147.

84. Colonial Office Statement of 1917.

85. Robinson, "European Imperialism," 163.

86. For instance, I.N. Nicholson, *The Administration of Nigeria, 1900-1960: Men, Methods, and Myths* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

87. See especially the views of Guy Playfair, former SIM field director (Hunter, *Flame of Fire*, 117).

88. Dewey, *Anglo-Indian Attitudes*, 13.

89. See Joseph V. Femia, *Gramsci's Political Thought: Hegemony, Consciousness and the Revolutionary Tradition* (London: Clarendon Press, 1981).

Ethnicity and Piety Among Alberta's "German" Baptists

DAVID T. PRIESTLEY

One of Alberta's major Baptist unions has a definite ethnic origin among German immigrants. Strongly acculturated since its beginnings in the 1890s, it reflects many of the ambiguities of religion in Canada and the United States in addition to the complexities of Europe's politics and Christianity. Although the North American Baptist Conference (NAB)[1] warrants attention because of its historic ethnicity and because it is the largest (by a slight margin) of the Baptist bodies in Alberta (see Appendix I), of greater interest interest to the church historian is the way in which the NABs serve as a case study in transatlantic evangelicalism and the varied theological currents of the twentieth century.

The first GBs in Alberta homesteaded south of Edmonton in 1889. They were part of the massive Russian-German emigration motivated by changing policies toward the czars' once-favoured settlers. They brought with them the subculture of the German diaspora and the specific Baptist ethos developed by nineteenth-century evangelicalism in Eastern Europe.

The German "Diaspora" in Eastern Europe

German people spread eastward along the Baltic coast as the Hanseatic merchant League arose in the eleventh century. Permanent German populations accumulated in coastal shipping points and along the former Viking routes into the interior of what are today Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Russia and Ukraine. Post-Reformation politics ensured a

permanent Prussian hegemony in the Baltics, fluctuating with its own and Polish, Lithuanian and Russian dynastic vicissitudes.

Poland's kings during the seventeenth century invited Flemish and Frisian Anabaptists to apply their wetlands-drainage technology and agricultural skills to make the Marienburg coastal marshes around Danzig productive. To encourage this immigration, the Mennonites received special privileges which later were confirmed in perpetuity.[2] Although the bulk of nineteenth-century German emigration came to North America and a few were attracted to South America (Brazil and Paraguay) in the aftermath of the Napoleonic upheavals, thousands of Germans resettled to eastern Europe.[3] This German "diaspora" were for the most part, farmers, small businessmen, artisans and craftsmen accustomed to cottage industry.

The three great powers of the eighteenth century – Prussia, Russia and Austria – all developed similar strategies for the "inner colonization" of hereditary and newly-acquired territories in order to increase productivity, expand agricultural development, create wealth, improve native crafts and industry, and secure regional control. First western Poland, then Volhynia and Galicia, finally the Volga, Transcaucasus, Crimea and Ukraine were the major regions the respective governments sought to colonize. By inducements of land grants, goods, travel assistance, even cash payments, the governments wooed the citizens of other nations or tempted their own subjects to relocate. Immigrants would be free to practice their respective religions as well as to establish schools in their vernacular.[4]

The Protestant diaspora Germans organized synodical structures in the places where population density permitted. However, most congregations were small and less than affluent so resident pastors were few; the ministers served a number of points. This scarcity of clergy left local church life for many years in the hands of lay leaders. Lutherans, for example, often depended upon the local school teacher to catechize the children, to bury the dead, to lead the weekly worship services, even to conduct Bible studies and prayer meetings. A variety of devotional books and postils (sermons for the church year) were available for these purposes. An ordained pastor would perform confirmations, weddings, and Eucharist when he visited each congregation on his "circuit."

Roman Catholic settlers were served by their priests in comparable circuits; the native population had traditional access to the Russian Orthodox ministry. The Mennonites developed system of church organization that (by state-church standards) was an entirely lay ministry.

Nineteenth-century Continental Evangelicalism

Baptist growth among diaspora Germans in eastern Europe is primarily a part of the larger nineteenth-century evangelical movement on the continent. Anglo-american evangelicalism stirred all of Europe in the nineteenth century. The evangelical message, however much caricatured, is a restatement of the basic Protestant principle of salvation by grace through faith. Evangelicals understand that to be a Christian one must repent of sin and believe Christ has atoned for sin, "my sin." Christianity, like any set of ideas and behaviours, easily becomes habit and custom; conviction is often nominal. Evangelicalism, by its call to conversion and faith, challenged nominal confession and sought to normalize intentional Christianity.[5]

Evangelical enthusiasm for piety and good works attracted aristocrats and peasants, whether Russian Orthodox, Lutheran, Reformed, even the occasional Roman Catholic. It was in large measure a lay movement. Bible and tract societies arose to provide edifying and evangelistic literature in the homelands and in the eastern colonies. It built on existing Pietist institutions but pressed into other locales, in partnership with the Pietists or on their own initiative. For practical reasons, evangelicals usually ignored confessional issues and distinctions.[6] However, nineteenth-century Baptists, Methodists and Darbyists couched the evangelical message in distinctive ecclesiological proposals.[7]

In addition to such formal efforts, evangelicalism also flowed into Europe through the pens of immigrants to North America who here were confronted with the energy and novelty of revivalism and a Wesleyanized nineteenth-century church life: ". . . countless family connections across the Atlantic . . . had developed with the emigrants. Millions of people were connecting links; and by means of letters, literature, and visits to the homelands, Europe was influenced."[8]

The new activism and revivalism joined easily with the Pietist sympathies found in significant measure throughout the German and Swedish diaspora no less than in their west European homelands to generate a distinctive *Erweckungsbewegung* or *Réveil*. With or without Pietist predispositions, people everywhere experienced spiritual renewal; and each new convert became a witness to spread the awakening.

In southern Russia, an evangelical Lutheran, Eduard Wuest, became

the agent of revival among Mennonites that produced the "Mennonite Brethren Churches" and the "Krimmer Mennonite Brethren."[9] In Poland, a newly-converted Lutheran schoolmaster, G.F. Alf, heard about Prussian Baptists and invited them to come give advice to his evangelical Bible study group that was beginning to question the practice of infant baptism.[10] Elsewhere, evangelical colporteur-evangelists sparked an awakening that resulted in the formation of a new church or a Baptist missionary came with deliberate intent.

There was both official and popular resistance to this European evangelicalism. Synods disciplined; governments imprisoned, fined and banished; mobs disrupted services and abused leaders and followers; families disavowed children and siblings. A sort of new "history of martyrs" developed that detailed injustice and hostility, suffering and heroism in apostolic and apocalyptic terms. Evangelicals who left the traditional churches to become Baptists or Darbyists were particular objects of opprobrium. As "new Donatists" they added "schism" and "rebaptism" to their "enthusiasm" and thus offended law as well as taste.

Baptists Amidst the Evangelical Revival

The "churchly" evangelicals had to endure this intolerance in both western and eastern Europe. Thus continental Baptists began in a situation of harassment. This circumstance, once the upheavals of the 1850s subsided into an uneasy, often suspicious public toleration, often disposed them to a quietest attitude.

Nineteenth-century evangelicalism infused the older Pietist, Puritan, and confessional hymnody with a new fervour; it embraced the eighteenth-century Wesleyan hymnody as its own, and it forged a new style of "Gospel song." German Baptists adopted the revival and Sunday School hymnody made accessible by Walter Rauschenbusch. The American-born GB pastor and professor at Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, translated many of the songs of Sankey, Crosby and others. Music in a gospel mood marked GB worship and evangelism, and nurtured piety in family devotions. Fiddles and guitars often accompanied congregational singing even in the poorer meeting places. Likewise choirs for women, men, youth and children appeared early in the development of most churches.

Baptist ecclesiology required general participation and the cultivation of local leadership. But the Baptist Union in Germany also supported

itinerant workers, gifted as evangelists and church planters, whose influence standardized programs, understandings and practices.

The members of the scattered village fellowships were reckoned members of the central church in the region. So the "church" experience of many was customarily a "house church" one. Consequently, the gathering of the whole church in its central location, by its very rarity, became a powerful experience of worship and fellowship.

Evangelicals tend to be biblicists. German Baptists, too, were "people of the Book" in a pietistic way. Access to higher education was difficult for the diaspora Germans; the Baptists especially were not often landed, wealthy or prominent. Evangelical literature was devotional rather than critical, homiletical rather than scholarly. Spurgeon was highly regarded.

These descriptions of GB life in the small towns and farming villages of eastern Europe shared the styles of life, worship and church activity in the German "homeland." Both were influenced by anglo-american evangelical standards in reaction to the perceived apathy and impotence of the state-churches from which the first generation of converts came.

German Baptists within North American Evangelicalism

The founders of Alberta's GB churches arrived in two significant stages from the German diaspora and the homeland: pioneer homesteaders (1880-1920), and post-World War II refugees (1950s). Each wave brought and reinforced the basic ethos just described. These newcomers also merged into the structures that North America's GBs had built and for whom the larger North American evangelical ethos had been determinative since these ethnic churches began.[11]

German Baptist churches in North America appeared in the 1840s among immigrants to New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania. Immigrant German evangelicals, and agents of the American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS) assigned to evangelize the new Americans, won converts and formed them into churches. The pastors of five GB churches in New York, Pennsylvania and Ontario assembled in Philadelphia in 1851 to plan a comprehensive strategy. Only after the American Civil War which had interrupted immigration were there a significant number of Germans who came to North America as Baptists; for the first twenty-five

years of the movement, it was a movement peopled by Lutherans, Reformed and Roman Catholics who embraced a new way of being Christian after arriving in the new country.

The new convention quickly took up the evangelical concern that Christian workers be theologically educated. German Baptists were giving rudimentary training to their missionaries and ministers in Hamburg. Rochester Theological Seminary inaugurated a German department and called Walter Rauschenbusch's revered father to the first chair. August Rauschenbusch was a devout, university-trained German Lutheran Pietist who had been persuaded to Baptist principles while German secretary of the American Tract Society. The pattern of education he instituted (and that his students who later joined him on the faculty preserved) "was almost entirely biblical. There was little, if any, work in the formal discipline of theological dogma in the curriculum designed by Rauschenbusch."[12]

By 1889 (when the first NAB church was organized in western Canada at Ebenezer, SK), the NAB "General Conference" had five regional conferences totalling 182 churches and missions with 15,049 members. Although they depended on the assistance of the ABHMS and the American Baptist Publication Society (ABPS), their ethnic associations kept them self-consciously distinct from the bodies whose help was so valuable.

English-speaking Canadian Baptists also supported German (and Swedish) Baptist work in the west. Alexander Grant, pastor (1889-97) of Winnipeg's First Baptist Church, and C.C. McLaurin, missionary-at-large and superintendent (1901-26) of what became the Baptist Union of Western Canada (BUWC), were strong advocates of evangelism among immigrants. This local encouragement, however, was less influential than the ethnic links to the American evangelical milieu. Conference offices, the Rochester seminary and the preponderance of memberships (only about 30% of NABs today are in Canadian churches) has ensured that the NAB centre of gravity is in the United States.

German Baptist Settlement in Alberta Pioneering: 1890-1920

German Baptist work in Alberta fits into the story of the province's development. "Russification" of czarist territories and Austro-Hungarian political setbacks were jeopardizing German privileges just at the time

Canada and the United States were intensifying efforts to draw immigrants to the North American prairies.[13] Arriving in the territorial period, GB pioneers in Alberta and the southwestern corner of Saskatchewan organized nearly twenty-five churches in the years before World War I. These were spread in a crescent from south and east of Medicine Hat through Calgary, north to Edmonton and eastward again wherever concentrations of Germans accumulated. The earliest, Rabbit Hill, was organized southwest of Edmonton in 1892; the latest, now Grace Baptist of Calgary, got its start twenty years later.

The first Baptist families moved into the Heimtal area south of Edmonton in 1889, scattering among Moravians and Lutherans. Some came directly from Europe; some had tried making a livelihood in the Winnipeg area for a time. Most had tried to farm the arid townships south of Irvine and Dunmore; at least one had gone to Texas first, before hearing of more favourable prospects in Alberta.[14]

Seventeen charter members organized the Heimthal (now Rabbit Hill) Baptist Church in 1892. It functioned according to the continental Baptist patterns of a village house church; the leadership was shared by the men and services included singing, Scripture reading, prayers and sermon. But it deliberately identified itself with existing Baptist bodies by inviting NABs from Saskatchewan, Manitoba and the United States as well as Canadian Baptists to a recognition council. "Following the lead" of Baptists already organized in Canada may be seen as both willing acculturation and due to minority status.

Only after the Rabbit Hill church was organized and recognized did its first pastor arrive. The pastor who came was F.A. Mueller, a GB missionary in Volhynia until the summer of 1892. The congregation he left had commissioned him to locate a place for them to settle in "America." After Mueller undertook his ministry with the newly organized church, he also made arrangements for his Volhynian flock to come. The next year more than thirty families arrived, the majority settling about twenty-five kilometres southeast of Heimtal, in the Fredericksheim neighbourhood south of Leduc.

This congregation was the easiest to organize of the several evangelistic preaching points Mueller was trying to establish. The Rabbit Hill church letter to the Northwestern Conference of July 1893 reported:

> The church holds its worship services in Heimthal and Leduc which

> are well attended. In the city of Edmonton, we hold a service twice a month; and once [a month] in Wetaskiwin. The prayer meetings enjoy lively participation. The church is united in love. The Sunday School is being blessed. This is a good field for the distribution of Bibles, Testaments, and tracts.[15]

The church life and the pastor's outreach matched the Old World customs and New World expectations.

The distance from Rabbit Hill and the large number of GBs in Friedrickheim justified an independent congregation; in 1894, 141 members were dismissed from Rabbit Hill to found the new church. The large charter membership at Leduc is unique. Of fourteen opening rolls of churches organized before 1920, the average is twenty-one, and the largest only thirty-two.

Congregations among the immigrants did not always begin in the same manner. While some gathered the Baptists from among the newcomers to the area, others arose from the efforts of a single Baptist family. West of Edmonton an immigrant homesteader-preacher, Edward Wolfe, began to farm in the Glory Hills neighbourhood. These Volhynians were primarily German Reformed. They did not organize a church immediately but held weekly lay-lead Sunday School and worship services. Wolfe took the opportunity when speaking at these community services to plant seeds of Baptist concerns – personal conversion, separation from the world, believer's baptism and the like. The procedure is reminiscent of how revival first came to many eastern European villages through an awakened Lutheran teacher and how Baptist congregations subsequently formed. In 1901, from among the Reformed Christians in the area, several families organized themselves into a Baptist church.[16]

Mueller's successor as pastor at Rabbit Hill was a former Swiss Methodist, Abraham Hager. He succeeded in founding a NAB church in the city only after he left the country site and made his home there. The nucleus of the First GB Church of Edmonton (1900) were the young women from the Leduc and Rabbit Hill churches who worked as domestic servants and clerks in the two towns straddling the North Saskatchewan River; the immigrating tradesmen were the prospects whom the minister cultivated. Hager helped people to find housing and employment and to deal with government offices; he also faithfully presented the Gospel and nurtured the saints.[17] Early meetings were in the city firehouse and in the

newly built First Baptist Church.

During the first decade of the century, three congregations were organized by Baptists who were not direct Old World immigrants. Since the 1880s, many Russian-Germans from settlements along the Black Sea around Odessa (Moldavia and southern Ukraine) had chosen to settle in the US and prospered in Oregon and the Dakotas. By 1900, Canadian land promoters were able to attract some GBs across the 49th Parallel to the Camrose, Trochu and Carbon areas. Such immigrants were quite acculturated to New World conditions and wealthier than new arrivals direct from Europe. German Baptist growth continued to conform to settlement patterns in the province.

These churches usually shared pastors; more often, they had to conduct their spiritual lives under lay leadership, for pastoral placements among them were short and irregular. The regional fellowship they organized in 1916 (the Saskatchewan-Alberta Central Association) welded them together and sustained their determination in the hard times ahead.

Mission assistance from the GB Home Mission Society in Illinois and from the Baptist Union of Western Canada (BUWC) was essential to support most pastors and construct church buildings and parsonages. Perhaps because they were dependent on this outside help, even the "settled" preachers were astonishingly peripatetic; on foot, by buggy and by train, they ranged far beyond the natural borders of their own church community to edify and to redeem.

Three types of fulltime itinerant ministers were employed by the GB Conference to plant and nurture churches in pioneer areas. A colporteur was a Bible, tract and literature salesman. As he peddled books, he was an evangelist, a gatherer of GBs, a Bible teacher and prayer group leader with an eye to organizing them into a Baptist church.

The second, the Reiseprediger, was a conference or district missionary; he served the pastorless churches as advisor and preacher. He built on the colporteur's work and other leads to establish new congregations, also.

The third itinerant provided by the denomination was an evangelist, available to churches anywhere in Canada or the United States for special meetings. Several times the conference evangelist held memorable campaigns in Alberta churches. Churches were not dependent upon a professional for evangelistic outreach, however. Every pastor was expected to be an evangelist. Annual crusades were customary, usually lead by a visiting pastor from elsewhere in the province, sometimes by the local pastor

himself. Apart from sustaining evangelical zeal, these services always succeeded in bringing the church's children and neighbours to declare their faith in Christ and soon to join the fellowship.

Frontier conditions required this kind of organization of all the denominations ministering on the prairies, of course. The eastern European immigrants came with generations of experience in beginning and maintaining a viable church life amidst pioneer conditions. The Baptists in particular were familiar with the ethos of evangelicalism and flourished in a social and political environment that encouraged free churches. They had the special boon of an existing ethnic denominational fellowship whose half century of experience in the New World forestalled fruitless experimentation and provided a framework for foreign and domestic mission as well as for a trained ministry. But in general outlines, the methods, the organization and the piety they brought from eastern Europe was largely congruent with the patterns in use by the Germans who already had a fifty-year history in North America.

This first period of GB development in homestead and town had planted eighteen churches; only Calgary seemed hopeless as the sabres rattled for World War I. The largely rural GB churches, generally, experienced no problems as a result of the Alien Enemies Act. Their perceived "spiritual arrogance" caused more resentment among their neighbours than did their ethnicity. But that was a response now so familiar as almost to be expected. Canada's political situation ensured that at least there were no physical or civil risks in leaving one's childhood church. Yet, especially for those of Lutheran or Roman Catholic background, there continued to be powerful family pressure against "going to the Baptists."

Educated in public schools, the children were being Canadianized; and the churches even without the pressure of wartime hysteria were moving toward English. In language, organization and style of church life, GBs quickly naturalized. The Germans, generally, were disposed to assimilate. Contradictorily, Sunday Schools often were utilized to teach the German language as much as Scripture lessons, but the principles and standards of the Sunday School movement were pushed by *Der Sendbote* and other NAB denominational publications. Young people's societies provided leadership training for the coming generation.

Consolidating: 1920-1950

The years 1920-50 saw the foundation of only seven new churches but it was a period of great national change in which all the churches shared. The key social events were the drought and depression of the 1930s and World War II. The Canadian prairie churches in the second period kept pace with the institutional developments of their convention in ways sometimes distinctive to this region.

The GB churches in these years were getting older and bigger; they were beginning to urbanize (or at least "town-ize") as farmers retired and their children entered businesses and professions. The 1930s forced massive relocations throughout the province as farms dried out and small towns shrivelled across once lush prairies. While two areas gained GB churches as a result, other areas lost.

With the help of the CPR and CN, GBs organized an Immigration and Colonization Society (hereafter NABICS) in 1929 to assist newcomers fleeing "Bolshevism."[18] The railroads were the primary solicitors for the newcomers and their indiscriminate selections created religious tensions in host families when those they sponsored turned out to be Lutheran, Reformed or Roman Catholic, and indifferent or even hostile to Baptist convictions. Although the churches gained little, the temporary labourers and dependents were welcomed as a mission field brought to their door.

The denomination organized a Young People's and Sunday School Worker's Union (YPSSU) in 1922. An innovation stylistically patterned on structures used by other denominations, it also preserved the long-standing evangelical concern for developing spiritual maturity in the next generation. Its practical benefit to NABs was "in conserving the young people for the denomination and in assisting in the transition from the German to the English language."[19] The Bible school movement was one specific outcome of this denominational decision.

In 1929, the Northern Conference (NABs of western Canada) adopted a plan to hold four-week Bible schools in each of its four associations to supplement the occasional provincial youth rallies and the short Bible schools held previously.[20] This became a key instrument in the NAB evangelical agenda of discipleship, church leadership and witnessing. A local church hosted teachers and students for several weeks. In the daytime, courses in Bible, teaching skills, instrumental and vocal music, conducting and the devotional life were taught by pastors from the

participating churches and guest lecturers; evenings were given over to evangelistic meetings at which the instructors preached and the young people sang, played and testified.

These "floating" Bible schools contributed greatly to knowledge, skills, friendships and marriages. For a few years after 1933, the NABs used the building in Wetaskiwin that the Swedish Baptists had purchased for similar purposes. Finally, land was purchased in Edmonton and a residential school constructed in 1939 – the Christian Training Institute (CTI). Courses were extended and care could be given to developing faculty and library. Since the first course in January 1940, the school has united the NAB churches and contributed to their growth, especially in Alberta. CTI (since 1968, North American Baptist College) has not so much answered the "threat" of better-known Bible schools as given a denominational alternative with a different piety and direction for service.

Apart from the immigrant pastors and early conference workers recruited from the Alberta churches in the first twenty years of GB work here, virtually all the pastors serving in Alberta after 1910 were alumni of the German Department of Rochester Theological Seminary. This education at a single seminary created a cohesion and institutional homogeneity not only in Alberta but also across the denomination which has been of incalculable influence in its corporate life until the past twenty years.

The thirty years from 1920-50 also shook the heirs of North American nineteenth-century evangelicalism deeply. The NABs, however, in great measure escaped the fundamentalist controversy, though it has been marked by it. Administratively and structurally, for reasons more pragmatic than principled, the NABs agencies had progressively taken on lives of their own, independent of the American and Canadian Baptist bodies who had contributed so much to their beginnings. By 1919, for example, the NABs had reached such a level of prosperity that the BUWC contributions to NAB home mission efforts were no longer necessary. North American Baptists, by default, received from their European brethren an African mission after World War I. The Rochester seminary was entirely NAB-run with only tenuous connections to its mother institution.

While a few in the 1940s tried to raise issues at the triennial conventions in imitation of those which had divided Northern and Canadian Baptists in the 1920s, the NAB pursued a stance both irenic and conservative, consistent with their older evangelical and Pietist roots and found no one to pillory or idolize. Adolf Schlatter's biblical writings appear on

GB pastors' bookshelves more frequently than does Ritschl, Harnack or Troeltsch.[21] Doubts about the theological integrity of the seminary faculty were dramatically resolved by moving the school from the tainted Rochester area to antiseptic Sioux Falls, SD. Leaders and churches were influenced by fundamentalist rhetoric simply because it was the language most similar to our theological conservativism; some of the slogans became common coinage. The holiness and pentecostal churches, for example, also adopted these issues to inveigh against outsiders whose apostasy had not been prevented by the advantages provided by the Wesleyan experience. But the suspect voices to be ignored or guarded against were always located outside our circles. The problems of the NAB churches were not heresy but the age-old, everyday venality defined by Scripture and evangelical mores.

These were years for the churches' and the denomination's roots to deepen and mature. The Germanness of the churches was waning, albeit slowly. To illustrate, it was only after 1940 that the Edmonton church changed its name from "Erste deutsche Baptisten Gemeinde" to "Central Baptist Church"; in 1943, it took the major step of conducting the Sunday evening(!) service in English. The denomination dropped its ethnic label in 1946 for a name which continued to indicate that its member churches were located both in Canada and in the United States.[22] By the end of the period only a German Bible class for older members remained in many churches. In some cases, the pastors spoke only English. Yet the network of fellowship and ministry which had been forged in the early years still had an ethnic quality. In the post-World War II period, the ethnicity both intensified and collapsed.

Changing: 1950-

The post-war years brought optimism, prosperity, change and growth. A longtime station of the Carbon church organized as a daughter church. The rural churches outside Camrose and Wetaskiwin merged with their daughters in town. Many churches built and remodelled parsonages and churches. Churches of the first era that had never reached critical mass finally gave up the ghost but twenty new churches were born to replace them in the next twenty years.

Suburbanization became a trend in the larger cities. Central Baptist, Edmonton, organized two daughter churches in 1951. Lauderdale had been

a northside mission station for many years; McKernan was built in the south near CTI to draw NAB families spreading into the southern developments of the city. A decade later, Central released 70 members to found Capilano Baptist.

Some of this outgrowth would have developed in any case, but, conjecturally, it would not have occurred as did had it not been for the massive immigration of Germans displaced during World War II and its aftermath. Generous relief shipments of food and clothing first forged ties of compassion. Then Canada opened her doors to the refugees. The GBs who came from eastern Europe and from Germany itself brought (and encountered) a differently developed ethos than had their forebears. Many were Baptists in the Old Country, although evangelism among the immigrants was effective.

Over 7,000 were assisted entirely or in part by the re-activated NABICS which worked closely with the Baptist World Alliance refugee service.[23] Edmonton, Calgary and Lethbridge were the three major centres of influx in Alberta with some gains also in Medicine Hat. As Abraham Hager had done in Edmonton fifty years before, Henry Pfeiffer, Central's pastor from 1950-56, now energetically duplicated. He met immigrants at the train depot. found housing, directed them to employment and accompanied them to government offices. His energy, and above all, his evangelistic challenge astounded, overwhelmed and persuaded the newcomers of the claims of Christ; so by conversion and baptism as well as transfers of church letters, church membership mushroomed. Numerically, the new Canadians came to outnumber the old ones, so in Calgary, Edmonton and Medicine Hat the churches which welcomed them soon took on the complexion of the newcomers.

The established NAB churches suffered numerous strains over the recent arrivals. The new freedoms, the unfamiliar ways, the Canadianness of the welcoming churches, the different customs and standards even among the immigrants, the strong personalities of lay leaders and pastors now coming from Europe, and numerous more subtle differences generated tensions which could not be contained. These contributed in part to the formation of the new English-speaking NAB churches mentioned above.

But old "First German Baptist" could not retain even all of the immigrants, due in part to cultural differences between Volksdeutsche and Reichsdeutsche among them. Calgary spawned two German and one English-speaking daughters between 1953 and 1960, largely as a result of

the inflexibility and insensitivity of its Canadian-born pastor. In Medicine Hat, the more Canadianized families also left to found a new church. Even before Pfeiffer left Edmonton, a German group had withdrawn to form a church more to their liking; on the heels of his resignation, another church was organized by some of the recent arrivals. Two other "German" churches were organized in the 1960s.

The post-war years also brought the inauguration of a conference-wide "church extension program," a new version of the pioneering "home missions." Leaders recognized that the immigrants would inevitably (and probably more rapidly) follow the same process of acculturation which the existing NAB churches had undergone. They also saw that while the move to the suburbs threatened to drain the membership of established NAB churches, it also offered opportunities for evangelism and new churches. So, as in the first generations, aid was solicited for pastors' salaries, land purchase and building construction, and Alberta NAB churches therefore set about starting new churches in growing areas of cities where there were existing churches who could "mother" the infant effort. Soon the vision expanded to encompass growing communities that seemed to lack any strong evangelical ministries. Ethnicity provided only the institutional base for support; it was irrelevant to the constituency of the new churches.

While church-planting was ethnically open, institutions from the ethnic era kept earlier spirituality alive. CTI continued to encourage spiritual growth and to train lay leaders. Increasingly, however, it served as a stepping stone to university and, hence, for the urbanization of the farm-reared. Likewise, it aided in the assimilation of the immigrants. They wanted Bible training, but they also needed high school diplomas and English language skills.

Some of the students also felt called to pastoral ministry. But many of these young men lacked the academic foundations for a full seminary program and the Bible school courses were designed to train students for lay roles. So in 1958, a three-year undergraduate theological course for men(!) to "serve our Canadian churches in a bilingual capacity" was approved.[24] Within a decade, the restriction on pastoral training to "German-speaking" candidates was dropped; in addition, a new BRE program admitted women. The school was renamed North American Baptist College and relocated. The undergraduate pastoral training matured, in 1980, into a full post-baccalaureate seminary (renamed "Edmonton Baptist Seminary" ten years later).

Until EBS began its MDiv programs, NABS in Sioux Falls continued to inculcate the nuanced evangelicalism of the NABs in the pastoral candidates who were, for the most part, drawn from and sent into NAB churches. The GB heritage was maintained even though the faculty composition was changing.

To what degree ethnicity remains a vital characteristic of NAB congregations is difficult to assess. Virtually all the churches which grew out of the post-war immigrations, and in some cases were begun in trauma to preserve the German traditions, have faced and survived the transition to English. Ironically, the two oldest urban churches, Central (Edmonton) and Grace (Calgary), are the most German of the surviving ten elders (Central is also the most stylistically diverse in its five Sunday worship services). The call to German immigrants has been replaced with a vision for growing places; church extension remains a major concern, rooted in the nineteenth-century evangelical agenda though shaped by twentieth-century church growth ideology. The issues of North American evangelicalism are increasingly the issues of North American Baptists.

Conclusion

The more than 8,100 NABs in Alberta, assembled in more than fifty churches, "are the heirs of heroic efforts among immigrant pioneers on prairie and in woodland."[25] Several strands interweave, mostly ignored, in their structures and character. They are very much a part of the wider story of Alberta's development and the larger story of German immigration over 100 years. More significant, as has been sketched here, is the spiritual milieu of continental and American evangelicalism. As I have observed elsewhere, "it is not [our] ethnicity, but [our] Baptistness which stands in jeopardy" precisely because "the ethos which first addressed and has constantly nourished us was the much-transformed Anglo-American evangelicalism of the mid-nineteenth century [on the continent] and the successive permutations it has undergone since then, particularly in the United States."[26]

Nearly fifteen years ago, the senior professional NAB historian commented on the theological tensions that then disturbed the NABC over "inerrancy" (now the issue is, euphemistically, "women in ministry"). As a theologically conservative and experientially Pietistic body, he said, we have intellectually embraced the neo-evangelical scolasticism of Princeton

theology and the struggle to hold it together with the older evangelical Pietism from which we sprang is generating undefined tensions among us.[27] With the dilution of the ethnic character of the conference, the issues of the enveloping North American evangelicalism are gaining in strength among NABs.

North American Baptists have distinctively interwoven continental and North American nineteenth-century evangelicalism while being sensitive to (and bewildered by?) the twentieth-century transformations of the movement. Ethnicity cannot guarantee that they will preserve the former balance, but the cultural, ethnic and evangelical diversity currently contained within the denomination makes the institutional unity much more fragile than NABs took for granted in the earlier times of spiritual homogeneity.

Endnotes

1. The official title of the German Baptist denomination in Canada and the United States since 1946. "GB" will be used when ethnicity is the identifier, and "NAB" when their church institutions are the referent.

2. J.J. Hildebrand, *Hildebrand's Zeittafel* (Winnipeg: by the author, 1945), 7-20.

3. Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration, 1816-1885*, Harvard Historical Monographs, 56 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964).

4. R.P. Bartlett, *Human Capital: The Settlement of Foreigners in Russia, 1762-1804* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 59; cf. J. Töws, "Foreword," in *Unsere Kolonien: Studien und Materialien zur Geschichte und Statistik der ausländischen Kolonization in Russland*, by A. Klaus, tr. J. Töws [from Russian] (Odessa: Odessaer Zeitung, 1887), v.

5. Mark A. Noll, David Bebbington, and George A. Rawlyk, eds., *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles and Beyond, 1700-1990* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 1993); and George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll, eds., *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1994) regrettably ignored the continental concern of the nineteenth-century evangelicals and treated the movement only in the United Kingdom and its former colonies.

6. ". . . [T]he very nature of the evangelical coalition . . . demanded that they settle for a truncated doctrine of the church" (Stanley J. Grenz, *Revisioning Evangelical Theology* [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1993], 165).

7. The Baptist movement began during the seventeenth century among expatriate English separatists in Holland was not an English version of the sixteenth-century Täufer movement, although as both the Arminian and the Calvinistic Baptists arose, each consulted with Dutch Mennonites on the administration (not the theology) of baptism. Thus, more than two centuries after the first Swiss Täufer group appeared and more than one century after the first English Baptist church was organized Johann Gerhard Oncken organized the first continental Baptist church at Hamburg in 1834.

8. Gunnar Westin, *The Free Church through the Ages* (Nashville, TN: Broadman Press, 1958), 277. The Swedish original is entitled, *Den kristna friförsamlingen genom tiderna* (1954), and the German version translation is called, *Geschichte des Freikirchentums* (Kassel: J.G. Oncken Verlag, 1956).

9. Peter M. Friesen, *The Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia (1789-1910)* (Fresno, CA: Board of Christian Literature, General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches, 1980), 204-27.

10. Joseph Lehmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Baptisten*, vol. 2 (Cassel: J.G. Oncken Nachfolger, 1900), 231-33.

11. Frank H. Woyke, *Heritage and Ministry of the North American Baptist Conference* (Oakbrook Terrace, IL: North American Baptist Conference, [1976]); Edward B. Link, "North American (German) Baptists" in *Baptists in Canada*, ed. Jarold K. Zeman (Burlington, ON: Welch, 1980), 87-103. A sabbatical in 1989 allowed me to make personal visits to several of these early churches to collect church histories, interviews, archival materials and impressions.

12. Stephen Brachlow, "A Perspective on the Pietistic Heritage of North American Baptists and the Current Inerrancy Discussion", Paper presented at the Great Plains Pastors' Conference, North American Baptist Seminary, Sioux Falls, SD, 22 April 1980, 9.

13. Heinz Lehmann, *The German Canadians, 1750-1939*, tr. Gerhard P. Bassler (1937; reprint, St. John's: Jespersen Press, 1986); J.N. McCrorie, "Historical Background to Prairie Settlement," in *Visions of the New Jerusalem*, ed., Benjamin G. Smillie (Edmonton: NeWest, 1983), 13-26.

14. James G. MacGregor, *A History of Alberta*, rev. ed. (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1981), 165-66; Howard Palmer with Tamara Palmer, *Alberta: A New History* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1990), 72; Helen Hieberts, et al, eds., *South Edmonton Saga* (Edmonton: South Edmonton, Papaschase Historical Society, 1984), 610-11, 950, 1046-47.

15. *Verhandlungen*, Nordwestliche Konferenz (1893), 100. The Northwestern Conference at that time comprised the churches of Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, and “the British Northwest.” In 1902, the churches in the three prairie provinces withdrew to form the Northern Conference.

16. Nora Albrecht and Doris Horne, eds., *Along the Fifth* (Stony Plain: Stony Plain Historical Society, 1982), 105; *Verhandlungen*, Nördliche Konferenz (1905), 4, 9-10.

17. Minnie A. Falkenberg [daughter of Abr. Hager], “Beginning of Our Church Work Here in Edmonton”, manuscript of public address, 1956.

18. William J.H. Sturhahn, *The Came From East and West . . .* (Winnipeg: North American Baptist Immigration and Colonization Society, 1976), 289-93.

19. Woyke, *Heritage*, 299.

20. *Verhandlungen*, Nördliche Konferenz, (1929), 32; (1930), 62.

21. As was a late nineteenth/early twentieth-century “mediating”-style theologian who stood rather alone in his concern for NT studies to transcend the mere study of technical problems, see *Religion in Geschicte und Gegenwart*, 3rd ed., vol. 5 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1957), ca. 1420.

22. From “General Conference of German Baptist Churches in North America” to “North American Baptist General Conference;” “General” was dropped in the 1960s when regional conferences were discontinued.

23. Sturhahn, *From East and West*, 65-117.

24. *Minutes of the 32nd General Conference Sessions* (1958), 39.

25. David T. Priestley, “Baptist `Home Mission’ among Alberta’s German Immigrants,” unpublished paper presented at the Canadian Baptist Heritage Conference, North American Baptist College, unpublished paper, June 1990, 22.

26. Priestley, “Baptist ‘Home Mission,’” 23.

27. Brachlow, “Pietistic Heritage of North American Baptists,” 1.

Appendix I

Canada's Baptists are organized into five denominational groups with countless additional independent congregations of a baptistic polity that may or may not use the name "Baptist" in their official title. The Baptist Union of Western Canada (BUWC), as part of the Baptist Federation of Canada, is the oldest and historically within the nineteenth-century "mainline" Protestant churches. Two other Baptist bodies originated out of the theological controversies that strained the BUWC in the late 1920s – the Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches (FEBC) and the Canadian Conference of Southern Baptists (CCSB). The two remaining conferences derive from evangelism and church-planting among non-British immigrants that began at the end of the nineteenth century – the North American Baptist Conference (NABC) has a German heritage; the Baptist General Conference (BGC) has a Swedish. Both are fully assimilated into the Canadian milieu and, particularly in suburban congregations, are as ethnically diverse as the country itself. The NABC, however, unlike the BGC, has kept its European heritage more visible (and audible) because it received repeated immigrant infusions after the first spate of growth in the territorial period.

In 1992, the cumulative total membership recorded by the five Baptist denominations in the province was 20,300, a mere .8% of a total population of 2,545,553 (see Table 1).[1] Three-fourths of these belong either to the NABC or the BUWC.

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1. This figure is significantly below the 3% of the province's 2.2 million residents who in 1981 identified themselves as Baptists. Conjecturally, the Baptist practice of restricting membership to self-confessed believers and not counting children and nominal adherents overlooks many who are reckoned as Baptist for census purposes, while unaffiliated congregations (and their adherents) will account for another part of the difference.

Table 1. Membership of Five Baptist Bodies in Alberta (1992)[1]

	BUWC	NABC	BGC	FEBC	CCSB	TOTALS
Members	6,911	8,106	1,696	1,881	1,706	20,300
Churches	49	47	19	30	15	160
Missions	6	4	NR	2	6	16[2]
Locales	30	29	13	25	10	79[3]

Appendix II

All the members of the scattered village fellowships were reckoned members of the central church in the region. Hence, the 1898 statistics for the Baptists organized by then into three associations show average memberships 2.2 times the average membership of NAB church in Alberta in 1992.

ASSOC	CHS	MEMBS	BEGIN	AV.MEMB
Rus-Poland	11	3,870	1858	352
W. Russian	15	6,822	1858	455
S. Russian	11	2,465	1869	224
TOTAL	37	13,157		355

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1. Statistics later than 1992 have not been completed by all bodies. 1991 figures were used when no report was recorded for 1992. Not all bodies report "membership" in missions,so for consistency, those figures were subtracted from the totals when given by the denominational statistician (sources included the respective convention's published annual reports [1992-94]).

2. Includes two Mustard Seed Street Church Ministries (Calgary and Edmonton) jointly supported by BUWC and NABC, reported by both bodies.

3. This is not a simple total, because more than one conference has an organized church or mission in sixteen of Alberta's cities and towns. All five have congregations in Edmonton and Calgary; four are represented in Red Deer; three other cities have churches from three of the conventions (Fort McMurray, Grande Prairie, Wetaskiwin); ten have two unions serving the Baptist constituency. Uncounted independent Baptist churches cause further duplication.

Covenanters in Alberta[1]

ELDON HAY

The Reformed Presbyterians (Covenanters) came to the Prairie provinces in the first decade and a half of this century – establishing communities in three places: Content (later Delburne), AB; Regina, SK; and Winnipeg, MB (attempts to establish the movement in Edmonton and in Vancouver, amongst other places, were doomed to early failure). The Covenanter cause continued in the successful centres for several decades, until it faded out entirely by the demise of the Winnipeg congregation in the early 1960s. The efforts in Regina and Delburne had by then passed out of institutional existence.

Unlike the Covenanter communities established a century earlier as missions in the Maritimes by the Irish Synod, and in Ontario by the Scots Synod, prairie Covenanters were self-starting communities largely through the initiative of Covenanters coming from the United States. The earliest congregation in the west was established at Content, AB in 1908. This rural congregation never became fully self-supporting, as did those at Winnipeg and Regina. Nonetheless, despite not having a church building of their own, and having only intermittent pastors, the Covenanter community proved hardy indeed.

This paper focuses on the Content/Delburne congregation, with some attention to Winnipeg and Regina. Causes for their rise and reasons for their decline are outlined.

Who were the Covenanters? The name

> "Covenanter" goes back to 1580 [in Scotland] when a number of church

> members bound themselves by an agreement or covenant to uphold the Presbyterian faith. Then in 1638 the National Covenant was drawn up and in 1643 the Solemn League and Covenant. The covenant was entered into by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and the commissioners of the English Parliament. It provided for the establishing of the Presbyterian Church of England, Scotland and Ireland. Both of these covenants were rejected by Charles II [at the time of the restoration].[2]

There followed a 140 year period of religious turmoil. At the end of this time of tumult, on the occasion of the Union Settlement in 1690, "this group were made up of those who disassociated themselves from the [established] Presbyterian Church of Scotland. It was the State Church as the Church of England that was the State Church of England and governed by the State. This group felt strongly that the State should not control the church."[3]

Covenanters, also known officially as Reformed Presbyterians (RP), have a rich history of dissent and martyrdom in both Scotland and Ulster. The denomination was also strongly lay in orientation; in the face of what seemed commendable compromises, clergy left—to go to other less exclusive churches. In Scotland,[4] Ireland,[5] and later the United States,[6] at various times, the denomination survived sometimes without benefit of any clergy. Congregations learned to rely on lay leadership organizing themselves into groups for social worship – indeed, another nickname for the Covenanters was "the Society People."[7]

Covenanters made their way to the American colonies where, though Reformed Presbyterians had been present for some fifty years, the first presbytery was organized in 1774. In the American colonies, Covenanters did not suffer overt persecution. In crafting an indigenous Covenanter policy and platform in the new world, a task at which they were finally successful, the American RP added a noted characteristic of their own – they were adamantly opposed to slavery.

Covenanter convictions include:

> 1. King Messiah – King Jesus – as ruler of all Christian nations and, ultimately of all nations. Therefore Christ is head of church and state.
> 2. Since Christ was not recognized as head of state, Covenanters did not hold public office, did not swear oaths and did not vote.
> 3. Covenanting – public witnessing – is a command of God, hence the

name "Covenanters."
4. The Bible is the supreme law in state and church – what is not commanded in the Scripture about the worship of God is forbidden in church services; hymns were prohibited, only psalms were sung. Organs and other musical instruments were excluded. All secret societies were forbidden.
5. Strong anti-Roman Catholic convictions.
6. Communion is open to believers only.

North of the United States border, there were RP communities in the Maritimes, all founded by the Irish Synod circa 1830, located in the Saint John River valley, the Chignecto region[8] and the Annapolis valley.[9] There was another group of Covenanter communities in Upper Canada (later Ontario) and Lower Canada (later Quebec) founded by the Scotch Synod a little after 1830. Much later, during the early 1900s, a self-grown group of congregations arrived in western Canada who looked to the American (Old School) Covenanters for supervision.[10] The Covenanter communities in the Maritimes, in western Canada and in Lower Canada died out. There are still a few small congregations in the Ottawa valley, ON.

The aim of this paper is to discuss the western Covenanters. They settled in three communities – one in Content/Delburne, AB, a second in Regina, SK and a third in Winnipeg, MB. My chief concern will be with the first named – the Covenanters of Content/Delburne, which was historically the first of the western communities.

Content/Delburne is located in central Alberta, about midway between Calgary and Edmonton, and east of Red Deer. The first Covenanter family[11] in the region were the Ulster-born Campbells[12] – three brothers, David (1832-1913), James (1841-1919) and Clark (1850-1917),[13] along with their wives. Only one of the brothers, Clark and his wife Margaret (1865-1939), had children.[14] The three brothers were a pioneering family that had "moved a lot – the Covenanter congregations with which they had been involved were Lake Reno, MN, Hetherton, MI, Blanchard, IA, and Denison, KS."[15] The chief spokesperson for the Covenanter Campbells was the first brother to arrive, Clark. He wrote a letter published in an RP paper, in March 1905. Clark bids other Covenanters to follow his lead and come to the area:

> I would like to say to any Covenanters who think of looking for a home in Canada, that they ought to give this country a visit. It is a good stock

> country and oats, barley, and rye do well . . . [T]ame fruit is raised . . . currants, gooseberries, raspberries, and strawberries . . . [T]here is some government land yet . . . it will not lie vacant long . . . [T]his is a very healthy country, and a man would need at least five or six hundred dollars to start with, so he could buy some cows and a team, and have enough to build a small house and keep him until he would get returns from his cows. There is a creamery close so one can get a ready sale for cream . . . Government land can not be bought; it has to be homesteaded. Railroad land is held at $6 per acre. There are four homesteads taken now by Covenanters and we would like to see more, so we could support a minister. Now to conclude, I would say to any who have good homes, I would not try to persuade them to come except for their health, but I do think that folks with small means ought to give this their special consideration and try and get a home of their own . . . There is a saw-mill and feed-mill going in where I speak of the open lands, and there is plenty of wood and coal.[16]

There is no evidence from Content of any difficulty in taking an oath when becoming a homesteader though the matter was later formally raised by the Regina session.[17] Many of the homesteaders were not Canadian-born, coming from the United States. Of course, some were from Canada – there is simply no data on difficulties any individuals experienced in western Canada.[18]

There can be no doubt that, in addition to contacting potential Covenanter settlers, Clark Campbell was also in touch with the Central Board of Missions of the American RP Synod. The Central Board appointed Rev. Thomas Melville Slater (1869-1951), a Covenanter minister, to visit the area in 1906.[19] Slater himself wrote of his experiences:

> I have preached here [at Content] two Sabbaths, and will remain one week longer. Have been to different points throughout the northern part of the Province visiting scattered Covenanters, but this is the only place I have so far found that contains more than one family. Here we have quite a good settlement of our people, with hopes of more coming soon.[20]

Slater notes that the few Covenanters in Content had "been holding social worship each Sabbath" thereby putting in practice one of the distinctive Covenanter worship practices. Moreover, they were "doing missionary work among the other settlers. The attendance at preaching services has been encouraging, and the community seems favorable toward the

establishing of regular worship . . . Anyone desiring further information regarding the advantages of settlement here may address Mr. Clark Campbell . . . at Content, AB."[21] After Slater's visit, the Central Board of Missions Report noted that "a Sabbath-school has been organized," and that there was "a membership of seventeen."[22] The same report also indicated that "a number from other parts of the Church have signified their intention of locating here at an early day. The prospect of organizing a self-supporting congregation is reasonably good."[23]

In addition to commanding the visit of Rev. T.M. Slater, the Board appointed Rev. William McFarland (1844-1938)[24] to settle for a time in Content. McFarland arrived in Content in December 1906, and remained until the end of July 1907. McFarland wrote briefly of his time in the community:

> Although our meeting place is a home, it is large and comfortable, and all have been made welcome. Sixty persons in all attended the different meetings of Feb. 10. How we wish we could tell our brethren of our kind neighbors who have attended ordinances on the coldest days, walking or riding on horseback several miles. Forty persons were in the classes of the Sabbath school on Feb. 10. A large attendance may now be expected. Many signs point to a convenient and comfortable school house, near at hand, for a meeting place. It will be in a beautiful poplar woods and near to a lovely lake, two miles long.[25]

In fact, it would seem that McFarland was credited with erecting the school house: "Rev. William McFarland was the first [settled] minister sent to these people. He [assisted] in the erection of the building which was to serve as a school house and a church. This seemed to be almost a necessity. There is little timber in that country which could be used for building purposes."[26]

Undoubtedly, the Content Covenanters would have appreciated their own "church building, and comfortable church pews,"[27] but that was not destined to happen. The Wood Lake School continued to be the worship venue of the Covenanters in the community throughout the duration of the denomination.[28] Efforts to enlarge the bounds of the Covenanter congregation were pursued on two fronts; first, missionary work among their neighbours, including preaching services in Delburne; secondly, attempting to persuade Covenanters in other parts to come settle in Content.

Rev. Wilbur John McBurney (1874-1958),[29] who lived in Content

from August 1906 until February 1908, commented that in those early days there was nothing "but Covenanter preaching in the neighborhood [and] meetings were well attended."[30] Non-Covenanters also took advantage of the Covenanter Sabbath-School. This phenomenon repeated a practice which held in many Canadian Covenanter communities – persons came to worship, children came to Sabbath-School, but relatively few became full members.[31] There is little evidence that many neighbours were added to the Covenanter cause[32] except by marriage, and some of these became adherents, not members.[33] Of course, "many of the adherents [were] almost as faithful as the members."[34] Occasionally, steps were taken to "prepare for holding preaching services in Delburne" in addition to worship in the Woodlake school.[35] It is doubtful if these services resulted in the addition of Covenanter members or adherents.

Attempts to persuade Covenanters in other places to come to Alberta met with more success. The coming of the Brodie family[36] from the Covenanter congregation in Lochiel, Glengarry County (Ontario)[37] was probably due to an invitation from Clark Campbell. Similarly, the coming in 1906 of Walter and Ina Taylor[38] from the United States may have been due to Clark Campbell's invitation. In 1908, the then stalwarts of the Covenanter community – Clark, David and James Campbell, William and Paul Armour[39] and William E. Taylor – penned another salutation from Content extolling the virtues of the land and urging other Covenanters to consider coming: "any one thinking of making a change and desiring further information may write any of the signers of this letter and a prompt reply will be given."[40] A year later, James Campbell was laconically pressing for a Covenanter minister to come to Content:

> [I]f any minister would desire to win souls in this new part of the Lord's vineyard he will find a hearty welcome from the few who are here. If it is health for himself or his family he wishes to gain, we know of no better location than here. The few who are here would be willing to help to the best of their ability to make a home for him. This is not an attractive-looking country, but it is better than it looks. I may say the same about the majority of the people, but they are not all homely. Our Sabbath School averages about twenty-five this winter.[41]

Another prominent Covenanter family, Robert (1871-1971) and Mary (1877-1933) Waddell from the Ramsay, Lanark County (Ontario) congregation[42] came to settle in the area.[43] Their son wrote that "my Dad

and Mother decided to come to this area [in 1907] because several residents were planning to establish a Reform[ed] Presbyterian Church which they were members of in Ontario."[44] There were difficulties on the Waddell's arrival in the west, yet "working with the Campbells in the winter of 1908 our father cut and sawed enough lumber to build our house on the homestead."[45] "Mack Bowes, a bachelor, came from Ontario and homesteaded in the district in 1909. He was a nephew of Mrs. Robert Waddell."[46] Others who came later were the Ewing Brothers, James and David, from Glenwood, MN,[47] and the bachelor brothers Joe and Robert Mann, also from the United States.[48] The William T.J. (1869-1925) and Mary (1877-1947) Martins came in 1918; Mary Martin, formerly Mary Agnes Kirk, had been born at Almonte.[49]

These pioneer Covenanters had very concrete concerns about their homesteads and their land. In July 1909, Messrs. David, James and Robert Campbell, Andrew Brodie and William Armour "all went up to Red Deer and passed in the evidence to prove up on their claims." They expected "soon to receive their patents. All the land once open for homesteading in this vicinity has been taken up, but there are quarter-sections . . . that can be bought."[50]

Rev. Byron Melancthon Sharp (1847-1930)[51] a missionary under the direction of the Colorado presbytery, came to live in November 1909. During his ministry "the Content RP Mission was organized into a congregation."[52] A Commission of the presbytery, consisting of elders James and David Campbell and Rev. B.M. Sharp, met at the home of Clark Campbell on 22 March 1910. Among other matters,

> the Commission proceeded to the receiving of certificates of members from other congregations. So the number of 20 were placed on the roll. By a unanimous vote, taken standing, all those who had taken part in the Provincial elections expressed their regret and promised that hereafter they will adhere to the established law of the Ref. Pres. Church.[53]

Later,

> on Friday, March 25, at 2 p.m., the Commission met with the officers-elect at Wood Lake schoolhouse. After their acceptance and an examination held by Commission, and a discourse by the Moderator, and following out the regular steps, the Commission then proceeded to ordain William Armour by prayer and laying on of hands, and to install William

> Armour along with James Campbell and David Campbell, to be elders. The Commission then also ordained and installed by prayer and laying on of hands, Robert J. Campbell, Susan Armour and William Taylor to the diaconate. Following the signing of the terms of communion by the officers, and addresses by the Moderator to the officers and also to the people, the Moderator of Commission then formally announced the completed organization of the Content congregation of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Alberta Province, Canada.[54]

This paved the way for celebration of Holy Communion on the following Sabbath:

> On the last Sabbath of March, a beautiful day, long to be remembered, there was observed the first communion ever held by a Covenanter congregation in this great, new provinces. After being deprived for so many years of this precious privilege, when twenty-one Covenanters then sat around the Lord's Table, there was indeed gladness and thankfulness and rejoicing. All felt as though the Lord had indeed prepared for His people a feast in the wilderness.[55]

Sharp remained as missionary until May 1910, announcing that "the Grand Trunk Railroad, which is coming much nearer to this section, is likely to be built this summer."[56]

It was the coming of the railroad, and the establishment of the new town of Delburne in 1911, with, among other things, a "post office" that led, a decade later, to a name change of the congregation from Content to Delburne Reformed Presbyterian.[57] The new town also had a "Methodist parsonage,"[58] so Covenanters were no longer the only Christian group trying to gain a foothold in the area. About 1911, word had begun circulating of the possibility of a Covenanter cause being established in Regina, Saskatchewan.[59] A new congregation was constituted in that place on 20 May 1911.[60] Somewhat later, Winnipeg was taken under care of Presbytery as a mission station in 1913,[61] and it was formally organized as a congregation on 23 October 1914.[62]

Covenanter piety was expressed in typical ways.[63] In 1917, the session "approved of a Fast Day being kept the first Thursday in October."[64] The "Communion Season"[65] was marked in the traditional manner: "the usual days of preparation [were] observed."[66] Then, "Rev. D.H. Elliott preached on Saturday morning and delivered the Table address at

Woodlake school house [on the Sabbath]. He preached at . . . Wm. Taylor's on Monday morning."[67] According to the extant session minutes, discipline was imposed on at least one occasion: "on motion, the session asked Mr. McConaughy to speak to that member of the congregation who had attempted to vote at the last Dominion election: remind him of his promise, and warn him not to do it again."[68] The congregation, at its origin in 1910, recommended the ladies of the congregation to take steps for the formation of a Ladies' Missionary Society;[69] it seems to have taken some time for the recommendation to come into effect,[70] though, from the earliest days as a mission station to the final days as a struggling congregation, the ladies clearly fulfilled the traditional role of preparing and serving food at various gatherings.[71] The Sabbath School was a very important part of congregational life, and its annual picnic was faithfully reported in the church paper.[72] There were relations with non-Covenanters: Mrs. Ina Taylor was appointed as "community agent for the Content Congregation."[73]

Covenanters were congenitally and ideologically critical of the British government, though this did not prohibit them from participating in the War effort between 1914-1918; three members of the Content congregation joined armed forces – Andrew Brodie, Lester and Lloyd Taylor.[74] "Mr. Andrew Brodie, of our congregation, enlisted and sailed to England for training. His wife and little child are at present in Stettler, Alberta:"[75] Brodie, Canadian-born, was also a Canadian soldier. Lester and Lloyd Taylor were American-born, sons of William E. and Ina Taylor. Lester Taylor, who was an American serviceman, did not go overseas.[76] Lloyd, probably a Canadian serviceman, soldiered overseas, in France.[77] The Covenanters in the United States provided three ambulances for the American forces: Content Covenanters David Ewing and Robert Mann contributed.[78] In addition, Mrs. Margaret (Clark) Campbell sent six knit wool squares for the 18 afghans which accompanied the ambulances.[79] In 1919, it was reported in the church paper that "Mr. Andrew Brodie is among the Canadian soldiers who will remain in Germany till next summer. Mr. Lloyd Taylor is still with the American forces in France."[80] It is clear that Andrew Brodie "returned after the hostilities ended to go back farming"[81] in Delburne, as did Lester Taylor.[82] Lloyd Taylor went to the United States.[83]

There is no word of any difficulties by Andrew Brodie, Lester or Lloyd Taylor in taking an oath of allegiance on initially becoming soldiers,

although that situation arose with a Winnipeg Covenanter deacon, Mr. A. Boone, who was conscripted to serve in the army. "He claimed exemption as a conscientious objector, refusing to take the oath of allegiance. His claim was rejected by the local tribunal, and the case was by him appealed to the supreme court at Ottawa."[84] Boone's case was finally solved without compromise of his Covenanter convictions. We simply do not know the situation for Andrew Brodie, Lester or Lloyd Taylor.

The emergence of new and relatively strong Covenanter congregations in Regina and Winnipeg led to a push for presbytery realignment with the urging for so doing coming from these new congregations.

> Synod grants the request, the name to be the Presbytery of Central Canada and its territory to include the Provinces of Saskatchewan, Alberta, Manitoba, and also the State of Minnesota . . . The Lake Reno Congregation is hereby transferred from the Iowa [Presbytery] to this new Presbytery [of Central Canada].[85]

The organizing meeting was held in Regina, 10 October 1917, with representatives from Winnipeg, Regina, Content and Lake Reno.[86] The new presbytery seemed to have had a greater effect on the more major congregations in Regina and Winnipeg,[87] although it did not materially affect the Content congregation, at leastnot as far as its major problem was concerned – lack of members.

Despite continued efforts to bring other Covenanters, and some success in doing so, the Delburne Covenanters were not successful in adding many members to the flock. Newcomers barely kept up with the attrition brought about by those leaving (the stalwart William Armour family left in 1913),[88] and those dying including many of the Campbell family.[89] Their small numbers in Content/Delburne precluded their ever calling a minister. The relative isolation constituted a drain on the Central Board of Missions – the congregation was consistently receiving aid.[90] Yet the Delburne Covenanters continued to have their social meetings thereby illustrating their tenacity. On a visit to the community in 1918, Rev. John Calvin Boyd French (1858-1921)[91] commented,

> The brethren are alive and energetic and are striving to hold up the cause of our exalted Redeemer, to the best of their ability. Some of them drive long distances to attend the services, and endure many hardships in order that the Covenanter cause my be sustained . . . The congregation is

> struggling to keep alive the truths that are held by the Church and are by no means stingy when it comes to giving of their means for the support of ordinances . . . I am sure that the Chairman of Synod's Committee on Tithe will be glad to know that the members of this little congregation are all tithers. This accounts for their being able to do so well.[92]

When the Delburne congregation was visited for a 3-month period by senior minister, Rev. Dr. James C. McFeeters (1848-1928)[93] in 1924, he noted that the congregation was "small, yet its vitality and earnestness in the Lord Jesus cannot be questioned."[94] McFeeters specifically mentioned the Taylor family.[95] The membership was slightly smaller than when it was organized as a congregation in 1910: "only 18 members."[96] Returning three years later McFeeters noted that they had had only six days preaching in that interim. McFeeters alludes to the problem of uncertain clergy supply: "feasting a month and starving a month is not good for growth."[97] While he was there, McFeeters noted a continuing phenomenon: "quite a number of families, not yet in membership, attend the services and Sabbath School, and receive the minister into their homes as their own and only pastor."[98]

The sole clergyman who had a longer stint in Content-Delburne was Rev. Howard George McConaughy (1882-1951)[99] who served from 1916 to 1919 and again, formally as Stated Supply, from 1927 to 1936.[100] A widower when he came the first time to Content, he married "Nancy Campbell, a school teacher, oldest daughter of Clark and Margaret Campbell."[101] Despite these relatively longer periods with a full-time minister, the Delburne congregation did not grow in any substantial manner.

The problems besetting the Delburne Covenanter community were also experienced by the Central Canada Presbytery; in 1934, the Central Canada presbytery petitioned for dissolution, giving as reasons: "1) fewness of numbers; 2) great [geographical] distances; and 3) aid-receiving congregations."[102] The 1934 petition by the Central Presbytery to dissolve was granted. The congregations of Lake Reno, Winnipeg and Regina were placed under the care of Iowa Presbytery, Delburne under the care of the Pacific Coast Presbytery.[103] In 1936, McConaughy retired and returned to Iowa where he died in 1951. Rev. Earnest McLeod Elsey (1875-1944)[104] served for "three months at Delburne for two summers," presumably in 1936 and 1937. During his time there he wrote a brief history of the

congregation.[105] He was the last minister of which there is any record. Local historian Ken Waddell noted that "the congregation continued until close to 1940 when it was dissolved for lack of members."[106] The congregation last appeared in the rolls of the Pacific Coast Presbytery in 1941. The Reformed Presbyterian Church in North America did not again have an Alberta congregation.[107]

A brief word about the Covenanters in Regina and Winnipeg. Both congregations flourished during the days of World War I and into the early 1920s. Both congregations were formed of Covenanters who came from the United States, as well as Covenanters and like-minded immigrants from Scotland and Ulster – perhaps the proportion of Ulster-born members was greater in Regina and Winnipeg. "The Winnipeg Covenanter Church congregation were mostly immigrants from Ireland and their families."[108] "Regina [congregation] became self-supporting" in 1913,[109] and Winnipeg some time later; both city congregations were consequently able to call members. One of Regina's ruling elders, Andrew Alexander, was a major contributor in a vigorous discussion about the elective franchise in the RP Synod and RP Church paper during the war years.[110] However, the Regina congregation faded in the late-1920s, diminished to a mission station status in 1929,[111] languished for several years and finally disappeared in 1940.[112] Winnipeg had a much longer existence, and a more vigorous congregation. In 1926, Rev. Frederick Francis Reade (1882-1981)[113] began his ministry in the city. During the early 1930s, the congregation's fortunes were seriously affected by a deep division which took a great deal of energy and time in congregation, presbytery and Synod.[114] Winnipeg Covenanters never fully recovered from this disastrous pastorate, which actually resulted in both a Covenanter congregation *and* a mission station in the city in 1935.[115] The mission station was dissolved in 1943;[116] the congregation lingered much longer, itself becoming a mission station in 1957[117] and finally frittering away completely in the mid-1960s.[118]

Why did the movement fail? There were too few Covenanters on the ground, and an insufficient inflow of RPs from the old world and the new to augment the original settlers. The Covenanter movement, in its attempts to make inroads among those who were non-Covenanters had too many connections with old world theology, too much affiliation with an American ecclesiastical administration combined with a strict discipline and the prohibition of organs and hymns in worship. These factors meant that Covenanters could initially make a space and hold their ground as long

as there was an absence of non-Covenanter churches. Later, when these other denominations came on the scene, Covenanters could for a time hold their own because of a tenacious loyalty to a fine faith. But Reformed Presbyterianism could not advance, and in face of the other factors, finally did not survive.

Endnotes

1. Sources for this article include: Content/Delburne Reformed Presbyterian Church Session Minutes (hereafter "Session Minutes"), 16 March 1910-1 October 1937, original held at Anthony Henday Museum, Delburne, AB; Central Canada Presbytery Minutes (hereafter "Central Canada Presbytery Minutes"), 9 October 1917-9 August 1934, original held at the Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary archives, Pittsburgh, PA; *Minutes of the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America* (hereafter *Synod RPCNA Minutes*); and Diane Lewis and John Pengelly, eds., *Through the Years: A Sociological History of Ardley, Delburne and Lousana Districts* (Delburne, AB: History Book Committee, Anthony Henday Historical Society, 1980).

2. Ken Waddell, "The Reformed Presbyterian Church," in *Through the Years*, 203.

3. Ken Waddell, "The Reformed Presbyterian Church," in *Through the Years*, 203.

4. Matthew Hutchison, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland, its Origin and History, 1680-1876* (Paisley: J & R 4.22 Parlane, 1893).

5. Adam Loughridge, *The Covenanters in Ireland: A History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church* (Belfast: Cameron Press, 1984).

6. W.M. Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America* (Baltimore: Hill and Harvey, 1888) (hereafter cited as *History*); and David M. Carson, *Transplanted to America: A Popular History of the American Covenanters to 1871* (Philadelphia: Board of Education and Publication, 1979).

7. See Loughridge, *The Covenanters in Ireland*, 32. For a superb explanation of the same phenomenon from a Canadian standpoint, see George Elder, "The Society," *Christian Nation*, 26 August 1903, 12.

8. See Eldon Hay's *The Chignecto Covenanters: A Regional History of Reformed Presbyterianism in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, 1827 to 1905* (forthcoming).

9. Frank Archibald, "The Reformed Presbyterian Church in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia or The Covenanters in the Lower Provinces" (B.D. Thesis, Pine Hill Divinity Hall, Halifax, 1934).

10. Robert M. More, Jr., *Aurora Borealis: A History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Canada (Covenanter), 1820-1967* (Philadelphia: Board of Education and Publication, 1967). This is the only work that attempts to outline Covenanterism across Canada.

11. For a listing of the Content/Delburne Covenanter families, see Appendix I.

12. Their widowed mother had emigrated from County Antrim, Ireland, with eight children, ca. 1852 (Letter to author, Jean Campbell Sibbald, Saskatoon, SK, 5 May 1994).

13. The dates of the three brothers are taken from "Beyond Life's Gateway – Delburne Cemetery," *Through the Years*, 208. Unless otherwise noted, dates of other laypersons are also from this source.

14. Alice (Kitchen) Campbell wrote: "in 1904, the Clark Campbell family came to the Penhold [Alberta] area from Kansas. By the following year, he had selected a quarter to homestead in the area east of what is now Delburne . . . The oldest son, Robert, filed on the N.E. quarter of the same section . . . A little later, James and David Campbell, Clark's older brothers, took up . . . the other two quarters of section 28. Neither of these older men had any family" ("Campbell, Clark and Margaret," in *Through the Years*, 1073).

15. Letter to author, Jean Campbell Sibbald, Saskatoon, SK, 5 May 1994.

16. C[lark] Campbell, "Penhold, Alberta," *Christian Nation*, 29 March 1905, 13.

17. "A memorial from the Regina session asking for a deliverance on the question, 'Can a Covenanter who is not a British subject, take up and perform the required duties of a homesteader in Canada without disregard of his church vows?' We [the Synod] recommend the following action concerning the memorial on homesteads: in view of the information before us, which we believe to be correct, that the homestead law requires an alien to be naturalized before he can obtain a patent for land in Canada, and that an oath of allegiance to the British crown is required for naturalization, a Covenanter not a British subject cannot take up and perform the required duties of a homesteader without violation of his church vows" ("Report of the Committee on Discipline," *Minutes Synod RPCNA* [Pittsburgh, 1914], 167).

18. The Synod of 1872 considered the matter of the "Homestead Oath" in the United States. The committee decision is as follows: "That they have examined the Homestead laws of the United States, and find that every applicant must swear that he is a citizen, or that he has filed his declaration of intention to become such, as required by the naturalization laws of the United States (see Brightley's *Digest of the Laws of the U.S.*, 288, sec. 41). At the time the patent is made out, he must swear that he has borne *true* allegiance to the government of the United States (Brightley, *Digest of the Laws*, 288, sec. 42). There never has been a question in the Church as to the first oath. It has always been deemed wrong. As to the second, which both natives and foreigners must take, a majority of the Committee think it inconsistent with our refusal to incorporate, by any act, with the government of the United States. The Committee recommended that Synod take such steps to obtain such a modification of these oaths as may be consistent with our dissent" (cited by Glasgow, *History*, 144).

19. "Central Board of Missions Report," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1907), 40.

20. T.M. Slater, "Content, Alberta," *Christian Nation*, 12 September 1906, 13.

21. T.M. Slater, "Content, Alberta," *Christian Nation*, 12 September 1906, 13. "William Armour came to the district in 1905 and homesteaded N.E.3--37-22 in September of the same year. They did not have horses so Clark Campbell met them [in Alix] and moved their belongings to the homestead" (Harold Jestin and Dick Randall, "Armour, William J.," *Through the Years*, 1071).

22. "Central Board of Missions Report," 1907, 40.

23. "Central Board of Missions Report," 1907, 40.

24. For further information on McFarland, see Appendix II.

25. "From the Far Northwest," *Christian Nation*, 27 February 1907, 12.

26. E.M. Elsey, "The Covenanters of the Red Deer Country [Delburne]," *Covenanter Witness*, 16 March 1938, 174.

27. Elsey, "The Covenanters of the Red Deer Country," 174.

28. "The Wood Lake School District No. 1512 was established June 25, 1906. The members of the original school board were O.B. Gongaware, Clark Campbell and William Armour . . . The name Wood Lake was chosen because of the nearby Lake . . . On August 28, 1906 the school board borrowed eight hundred dollars with which to secure a suitable site, construct and equip a schoolhouse . . . The school building was also used as a church, a place for

political meetings, a polling station for elections . . . The building was moved to its present site the southwest corner of the NW 21-37-22 during the winter of 1919-1920" (Dick Randall, "History of Wood Lake District," *Through the Years*, 1069-70). "The congregation held worship services in the Wood Lake School because they did not have a building of their own" (Ken Waddell, "The Reformed Presbyterian Church," 203).

29. For further information on McBurney, see Appendix II.

30. W.J.M. Burney [sic: McBurney], "Content, Alberta, Canada," *Christian Nation*, 6 November 1907, 11.

31. See the witness of Saint John ruling elder Robert Ewing on the question, why is the Covenanter movement so small?, "Reformed Presbyterian Church," *Olive Trees* (September 1899): 287-90.

32. One possible exception is the Henry and Beulah Kjersteen family. Henry was born in Norway in 1881, eventually settling in the Content area. In 1913, Henry married Beulah Brink, whose family had come from South Dakota ("Kjersteen, Henry and Beulah," *Through the Years*, 738).

33. An example is Ella Lowry (1900-1971), wife of Cameron Campbell (1893-1980), son of pioneer Clark Campbell, who "was born March 23, 1900, in St. George, Ontario and came west with her parents in 1903. She spent her childhood on [a] farm west of Content Bridge. She attended Camrose Normal School and taught near Red Willow. After their marriage, Cameron and Ella lived and farmed on the west quarter . . . in the house which had been the original homestead house of [Cameron's uncle] David Campbell" (Irene Hinman, "Campbell, Cameron Clark and Ella [Lowry]," *Through the Years*, 1073). Ella attended the Covenanter Church, but did not join: "I don't think my mother [Ella Lowry] ever joined the Covenanter Church . . . She couldn't (wouldn't) take Communion with the Covenanters" (Letter to author, Jean Campbell Sibbald, 24 May 1994).

34. Elsey, "The Covenanters of the Red Deer Country," 175.

35. "Session Minutes," 12 May 1917. See also "Session Minutes," 27 April 1924.

36. "Andrew left Glengarry County to come west to Alberta in 1905, taking up a homestead in the Woodlake district . . . In 1913 he returned to Ontario and married Alice Jean Souvie and brought his bride to Alberta" ("Brodie, Andrew and Alice," *Through the Years*, 903).

37. See Eldon Hay, "Ottawa Valley Covenanters," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1993), 57-79, for further information on the Lochiel congregation.

38. "William Everrett Taylor [1862-1931] farmed in Kansas and Iowa before coming to Alberta in 1906 . . . He went back to Iowa after filing on the homestead and brought his family, Mrs. Taylor and sons Lloyd and Lester, two carloads of settlers' effects . . . They rented a house in Content where they spent the winter. Mr. Brodie helped them build their first homestead shack on the farm. Between the Taylors and the Crookes, who were Mrs. Taylor's parents, they bought section 31-37-22 and 15-37-22" (Lester Taylor, Jr., "The Taylor Families," *Through the Years*, 1097). A brother of Mrs. William E. Taylor [1871-1942] was Rev. Eliza Allen Crooks (1868-1957). Of this clergyman brother we know that "Crooks' ancestors were Scotch-Irish. His great-great-grandfather came to America about 1750 and settled in eastern Pennsylvania, later locating in Westmoreland County. His grandmother's maiden name was Garvin. She was a Covenanter . . . His parents were early settlers in the community of Blanchard, Iowa, and his mother a charter member of the Long Branch congregation organized April 18, 1877" (Owen Thompson, *Sketches of the Ministers of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America from 1888 to 1930* [Iowa, 1930], 76-77).

39. It is not known whether or not Paul Armour was related to William Armour. William Armour came to the region in 1905 from an unknown locale in the United States: "Paul Armour came from Seattle July 13 [1907] to find land of such promise as calls from gratitude from everyone" ("Content," *Christian Nation*, 7 August 1907, 11).

40. W.E. Taylor, W.J. Armour, Clark Campbell, David Campbell, James Campbell, Paul Armour, "Content Mission Station, Alberta, Canada," *Christian Nation*, 21 October 1908, 13.

41. "Content, Alberta," *Christian Nation*, 17 March 1909, 13.

42. See my "Ottawa Valley Covenanters" for information on the Ramsay, Lanark County (Ontario) Covenanter congregation.

43. The Brodies came from the Lochiel congregation, the Waddells came from the Ramsey (Almonte) RP congregation: both of these churches were in Ontario. No Covenanters came to Content/Delburne from the Maritime RP communities, though Rev. Thomas McFall, long-time minister of the Cornwallis, NS RP congregation came to conduct service on at least one occasion: "Rev. Thomas McFall, of Cornwallis congregation, is expected to hold communion services for us the last Sabbath of May" ("Content, Alberta," *Christian Nation*, 21 April 1920, 10).

44. "Waddell, Robert and Mary," *Through the Years*, 958. A copy of the church membership certificate of Robert and Mary Waddell is published as part of Ken Waddell's "The Reformed Presbyterian Church," 203.

45. "Waddell, Robert and Mary," *Through the Years*, 958.

46. Glen Waddell, "Bowes, Mack," *Through the Years*, 970.

47. Dick Randall, "Ewing Brothers, James and David," *Through the Years*, 1080; and Mrs. Wm. E. Taylor, "Content Congregation," *Christian Nation*, 31 May 1911, 8.

48. Irma Waddell, "Mann Brothers, Joe and Robert," *Through the Years*, 1085-86.

49. Gordon Martin, "The Martin Families," *Through the Years*, 1086.

50. "Central Alberta, Canada," *Christian Nation*, 18 August 1909, 10.

51. For further information on Sharp, see Appendix II.

52. "New Covenanter Congregation," *Christian Nation*, 13 April 1910, 11.

53. "Session Minutes," 22 March 1910.

54. B.M. Sharp, "Church Letters: Content Mission," *Christian Nation*, 18 May 1910, 9.

55. B.M. Sharp, "Church Letters: Content Mission," *Christian Nation*, 18 May 1910, 9.

56. B.M. Sharp, "Church Letters: Content Mission," *Christian Nation*, 18 May 1910, 9.

57. The change in the name of the congregation was officially made in 1922 ("Central Canada Presbytery Minutes," 19 May 1922) even though "the post office at Content [was] discontinued" in 1913 (W.C. Allen, "Content, Alberta, Canada," *Christian Nation*, 5 November 1913, 10).

58. "Content, Canada," *Christian Nation*, 25 October 1911, 11. The "Church Records: Minutes of Board – 1911 to 1958" indicate that the first gathering of the Delburne Methodists was held in the fall of 1911 . . . In 1916 the congregation was officially constituted as the Delburne Circuit Methodist Church, and a minister appointed to serve them (courtesy Rev. Dr. W.W. Beach, Edmonton).

59. "Regina, Canada is a promising field calling for help" ("Report of the Colorado Presbytery," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* [Pittsburgh, 1909], 33).

60. "I spent some days in Regina, Canada, having been appointed by Colorado Presbytery, together with Rev. W.C. Allen and Elder J.S. Bell, to perfect the organization of our work there along congregational lines. This was effected

May 20, when upwards of thirty Covenanters met with the Commission and signified their desire toward this end. Of these some had certificates from various congregations in the States, some were from congregations of the Scotch and Irish Synod, and some had recently been received upon profession of faith, under the faithful pastoral care of Brother [W.C.] Allen, who had been with the work here the greater part of the past year" (T.M. Slater, "Regina, Canada," *Christian Nation*, 5 July 1911, 10).

61. "Report of the Pacific Coast Presbytery," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1914), 41.

62. "A number of people in the church know that last spring the Winnipeg Mission sent up a petition to the Pacific Coast Presbytery to be organized into a congregation. This petition was granted and a commission appointed to attend to this work. The commission met last Thursday, at 8 o'clock p.m., at the home of Mr. Thomas Dickey, Agnes street, Winnipeg. The members of the commission were: Rev. J.G. Reed, of Regina congregation, and Elder A. Alexander, and the writer, who is stated supply in Winnipeg. Four elders and four deacons were elected, and the election in both cases was made unanimous. The names of those chosen for elders are: S.R. McKelvey, Thomas Dickey, S. Clydesdale, R. McWilliams. The deacons are: S. Boone, A. Boone, G. Barber, W. Hemphill. These all were found willing to accept the office to which they were chosen. The congregation was organized with twenty-one members. Most were received by certificate. The ordination and installation took place on Friday evening, the 23rd, at the home of Mr. R. McWilliams, Beverly street. The ordination sermon was by Thomas Patton, who also addressed the officers. Elder Alexander addressed the congregation. The organization was followed by communion on Sabbath" (Thomas Patton, "Winnipeg," *Christian Nation*, 11 November 1914, 6).

63. See Eldon Hay, "Covenanter Worship and Religion: Chignecto Practice," *Presbyterian History: A Newsletter of the Committee on History, The Presbyterian Church in Canada* 32 (May 1988): 1-7; and (October 1988): 1-7.

64. "Session Minutes," 1 November 1917.

65. So named in the "Session Minutes," 27 April 1924.

66. "Session Minutes," 16 April 1924.

67. "Session Minutes," 27 April 1924.

68. "Session Minutes," 27 December 1917.

69. B.M. Sharp, "Church Letters: Content Mission," *Christian Nation*, 18 May 1910, 9.

70. The first mention of the group appears in, "Delburne," *Covenanter Witness*, 26 December 1934, 415.

71. "Farewell To Dr. McFeeters At Delburne," *Christian Nation*, 21 December 1927, 9.

72. "The Covenanter Sabbath School of Content gave a whole day last week to the enjoyment of athletics" ("Content, Alberta," Christian Nation, 11 December 1907, 11).

73. "Session Minutes," 1 November 1917.

74. Brody, Andrew, Content, Alberta, Canada, Cong. In France. Infantry. Taylor, Alvah L[loyd], Content, Alberta, Can., Cong. In France. Casualty Corps. Taylor, Lester T. Content, Alberta, Can., Cong. S[tudents'] A[rmy] T[raining] C[orps], Moscow, Idaho (John W. Pritchard, *Soldiers of the Church* [New York: Christian Nation Publishing Co., 1919], 34, 49, 50). None of the three appear in "Veterans World War I – 1914-1918," *Through the Years*, 177.

75. "Content, Alberta," *Christian Nation*, 16 May 1917, 12.

76. "Mr. Lester Taylor, who was in training for military service, has returned home" ("Content, Canada," *Christian Nation*, 5 February 1919, 10).

77. "Content, Alberta," *Christian Nation*, 21 April 1920.

78. Pritchard, *Soldiers of the Church*, 97, 99.

79. Pritchard, *Soldiers of the Church*, 107-08.

80. "Content, Canada," *Christian Nation*, 9 April 1919, 13.

81. "Brodie, Andrew and Alice," *Through the Years*, 903-04.

82. "David Wilson sold his farm in 1940. [Later] he moved to the Lester Taylors and worked there until his health failed" (Dick Randall, "Wilson, David," *Through the Years*, 1097).

83. "Lloyd Taylor, returned soldier from France . . . left for Blanchard, [Iowa]" ("Content, Alberta," *Christian Nation*, 21 April 1920, 12).

84. The full story is told in "An Appeal by the Winnipeg Session to have the Oath of Allegiance Changed," *Christian Nation*, 29 May 1918, 10. Boone's name is not among those listed in Pritchard's *Soldiers of the Church*.

85. "Committee on Discipline Report," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1917), 127.

86. "Presbytery of Central Canada," *Christian Nation*, 31 October 1917, 10.

87. Attempts were made from time to time to establish Covenanter communities in various places. Normally, these communities were visited, the Covenanters sought out and social gatherings or services were held. Yet in none of these places were mission stations established. A place listing, not necessarily exclusive, includes Vancouver, BC ("Report of the Domestic Mission Conference," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* [Pittsburgh, 1911], 118), Edmonton and Provost, AB ("Central Canada Presbytery Minutes," 10 May 1910), and Calgary and Edmonton, AB ("Central Canada Presbytery Minutes," 7 April 1931). Of the places mentioned, Provost seems to have been the most promising: "[At] Provost, Alberta . . . we found six or seven members of our Church. Through the kindness of the McElhinney brothers, arrangements were made for me to preach in the Presbyterian Church of Provost both morning and evening, to good-sized audiences. Provost is a village of perhaps three or four hundred people. It has four churches, and good school privileges. The country round about is being rapidly settled up. The soils is a sandy loam mixed with clay. Grain was being sown under very favorable conditions. The farmers here farm on a large scale, some farming companies cultivating thousands of acres. Provost would be a splendid locality for a Covenanter congregation. Any members of our Church in the States who desire to change their location would do well to write the McElhinney brothers, or Mr. Thomas or Matthew McConnell, all of Provost, Alberta" (J.C. French, "In the Presbytery of Central Canada," *Christian Nation*, 8 May 1918, 10). Why weren't Covenanter communities established? In at least two situations, "H.G. McConaughy reported investigating the Calgary and Edmonton fields. He met several former Covenanters but found that all were active members of other churches" ("Central Canada Presbytery Minutes," 20 May 1931).

88. "The Armour family left the area in 1913 and moved to Morrin" (Jestin and Randall, "Armour, William J.," *Through the Years*, 1071).

89. David Campbell died in 1913 (81 years), Clark Campbell died in 1917 ("Beyond Life's Gateway – Delburne Cemetery," *Through the Years*, 208). The session composed the following tribute: "whereas God has taken to himself Mr Clark Campbell, we the other members of Content Session wish to bear testimony to his upright character, his humble unassuming ways and his love of our church. He was willing to suffer and make sacrifice for the sake of our principles. He longed for their dissemination in the part of God's vineyard where he was. His remark that 'he was going home,' which was uttered during unconscious moments in his last illness was most fitting, for

his 'citizenship was in Heaven,' (Signed) H.G. McConaughy (Moderator) Robert Mann (Clerk)" ("Minutes," 1 November 1917; the statement had appeared in the *Christian Nation*, 3 October 1917, 12). James Campbell died in 1919: "although Mr. James Campbell was quite frail for a long time before his death, he will be greatly missed. He was born in Coleraine, Ireland, in 1840. He came to America when quite young, settling in Canada. He moved from there down to Bethel, Ill., congregation. He was later connected with Lake Reno and from there went to Blanchard, where he was a charter member of Long Branch congregation. Since leaving there he has continued to reside here [in Content]. His wife, Mrs. Addie Campbell, preceded him to his reward several months ago" ("Content, Canada," *Christian Nation*, 9 April 1919, 13).

90. Requests for aid were taken to the Central Canada Presbytery. See "Report of Board of Home Missions," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1934), 90, at which "the Board recommend[ed] to the Mission Conference that, under present conditions, no further supplement be given to the Delburne congregation." This decision prompted the following reply: "It was moved seconded and carried that Clerk be authorised to write Home Mission Board asking for a copy of statements and name of writer said statements being used by Board to a certain extent against the Delburne congregation. We also protest against the Board for taking action against the Delburne cong. without giving them a hearing" ("Session Minutes," 12 December 1934).

91. French was Covenanter minister in Regina from 1916-1919; for more information about him, see Appendix II.

92. "In the Presbytery of Central Canada," *Christian Nation*, 8 May 1918, 10.

93. For more information on McFeeters, see Appendix II.

94. "Delburne Church," *Christian Nation*, 27 August 1924, 9.

95. McFeeters wrote, "Here [in Delburne] we had the pleasure of meeting Professor Lloyd Taylor and his bride. They have been visiting his father and mother, who are members of this church. This week they begin their tour of nearly 3,000 miles in an automobile for Beaver Falls, Pa. Professor Taylor has been chosen to do substitution work for a year in Geneva College" ("Delburne Church," Christian Nation, 27 August 1924, 9). For information about A. Lloyd Taylor see "Changes in Faculty," in "Report of the Board of Trustees of Geneva College," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1924), 86; and *Annual Catalogue, Geneva College 1925-26*.

96. "Delburne Church," *Christian Nation*, 19 November 1924, 9.

97. "Delburne Church," *Christian Nation*, 27 August 1924, 9.

98. "Delburne Church," *Christian Nation*, 19 November 1924, 9.

99. For further information on McConaughy, see Appendix II.

100. The "Church Records: Minutes of Board – 1911 to 1958" have this minute in connection with the Annual Meeting, 30 January 1934: "Greetings from the Covenanter Church were brought by Rev. McConnaughie" (courtesy Rev. Dr. W.W. Beach, Edmonton).

101. For a report of the wedding, see "McConaughy-Campbell," *Christian Nation*, 4 June 1919, 16. "Rev. H.G. McConaughy, a widower, left his two babies in the U.S.A. and came to preach at Woodlake school for the Reformed Presbyterian families living in the community . . . There he met Nancy Campbell, a school teacher, oldest daughter of Clark and Margaret Campbell. They were married and made their first home at Hetherton, Michigan, where their daughter, Faith, was born. In 1927 the family of five moved to Delburne. Son Robert finished school at Delburne and took teacher's training at Camrose. Mary's schooling was interrupted when she had infantile paralysis . . . She later took stenographic training in Red Deer. For further education Robert and Mary were able to live with their aunt in Pennsylvania, where Robert has lived ever since . . . Mary married John McCrory, who is a Pittsburg native and a school teacher. They were living in Colorado when they took their three young sons on a visit to Delburne in 1959 . . . Faith left Canada with her parents . . . [when] they moved to Des Moines, Iowa. There she finished school and married Albert Garcia. Rev. H.G. McConaughy died in 1951 [and was buried in Des Moines] and Nancy Campbell McConaughy [who died in 1958] is also buried in Des Moines. Faith, who like Robert and Mary had taken several years of schooling at Delburne, died in 1967. Her three children are married and live in the Des Moines area. [My] favorite memories from the Delburne years have to do with ice-skating on ponds and lakes, watching the broom-wielding curlers at the bottom of the hill, the board walks, drills at Christmas programs and chinooks . . ." (Mary McCrory [the older daughter of McConaughy], "McConaughy, Reverend H.G. and Nancy," *Through the Years*, 471).

102. "Central Canada Presbytery Minutes," 62.

103. *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1934), 40.

104. For further information on Elsey, see Appendix II.

105. "The Covenanters of the Red Deer Country," *Covenanter Witness*, 16 March 1938, 174-75.

106. Waddell, "The Reformed Presbyterian Church," 203.

107. The closest parallel would be congregations of the Presbyterian Church in America (PCA) one of whose parental roots was the Reformed Presbyterian Church in North America, General Synod (RPC/GS). That denomination was created in 1833 by a split within the (still existing) Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America (RPCNA). A merger of the RPC/GS with the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in 1965 resulted in the Reformed Presbyterian Church, Evangelical Synod (RPC/ES). This denomination joined the Presbyterian Church in America (PCA) in 1982 (PCA had been in existence since 1973, arising from a segment of the Presbyterian Church in the United States). In 1994, there are at least four PCA congregations in Alberta, although only one of them had had a Reformed Presbyterian (General Synod) connection--Crestwood Presbyterian, in Edmonton ("Crestwood in Merger," *Edmonton Journal*, 24 April 1965). The three other Alberta PCA churches are found in Calgary: Covenant Evangelical Presbyterian, Northridge Presbyterian and Woodgreen Presbyterian.

108. Letter to author, Rev. J. Harvey Bishop, 24 May 1994. Bishop conducted services in the Winnipeg RP church from "the autumn or 1947 to April of 1949." Bishop is now a minister of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

109. "Report of the Pacific Coast Presbytery," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1913), 32.

110. "A memorial from the session of Regina congregation, transferred by the Pacific Coast Presbytery, asking for a deliverance on the question of voting in Canada especially in municipal elections where conditions of voting differ materially from the dominion elections. We recommend the following action concerning the memorial regarding voting in Canada: In all cases in which voting requires an oath of allegiance to the British crown on the part of the voter or officer, as in Dominion and Provincial elections, voting is contrary to the principles of the Reformed Presbyterian Church; but in cases where no such oath is required, as in municipal elections in part of the Dominion at least, where we are informed no oath of allegiance is required of the officer, and even an alien can participate, we see nothing inconsistent with the principles of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in voting" (see "Report of the Committee on Discipline," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* [Pittsburgh, 1914], 167). See also "Committee on Discipline," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1915), 76-78; "Report of Committee on Voting in Canada," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (1916), Appendix, 124-25; "Our Position on Voting in Canada," *Christian Nation*, 4 July 1917, 5-6; "Interesting Debate on the Canadian Question," *Christian Nation*, 26 June 1918, 5-6; "Action on the Question of Voting in Canada Indefinitely

Postponed," *Christian Nation*, 10 July 1918, 4; letter to author, Mrs. Geneva Elliott (daughter of Andrew Alexander), 30 May 1994.

111. "Regina became disorganized through the removal of one of its elders who united with another denomination" ("Report of the Presbytery of Central Canada," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* [Pittsburgh, 1929], 25). The same minutes list Regina as amission station (156).

112. "Statistics of Iowa Presbytery," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1940), 153.

113. For more information on Reade, see *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1982), 129-30. Reade died in Edmonton in 1982.

114. The matter surfaced first at the 1932 synod (*Synod RPCNA Minutes* [Pittsburgh, 1932], 117-21).

115. Reade continued as minister of the Mission Station until 1939 (*Synod RPCNA Minutes* [Pittsburgh, 1982], 129-30).

116. "The Winnipeg Mission Station was dissolved at the meeting of Presbytery" ("Report of Iowa Presbytery," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* [Pittsburgh, 1944], 76-77).

117. "Elder Wm. Scott of Winnipeg died June 3, 1957, making [the congregation of] Winnipeg a Mission Congregation" ("Report of Iowa Presbytery," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* [Beaver Falls, PN], 112).

118. Winnipeg Mission Station last reported financial data in 1964 (*Synod RPCNA Minutes*, 1964, 154). In 1966, Iowa Presbytery reported that "the Winnipeg group is inactive as of January 1, 1966, because of illness on the part of some members" (*Synod RPCNA Minutes*, 1966, 98). Winnipeg Mission Station is listed for the last time in the statistics of Iowa Presbytery in 1967 (*Synod RPCNA Minutes*, 1967, 163); the church building was sold the same year (*Synod RPCNA Minutes*, 1968, 86).

Appendix I

Covenanter Families and Adherents of Content/Delburne

Family names have been deduced from session minutes and membership rolls and/or news items in the *Christian Nation* or *Covenanter Witness*. All articles which follow are found in *Through the Years*.

1. "Armour, William J. [family]," 1071, by Harold Jestin and Dick Randall.

2. "Bowes, Mack," 970, by Glen Waddell.

3. "Brodie, Andrew and Alice," 903-04.

4. "Campbell, Cameron Clark and Ella (Lowry)," 1072-73, by Irene Hinman.

5. "Campbell, Clark and Margaret," 1073, by Alice (Kitchen) Campbell.

6."Ewing Brothers, James and David," 1080, by Dick Randall.

7. "Kjersteen, Henry and Beulah," 738.

8. "Mann Brothers, Joe and Robert," 1085-86, by Irma Waddell.

9. "The Martin Families," 1086, by Gordon Martin.

10. "McConaughy, Reverend H.G. and Nancy," 471, by Mary McCrory.

11. "McLean, George and Elizabeth (Bessie)," by Dorothy McLean, 1087-8.

12. "McLean, Edmund David and Dorothy," by Dorothy McLean, 1088.

13. "The Taylor Families," 1097, by Lester Taylor, Jr.

14. "Waddell, Robert and Mary," 958-59, by Ken Waddell.

15. "Waddell, Glen," 754.

16. "Waddell, Clarence and Irma," 753-54, by Irma Waddell.

17. "Wilson, David," 1097, by Dick Randall.

Appendix II

Covenanter Clergy at Content/Delburne

Although never able to call a minister, Content/Delburne welcomed a series of visiting ministers. The following list identifies those who stayed for at least three months.

1. Rev. William McFarland (1844-1938), December 1906 – 1 August 1907 (see W.M. Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America* [Baltimore: Hill & Harvey, 1888], 593; Owen Thompson, *Sketches of the Ministers of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America from 1888 to 1930* [Blanchard, IA: Owen Thompson, 1930], 214; Alvin W. Smith, *Covenanter Ministers 1930-1963 of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America* [Mars, PN: Alvin Smith, 1964], 141).

2. Rev. Wilbur John McBurney (1874-1958), 1 September 1907 – end of Feb 1908 (see Thompson, 185-86; Smith, 120-21).

3. Rev. Thomas James Allen (1848-1924), 1 July 1909 – 30 September 1909 (see Glasgow, 433-34; Thompson, 29-30).

4. Rev. Byron Melancthon Sharp (1847-1930), November 1909 – May 1910 (see Glasgow, 666-67; Thompson, 294-95; Smith, 188).

5. Rev. Isaiah Faris (1846-1930), July 1910 – 30 April 1911 (see Glasgow, 499; Thompson, 106; Smith, 73-74).

6. Rev. William Cochran Allen (1874-1933), autumn-winter, 1913-14 (see Glasgow, 434; Thompson, 30-31; Smith, 19-20).

7. Rev. David Bruce Elsey (1877-1950), eight months, 1914-15 (see Thompson, 100-101; Smith, 72).

8 Rev. Howard George McConaughy (1882-1951), 1916-1919; 1927-1936 with status as Stated Supply (see Thompson, 196-97; Smith, 123-125).

9. Robert George Graham (1877-1973), licensed, never ordained, September 1919 – May 1920 (see Thompson, 134-35; Smith, 84-85).

10. Rev. George Robb McBurney (1862-1950), September 1920 – March 1921 (see Glasgow, 577; Thompson, 182-83; Smith, 119).

11. Rev. David Calderwood (1891-1970), three months in 1922 (see Thompson, 49-50; Smith, 239-40; *Minutes of the 37th General Assembly, The Orthodox Presbyterian Church* [Philadelphia, 1970], 143).

12. Rev. James McFeeters, D.D. (1848-1928), three months in 1924, three months in 1927 (see Glasgow, 593-94; Thompson, 214-16).

13. Rev. Earnest McLeod Elsey (1875-1944), three months in 1936, three months in 1937 (see Thompson, 102-03, Smith, 72-73).

Who Is to Say?: Defining and Discerning Secularization in Canadian Christianity

JOHN G. STACKHOUSE, JR.

According to John's Gospel, Jesus prayed to his Father on behalf of his disciples on the night before his death. A few verses from the account of this prayer may help focus our attention on what has proved to be a slippery problematic indeed, namely, secularization. "They do not belong to the world, just as I do not belong to the world. Sanctify them in the truth; your word is truth. As you have sent me into the world, so I have sent them into the world" (John 17:16-18 NRSV).

In David Marshall's ambitious book, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940*,[1] he intends to show (in his own words) that "the dominant trend in Canadian Protestant history from some time during the Victorian era has been the accommodation of the clergy and churches to a society growing more secular, not a march of progress towards the Kingdom of God."[2] He goes on to discuss two of the main denominations in Ontario of the time as, one supposes, indicators of this national Protestant trend. And he finds what he thinks are powerful indicators of this sweeping trend.

The question of whether the church becomes too cosy with the world, whether it sells out its identity and mission to an identity and agenda constructed elsewhere, is a perennial and important one. Answering it requires historical and social scientific analysis. I suggest today, though, that it requires more than that – and probably more than most scholars are prepared, at least *as* scholars, to offer. In brief, I suggest that defining and determining "internal secularization" requires theological

analysis and evaluation as well, and theological judgment is something I understand most scholars of religion to be loathe to undertake in their professional capacities.

I. Secularization: Compared to What and When?

As I understand them, secularization studies generally have sought to analyze the place of the Christian church in various societies – and, by derivation, of other organized religions in theirs. A classic definition is provided by Peter Berger in his influential study, *The Sacred Canopy*: secularization is "the process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols."[3] Originally, this meant the transfer of medieval church lands to the hands of secular rulers. Later we see similar transfers in education, health care, and other institutions. At the intellectual level, ideas themselves become less and less influenced by Christian norms, as Owen Chadwick, for example, has detailed in the European case.[4] Secularization, then, usually has denoted a process in society at large.

Marshall, however, wants us to look *within* some Victorian Canadian churches to see whether they secularize as well. Let us call this "internal secularization." Indeed, he asserts that they *intentionally* become less Christian and more worldly (cf. Latin *saeculum*) in order to preserve and even increase their influence in a rapidly secularizing culture. He wonders if the churches ironically do not give up more and more of what they distinctively have to offer to the world as they reshape themselves more and more in the world's mould.

In the case of traditional secularization studies, the task of the scholar is reasonably straightforward, if often difficult. One selects a particular society at a particular instant of time T, and then studies that society through a particular period of time. At the terminus of this period, as well as at points in between, one compares the influence of religion (let us speak for the rest of this paper particularly of Christianity and the Christian Church) on that society with the original state of affairs at T. If the society seems less influenced by Christianity and the Church at $T + n$, then secularization is taking place. (If society seems *more* influenced by Christianity and the Church at $T + n$, then the secularization scholar prudently leaves this period for historians of revival and looks someplace else!)

But what is the scholar of "internal secularization" to do? Perhaps she can follow the same procedure, selecting any time *T* and comparing *T + n* to look for evidence of departure from the faith. Yet if she tries to do so, she comes up against several versions of one problem.

First, why does she believe that *T* is a reliable benchmark for true Christianity (let us call it) from which any change is a sign of secularization? To put this graphically, one might say that the construction of a church building to look like a shopping centre is a sign of greater worldliness than constructing one the way Christians used to build them – "like a church," we might say. But is Gothic architecture more principally Christian than, say, Bauhaus or postmodern eclecticism? Or is it just older and reminiscent of European cathedrals, while we forget about, say, decidedly non-Christian structures like those on Parliament Hill? And while the floor plan of the "traditional" church might be cross-shaped, historians of architecture recognize that the original floor plan was derived directly from classical culture, namely, the Roman house. Perhaps, then, the church at *T* was *more* influenced by its culture than at *T + n*, and so cannot serve as this kind of benchmark.

Let me take an example from close to home. Winnipeg is the Mennonite capital of the world, and Mennonites in North America are the darlings of sociologists as they provide wonderful case studies of ethnicity, assimilation, and so on. No one will dispute that most Mennonites today resemble the general Anglophone culture of Canada more than they did when they arrived generations ago. This resemblance could be a betrayal of their Anabaptist distinctives, whether for a generic North American evangelicalism (as some argue) or for an even more generic North American consumerism (as others argue).[5]

Theoretically, though, it could be instead that the difference between then and now is simply Old World versus New World patterns, leaving the question open as to whether Mennonites were more Russian in Russia than they are Canadian in Canada. True, they could be just selling out to the bright lights and blandishments of Winnipeg. But they might also be more authentically Mennonite now in a country in which they enjoy more freedom and prosperity than they did a century ago elsewhere.

Well, maybe our scholar recognizes this problem. Maybe she then grasps the nettle and posits a timeless ideal for Christian churches against which all instantiations are to be measured. This ideal functions as a kind of ecclesiastical North Pole, a point of pristine purity from which any

departure is a step down. But is there such an ideal of the Church? And whence shall such an ideal be derived? Is there even, to use Marshall's examples, an ideal Methodism or Presbyterianism? John Wesley's Methodists were Arminians, but George Whitefield's were Calvinists. The Presbyterians in centuries past, I understand, had what to them were significant disagreements about church-state relations, church order, and other matters, and – as Keith Clifford has shown – they could not agree on the nature of Presbyterianism enough to enter as one body the United Church in 1925.[6]

Our scholar might well reply that all that is being attempted here is a relative judgment, not some final evaluation according to some timeless ideal. She might say that this is an extension, even an inversion, of the traditional secularization study of church and society to see in this case how much the society increasingly influences the church. So in the example before us, Canadian churches in 1940 are being compared with Canadian churches in 1850 to see if they resemble their respective societies more as time goes on.

This seems to be a clear enough task. But to make this amount to secularization, one would have to demonstrate that Canadian *society* itself in 1940 was less Christian than it was in 1850, so that a church that increasingly resembled society in the twentieth century was conforming to a less and less Christian norm. But maybe a greater similarity between church and society means that secularization in the "external" sense is being *reversed*, that the church is shaping the culture so much that the gap between church and society is narrowing. So how does one demonstrate the "Christianness" of a society except by measuring *it* against either (a) a particular historical moment or (b) a timeless ideal of *true* faith? Thus to define and discern "internal secularization" requires a true point of departure. And it is not clear to me that such a point can be found through historical or other academic analysis.

II. What Is It, Anyway?

If we refer back to our opening Gospel passage, then, it would seem that Marshall would expect Jesus to be disappointed in churches that seemed increasingly to belong to the world and showed less and less evidence of being "set apart" (the root meaning of "sanctify") in the Christian truth. But the last part of our epigraph quotes Jesus, not as

isolating his disciples from the world, but as sending his disciples into the world. And the model for their being sent into the world is the identity and mission of Jesus himself being sent by God the Father into the world. Jesus' incarnation has functioned as a guiding metaphor for the Christian Church since apostolic times. And the question of how the church is "in" the world – nay, "sent into" the world in order to serve God's purposes as Jesus did – has prompted a wide range of thought for centuries. No mainstream Christian thinker or group of any stripe has suggested that Christians entirely withdraw from society at large, have nothing to do with it at all. Instead, the question has always been just what relationship the church is to have with its surrounding culture.[7]

Missiologists have joined with historians and sociologists of religion to examine this question of the church and society and have coined a range of terms to describe various ways in which the church intentionally or unintentionally adapts to its environment. "Contextualization," "acculturation," "enculteration," "indigenization," "syncretism" and more all indicate aspects of this complicated issue. The point for us here, though, is simply this: for the church to resemble the society around it is *expected* in the Gospel itself. It is not necessarily secularization. Clearly for the church to survive, it must not be completely antisocial. Clearly for the church to build bridges to others in order to evangelize and serve in other ways, it must adapt its message and media and ministry.

Examples in church history abound, from the apostle Paul adjusting his presentation for the Areopagus to Justin Martyr writing in Platonic cadences; from the medieval Church borrowing hierarchical structures from the Roman Empire to contemporary churches learning from business theory and practice; from Jean de Brébeuf carefully observing Huron customs to Matteo Ricci dressing as a Confucian scholar in China; from William Booth's Salvation Army brass bands to guitar-strumming priests and nuns at post-Vatican II folk masses.

If by "internal secularization" is meant, therefore, simply a church increasingly resembling its surrounding society, then it is not clear to me on historical or other academic grounds why this should be called secularization at all, rather than some other term of adaptation. For the word "secularization" in this context seems to me to be pronounced with a distinct tone of reproach, rather than of value-free scholarly analysis. And it is precisely this tone that leads me to wonder about the entire project of tracing "internal secularization" on strictly academic grounds.

III. The Lord versus the Learneds

I believe, though, that Marshall and others do not mean by secularization simply a resemblance between the church and society. They do not mean even a process by which the church intentionally conforms itself to society. They want to point to churches intentionally conforming to society and thereby – despite even their best intentions – compromising essentials of the faith. That, they would say, is secularization and not mere adaptation. So Marshall quotes the doughty Methodist leader E.H. Dewart as decrying the pressure in his day "to reconcile Christianity with modern culture, by renouncing all that is essential and characteristic of religion."[8]

What Marshall does for the past, sociologists do for religion today. Among others, Reginald Bibby in Canada and James Hunter in the United States have been widely read as they analyze contemporary religion and go on to pronounce it troubled indeed.[9] I suspect, actually, that inside every historian or sociologist of religion there is a pundit – yea, a *prophet* – busting to get out. But prophecy is not history, or sociology, or any other academic endeavour, however well-informed it may be by scholarship. And this brings us to my main – indeed, my only – point.

It is one thing to pursue secularization studies in the traditional way, trying to trace the waxing and waning influence of religion upon society. It is another thing to attempt to discern whether a church in one era is more faithful than in another. And that other thing is prophecy, the evaluative word of the Lord spoken for the benefit of the church.

One cannot trace "internal secularization," I am suggesting, without a standard of faithfulness. Such standards are well at hand in theology, and Marshall industriously quotes pastor after preacher after professor of divinity who condemns this or that innovation in the Canadian churches as a departure from the true faith as they understand it. But such judgments are properly the province of theologians, since they alone have such standards. Such judgments are the worthy products of prophets who know the mind of the Lord.

Scholars, however, know only what their studies tell them about human beings. If Marshall wants to say that many Presbyterians were dismayed at some of their fellows choosing Arminianism, then let him talk about heresy and apostasy and conversion in appropriately relative terms. If he wants to say that many clergy disliked revivals because they seemed to compromise this or that tradition, then let him talk about the important

tension between fidelity to the "old-time" gospel and the widespread embrace of new ways of articulating it – and how those new media may well have altered the message in turn.

If he wants to say, however, that Canadians were less and less interested in what he calls "spiritual homilies and references to the supernatural" and more interested in hearing references to "morality and the obligation to create social justice,"[10] then let him consider whether the pastors were being directed by their audiences to a more comprehensive version of Christian mission, to a restatement of authentic Christian priorities that perhaps certain kinds of mid-nineteenth-century orthodoxies had understated. The same might be true of Marshall's references to foreign missionaries who abandoned their original preoccupation with proselytizing and took up a broader agenda of education, health care, and so on.[11] Instead of these developments being secularization, maybe they are instances of the "whole counsel of God" being opened up to complement the emphases upon correct doctrine and spiritual salvation.[12]

Or maybe not. Perhaps the churches *were* selling out the supernatural to buy attention from an increasingly distracted audience. But pronouncing this development to be "secularization" instead of just "a change" means to pronounce upon its authenticity as the Christian faith. Prophets of the Lord need to be sure about such things and say so. It is their calling. Professors at the Learneds, though, may not – and, I am suggesting, in the fulfilment of their own vocation *cannot* – be so sure, and so should leave such judgments to others.

Endnotes

1. David B. Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

2. Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 4.

3. Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor, 1969), 107. A still useful introduction to the secularization problematic is David Lyon, *The Steeple's Shadow: On the Myths and Realities of Secularization* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1985).

4. Owen Chadwick, *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

5. So the work of Frank Epp, Leo Driedger, Peter Hamm and others.

6. N. Keith Clifford, *The Resistance to Church Union in Canada 1904-1939* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985).

7. The classic study, although widely criticized, is H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper & Row, 1951); see also Eric G. Jay, *The Church: Its Changing Image through Twenty Centuries* (Atlanta: John Knox, 1977, 1978).

8. Quoted in Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 4.

9. Reginald W. Bibby, *Fragmented Gods: The Poverty and Potential of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: Irwin, 1987), and *Unknown Gods: The Ongoing Story of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1993); and James Davison Hunter, *Evangelicalism: The Coming Generation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

10. Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 5.

11. Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, chapter 4.

12. One is put in mind of the so-called Pietists, whose very name now connotes other-worldly preoccupation but whose early history was one of extensive involvement in German society (see Howard A. Snyder, *Signs of the Spirit: How God Reshapes the Church* [Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1989], especially chapter 3; and Gary R. Sattler, *God's Glory, Neighbour's Good: A Brief Introduction to the Life and Writings of August Hermann Francke* [Chicago: Covenant, 1982]).

Secularizing the Faith: A Comment

BRIAN CLARKE

The title of David Marshall's book, *Secularizing the Faith* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), aptly captures its main thesis. English-Canadian society ended up becoming more secular because Protestantism was secularized from within by the clergy. In accommodating their faith to the social, cultural and intellectual temper of their times, Marshall claims, the clergy stripped the churches of their gospel message and in so doing robbed Christianity of its sense of mystery and its apprehension of the supernatural.

As Marshall puts it in his typically evocative prose: "religion became an empty shell; the church's mission became secularized." The call to personal salvation was overtaken by the call to social service and reform, and faith by sentimental moralism. In sum, the various strategies that the clergy adopted to address the needs of their age – Liberal theology, the Social Gospel, the development of professional revivalism, the drive for foreign missions and the movement for church union – all missed their mark. Instead of inaugurating the Kingdom of God in Canada and "stemming the tide of secularization," as they had hoped, the clergy had made their faith irrelevant to a generation facing the hard realities of World War I and the Great Depression. Lacking a distinctive message and mission, they sentenced themselves and the institutions they represented to the margins of Canadian society. And what was worse, in the process they also cut themselves off from the well-springs of religious renewal, and so were unable to embrace the insights of neo-orthodoxy.

This interpretation of Canadian Protestantism builds on the work of

Brian McKillop and Ramsay Cook, and many will recognize their influence. But make no mistake about it: Marshall's book is the most important study to date to tackle the theme of today's panel – secularization from within the churches.

Methodists and Presbyterians typically saw themselves as embodying the mainstream of Canadian Protestantism, and it is the Methodist and Presbyterian clergy who occupy centre stage in this account, at least until 1925, after which clergy from the United Church enter into the spotlight. The focus here is primarily upon the upper echelons of the clerical profession – church administrators, educational leaders and other luminaries, such as editor E.H. Dewart and novelist C.W. Gordon, better known as Ralph Connor. As these men were in their time important religious leaders and thinkers, no historian can afford to ignore them. The question, then, is how can historians best study these clergymen in order to throw light upon the church that they lead and the times in which they lived?

In *Secularizing the Faith*, Marshall rightly insists that, if we are to understand what has happened to religious life, we must attend to the relationship between the clergy and the people sitting in the pews. I couldn't agree more. In order to that, however, it seems to me that one must also examine the rank and file of the ministerial profession, that is those who worked in congregations across the country. To take just one example, one gets little sense in this study what kind of training and formation these ordinary ministers would have had, and how this training and formation would have influenced their preaching and, in general, their approach to pastoral care.

What the clergy were up to, or at least thought they were up to, is one thing; what the laity made of all this quite another. Unfortunately, the laity occupy a remarkably low profile in *Secularizing the Faith*. As a result, one gets little sense of what congregational life meant to them. Marshall criticizes those who would limit the study of Christianity to the sacred precincts of church, and I think many would agree with him on this point. Nevertheless, it was in the local congregation that the clergys' struggles for the hearts and minds of the people were won or lost. Moreover, I am still unclear as to what effects the larger trends in society that are highlighted in *Secularizing the Faith* had upon congregational life. We learn, for example, that consumerism represented a radical change in people's outlook, one that was antithetical to traditional Protestant values. But how the emergence of a consumer culture interacted with other in-

fluences on belief and practice such as gender, life cycle and class remains an open question.

For one thing, women rarely make an appearance in these pages, even though recent community studies by Doris O'Dell and Lynne Marks have shown that middle-class women were the churches' mainstay. Middle-class women may have been in the forefront of the consumer revolution, but by and large they remained staunch supporters of the churches. In some respects, their commitment to the church increased substantially during this period as women's missionary societies and church auxiliaries sprung up in congregations across the country. The major social and intellectual currents of the times, it would seem, affected middle-class women differently than men. At the same time, this "feminization" of congregational life also raises the question as to exactly what role the clergy played in forging new religious sensibilities. How did the clergy respond to women's growing visibility in church life, one wonders, and how did this development influence their reformulation of the faith?

At any rate, *Secularizing the Faith* does at times leave me uncertain as to what role is being claimed for the clergy in the secularization of Canadian society. On the one hand, the clergy are a critical force in the secularization of Canadian society. What they did fatally undermined religion of its vitality. On the other hand, it appears that the clergy played a limited role in the process of secularization. "Religious decline," Marshall remarks, "may also be halted, briefly, or temporarily reversed in an age of secularization" (18). Viewed in this light, the struggles of the clergy are but rear-guard actions that in the end could only affect the pace of secularization, not its overall direction.

"The secular," Marshall cautions us, "should not be simply regarded as the opposite of religion" (18). Yet, despite this dictum, the religious is often sharply distinguished from and set in opposition to the secular, as is the supernatural from the natural and the transcendent from the immanent. Such stark polarities obscure how the demarcation between the sacred and the secular is itself a function of religious belief and practice, as is – I might add – the interrelationship between these two categories, including the ways the former imbues the latter with meaning and significance. Moreover, such a polarity also obscures the many ways in which Protestant Christianity had become inculturated in Canadian society, which has a direct bearing on the issue of religious decline, a prominent theme in *Secularizing the Faith*.

Finally, the disjunction between the religious and the secular leads Marshall to claim that the Protestant clergy faced but two options. They could accommodate their message to the times or they could hold fast to traditional doctrines. In choosing the former, the clergy opted for social influence, or so they had hoped, at the expense of preserving the integrity of their religion. It comes as no surprise, then, that this message of accommodation is unfavourably contrasted with historic Christianity, the evangelical creed, Christian orthodoxy, and the essentials of Christianity.

These terms are not, of course, synonymous but, in any event, they are used to highlight the religious inadequacy of the clergys' attempt to modernize the faith. That one can make such a normative judgement solely on historical grounds strikes me as problematic, given the historical diversity of Christianity, not to mention the many competing claims to orthodoxy. On what grounds does one decide that one particular form of historic Christianity should have a normative purchase, particularly now that Liberal Protestantism – which also made claims of its own to orthodoxy – is part of the Protestant heritage?

Secularizing the Faith is a provocative study that is certain to generate much debate. And it will do so because, not least among its virtues, it is exhaustively researched, elegantly written and magisterial in its scope.

"Temples of an Incrusted Faith": An Inquiry into the Question of Secularization From Within

DAVID B. MARSHALL

Generations of clergymen in Canada have reached the disquieting conclusion that religion and the churches were being seriously compromised by secular forces – that there has been secularization from within. The alarm bells were perhaps first sounded by the Rev. E.H. Dewart in 1878. This observant editor of the *Christian Guardian* concluded that the "progress of doubt and unbelief has not been by direct and open assault, but by a slow and steady undermining of the foundation principles of revealed religion." Secularization of the faith was occurring "within the Church itself," according to Dewart.[1] By the late-nineteenth century there was growing concern about what was being preached in the church. James Robertson warned the Presbyterian missionaries he recruited for service in the West that "the pulpit was not the place to air one's thoughts on secular matters."[2] This concern became more pronounced as the churches became deeply involved in social and political reform. After years of being one of the leading advocates of the social gospel, Rev. S.D. Chown reminded Methodists at the General Conference held in Ottawa in September of 1914 that "the essential thing for the Church to-day to remember is that the Christian life is God inspired and God centred. We have been to a large extent losing the idea, and it has been an immense loss . . . we have been making man, not God the great centre of our spiritual universe."[3] By the mid 1920s, Canadian clergymen were calling for and attempting to organize spiritual renewal within congregations. Revival was deemed essential to the future of the churches in Canada. The Rev. Richard Roberts,

despairing the church's accommodation to secular culture, delivered a sober assessment of religious life in the churches during the interwar years. "Religion has become a pale and anaemic counterfeit of itself, he declared, [a] dull thing of rules and subscriptions, of ceremony and formula, of mediocre hopes and middling performances, the sanction of a standardized morality and temple of an incrusted faith."[4]

These statements can be considered jeremiads – not in the traditional sense, but in the sense suggested by Sacvan Bercovitch in his important book, *The American Jeremiad*. They reflected the realization by a number of "prophets" that the churches were losing their spiritual mission.[5] The strategy of accommodating increasingly powerful and pervasive secular forces into church life and teaching as a way to make religion somehow more relevant to society was regarded with some suspicion and foreboding. If the supernatural elements of religion were not maintained then there was the real possibility that there would be little spiritual life remaining in the churches and little that made them distinctive from other secular movements or institutions. There was the possibility of reformation, but only if the churches recaptured their spiritual *raison d'etre* and sense of the supernatural and holy. Accompanying the fear about decline were hopes that the mission of the churches could still be fulfilled.

This theme of secularization from within religion and the churches was advanced in my 1992 book, *Secularizing the Faith*.[6] The idea of secularization from within has caused a great deal of controversy. Critics insist that if secularization has taken place, then it happened outside the churches. This case has been forcefully argued by John Webster Grant in his superb survey of religious life in nineteenth-century Ontario, *A Profusion of Spires*. In wondering about the origins of the secularizing tendency, Grant asserts that "social developments over which the churches had little control, rather than their response to them, were the most significant precursors of twentieth-century secularization."[7] The problem with this view is that it isolates religion and the churches from society. The response of churches or religion to social, cultural and intellectual developments, however, is crucial to the process of secularization.

Other critics of the secularization thesis argue that theology underwent *change* with the result that church teachings became more alive to the concerns of modern society. *Change* has become a keyword to mask a persistent belief in Christianization.[8] These critics deny the suitability of secularization as an interpretive framework altogether. There is no

question that theology underwent important change – indeed renewal and modernization – during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. But whether these changes actually led to stronger and more assured Christian faith or whether they represented a secularization of the faith is a central issue.

The sacred and the secular cannot be compartmentalized into starkly separate categories. There is an integral relation between the two; they are imbued with each other. It is clear that religion and the churches had a profound influence on secular life in nineteenth-century Canada. Religion inspired major social movements such as temperance and it nearly dictated the course of political life until the 1850s. Universities were built by the denominations and intellectual life was shaped by a host of religious questions. Evangelicalism had a profound influence on cultural life. The relation between the sacred and the secular also moves in the other direction. The secular influenced the sacred. Sometime in the nineteenth-century secular forces – concern about the world and scepticism about religious truth, especially the belief in the existence of the supernatural and possibility of the miraculous – began to have a greater influence in society. This secular influence extended to religious beliefs and institutions. To be clear, however, this does not mean that religion vanished. Secularization does not entail the inevitable disappearance of religion, but rather the growing influence of secular forces in society from which religion and the churches were not immune.

One cannot suggest precisely when this shift to a more powerful secular outlook or orientation occurred. What seems clear is that there is no one crisis or break from the past that one can point to and pronounce as the dawning of a secular age. Dewart was quite perceptive in his comment that the progress of doubt and unbelief was "slow and steady."[9]

Voluntarism and the Marketplace

An important development in the process of secularization may have been disestablishment. On the one hand, the separation of Church and state between the 1830s and 1850s meant the triumph of voluntarism as the evangelical churches entered a period of vibrant growth between the 1850s and 1880s. But on the other hand, the implications of voluntarism for the role of churches and religion in Canada has not been closely studied. What disestablishment or voluntarism meant was that no church had a favoured

or protected role in British North American society. Instead of the clergy and churches being assured a source of support or income from the state, they were dependent on the voluntary support of congregations. In effect, they were thrust into the open marketplace of competing ideas and demands. Churches and clergy who ignored popular beliefs, values, or aspirations risked having no followers.

There were longterm religious implications flowing out of disestablishment. Churches were more susceptible to social pressure and popular culture. Canadian society was characterized by a nearly all-encompassing pursuit of material progress. As William Westfall has argued in his study of Protestant culture in nineteenth-century Ontario, "progress was to replace religion as the new opiate of the masses."[10] Throughout the nineteenth century most people migrating to Canada from the British Isles did so to improve their standard of living, not to gain a sanctuary to practice their religion or build a new Kingdom of God.[11] Many looked to science and technology as the basis for the fulfilment of their hopes and aspirations.[12]

Science and Religion

The question of science and religion has recently undergone substantial revision. No longer is the metaphor of warfare or the victory of science over religion accepted.[13] Indeed, some scholars have suggested that Christianity was significantly renewed as a result of scientific or modern critical insights.[14] But, the pendulum of historical interpretation has swung too far away from acknowledging the ways in which a more scientific or naturalistic understanding challenged religion.[15]

Something quite profound happened in the relation between science and religion as a result of the nineteenth-century scientific revolution. In the early-nineteenth century, religion had a commanding influence on science. Pursuing knowledge about the natural world was considered a way to reach a fuller understanding of the divine Creator. Much scientific activity and inquiry was inspired by natural theology.[16] By the end of the nineteenth century, science was not shaped by religion. Instead, science had a commanding influence on religion. The scientific approach to literature and history shaped the modern understanding of the Bible.

There is no question that many were saved from doubt as a result of modern understanding. Many doctrines and sections of the Bible that were

immoral or incorrect to the modern sensibility were no longer regarded as being essential to Christian faith. The concept of the development of doctrine – or progressive Revelation – convinced many that they had reached a fuller and clearer understanding of Christianity. This modernization of theology – or change in religious thinking – is central to the attack on the secularization thesis.

But there were real perils in this modern understanding. For some, religion was no longer on a firm foundation. What was the Word of God in the Bible, what was factual or historically verifiable, what was mythical or legendary, or what was the product of ancient beliefs and practices seemed open questions. The bedrock of the Protestant faith – the Word of God – was now subject to immense debate. Advocates of a more liberal understanding of Christianity and the Bible were concerned about the implications of modern thought. For instance, Principal Grant of Queen's University, a reluctant prophet of modernism, worried about the fate of the Bible. In a series of addresses on "How to Read the Bible," he pointed out that modern Bible reading, which required insights from geology, anthropology, biology, history, and ancient literature, robbed the layperson of the "old Bible that has hitherto sustained his [sic] faith."[17]

The extent to which this renewal of theology was embraced by congregations has not been confronted. Had theology become too difficult, or too critical or secular? Was it somehow remote from the spiritual concerns or yearnings of the people? Admittedly, these are difficult questions, for discovering the religious beliefs of those in the pews poses real challenges for the historian. Despite his sustained criticism of the secularization thesis, Michael Gauvreau makes the point that denominational colleges became isolated or cut off from their churches, as a result of embracing modern theology.[18]

As theology was being renewed or modernized, there was a definite response insisting that traditional evangelicalism be maintained. Many flocked to the numerous revival meetings of Dwight Moody, the Canadian team of Crossley and Hunter, or Reuben Torrey and Charles Alexander – to name a few – seeking spiritual sustenance.[19] All these revivalists eschewed complex modern theological questions, insisted that the Bible was the Word of God, and emphasized the necessity of personal regeneration. In their preaching, Christian faith seemed straightforward and certain. As John Stackhouse's study of evangelicalism demonstrates, there was a need for institutions in which biblical studies affirmed faith and in

which there was no question about the divine authorship and authority of Scripture.[20] This demand gave rise to a large variety of Bible schools and other evangelical institutions, which are only now receiving serious scholarly attention.

The Social Gospel

That there was an element of secularization in modern theology becomes most clear in the social gospel. There is no question that the inspiration of the social gospel rests in a deep appreciation of the life and teaching of Christ. Furthermore to advocate Christian social action does not necessarily involve a secularization of the faith. Historically, such advocacy has been central to Christianity.

Emphasis on the social gospel reflected the growing doubts that many had about the supernatural, for it concentrated on Jesus the man and his activities on earth – what seemed to be verifiable within the historical record and consistent with worldly human experience. What was downplayed was the divine Christ – the Son of God who intervened in human history performing many miracles and was resurrected from death.[21] Clergymen such as D.J. Macdonnell admitted that much of their activity in "practical" Christian was a product of doubt or an escape from difficult doctrinal matters.[22]

The secular implications of the social gospel became most clear in S.D. Chown's series of addresses to the theology students at Victoria College in 1910. He announced that sociology – the study of contemporary societies – represented the culmination of Christian understanding. Advocates of the social gospel regarded their escape from doctrine and emphasis on activism as one of the most important features of the movement. They claimed that such liberality made Christianity more universal and less exclusive. The social gospel, they hoped, would gather the struggling urban masses into the churches. But in reality, the social gospel merely exchanged one form of exclusivity for another. Joseph Flavelle, Timothy Eaton, and R.B. Bennett were no less committed to Christianity because of their veneration of capitalism, hard work, and business than the advocates of the social gospel who insisted that following Christ meant overthrowing many aspects of capitalism.[23] Any equation of Christianity with a particular set of reforms had been the basis of concern about the social gospel from the beginning.[24]

There was a danger that in their advocacy of the social gospel, the churches would be identified with transitory values and objectives. This becomes most clear in J.S. Woodsworth's remarkable confessions during the period he became committed to the social gospel. "It is more and more difficult for me to believe in the 'supernatural' events as recorded in the Old and New Testaments," he wrote his brother in 1907. "I have been seeing so much superstition, so much that is mere tradition, that I have been forced to find some standard by which I could determine what was true and what was false – and I can't see how the supernatural can find a place." In one of his favourite sermons of the period, he defined what was replacing the supernatural in his faith: "Christianity stands for social righteousness as well as personal righteousness . . . It is quite right for me to be anxious to save my never dying soul; but it is of greater importance to try to serve the present age."[25]

The potential of serving the present age leading to a secularized faith became most clear during World War 1. It was no accident that shortly after the flowering of the social gospel the churches uncritically followed the imperatives of the Canadian government into the Great War. The social gospel had equated the coming of the Kingdom of God with many reforms requiring state intervention. As a result, the churches became the servants of the state. In the end, they made the near fatal mistake of identifying Christianity with World War 1. Christian pacifism was rebuked.[26] Ultimately it was Woodsworth's pacifism that persuaded the Methodist church to accept his resignation from the ministry, not the fact that he doubted the existence of the supernatural, including the notion of a divine Jesus.[27] S.D. Chown's ringing endorsement of the war: "Khaki has become a sacred colour" was based on the belief that the war would be redemptive and bring about the Kingdom of God.[28]

By war's end, it was clear that such identification with the interests of the state had robbed the churches of any truly prophetic role in society. The Rev. George Pidgeon, who would soon be leading the church union forces within the Presbyterian church, admitted the church's "inability to rise above national prejudices and the national viewpoint."[29] Disillusioned soldiers charged that they had not encountered any spiritual or moral leadership in the ministrations of the churches at the front.[30] The chaplains, basically agreed, when they concluded that the churches had failed to use the "available resources of Divine Power."[31] Chown, was the most reflective. Defining the repentant mood of the churches in the postwar

period, he solemnly apologized for "painting roses on the lid of hell." Moreover, he realized that "our faith has been trembling if not crumbling." He regarded further dedication by the churches to social gospel inspired economic and political reform as extravagant. As he warned in a postwar sermon: "Although we cannot forget the Good Samaritan, we must save the Prodigal Son."[32] This sentiment was echoed by the Rev. George Pidgeon who bluntly stated: "social service is not religion . . . Christ was no mere social reformer."[33]

The history of the mainstream Protestant churches since World War I has largely been one of attempting to recover their spiritual vitality. But this proved to be exceptionally difficult. The interwar years were a period of spiritual and theological depression for the mainstream churches. What was most troubling was that the churches themselves had largely succumbed to the consumerism and rampant materialism that they decried.

Consumer Culture

The argument that religion in Canadian society is shaped by a consumer ethic has been applied to recent history – indeed the contemporary scene – by Reginald Bibby in *Fragmented Gods*.[34] Consumer culture, however, is not merely a recent phenomenon. The culture of consumerism has been a source of secularization far more powerful and enduring than either a scientific world view, modern theology, or the social gospel. As George Rawlyk has recently stressed: "the evangelical consensus disintegrated from within as evangelical Christianity lost its collective soul to . . . consumerism – the insidious antithesis to essential Christianity."[35] What makes consumerism so destructive of religion is that it stands for values that are indeed anathema to religion. Consumer culture lauded the values of material well-being, immediate gratification, the pursuit of pleasure, and self-fulfilment.

Evidence of the inroads consumerism has had upon religion and the churches in Canadian society becomes apparent by the late-nineteenth century. As a way to hold on to as many adherents as possible, churches attempted to become all things to all people. In a way, the "Institutional Church" mirrored the grand institution of consumerism, the Department store. For like the Department store, the Institutional Church housed many specialized departments, each designed to attract people looking for certain products or services, whether it be for spiritual well-being, physical fitness,

education, social contacts, or curiosity about the world. Churches were no longer places of worship only. Despite widespread approval for expanding church activities, there was an awareness of the perils. The prominent Methodist editor William Withrow warned: "The more of the so-called secular work the Church is doing, the greater need for spiritual preaching in the pulpit."[36]

In the end, the secular work of many churches overwhelmed this spiritual imperative. One example of this was the attempt by churches and evangelical associations to ensure that the restless youth of cities were exposed to a Christian environment. Y.M.C.A.s were established as religious institutions providing a sanctuary against an unrighteous world. Sports quickly became one of the leading counter-attractions offered by the Y.M.C.A. Sacred purpose was attached to sporting activities by clergy espousing "Muscular Christianity." Through physical training, especially on the athletic field or in sporting competitions, preachers argued the necessary qualities for dedicating oneself to the Lord's work -effort, dedication, discipline, courage, and endurance- were developed. Sports would build Christian character. Despite attempts by the churches, sports were not "sacralized."[37] On the contrary, nowhere is the secularizing tendency seen more clearly than in the Y.M.C.A. By the end of the nineteenth century it was dedicated to sporting, fitness, and recreation instead of evangelical religion.[38] Religion became marginalized in this context. Manliness, sportsmanship, and building character not Godliness and spiritual zeal became the standard.

The difficulty for clergy in competing in the marketplace of popular culture becomes clear in the Rev. C.W. Gordon's career as the popular novelist "Ralph Connor." Gordon began writing fictional sketches about life on the frontier as a way to reach as broad an audience as possible. The major theme of the early novels, *Black Rock* (1898), *The Sky Pilot* (1899) and *The Man from Glengarry* (1901) was the Prodigal Son. The heroes were missionaries, the plots turned on death bed scenes, major religious issues were discussed, and in the end doubt and immorality was vanquished by the missionary-hero leading the righteous in building a church. Gordon's early novels were extended sermons on the universal Christian themes of redemption for all believers, divine purpose in human suffering, and the necessity of forgiveness.

Gordon did not think he was abandoning the ministry but rather expanding it. He was keenly aware of all the activities and diversions the

pulpit had to compete with in modern society. When he signed away the dramatic and movie rights for some of his more popular novels, he hoped that his work would uplift the essentially immoral stage and screen with his Christian message, making these media yet another pulpit. He was bitterly disappointed in this respect.[39]

Moreover, Gordon's later novels demonstrated just how difficult it was to maintain a strong evangelical message in fiction that strove to be popular. By 1904, the didactic aspect of his writing was being severely criticized. Gordon was able to maintain his highly successful formula by emphasizing drama and adventure and pushing the explicitly religious content into the background. In *The Foreigner* (1909), being a Christian was defined as nothing more than "good citizenship" – a doctrine that captured the essence of a secularized faith, for this was a stance that made Christianity completely indistinguishable from basic social values. What is clear is that Gordon's writing succumbed to the pressures of a reading public wanting entertainment instead of religious edification. His later popular novels were not sermons dressed in fictional garb, rather they were designed to appeal to readers fascinated with different aspects of the Canadian experience and yearning for more quick-paced heart-rending adventure tales and romances. The attempt by Gordon and many other clergymen-authors to expand the pulpit in secular society through religious fiction ultimately led to that pulpit becoming more secular.

We see the corrosive powers of consumerism most clearly in the character of revivalism and evangelicalism in Canada -the very heart of religion. Concern for the salvation of individual souls did not disappear from revival activity but gradually attention to leisure and elements of entertainment crept in and became increasingly prominent.

Descriptions of Methodist revivals from the early-nineteenth century make it clear that bringing about conversions was the focus of the camp meeting. The three day meetings were packed with exhortation, sermons, hymn singing, times for contemplation, the salvation of souls, and joyful celebration of God's saving mercy. There were diversions, but they were not within the camp meeting itself, but rather on the periphery. People arrived "full of holy expectation" and the atmosphere was spiritual. By the 1880s at the Grimsby Park camp meeting site one could still receive spiritual sustenance. Bible study classes were held, there were concerts of sacred music, and preachers delivered sermons. But the emphasis on conversions had disappeared. Grimsby Park boasted every facility for "in-

nocent and healthy enjoyment and sport," such as boats, tennis courts and bicycles. People arrived there, not with the expectation of a deeply moving religious experience, but to have a holiday and enjoy a retreat away from the rigours of urban life. In attempting to make sure that leisure activity somehow remained in a religious setting, Grimsby Park was transformed into a summer recreational resort.[40] Religion was moved to the margins of Grimsby Park life.

Revivalists, also made accommodation with secular values in order to compete in modern urban society. To continue to attract the urban masses who had an increasingly wide divergence of attractions before them – theatre, lectures, music hall performances, sporting competitions and latterly moving picture shows – revivalists adopted techniques that would appeal to a secular culture. Modern revivalism was distinguished by its emphasis on preaching which featured personal and often dramatic narratives instead of an explication of Scripture and doctrine as well as the singing of gospel songs set to popular tunes.

There was growing concern that entertainment was being substituted for devout communion with the Holy Spirit. Some charged that the rise of sentimental religion and emphasis on "pomp and ostentatious display" revealed a languishing of true piety and the decay of vital Christianity.[41] It seemed that people were not being lifted out of the "mundane everyday world" into an experience of the supernatural. In attempting to make religion something appealing to the masses, modern revivalists robbed it of some of its substance and much that was demanding and instead dressed it up in whatever was entertaining. As the *Presbyterian Review* lamented: "the old, old story of the love of Jesus seems to have lost its charm; and so there must be something more spicy for a religious public that seems to be acquiring a depraved taste."[42]

By the 1930s, revival activity in Canada featured a secularized faith. Clergymen in Canada had been hoping for a revival throughout the 1920s and they thought this long-awaited revival had arrived in the form of the Oxford Group movement led by Frank Buchman, which had spectacular success in most Canadian cities. This movement stressed the necessity of a "life change" and dedication to the principles of absolute honesty, purity, love, and unselfishness. This insistence on conversion to a moral way of life was consistent with the evangelical tradition. But there was little explicitly religious content in the meetings. This movement was shorn of many of the basics of Christian worship. There were few traditional

religious preliminaries, such as prayer, hymn singing, sermon or Scripture reading. There were few references to God's plan of salvation and redeeming power or Christ's atoning sacrifice. Instead the emphasis was on personal testimonies of life changing or moral re-armament, not a conversion to Christianity.

In the end, the verdict of the United Church of Canada on the Oxford group inspired revival was quite disturbing. It suggested that many aspects of Christianity were avoided by this movement because they were too difficult.[43] The fact that many clergy and laity embraced this movement demonstrated how secular ethics were penetrating religious beliefs and church life. The Oxford Group movement's emphasis on immediate psychological well-being indicated the extent to which the culture of consumerism had transformed religion in Canada. Protestant values were shifting from a spiritual emphasis on salvation to a more secular emphasis on self-fulfilment in this world.

Conclusion

The mainstream Protestant churches have enjoyed significant influence and a real presence in Canadian society. They have done so by making a number of crucial accommodations with modern social and intellectual trends. But in their encounter with modern thought, advocacy of social reform, and competition with the culture of consumerism these churches have sacrificed a great deal. To a significant extent, the mission and message of these churches have been shaped by these secular forces. The churches have not been able to maintain a leading or dominant role. Instead modern critical inquiry, scientific advances, the agenda of progressive social reformers and popular culture have determined the course of religious developments. The culture of consumerism – with its emphasis on recreation and entertainment and its veneration of materialism immediate self-fulfilment – has been particularly corrosive. Religion has not disappeared but the essential supernatural or spiritual *raison d'etre* of the churches and religion, those elements which make them distinctive from other institutions and movements, have been attenuated. Christianity is not proclaimed, but rather diffused. To suggest that Canadian society was somehow "sacralized" as a result of this diffusion of Christianity ignores the degree to which secular elements have come to shape religious life, and moreover the extent to which religion has become marginalized in

Canadian society.

Endnotes

1. E.H. Dewart, "Christianity and Scepticism: An Essay on Current Infidelity," in *Living Epistles; or, Christ's Witness to the World* (Toronto: Christian Guardian Office, 1878), 231-244.

2. "On the Topic of Sermons," n.d., James Robertson Papers, United Church Archives (UCA).

3. "The Vitality of Religion," Official Sermon Preached before the General Conference, Ottawa, September 1914, S.D. Chown Papers, file 101a, UCA.

4. "Treasure Trove," n.d., Richard Roberts Papers, UCA.

5. Jeremiads traditionally expressed a profound disenchantment with society, stressed human depravity and threatened doom. There was always the warning of God's wrath to follow. In North American society, the jeremiad was also designed to be corrective. Sacvan Bercovitch does not think this more positive side of the jeremiad applies to Canadian society. It may be that the mission was defined differently in Canada and that the sense of mission in Canadian society was not nearly so pervasive (*The American Jeremiad* [Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978], xiv, 4-10, 11).

6. *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

7. J.W. Grant, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 229. The implication of this statement is that secularization is primarily a twentieth century phenomena in Canada. The timing of secularization is another point of debate among scholars. For a challenge to the view that secularization did not get underway until the twentieth century see David B. Marshall, "Canadian Historians, Secularization, and the Problem of the Nineteenth Century," in Canadian Catholic Historical Association, *Historical Studies* (1993).

8. Change is utilized by Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 186-8, 193-6; and Phyllis Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 166n4. The most vociferous critic of the secularization thesis is Michael Gauvreau. He argues that the evangelical creed was persistent and vital

throughout the nineteenth century. It suddenly succumbed to secular pressures with the rise of relativism between 1906-8 (*The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* [Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991]).

9. One might note that one of the definitions of secular in the Oxford English Dictionary is: "lasting or going on for ages, occurring over an indefinitely long time."

10. William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's 1991), 107-11.

11. This becomes most clear in the recent literature on immigration, see Bruce Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988); Cecil Houston & William Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links, and Letters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); and Marianne McLean *The People of Glengarry: Highlanders in Transition, 1745-1820* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991). The literature on settlement also stresses the overwhelming concern for material well-being and progress, see especially David Gagan, *Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); and Donald Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984).

12. On the relation between science and the Victorian obsession with material progress, see Suzanne Zeller, *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); and Carl Berger, *Science, God and Nature in Victorian Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 3-27.

13. James R. Moore, *The Post-Darwinian Controversies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

14. See especially, Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind*; Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century*; and Jerry N. Pittman, "Darwinism and Evolution: Three Nova Scotia Newspapers Respond, 1860-1900", *Acadiensis* 22, No. 2 (Spring 1993): 40-60.

15. John Hedley Brooke, *Science and Religion: Some Historical Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 12, 51.

16. Brooke, *Science and Religion*, 192-225; and Berger, *Science, God, and Nature*.

17. George Grant, "How to Read the Bible, No. 2" (Queen's Theological Alumni, 1893), 10-11.

18. Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century*, 239-250.

19. On Dwight Moody in Canada, see Eric Crouse, "An American Evangelist in Canada: Dwight Moody and the Canadian Protestant Community, 1884-1898", M.A. thesis, University of Calgary, 1993; on Crossley and Hunter, see Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 89-95. Much more needs to be done on the role of revivalists in Canadian society. George Rawlyk's important study, *Wrapped Up in God: A Study of Several Canadian Revivals and Revivalists* (Burlington: Welch Publishing, 1988) is highly selective and focuses on the colonial period. Phyllis Airhart's *Serving the Present Age* focuses on official Methodist responses to modern revivalism between the 1870s and 1920s rather than the revivals and revivalists themselves. Revivals have been of declining importance in Canadian religious history since the late nineteenth century, but they still require study.

20. John G. Stackhouse, Jr., *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to Its Character* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), see especially the account of the Toronto Bible College, 53-70.

21. On the relationship between the social gospel and late Victorian doubt, especially the need to ground religion in the material or historical or scientifically verifiable, see Ramsay Cook, "Spiritualism: The Science of Earthly Paradise", *Canadian Historical Review* (March 1984).

22. Quoted in J.F. McCurdy, *Life and Work of D.J. Macdonnell* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1897), 48-50.

23. For an assessment on Flavelle's deeply rooted Methodism and how he struggled with the Methodist and the United Church's growing commitment to the social gospel and advocacy of a socialist platform, see J.M. Bliss, *A Canadian Millionaire: The Life and Business Times of Sir Joseph Flavelle, Bart. 1858-1939* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1978), 9-13, 375-6, 454-5, 497-8, 504-6. On Bennett's Methodism, see P.B. Waite, *The Loner: Three Sketches of the Personal Life and Ideas of R.B. Bennett, 1870-1947* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 8-17.

24. Alexander Sutherland, *The Kingdom of God and the Problems of Today* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898).

25. Quoted in Kenneth McNaught, *A Prophet in Politics: A Biography of J.S. Woodsworth* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), 26-8. For a possible explanation of why the Methodist Church of Canada tolerated

Woodsworth's doubts about the divinity of Christ and refused his resignation, see Airhart, *Serving the Present Age*, 113-4. Still Ramsay Cook's argument that the refusal to accept Woodsworth's resignation was indicative of the "almost total disarray" of the Methodist church is compelling (*The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985] 215). The Woodsworth case is superb evidence of secularization within the churches.

26. See Thomas Socknat, *Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 48-53.

27. Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 71-72; McNaught, *A Prophet in Politics*, 79-87; Cook, *The Regenerators*, 215; R. Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 49-50).

28. "War Sermon," 1915, S.D. Chown Papers, File 486, UCA.

29. "The Moratorium on the Sermon of the Mount," 13 October 1918, File 666; "The Spiritual Side of the Forward Movement," 5 October 1920, File 788, G.C. Pidgeon Papers, UCA.

30. C.T. Watterston to T.A. Moore, 30 December 1918, File 459, Methodist Church Army and Navy Board Papers, UCA.

31. *A Message from the Chaplains of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada to the Churches at Home*, UCA.

32. "The Mission of the Church after the War," n.d., File 616; "The Abolition of War," n.d., File 146B; "John 12:21 'Sir, we wish to see Jesus,'" 30 August 1923, File 889, S.D. Chown Papers, UCA.

33. "The Spiritual and the Practical in the Church's Life," June 1926, File 996, G.C. Pidgeon Papers, UCA.

34. *Fragmented Gods: The Poverty and Potential of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: Irwin, 1987).

35. Rawlyk, *Wrapped Up in God*, 136. Despite her criticism of the secularization thesis, Phyllis Airhart makes similar suggestions concerning the values that consumerism encompassed in "Ordering a New Nation and Reordering Protestantism 1867-1914," in *The Canadian Protestant Experience 1760-1990*, ed., George Rawlyk (Burlington: Welch Publishing, 1990), 115, 125.

36. *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, December 1894.

37. Alan Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1987).

38. See George M. Ross, *The Y.M.C.A. in Canada: The Chronicle of a Century* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1951).

39. C.W. Gordon to George H. Doran, 5 May 1913, C.W. Gordon Papers, Box 31, Folder 13, MSS 56, University of Manitoba Archives; C.W. Gordon to Ernest Shipman 5 May 1920, Box 33, Folder 6, MSS 56, University of Manitoba Archives; C.W. Gordon to King Gordon 24 May 1921, King Gordon Papers, MG30 C241, National Archives of Canada.

40. Harriet Youmans, *Grimsby Park: Historical and Descriptive and Biographical Accounts* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1900); "Grimsby Park: Past and Present," *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, June 1886.

41. William Cochrane, "Sentimental Religion," in *Warning and Welcome: Sermons Preached at Zion Presbyterian Church, Brantford during 1876* (Brantford, 1876).

42. *Presbyterian Review* (22 April 1886). For a study of the pressure of entertainment values upon fundamentalism in the interwar years, especially in relation to the radio ministry and gospel tunes, see James W. Opp, "'Culture of the Soul': Fundamentalism and Evangelism in Canada, 1921-1940," M.A., University of Calgary, 1994; and James W. Opp, "The New Age of Evangelism: Fundamentalism and Radio on the Canadian Prairies, 1925-1945," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1994).

43. United Church of Canada, Committee of Thirty, *The Oxford Group Movement: An Attempt at Appraisal* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1933).

CSCH President's Address 1994

Anent the Kirk Session: The Elders in Colonial Canadian Presbyterian Religion

DUFF CRERAR

One of the distinctive marks of the Reformed tradition has been the role of the ruling elder in church government and community life. Thanks to Robert Bums and Sir Walter Scott the Presbyterian elder has been generally condemned for hypocrisy and hard-heartedness, and for hunting down the obvious transgressions of the weak but failing to censure the hidden sins of the high and mighty. Popular accounts of Canadian Presbyterianism perpetuate the quaint stereotype, while most contemporary scholars focus upon the writings, sermons and missionary endeavours of Presbyterian ministers, and not their elected counterparts. Perhaps the time has come for students of Canadian faith to have a closer look at their kirk sessions, and parish dynamics through the prism of the eldership.

In the area of piety and society, the elder did far more than serve communion and take up the offering. Kirk-session (the council of elders and minister) governed the local congregation, while the elder who served as Session Clerk kept its records. In areas where the ethnic and denominational constituency permitted, Presbyterian elders ruling the flock through the session thus played a powerful role in the moral, spiritual and even temporal government of settlers. If the eldership is located at the heart of Presbyterianism, then Canadian religious scholarship must come to a better understanding of how the session in action indicates the ideals and concerns of the parish. The state of the eldership may reveal the condition

of Presbyterianism (perhaps more in the pre-1875 period than after) more authoritatively than newspaper accounts, pastoral journals or sermon notes and lectures.

The session also exercised a religious discipline that is still the least understood aspect of Presbyterianism in Canada. Perhaps this can be explained by the traditions of session governance. Session minutes are closed private documents: they are the property of the local church and tradition bans non-elders from discussing or reading session minutes. Animosity between Presbyterian and United Churchmen since the temporalities disputes of 1925 (when Presbyterian clerks claimed old minutes as their personal property, sometimes concealing rather than surrendering them to the United Church) adds to the mystery surrounding the session court. Add to this log cabin fires, long-buried (but not forgotten) church feuds and family scandals (plus many, many misplaced cardboard boxes), and one can see that there are far more impediments to the researcher of Presbyterian parish piety than the student of Presbyterian preaching and teaching!

Nevertheless, the discovery of a significant body of session records in various archives, and the recent interest shown by scholars of religion in family and personal piety as well as the laity in Canadian ecclesiastical life has prompted the following case study of the Bathurst District of Upper Canada and Canada West between 1816-1875.[1] From the session minutes of fourteen churches – eight Church of Scotland and six Free Church – a profile of Presbyterianism can be sketched which seems far different from that debated in contemporary scholarship. In the Bathurst District, Scots and Irish settlers arrived in large numbers after 1816, many evidently transplanting from their homeland a vigorous tradition of session discipline, resurrected in the revival fires which swept Britain in the Napoleonic era, and exercised over a wide field of moral and spiritual offenses in the Clydeside, Ulster and Scottish Highland parishes where the settlers originated. Often the Presbyterian congregations which emerged from this period, with its chronic shortage of ministers, depended upon the leadership of former elders who drew on the variety of elder manuals recently published in Scotland and which crossed the Atlantic with them.[2]

In contrast, many of the first settlers in villages such as Perth, Bytown, Ramsay and Richmond, were military veterans and their families, or children of adventurous Loyalist speculators, who often clashed with such pious latecomers, or at least their zealous elders. Soon kirk Sessions in this district punished sins considered beyond their religious jurisdiction,

citing members for offenses usually left to the civil magistrate. The first recorded case of session involved the Military Settlement of Perth, where, in 1818, elders of William Bell's newly-organized secessionist Presbyterian kirk summoned a member. A townsman was accused of getting a church member drunk and trying to seduce her. The woman who made the charge had, in turn, been charged with slander. Session confirmed, after questioning, the truth of the woman's case and dismissed the charge of slander against her. Then the husband of the woman challenged her accuser to a duel. Session summoned both men and forced the challenge to be withdrawn. Unfortunately for the outraged couple, session was unable to punish the man who had made the seduction attempt, for he was not a Presbyterian.

Duelling remained a concern of First Presbyterian Church, Perth, as hot-headed youths frequently appealed to the trial of honour to settle their romantic difficulties. In 1833, this led to the famous fatal wounding of Robert Lyon by the banks of the Tay. It was Bell's session that suspended the penitent survivor, John Wilson, from communion for manslaughter. In 1836, when the congregation entered the Church of Scotland, its constitution forbade members "to go to law" against each other without first submitting their dispute to session arbitration.[3]

Such zeal was denounced by dissident Perth Presbyterians, (among them leading citizen Alexander Morris) who called another minister, reputedly more moderate on moral and spiritual issues, to found a rival Church of Scotland kirk in the village. Ironically (and to First Presbyterian's amusement) Rev. T.C. Wilson proved to be an even more zealous evangelical than William Bell, and St. Andrew 's session waxed vigilant against both drinking and shady business dealings as well as the other sins of the flesh. Between 1830 and 1848, St. Andrew's kirk session dealt with 103 cases involving drunkenness, sexual offenses and absenteeism, as well as charges including shoplifting, dancing, fraud, attempted murder, exposure of newborns, and the setting of a man's dog on his mother-in-law.

The nearby hamlets of Beckwith and Ramsay also developed a strong and vibrant session government. Here moral offenses provoked elder summons for fornication. Confession to session and private admonition by the minister was usually followed by baptism of the child and reconciliation to membership for parents . Surprisingly, given the reputation writers such as Peter Ward give sessions for dour, old-world severity, the Beckwith session (and others surveyed) sometimes took great

pains to spare the feelings of the women involved, exempting some from public rebuke because of ill health or epilepsy.[4]

In the sizeable Ramsay (later Almonte) parish, a major clash between members and session over the choice of minister took place resulting in a disastrous four-year pulpit vacancy as some elders rejected the induction of the "Auld Kirk" minister (believing him not an evangelical) and boycotted the services until 1846. Then, through their influence, the congregation joined the Free Church movement and the rebel faction returned.
Ramsay's session, once reunited, disciplined a wide population of members, for offenses including drunkenness, brawling on militia training day in Carleton Place, and domestic quarreling. Husbands who beat their wives were forced by session to confess and repent. In 1836, when a woman was suspended for quarreling, her emotional state was so unstable that, a few minutes before the meeting closed, the husband returned and

> said that his wife refused to go home with him, and was afraid she might be driven to extremity of despair-but thought that she would be pacified, and would live quietly with him, if she knew that he was punished as well as her. He therefore, requested the Session to suspend him as well as her in the meantime. This, in the painful circumstances of the case, was agreed to.[5]

As in Perth, the Ramsay, Bytown and Smith's Falls churches also policed a wide range of crimes which arose in more urban and commercial environments than the countryside. Alcohol related offenses occupied half of their caseload in addition to business infractions and petty crime. Here sexual crimes ranked a poor third as, significantly, Free Church elders evidently believed that drink, land and money created more trouble than sex. Nor did they demand more from a penitent than flesh and blood (or pocket) could bear: Presbyterian tavern-keepers were told to sell off their stock at the end of the current logging season, rather than close immediately with unpaid debts! The implication of some elders in land and property disputes created some of the most unedifying spectacles in the parishes – perhaps elders enjoyed the deference of most of the flock when it came to moral leadership, but this obedience could be swiftly withdrawn when the one compromised his integrity. When they harvested trees off other peoples' back lots, committed perjury, shoplifted or harassed members for unpaid debts, appeals to Presbytery soon brought visitation and inspection by elders and moderators of other parishes. Several elders

were themselves disciplined in this period which makes it hard to see sessions as closed oligarchies that could not be unseated by surly congregations.[6] Of whom much was entrusted much was expected, and some elders did not pass the test. Nor, in the eyes of many elders, was a Moderator himself above discipline or even outright dismissal as the Osgoode parish history reveals.

In the township of Osgoode, ruling elders founded the first Presbyterian church near the village of Vernon in 1832, petitioning the Church of Scotland to provide a minister. After several years of neglect by the under-manned Church of Scotland Synod (and one attempt to take over the building by ex-Presbyterian converts for the preaching of Baptist itinerant Daniel McPhail), elders locked the doors and pocketed the key until a Presbyterian Evangelical minister was recruited from New York state. In 1844 the Osgoode session led the congregation into the new Free Church communion being organized in the Canadas. Between 1844 and 1875, the Osgoode session spread its influence from the east bank of the Rideau River eastward deep into Russell county, and from Bytown to the hamlet of Winchester over twenty miles to the south. By 1860 a session of ten elders ruled over 150 families in the parish (comparable in size both to Perth Free Church and Knox Presbyterian Church in Bytown (Ottawa).[7]

While unable and unwilling to preach, Osgoode's elders were anything but passive pawns of the Moderator. They conducted the hiring and firing of precentors, supervised the trustees, visited homes in each of their districts of the parish, and conducted prayer meetings and Sunday Schools in nearby Kenmore and Russell hamlet where Osgoode's first daughter church was born by the 1850s. Pastoral care by elders extended to the poor: Osgoode's session never did elect a deacon's court, caring for the widows and destitute out of church funds themselves.[8] Over half the cases of discipline involved alcohol, as offenders crossed eider's paths at town meetings, elections, fairs, and the July 12 Orange Lodge parade in the village of Metcalfe with its numerous taverns. Elders soon visited many of the taverns run by members or adherents. They were rewarded with several closures, though two individuals were suspended briefly from membership when they renewed their licenses. In spite of the predominance of sexual offenses in old world sessions, Osgoode only disciplined nine couples for such misdemeanours; all were restored to membership with admonition after confession.

Significantly, sixteen cases of disturbances of the civil peace came before the Osgoode session, which, as in Perth, often became the

unofficial civil court for Presbyterians falling out of fellowship in business or other secular pursuits. Perjury, shoplifting, family feuds, assault (when one member prevented a local youth from trying to brain another with an axe handle at a barn raising) and usury (in kind) all provoked session summons which included the discipline of at least three elders themselves (for oppression and harassment of poor tenants). This led to some lively exchanges and appeals to Presbytery by elders so rebuked, but the most divisive battle took place between session and the minister himself. The revelation of a secret romance between the minister's daughter and the son of the most powerful of Osgoode's elders brought out the worst in both fathers. Their mutual recriminations become so widely known that the Presbytery of Ottawa censured both and made an official visitation to peace-make in the parish.[9]

This time session was vindicated (though the angry elder left the church) and censured the minister, but continued battles between elders and minister led to congregational fission by 1856. The Presbytery of Ottawa decided that the rising tide of session-led anticlericalism in Osgoode could only be resolved by splitting the congregation into two charges for one year, until the Osgoode minister could settle elsewhere. Given the lack of deference to clergy shown by the three Osgoode elders who remained from the founding days of the parish, it was a great relief when they resigned their seats and a new minister arrived in 1858 to heal the deep divisions in the Osgoode charge.

As with other churches in the Bathurst District (Beckwith, for example), the worst debates in session were caused not by outright sinners, but members, elders and even ministers who considered themselves the godly of the flock. Many of Osgoode's elders insisted upon recognition of their own authority by the entire parish, even non-Presbyterians, sometimes even summoning members and each other for offenses which might have been better left for the magistrate. Some elders, perhaps after years of unquestioned congregational hegemony, chaffed under strong-willed ministers and challenged their leadership, as in the case which split the parish in 1856. The resulting power struggles allowed three elders to make martyrs of themselves, while the minister left convinced that Osgoode was a hotbed of anticlericalism. This pious but proud disunity made Osgoode parish, along with those of Perth, Ramsay, and Beckwith, among the strictest disciplining sessions in the district, and left a lasting memory of elders who ruled, not wisely, but too much.

While in the Bathurst parishes of the Church of Scotland disciplin-

ary zeal moderated after the 1850s, the practice continued in the Free Churches into the 1860s and even 1870s. After Presbyterian union in 1875, kirk discipline, though not strong, continued until 1925. Here the story of the elders in the battles over Presbyterian survival has been examined, but what are the linkages between the sessions of the pre-1875 era and their successors?

Canadian Presbyterian studies have undergone a major expansion that have stimulated the debate over secularization in Canadian churches. Thanks to the efforts of a wide number of scholars over the last few years, we know now a great deal more about the development of Presbyterian thought, the approaches to modernity which teachers and ministers proposed and the extent of their success by the middle of this century.[10] We know more about the organization and work of the Free Church in contrast to the older emphasis on the Church of Scotland.[11] The role played by leading Presbyterians in religious thought and culture remains a strong interest of Presbyterians writing their own history.[12]

While the most recent published monographs and graduate dissertations dealing with Canadian Presbyterianism give the impression that the life of the denomination-the flame in the burning bush that adorns the well-known emblem of the Presbyterian Church in Canada today depends upon the ardour of its ministers' preaching, the intensity of their idealistic teaching and their considerable organizing skill, a few Canadian writers have argued that "the Presbyterian system works with an efficiency varying directly with the respect with which its ruling eldership is held."[13] These acknowledge the work of generations of session, presbytery and synod clerks whose chronicles are among the best windows we have into the history of Presbyterianism in Canada. Some scholars, in fact, have now turned their attention to the role of the Presbyterian anti-Unionist elder in preserving the church from many of its own clergy who left their pulpits to found the United Church of Canada in 1925.Their work reminds us that at every level of Presbyterian life decision-making and deliberative power has been shared between minister and elder in the ascending hierarchy of church courts which were not managed solely by the clergy
(though they often did most of the talking) but in tandem with elders sent by their home sessions.[14]

The pace of Presbyterian revivalism through the last century has been recognized with special attention being paid to the role of the "Long Communion" or "Holy Fair" as it intensified the enthusiasm and piety of parishioners in both the Canadas and colonial Cape Breton.[15] Such

regional studies of kirk and society in both Glengarry and Cape Breton highlight that the parishioners as well as ministers of the nineteenth century were far more pietistic than their predecessors, and that elders played a vital if not always well-recorded role in upholding a church chronically short of clergy. It is hard to imagine such a cadre of lay leaders, many with military, business and educational experience, allowing themselves to be led meekly along by pulpit princes without a firm assertion of their independence.[16]

The story of the mingling of secular and sacred concerns in colonial Nova Scotia has yielded promising insights into evangelical Presbyterianism and the history of education.[17] Research into the Presbyterian origins of Canadian missionary evangelicals, such as A.B. Simpson, founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, as well as the world of Presbyterian women as missionaries, has moved beyond the traditional confines of Presbyterian history and opens up wider prospects for innovative research.[18]As studies of other denominations' lay associations advance our knowledge of church identity and rank-and-file adherence, piety and obser- vances, similar work on the Presbyterian parallels (if there are any) remains undone.[19] Perhaps the session is the next logical level of Presbyterianism to examine?

And yet, where are, or what were, the sessions? Who were the elders and how did they shape the face (and fire the heart) of the Canadian kirk? Were they involved as participants in the revivals? What role did they play in the Holy Fairs (besides the disciplinary meetings held before admitting members to full fellowship around the table)? How did session discipline bridge the categories of private and public space in a pioneer community? Were sessions meekly led by clerics, or did they temper the enthusiasms of their Moderators even to the extent that they acted as a reservoir of the endemic anticlericalism which characterises much of Presbyterian culture in Canada? And why did discipline decline after 1875, and practically disappear by 1925? Were sessions defeated by pluralism or secularization? Were they undermined by the professionalized clergy? Were the battles between sessions and ministers in 1925 the last stand of the sessions to preserve an identity (and forum) where their role remained central? If we are going to examine the power of Christian faith in the history of the Canadian Churches, we must reassess the role of the ruling eldership in the Presbyterian tradition.

In Eastern Upper Canada, there were few Presbyterians as well known as William Bell. A zealous and tireless minister whose pioneer

ministry began in the Perth Military Settlement in 1816, he presided over Presbyterianism in the Rideau back-country until his death in 1857. Usually characterized as austere, dour and sour, his journals reveal a wry sense of humour, sensitive to the comic side of Scots Presbyterian life and worship. One Sunday in 1825, after the congregation was dismissed, he noticed a man "sitting in a pensive mood in the corner of a back seat. He was so fast asleep that he had to be shaken before we woke him up. You may judge of his surprise on seeing him surrounded by the Session. He offered no apology but made a quick retreat."[20] Perhaps Canadian religious scholars must make a more better effort than that drowsy Canadian to know and understand the Presbyterian elder!

Endnotes

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

2. For example, see Alexander Hill, *The Practice of the Several Judicatories of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: J. Waugh, 1830); David King, *The Ruling Eldership of the Christian Church* (Edinburgh: Oliphaunt, 1846); and J. Lorimer, *The Eldership of the Church of Scotland* (Glasgow: Collins, 1842). On the new type of disciplinary zeal and democratic tensions emerging from the revivals in the Highlands and brought to the New World, see Laurie Stanley Blackwell, *The Well-Watered Garden* (Sydney: University College of Cape Breton Press, 1983).

3. First Presbyterian Church, Perth, Ontario, *Session Minutes, 1817-1857*, 4 January, 1818, 1February1818, 17December1818, 1 September 1833, and 1 January 1836.

4. United Church of Canada Archives, Beckwith-Franktown-Black's Comers Presbyterian Church, *Minutes of Session, 1844-1867.* This session's activity has been cited by Ward as a classic case of religious shaming being used as a deterrent by moralistic religious authorities in *Courtship, Love and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century English Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 26-27. In contrast, see Allan Farris, "Mark Young Stark: Pioneer Missionary Statesmen," in *The Tide of Time: Historical Essays* by the Late Allan L Farris, ed. John S. Moir (Toronto: Knox College, 1978), 90-91.

5. Almonte United Church, *"Auld Kirk" Minutes of Session, 1834-1867*; 16 December 1836; see also Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connection With the Church of Scotland, 1843, 8-17; and United Church of Canada Archives, Presbytery of Bathurst, "Minutes," January-June, 1843.

6. Perth United Church, *Free Church Minutes of Session, 1844-1867.*

7. Canada Presbyterian Church, *Minutes of Synod, 1862* (Toronto: various publishers, 1862).

8. Osgoode Presbyterian Church, *Session Minutes, 1847-1865.*

9. Osgoode Presbyterian Church, *Session Minutes, October 1854 to 31 May 1862.* Significantly, the record of the uprising has been heavily censored by an Ottawa Presbytery delegation of 1862 which simply glued pages of the Session record together and razored out offensive paragraphs from the old minute book!

10. David Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); and Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).

11. Richard Vaudry, *The Free Church in Victorian Canada, 1844-1875* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1989).

12. William Klempa, ed., *The Burning Bush and a Few Acres of Snow: The Presbyterian Contribution to Canadian Life and Culture* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1994).

13. John Waldie, "The Church Courts of Presbyterianism," Knox College Archives, Toronto, n.d. [1930s], Book l, 34.

14. Keith Clifford, *The Resistance to Church Union in Canada, 1904-1939* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985). For an example of the promising line of enquiry opened up by this research, see Shelley McKellar, "Clergy and Elders: A study of congregation and community dynamics surrounding the Church Union issue of 1925 in urban Presbyterian Churches in Ontario," unpublished paper, McMaster University, 1993.

15. Blackwell, *The Well-Watered Garden*; and John Webster Grant, "Brands from the Blazing Heather: Canadian Religious Revival in the Highland Tradition," *The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History, Papers* (1991): 1-32. See also "Burning Bushes: Flames of Revival in the Nineteenth Century Canadian Presbyterianism," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1991): 97-111.

16. The only recent study of Presbyterian life that notes the formidable power and influence of the session in parish life is Donald N. MacMillan's, *The Kirk in Glengarry* (n.p.: private, 1986). For a sample of the types of career profiles and public prominence of elders, survey Rev. W. Cochrane's, *Men of Canada*, Vol. IV (Brantford: Bradley, Garretson and Co., 1895). Although privately-subscribed and too unrepresentative of all elders, it highlights the substantial wealth and independence of leading Presbyterian laymen.

17. B. Anne Wood, "The Significance of Evangelical Presbyterian Politics in the Construction of State Schooling: a Case Study of the Pictou District, 1817-1866," *Acadiensis* 20, 2 (Spring 1991).

18. Darrel R. Reid, "'All for Jesus': The Early Life and Presbyterian Ministry of Albert Benjamin Simpson, 1843-1882," Ph.D. Dissertation, Queen's University, 1994. See also Ruth Compton Brouwer, *New Women/or God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); and Alvyn Austin, *Saving China: Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom, 1888-1959* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986).

19. Brian P. Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

20. Queen's University Archives, *William Bell Journals* (1825): Vol. 2, 175.