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Missionaries, Merchants and the Mi'kmaq
Issues of Exchange in Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth-Century Acadia

JENNIFER REID

To a substantial degree Europe entered North America through the doorway of Acadia where, in the sixteenth century, the French came into contact with the Mi'kmaq.[1] Contact between these two groups was played out primarily within the arena of trade so that during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the exchange of matter predominated their interaction. Despite this fact, the Mi'kmaq and French were possessed of antithetical notions concerning the meaning of trade itself and this divergence established what might be regarded as a European colonial pattern of regarding the New World of Acadia – a pattern with potentially devastating effects for the Mi'kmaq community.

I refer to "matter" here as "that which forms a relationship among and between ourselves and other human beings and the created world,"[2] and the exchange of matter as the primary mode by which human beings negotiate boundaries or perceived incompatibilities among themselves. In effect, negotiation of such boundaries constitutes recognition of the fundamental meaning of not only other humans but also of one's relationship with them.[3]

The critical role played by exchange within the creation and maintenance of human community was a reality that the Mi'kmaq appear to have embraced at least from the time of earliest contact;[4] this people possessed a basic understanding of the definitive character of exchange for

the human, and consequently every act reflected this assumption and a language of symbol existed to express it. They confronted the encounter with Europeans as an encounter with new matter; and upon reflection, adapted their mode of exchange to the new situation, consistently striving to maintain their human orientation in a changing world. Contact with European people was experienced by the native community in terms of a tangible mutation of the world it knew. The arrival of the French translated into the advent of a variety of material forms that required a new understanding of the nature of the world the Mi'kmaq occupied. To begin, this materiality took the form of human encounter through sexual relationships with others – in this case French fishermen, seamen, explorers and merchants; and consequently the creation of a new variety of offspring that had not existed before this time. These children were usually mothered by native women and so were received into that community to be reared.

Another form assumed by the experience of contact was that of alcohol (primarily wine and brandy) which had been previously unknown to the Mi'kmaq. European disease too quite rapidly became a significant incursion with which the native population had to contend,[5] and there were numerous means by which the spread of disease was facilitated including sexual contact[6] and the introduction of new European types of food into the native diet.[7] It has been noted that by the late sixteenth century the effects of these three endowments of contact (sex, alcohol and disease) were already being experienced to a substantial degree.[8] In addition to these the arrival of European commodities attendant the French must also be recognized: conspicuous among these were the musket,[9] axes, kettles and knives.[10]

An inventory of the variety of new forms of materiality to have entered the world of the Mi'kmaq in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries could obviously be substantially more extensive than what has been presented here. These particular instances have been offered simply to establish the fact of their presence during this period in order that we might regard the more salient issue of the impact of new forms of matter upon the native community. This impact was considerable.

Lescarbot indicates that the language of the Mi'kmaq, for instance, was reverberating from the pressure exerted by early involvement in trade with Europeans, as it had by the first years of the seventeenth century become inundated with French vocabulary.[11] The introduction of European commodities also had a substantial impact upon the native community.

Iron kettles, for example, items which were much more convenient than their large wooden counterparts that had been in use until that time, distinctly altered native movement within the region.[12] European iron that the Mi'kmaq received in return for beaver pelts not only changed the design and character of hunting weapons but also encouraged the appropriation of this resource.[13] The result was that the native population fairly rapidly shifted the focus of its labour away from fishing and hunting in favour of trapping. More effective tools of the hunt also resulted in the ability to kill more game than had ever been possible with stone spears and consequently animal stocks suffered significant reductions. With less food available to them the native community became increasingly reliant upon the French for this commodity.[14]

The world of the Mi'kmaq was clearly altered dramatically within a relatively brief interval. In a sense, this people had come to occupy a new space and time that demanded a reassessment of the place of the human being who occupied this space. To do this, the Mi'kmaq exploited the medium of human exchange in order to affirm a conception of the human (both Mi'kmaq and French) as a being who negotiates the boundaries presupposed by the presence of other humans.

It should be noted that even following a century of contact with the French, the Mi'kmaq were acutely aware of the capacity for, and the inherent power of, the sacralizing of exchange. In 1606, for example, Lescarbot wrote of the use of the gift in Mi'kmaq society to amend injury and in so doing to restore harmonious communal relationships.[15] The point to be underscored here is that exchange signified more than the value of matter as it was afforded the possibility of human definition – of sacred power.

In light of this it is difficult not to begin to reconsider the implications of the fact that native people sought exchange with Europeans from earliest instances of contact. It has been noted that the earliest records of European excursions to North America contain references to encounter with indigenous people bearing supplies of pelts which were intended to be traded for European goods. Were these indigenous people truly dazzled by the combs, tin bells and tin rings[16] they received from the Europeans, or is it possible that they may have been more concerned with the acts of giving and receiving – basic physical acts that could negotiate the boundary between themselves and the new white humans who had appeared from the Atlantic? It is obviously difficult to know. Yet literature of the period

is replete with clear illustrations of new types of exchanges involving the Mi'kmaq and the French that betrayed efforts on the part of the native people to understand what constituted the human who confronted colonialism.

A major constituent of the process was the Christianity created by contact during this period. The first Mi'kmaq to "convert" was Membertou who was subsequently emulated by twenty-one members of his clan in 1610.[17] Between European Christianity and native culture there existed, in the minds of the missionaries who sailed for Acadia, an irreconcilable abyss.[18] For Membertou such a void did not exist as, in some sense, he appears to have regarded his conversion as an embrace not of French Catholicism but of the definitive components available to him in his changed world. Le Jeune noted that Membertou had repeatedly told the Jesuits, "Learn our language quickly, for when you have learned it, you will teach me; and when I am taught I will become a preacher like you and we will convert the whole country." Of course, for Membertou, conversion did not signify the abandonment of ungodly ways. Over the period of a number of days during which he was dying he pleaded with Biard to allow him to be buried with his father and his ancestors, but the Jesuit would have nothing to do with the notion of burying a converted Christian with "Heathen whose souls were to be lost." Membertou acquiesced shortly before death,[19] yet it is clear that his Christianity, like the ritual of mourning, was a medium for negotiation as well as a means of defining the person which had emerged from the context of contact and exchange. The Jesuits had to be willing to learn the Mi'kmaq language; the natives, had to be willing to convert. The Jesuits would consequently teach their doctrine; and the natives would maintain their spiritual bond with their ancestors. To Membertou it must have appeared to be a fair exchange through which something novel could arise – novel in the sense that it united elements of both cultures without being defined in terms of one or the other.

The Mi'kmaq universe was in a state of transformation and disequilibrium and Membertou might be regarded as emblematic for not only the confusion but also the reverberations induced by the presence of Europeans. The arrival of the French signalled the end of the world the Mi'kmaq knew and the birth of the colonial world in Acadia. In order to establish some measure of orientation within this culturally tumultuous situation the Mi'kmaq, on the one hand, looked to the exchange of matter

to delimit the nature of their relationship with this changed world and consequently their meaning as human beings within it; they drew on their "religious imagination of matter,"[20] by which they were able to conceive of themselves and the French as beings whose meaning bore a relationship to the experience of their lives.

The French, on the other hand, had a great deal of difficulty confronting the reality of a new world primarily because they were not culturally equipped to regard the exchange of matter as sacred, in the sense that exchange could bear the potential for delineating the significance of human beings. Material shortages that gave rise to the "crisis of feudalism" in Europe had compelled Europeans to seek out and appropriate goods and raw materials beyond their continent,[21] and this activity necessarily involved the exploitation of other human beings who were devalued within a qualitative scale of humanity in order to provide justification for European appropriations. This devaluation was initially accomplished by means of the ideologies of mercantilism and imperialism, each of which denied the importance of relationships with matter and the process of exchange within the creation of individual and communal self understanding. The mercantile human being dominated objects of acquisition as all the world's resources were ripe for seizure; the notion of conquest that was integral to imperialism denied the possibility of exchange.[22] For indigenous peoples the critical implication of this rejection of the constitutive component of exchange is that it invited a European flight from the recognition of relationships with those whose matter was to be appropriated. In other words, it permitted Europeans to function as though non-Europeans were not legitimate human beings.

In Acadia, for example, the Jesuit Pierre Biard recognized that climate wholly effected native patterns of food consumption. Despite this recognition the Jesuits nevertheless insisted that Mi'kmaq converts to Catholicism fully adhere to the church's sacrosanct calendar of fasts.[23] Not only did the Jesuits fail to appreciate the nature of Mi'kmaq life in Acadia but they also refused to accept the reality of a colonial relationship between themselves and this people. Writing in 1610, Biard confuted the Mi'kmaq claim that the European presence had caused the countless new diseases that were ravishing the native community; and claimed rather that it was gluttony alone that had led the Mi'kmaq to experience the "discomforts" of smallpox, measles, typhus, tuberculosis, pleurisy, scarlet fever and consumption, to name a few.[24]

For the Mi'kmaq community various forms of exchange constituted the means by which the humanity of both native and non-native could be assured. This understanding of exchange compelled them to confront the reality of a changed world and to deal constructively with its very new forms of relationships. The French however drew on their European ideologies to assure their own meaning as legitimate appropriators, but this was a meaning sustained at the expense of that of all others. To maintain a notion of their own superiority as human beings they were forced to disregard the actuality of their experience of the New World.

So long as they held fast to their ideologically inspired understanding of themselves and others they were unable to confront the reality of life in Acadia and consequently, to respond creatively as the Mi'kmaq did. Rather, they were compelled to engage in a sustained devaluation of indigenous society – an ominous prospect for a Mi'kmaq community that, from earliest contact, sought to affirm the common humanity of all New World people.

Endnotes

1. The Mi'kmaq are the easternmost group of Algonquin peoples.

2. Charles Long, "Matter and Spirit," in *Local Knowledge and Ancient Wisdom: Challenges in Contemporary Spirituality*, ed. Steven Friesen (Honolulu: Institute of Culture and Communication, East-West Center, 1991), 15.

3. Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1967), 10-11.

4. In 1606, for example, Marc Lescarbot wrote of a young woman who was being held prisoner by the Mi'kmaq and who, in the process of attempting to escape, stole a "tinder-box" from the cabin of chief Membertou. For this offense the "savages' wives and daughters did execute her." Clearly a human being who would steal from another was subverting the community's valuation of exchange as it related to the significance of the individual; the act of stealing was a declaration that that mode of human constitution – that human being defined by exchange – was meaningless. For the community the life of the thief not only violated the peoples' notion of itself but was consequently worthless since it had declared its own insignificance (*Nova Francia: A Description of Acadia, 1606* [New York: Harper and Brothers, 1928], 264-265).

5. Among the illnesses which have been documented were smallpox, measles, typhus, tuberculosis and pleurisy, whooping cough, scarlet fever, strep infections and consumption (See Cornelius J. Jaenen, *Friend and Foe; Aspects of French-Amerindian Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976], 98; and Jeanne Guillemin, *Urban Renegades: The Cultural Strategy of American Indians* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1975], 29).

6. Alfred Goldsworthy Bailey, *The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonquin Cultures, 1504-1700: A Study in Canadian Civilization* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 18.

7. Bailey, 13.

8. Guillemin, 28.

9. Bailey, 52.

10. Nicolas Denys, *Description and Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia)*, ed. W.F. Ganong (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1908), 442.

11. Lescarbot, 183-184.

12. Denys, 406.

13. Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 16.

14. Bailey, 13.

15. Lescarbot, 264.

16. James Axtell, *After Columbus; Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 158.

17. John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter Since 1534* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 4.

18. Biard, writing in 1612, remarked that he hoped he and his fellow Jesuits would incite the aboriginal people to "see the difference between Christianity and their ungodliness" (*The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites [New York: Pageant Book Company, 1959], II:15.

19. Thwaites, III:203-205.

20. Charles Long, from the introduction to "Colonial Discourse in the Study of Religion," Course taught at Syracuse University, 1988, 2.

21. Eric Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 108-109.

22. Francis Jennings notes, "America was [a] wilderness [that] civilization was required by divine sanction of the imperative of progress to conquer" (see *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* [New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1976], 15).

23. Jaenen, 72.

24. Thwaites, III:105-106.

"The Work of God upon my Soul": The Conversion Narrative and After-walk Account in the Early Newfoundland Methodist Community (1765-1774)

S. Dawn Barrett

Harbour Grace, Friday night, 4 November 1774. Friday night is the regular meeting night for the dozen or so Methodist women of Harbour Grace,[1] the most populous town in Newfoundland, and the commercial, legal and religious centre for the 6,000 winter inhabitants of Conception Bay. But tonight there will not be a regular meeting. Instead, a special meeting has been called, and the women have been joined by the men and friends from outlying villages.[2] They have a special purpose in mind, for the revivalist Laurence Coughlan, their "prophet sent of God," whom they have missed intensely since his return to England the autumn before, has written to request that they furnish him with accounts of "the work of God upon your souls."[3]

Thirty-year-old Mary Stretton,[4] leader of the women's group, had already written her conversion narrative, and may have broken the ice by reading it to the assembled group.[5] But no one is reticent. These narratives have been told and retold, both before the full congregation and within the weekly class meetings.[6] One by one ten people rise to give their testimony to God's grace, while Mary's husband John, an Irish shop-keeper who is soon to become superintendent of the first Methodist Society in Newfoundland,[7] acts as scribe.[8]

Laurence Coughlan included these conversion narratives and other letters from his Newfoundland converts in his book, *An Account of the*

Work of God in Newfoundland, North America, which was published in London in 1766. Thus was preserved in print one of the few surviving congregational collections of conversion narratives, a genre which normally belongs to the oral tradition. Also encapsulated within the letters are a form of religious expression peculiar to this group, which I have labelled "after-walk account."[9]

This paper will locate these forms of religious expression in their historical context, outline briefly the understanding of soteriology expressed by them, and indicate the role each played in the normative self-definition of the early Newfoundland Methodist community.

Historical Background

Laurence Coughlan was converted to Methodism by itinerants who visited his native village of Drummersnave in Ireland in 1753.[10] Two years later he became one of John Wesley's lay preachers,[11] in which capacity he served for the next eight years, preaching in such disparate circuits as Colchester, Newcastle, Whitehaven and London, as well as Ireland.[12] Following a breach with Wesley,[13] Coughlan became preacher of an Independent Chapel in Bermundsey, Surrey.[14] In 1766, armed with a letter from a Newfoundland merchant and a London banker with connections to the Newfoundland trade,[15] Coughlan approached William Legge, the second Earl of Dartmouth, with whom he had become acquainted during his London ministry. The Earl of Dartmouth was then chairman of the Board of Trade of England and, as such, was responsible for regulating the Newfoundland fishery. Through his influence, Coughlan, on three successive days in April of 1766, was ordained deacon, licensed to the Newfoundland ministry under the Bishop of London and consecrated to the priesthood of the Church of England.[16] Then, accompanied by his wife Anne and daughter Betsey, he set sail within days for Harbour Grace where the inhabitants had already erected a church and had been searching for a minister.[17] The failure of the fishery in the Fall of that year led Coughlan's parishioners to seek and obtain financial support from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG).[18] This placed Laurence Coughlan in the anomalous position of being at once both Methodist preacher and incumbent of an Anglican parish.

Coughlan's first three years of ministry in Conception Bay were successful in terms of church attendance, church membership and church

expansion.[19] However, Coughlan was dissatisfied. He needed experiential proof that he was a "true evangelical minister" sent by God.[20] This proof came in the winter of 1768-69 when he succeeded in initiating a religious revival which spread from the main population centres of Harbour Grace and neighbouring Carbonear to outlying fishing villages around Conception Bay.[21]

Opposition to the style and content of his preaching by the Anglican mercantocracy of Harbour Grace resulted in personal animosity between Coughlan and the merchants, a dozen of whom sent a petition to the governor requesting his removal.[22] Coughlan's later refusal to baptise infants whose parents or prospective god-parents had been signatories to this petition led to his being recalled by the SPG in 1773.[23] He left behind him a community torn by religious conflict, as Coughlan's supporters endeavoured to confirm their support of his "born again" theology and revivalist preaching by circulating counter-petitions, and engaging in issues of proprietary rights and church polity.[24] Thus the Coughlan era in Conception Bay resulted in a *de facto* separation between Anglicans and Methodists a full two decades before the division occurred in England.

The Conversion Narrative

The early Methodist community in Conception Bay was formed of individuals who could claim conversion experiences through which they received a personal assurance of faith, experiences which distinguished them from the more conventional Anglican members of the parish. The majority of these conversion experiences were of the emotionally stimulated type identified by Elmer Clark as most likely to occur during religious revivals. Essentially gradual in that no immediate change of attitude is effected, the subject regards some specific moment as the beginning of religious consciousness.[25]

For the early Newfoundland Methodists, this specific moment was directly related to the revival of 1768-69. Their conversion narratives typically begin with the expression, "When I first heard you preach." Coughlan's converts failed to recognize as religious any life events that occurred before his arrival. Also completely missing from their accounts is imagery taken from every-day occupations – from fishing, child-bearing, sailing voyages or wilderness experiences. Neither do the narratives reflect any gender differences. The shared revival experience over-shadows all

else. All express their conversion by highlighting emotional impressions, employing religious clichés and utilizing an allusive Biblical language.

While each narrative in the collection is unique, they follow a set form as each convert passes through the expected stages of awakening and conviction, through justification, to holiness. Awakening was used by Coughlan to refer to an intellectual understanding of one's status as sinner, and the first stirrings of conscience that accompanied this realization. His followers believed that consciousness of corruption could only be accomplished through divine agency, as God, assisted by the power of the Word as preached by Coughlan, opened the eyes of sinners, enabling them to perceive their own wickedness. Once the conscience was awakened, conviction followed. This could happen almost immediately upon awakening, and some narratives barely distinguish between these two stages. For example,

> I constantly attended the Means of Grace: but felt not the Power of Religion, till the Lord himself was pleased at Last, to open my Eyes; then the Word came with power to my Heart, and I saw and felt my lost undone condition by Nature, and by Practice; I laboured under these Convictions about twelve months, groaning earnestly to be delivered.[26]

Others, such as Mary Stretton, clearly distinguished between awakening, when "the Word began to take root," and conviction, when "the Lord sent his Word with Power, as a two-edged Sword":

> As I constantly attended the Means, the Word began to take Root . . . I was, in a Measure, convinced of Sin; yet I did not see, and feel, my lost and undone State by Nature, till the Spring following; when the Lord sent his Word with Power, as a two-edged Sword, to my Soul: I saw myself wretched, and poor, and blind, and naked; having no Hope, and without God in the World: I saw, and felt, I deserved Eternal Damnation; and was constrained to cry out, Lord, save, or I perish.[27]

During conviction, guilt was enhanced by fear, as repeated sermons on the wrath of God were heard. Torn between maintaining their present sense of self and responding to their fear of the God at whose hands they deserved nothing but eternal damnation, they entered a phase of extreme

psychological disequilibrium marked by guilt, tears, depression and emotional distress. Believing they could not be justified until this period of suffering had been experienced, Coughlan's followers wallowed in their misery for periods that could last from several days to several years.

> I was struck with Surprise to see my fallen Condition; and Anguish filled my Heart, when I saw the Load of Guilt which bowed down my Soul; I cannot express the Pain and Anguish I felt for three Days successively, I could find no enjoyment in any Thing, and, I thought, my Pain and Distress of Soul was as great as if I had felt a Portion of Eternal Torments.[28]

> I saw myself as a lost, sinful Worm, utterly unworthy of Mercy; and many a Tear I shed, and many an aching Heart I had before the God of my Salvation set me at Liberty; about twelve months I groaned under the Lashes of a guilty Conscience and the Terrors of the Law.[29]

> The Truth found a way to my Heart, and I saw and felt my lost Condition by Nature; and my whole Life appeared a Blot; I saw that I had never done one good Action all my long Life; and my Grief was great and sore, that ever I offended a good, an infinitely good God; I laboured under this Distress of Soul for near two Years; during which Time, I sought the Lord earnestly with Tears, Day and Night . . .[30]

Descriptions of conviction predominate in the narratives. In an attempt to wrest meaning from the experience of guilt, the sufferers saw it as God-directed, and this attributed a positive value to the suffering. It was anxiously anticipated, and most converts could point to the precise moment when their conviction began and ended. Since they believed God is not found in ordinary experience, the convicted sinners had to experience a deeper and more profound suffering than they had ever known before. This was heroic suffering, glorified because it was *in imitatione Christi*. Through it the passion of Christ was self-appropriated. Just as the passion is followed by the resurrection and the ascension, the convicted sinners expected that their suffering would be followed by justification and holiness. No one remained forever undelivered, for God is merciful; salvation was not for the elect but for all who were awakened and convicted of sin.

From their suffering arose the existential question, "What must I do

to be saved?" Rejecting works as a path to salvation, they could do nothing but rely on the grace of God. But meanwhile, there were means of grace that could be used – prayer, Scripture reading, attendance at class meetings, listening to sermons, taking part in the Lord's Supper. Friends prayed for them, as did Coughlan and his wife. Delivery inevitably took place while they were participating in one of these means of grace. This moment of deliverance, termed justification, was understood as the moment when the righteousness of Christ was imputed to sinners, who became "restored to the favour of God."

From a world view in which they yearned to become recipients of the grace of God, Coughlan's converts interpreted their decision to surrender as a movement of God, an act of his free grace. They described the moment of justification in the following ways:

> It pleased the Lord to shine upon my Soul.[31]
>
> The Lord heard my Prayer, and set my Soul at Liberty.[32]
>
> The Lord broke in upon my Soul with these Words: "Fear not, only believe."[33]
>
> This text came with Power to my Heart, "I will put my spirit within you." I was enabled to lay hold on the Lord Jesus, and praise the God of my Salvation.[34]

The redeemed sinner was expected to list evidence illustrating the change of status. Typically five items of evidence were considered sufficient. For Coughlan's converts, whose whole understanding of the conversion process had an emotional emphasis, these evidences of grace were primarily affective. J.J. received a dispersion of all his fears, he was given the power to believe, his Heart was lifted up, he was enabled to cleave closer and closer to God and he received the patience to endure affliction.[35] C.A. received relief from the heavy load that bowed her down, happiness which made her feel her night had been turned into day and her hell into heaven, strength to fight the good fight, Jesus was now precious to her soul and in every affliction her spirits were lifted.[36] J.S. was confounded by the sudden change in his soul, he found himself full of love, his pains and anguish were removed, he was willing to die and be received into the

blessed arms of Jesus, and he felt that his sins were pardoned.[37]

Among Coughlan's converts the pardoning of sins did not enjoy as prominent a role as the change of mood. Also, while there is evidence that moral change took place after conversion,[38] the narrators themselves did not testify to it. This was a very real departure from the teachings of John Wesley, for whom the conversion experience was ethical and spiritual rather than emotional.[39]

Following the "flow of joy" which marked the euphoria of justification there frequently came a mood of intense despair. Coughlan taught his followers to interpret this as an attack of the devil who seeks to be avenged for what he has lost.

> I rejoiced thus in the Lord, about a Week; and then the Enemy came in as a Flood, and persuaded me, that I was deceived, that all was a Delusion, and that I had not received Pardon, or Consolation, as yet. Six Weeks, the Enemy thus blinded my Eyes, oppressed my Spirits, and overwhelmed me in Distress: Oh! what Anguish of Spirit was I in, until the Lord Jesus again delivered me.[40]

> I had some Doubts of my Acceptance; the Enemy would have persuaded me, that all was a Delusion; and my Lord hid his lovely Face from me: Oh! what did I suffer in the Absence of my Lord; no Tongue can express the Anguish of Soul I endured, while he concealed himself from me: However, he did not leave me long comfortless; he came to my Deliverance, dispersed these Clouds, and all my Doubts vanished.[41]

For several of the converts this phase abruptly ended with a second great dispensation of grace in which they received full assurance.[42] However, most did not include this period of doubt and reassurance in their conversion narratives. Their experience ended with a statement of praise to God for what he had done. In their understanding, the story of the doubts that arose after justification were not part of the conversion experience *per se*. They belonged instead to the after-walk account.

The After-walk Account

The telling of a conversion narrative marks a decision to project oneself as a convert, and, as such, anticipates a reality not yet existent since

the consolidation of the new self-understanding into patterns of every-day living is yet to come. Growth is intermittent as old habits compete with the new self-concept. For those converts who were stimulated by the emotions of the revival to proclaim themselves justified, complete conversion or the attainment of "holiness" was dependant upon attendance in the class meetings. Through these weekly meetings the integration of the new ideals into the personality was completed. The after-walk accounts give evidence of this process of personality change. The converts referred to them as "the Dealings of God with my soul,"[43] as "relating to you what Jesus has done, and is yet doing, for my soul,"[44] or as "when I review my After-Walk."[45]

Ten examples of the after-walk account are embedded within the letters contained in Coughlan's book. Two are undated; the others have different dates ranging from 19 October to 4 November 1774. In addition, the form without its opening and closing formulae is found in a letter written by John Stretton two years later.[46] Eleven individuals from various communities writing letters on different dates would not have used the same form in their letters unless the genre were very familiar to them. The writings, therefore, depict what must have been a regular way of expressing oneself during the weekly class meetings of the early Newfoundland Methodists.[47]

The typical after-walk account is very short, taking only a minute or two to narrate. It begins with a statement of praise to God and ends with a prayer request. The body of the account contains a listing of the spiritual weaknesses of the convert, although the tone is overwhelmingly hopeful. Every weakness either has already been amended by the grace of God, or is an occasion for prayer. In this way, the after-walk account serves as a personal gauge of holiness. When all weaknesses have succumbed to grace, holiness will have been attained.

Prayer was an essential part of the after-walk account. Not only does each narration end with a prayer request, but some also add the narrator's own prayer for the group, or for Coughlan. This indicates that in a class meeting the sharing of each after-walk account would normally be followed by prayer.

I will now examine in more detail a typical after-walk account, that of Clement Noel.[48] He begins, as do all the others, with a statement of praise: "Glory be to our blessed and dear Redeemer, who is always more ready to hear, than poor sinners are to pray."

The body of Clement Noel's after-walk account contains a listing of

three failings. In the first of these he is troubled with fears that he will be "overcome by the hands of Saul," a reference to 1 Samuel 27:1. In the pericope which contains the expression, David has crept into the cave where his enemy Saul is sleeping and has stolen his spear. Recognizing that David has had the opportunity to kill him, and refrained from doing so, Saul blesses him. But David still believes that one day he will perish at the hands of Saul. What Clement Noel is expressing in the allusive shorthand typical of the religious language used by Coughlan's converts is the feeling that, although outwardly he has been blessed through God's grace, inwardly he still fears that he may perish at God's hands in the Day of Judgement. Then he amends his fear, declaring, "when I look to the Lord I know his grace is sufficient for me, and I am able to rejoice."

Next follows a second failing, the deceitfulness of his own heart, which Clement Noel describes as his worst enemy. This is a recognition that even though his faculties have been influenced by the grace of God, they are yet imperfect. He is justified but not yet made holy. He discovers that in the realization itself there is a blessing.

Then he testifies to the third of his weaknesses: "the nearer I live to God, the more temptations I find." Clement Noel is slowly learning to integrate new habits into his personality. Many of his old habits are considered sinful by Methodist standards and he is making a conscious effort to eliminate them. Still he is tempted to fall into old ways. He echoes a thought expressed in Romans 7:14-25: ". . . when I want to do right, evil lies close at hand." In this pericope, Paul speaks of the value of the Law in helping him realize that nothing good dwells within his own flesh, recognizes his inability to overcome this sinfulness and looks to Jesus Christ to deliver him.[49] Clement Noel, too, looks to Jesus rather than his own will-power to find a way to withstand the temptations.

In the closing formula of his after-walk account Clement Noel petitions, "pray for me, that I may not be cast away." This practice of ending an after-walk account with a prayer request indicates that during a class meeting the narration of each account was followed by a period of prayer for the narrator.

The remainder of Clement Noel's letter contains personal words to Coughlan indicating how much he is missed, a request to Coughlan to pray for him and one more expression of his present state ("it is a rough and thorny road that we are walking in") which indicates how much they are missing Coughlan. "But", he states with conviction, "I know that the Lord

will deliver us out of all our troubles here below." The form of the after-walk has become so much a part of his religious expression that he naturally falls into the pattern of expecting that every dilemma has a hopeful solution in the form of supernatural assistance.

The Role of the Conversion Narrative and After-walk Account

Since the willingness to confess one's faith declares its presence, the telling of a conversion narrative during a meeting established the neophyte's change of status from sinner to redeemed. The telling also had a cathartic effect for the narrator. This was shared by the converted listeners who relived their own experiences during the narration. Then, by comparison with the group experience, the experience of the individual was verified. The anxiety and insecurity of the conviction phase was overcome by the acceptance of the convert's new status by the group. This re-affirmed a new sense of self, and led to the emergence of a new social persona. It also satisfied needs for acceptance and inclusion, basic needs for uprooted individuals living in the fluid and rapidly-changing society of mid-eighteenth century Conception Bay.

The practice of weekly sharing of after-walk accounts forced the converts to be perpetually cognizant of their spiritual condition, to pay daily attention to their impressions of the work of God upon their souls and to be vigilant in recognizing their own weaknesses. The form taught them to look ever to Jesus for strength to overcome their moral and spiritual weaknesses, and held out the expectation that, through the grace of God, imparted holiness as well as imputed holiness could be attained.

Used in a weekly meeting, this genre was very effective in drawing the group together into a close fellowship. As one person expressed his or her failings, the others would empathize. They were conscious of similar faults in themselves. This unified the group in a fellowship of shared experience. Yet the form itself taught that every weakness is an occasion for hope. It drew the converts, who through their ability to relate a narrative of conversion have attained the status of holiness, towards the expression of this holiness in their lives.

Through following the giving of each account by prayer for the convert, the individual was immersed in group fellowship. Through mutual exhortation, the faith of each individual was strengthened. Through the disapproval of worldly diversions, contact with outsiders was kept to a

minimum and the group became a bulwark against the scorn of the unconverted. The members became so close to each other that they were welcomed into each other's most intimate moments, even the moment of death, when they would gather around the bed to sing hymns and pray.[50]

Conclusion

During his seven years in Newfoundland, Laurence Coughlan was simultaneously an Anglican parish clergyman and the pastor of a gathered church within his own parish. Within a year of his departure, the two groups had differentiated into Anglican and Methodist. Methodists were distinguished from the majority by their definition of religion as an individual and subjective response to God's grace reflected in a personal spiritual transformation which was expressed as a conversion narrative. The weekly class meetings with their sharing of after-walk accounts were the means by which these individuals were bonded into a close fellowship. Their loyalty to their ostracized religious leader, whose ardent preaching had stimulated their conversion, formed the basis on which religious differentiation was completed. The roots laid down during the Coughlan years created for Newfoundland Methodism a distinctive soteriology and a religious ethos that remains unique.

Endnotes

1. "I still continue to meet the women, according to your desire . . . We meet, as usual, on Fridays at Mrs. Martins" (M.S. to Laurence Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 31 October 1774, in Laurence Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland, North America* [London: W. Gilbert, 1776], 74-75).

2. A dozen people can be positively identified as having been present on this occasion. There may have been more, but it is unlikely that the number exceeded thirty, which was the number of members active in the Methodist society formed within that year. "We have joined ourselves into a society, and have drawn up rules as like Mr. Wesley's as we could, consistent with local cirsumstances; our number about thirty, who I believe are sincere in heart" (John Stretton to Eliza Bennis, Harbour Grace, 14 November 1775, in Eliza Bennis, *Christian Correspondence: being a collection of letters written by the late Rev. John Wesley, and several Methodist preachers, in connection with him, to the late Mrs. Eliza Bennis, with her answers, chiefly explaining and enforcing the doctrine of sanctification; now first published from the*

originals [Philadelphia: B. Graves for T. Bennis, 1809], 210-211).

3. Many of the correspondents made reference to the request received from Coughlan. For example, "Agreeable to your Desire, I send you an Account of my Conversion, which is as follows: . . ." (J.J. to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 4 November 1774, in Coughlan, 105); "You already know my former Experience, yet, in compliance with your Desire, I will again repeat it to you: . . ." (J.S. to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 4 November 1774, in Coughlan, 124). They were aware that their accounts were to be made public: "I here send you my Experience, and, I hope, the Account will prove a Blessing to many" (M.M. to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 4 November 1774, in Coughlan, 99).

4. Born Mary Parsons, she was the self-educated daughter of an early settler family. Her obituary, which appeared in *The Newfoundlander* on 27 January 1831, identifies her as a leading Methodist and adds that "she acquired an astonishing fund of general, but more particularly of religious, information, of which she has with justice been termed a `living library'."

5. Her conversion narrative, dated 31 October 1774, is more detailed and expresses the theology of John Wesley more closely than any of the others. It has the appearance of being carefully thought through. Her letter also contains news of the community, mentioning by name those who are considered backsliders, another indication that hers was a written rather than a verbal account.

6. Coughlan, 9.

7. ". . . it was reduced to this alternative, either for me to undertake the superintendence, or see the Society decay" (John Stretton to Eliza Bennis, Harbour Grace, 8 November 1776, in Bennis, 216).

8. Stretton indicates at the end of two of the conversion narratives that he has been the recorder (Coughlan, 90, 94). It can be presumed that he recorded all ten of the accounts that are dated 4 November 1774.

9. I have derived the nomenclature from the expression "when I review my After-Walk" used by E.T., one of the converts (E.T. to Coughlan, n.d., in Coughlan, 110). I have not found examples of the genre outside the early Newfoundland Methodist material.

10. C.H. Crookshank, *History of Methodism in Ireland*, Vol. 1, *Wesley and His Times* (Belfast: R.S. Allen, Son and Allen, 1885), 100, 107. Drummersnave is presently known as Drumsna.

11. Coughlan was received on trial at a period when four of the ten itinerants in Ireland were incapacitated by illness (Crookshank, 1:104-107).

12. Coughlan travelled with John Murlin from Dublin to London to attend the Conference in 1757 (John Telford, *Wesley's Veterans. Lives of Early Methodist Preachers Told by Themselves*, 8 vols. [Salem, Ohio: Schmul Publishers, Rare Reprint Specialists], 2:161). There he was received as a full preacher and appointed to Colchester. Wesley's journal entry for 28 November 1758 gives some details of his Colchester period (John Wesley, *The Works of John Wesley*, 3rd ed., 14 vols. [Grand Rapids, MI,: Baker Book House, 1986], 2:462). In August of 1758 he attended the Conference at Bristol, where he received appointments for the ensuing year to Newcastle and London (*Minutes of the Methodist Conferences*, Vol. I. [London: John Mason, 1862]). He was in Whitehaven in 1759 (John Wesley to Matthew Lowes, 6 March 1759, in *The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M. Sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford*, 8 vols., ed. John Telford [London: Epworth Press, 1960 (1931)], 4:56ff). The Bristol Conference of 1760 reappointed him to Ireland (Crookshank, 1:148ff). He returned to London sometime before 1762.

13. Luke Tyerman believes the cause of this breach to be Coughlan's illicit ordination by Erasmus, an expatriate Greek bishop (*The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, Founder of the Methodists*, 3 vols. [New York: Burt Franklin, 1973 (1872)], 3:25). See also, John Wesley to the Printer of *St. James Chronicle*, 10 February 1765, in Telford, 4:290. In a letter to Coughlan, Wesley indicates doctrinal differences and associates his name with that of Thomas Maxfield, the leader of the London enthusiasts whom Wesley repudiated in 1763 (The journal of John Wesley, 27 August 1768, in Wesley, 3:340-342). Wesley indicated in a letter to John Stretton that the two were finally reconciled when Coughlan was on his death-bed (Wesley to Stretton, 25 February 1785, in Telford, 7:260-261).

14. "Late Eighteenth Century Dissent in Surrey," *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society* 17, No. 4 (November 1955): 128-135, as quoted by Hans Rollmann, "Laurence Coughlan and the Origins of Methodism in Newfoundland," in *The Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada*, eds. Charles H.H. Scobie and John Webster Grant (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

15. George Davis and George Welch to the Earl of Dartmouth, 16 April 1766, Fulham Papers, Lambeth Palace, London. A transcript was obtained courtesy of Dr. Hans Rollmann.

16. The Earl of Dartmouth's role was acknowledged by Coughlan who wrote, ". . . it was under your Lordship's Patronage I first came here. In short I may safely say you were the only instrument under God of getting me ordained and so of comeing to this place" (Coughlan to the Earl of Dartmouth, Harbour

Grace, 25 October 1772, Dartmouth Originals, MG 23, A1/2: 2497). See also, The Earl of Dartmouth to the Bishop of London, 18 April 1766, Fulham Papers, Lambeth Palace, London.

17. The church, which was built of materials shipped from Boston, was nearly complete by the summer of 1764 (Edward Langman to SPG Secretary, St. John's, 6 November 1764, SPG Papers B.6/161).

18. Petition of the Inhabitants of Harbour Grace, Carbonear & Parts Adjacent in the Bay of Conception, Newfoundland to the SPG, 30 October 1766, SPG Papers B.6/166. The SPG was chartered in 1701 by King William III "for the Receiving, Managing and Disposing of the Charity of such Persons as would be induced to extend their Charity towards the Maintenance of a Learned and Orthodox Clergy, and the making of such other Provision as might be necessary for the Propogation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts . . ." (*SPG Journal* 17:209-210, SPG Papers A/153).

19. S. Dawn Barrett, "Revivalism and the Origins of Newfoundland Methodism: 1766-1774" (M.A. Thesis, Memorial University, 1993), 82-86.

20. Coughlan, 8.

21. Coughlan, 9-19. The response was notably zealous at Blackhead, a village eighteen miles by water from Carbonear; within a fortnight its dozen families erected a church capable of holding 400 people.

22. Petition of Hugh Roberts to Governor John Byron, in Warwick Smith, "An Address on Rev. Laurence Coughlan, 20 March 1942, from the Records of the Harbour Grace Court House," unpublished paper available at the Newfoundland Room, Arts and Culture Centre Library, St. John's. Byron forwarded the petitions to his Surrogate, Willam Parker, with orders to investigate and report (*Colonial Record Books*, entry for 2 October 1771, GN2/1A 5:2, Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador [PANL]). As a result of the investigation, Byron relieved Coughlan of his duties as magistrate but he was not asked to leave Newfoundland as the merchants had requested (John Byron to Coughlan, *Panther*, St. John's, 25 October 1771. *Colonial Record Book*, GN2/1A 5:5-6, PANL). See also Coughlan, 10.

23. Deposition of Mary Martin, 26 May 1772 and deposition of John Alcock, 26 May 1772 (SPG Papers A-170 C/Nfld/1/59). See also Minutes of the General Meetings of the SPG, 15 January 1773 and 17 December 1773.

24. Difficulties in obtaining possession of the house and chapels were documented by James Balfour, Coughlan's Anglican successor, in a series of letters to the SPG (see especially his letters of 9 November 1775 [SPG Papers

B.6/203], 3 December 1776 [SPG Papers B.6/208] and 2 December 1779 [Papers B.6/215]). Orders by the Anglican Governor Edwards preventing Methodist preachers or anyone not commissioned by Balfour from using the chapels at Carbonear and Blackhead were later rescinded by his successor Governor John Campbell, son of a Scots Presbyterian minister (Hans Rollmann, "Religious Enfranchisement and Roman Catholics in Eighteenth Century Newfoundland," *Religion and Identity, the Experience of Irish and Scottish Catholics in Atlantic Canada*, eds. Terrence Murphy and Cyril J. Byrne [St. John's: Jesperson Press, 1987], 40, 44).

25. Elmer T. Clarke, *The Psychology of Religious Awakening* (New York: Macmillan, 1929).

26. C.K. to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 4 November 1774, in Coughlan, 107-108.

27. M.S. to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 31 October 1774, in Coughlan, 71-72.

28. J.S. to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 4 November 1774, in Coughlan, 124-125.

29. M.P. to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 4 November 1774, in Coughlan, 95-96.

30. M.M. to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 4 November 1774, in Coughlan, 98-99.

31. M.M. to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 4 November 1774, in Coughlan, 99.

32. James Noseworthy to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 4 November 1774, in Coughlan, 88.

33. M.P. to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 4 November 1774, in Coughlan, 96.

34. N.S. to Coughlan, Bear's Cove, 28 October 1774, in Coughlan, 135.

35. J.J. to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 4 November 1774, in Coughlan, 105.

36. C.A. to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 4 November 1774, in Coughlan, 113-114.

37. J.S. to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 4 November 1774, in Coughlan, 125.

38. Coughlan wrote concerning the inhabitants, ". . . before they received the Gospel, they spent much of their Time in Rioting and Drunkenness; but when the Word took place in their Hearts, many of them not only got out of Debt, but also had to spare" (Coughlan, 15). "Since my coming to the Bay, Drunkenness and Swearing with Sabbath-breaking is very much done away" (Coughlan to SPG Secretary, Harbour Grace, 12 October 1769, SPG Papers B.6/179).

39. Wesley wrote, concerning his Aldersgate experience, "But it was not long before the enemy suggested, `This cannot be faith, for where is thy joy?' Then I was taught that peace and victory over sin are essential to faith in the Captain of our salvation: But that, as to the transports of joy that usually attend the beginning of it especially in those who have mourned deeply, God sometimes giveth, sometimes withholdest them according to the counsels of his own will" (Wesley's journal, 15 May 1738, in Wesley, 1:103). See also, Gregory S. Clapper, *John Wesley on Religious Affections: His Views on Experience and Emotion and their Role in christian Life and Theology* (Methchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1989); and Henry D. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* (London: Epworth Press, 1989).

40. M.P. to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 4 November 1774, in Coughlan, 96.

41. J.M. to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 4 November 1774, in Coughlan, 116-117.

42. J.M. to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 4 November 1774, in Coughlan, 117; M.P. to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 4 November 1774, in Coughlan, 95-96; and J.P. to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 4 November 1774, in Coughlan, 102-103.

43. J.F. to Coughlan, Carbonear, 19 October 1774, in Coughlan, 145.

44. M.F. to Coughlan, 20 October 1774, in Coughlan, 157.

45. E.T. to Coughlan, n.d., in Coughlan, 110.

46. John Stretton to Eliza Bennis, Harbour Grace, 8 November 1776, in Bennis, 215.

47. No other extant examples have been discovered thus far. It does not necessarily follow that this form was peculiar to the early Newfoundland Methodists. This may be the only incidence where the after-walk account, normally transmitted orallly, was committed to writing.

48. C.N. to Coughlan, Freshwater, 27 October 1774, in Coughlan, 127-128. The complete text of the letter may be found in Appendix I.

49. Zwingli's statement of evangelical doctrine interprets the passage thus: "In Paul's view we perceive and experience our own weakness and impotence. If, however, no one can come to God unless he has no blemish, according to Psalm 15:1-3, and we cannot be without blemish, it then follows that we must despair of ourselves of being able to come to God. Here the grace of God that is shown to us in Christ will reveal itself" (Huldrych Zwingli, "A Short Christian Instruction," [1523], reprinted in *Huldrytch Zwingli: Writings*, 2 vols., ed. and trans. E.J. Furcha [Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publications,

1984], 2:54).

50. Thomas Pottle, whom Coughlan appointed lay preacher in Carbonear, noted in describing his attendance at a death scene "Several of our Women Friends were with us . . ." (T.P. to Coughlan, Carbonear, 28 July 1772, in Coughlan, 50).

Appendix I: Clement Noel's After-walk

Fresh-Water, October 27, 1774.

My Dear and Honoured Father,

I, Your poor weak Child, now acquaint you with my Life, which, blessed be God, is pretty well at this present Time; for this Day, I have been very happy, as I was in the Woods. Glory be to our blessed and dear Redeemer, who is always more ready to hear, than poor Sinners are ready to pray. My dear Reverend Sir, I am, at Times, troubled with Fears and Doubts, that I shall be overcome by the Hands of Saul; but when I look unto the Lord, I know, that his Grace is sufficient for me, and I am enabled to rejoice. My dear Father, the greatest Enemy I have is my deceitful Heart; but, O my dear Sir, what a Blessing it is that we know it! One Thing I know, that the nearer I live to God, the more Temptations I find; but, for ever blessed be his holy Name, he finds a Way for me to withstand them; but, O dear Sir, pray for me, that I may not be cast away: I remember the Charge which you gave me, to meet you at the Right-hand of the Majesty on high, which Words many Times prove a great Blessing to my poor Soul, to believe, that we shall meet in the Spirit, as there is no Likelihood of our meeting in the Flesh. Oh! my dear Sir, I often perceive the Want of your Company; but, I hope, you will grant me my Desire, which is, that you will pray for me, that I may hold out to the End; for it is a rough and thorny Road that we are walking in; but, I know, that the Lord will deliver us out of all our Troubles here below.

I am,
Your poor unworthy Child,

C— N—.

Eld. David Marks: Free Will Baptist Itinerant Preacher in Ontario

Craig B. Cameron

David Marks's (1805-1845) *Memoirs* opens a window on the soul of one zealous itinerant of an American evangelical group in the first part of the nineteenth century.[1] The Free Will Baptists, founded by Benjamin Randall in New Hampshire during the Revolutionary War and known as an evangelical "New Light Stir," grew along with settlements in northern New England, New York, the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys.[2] As part of this westward migration of New Englanders, the Free Will Baptists established their work in the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada and somewhat later, in the western portion of Upper Canada.

Marks is a representative figure in the Second Great Awakening of the evangelical Christian mindset known as "ultraism" that flourished in western New York between 1820 and 1840.[3] The term "ultraism" was first coined by a Presbyterian writer in the heart of the "Burned-over District" to describe evangelical Christians of this particular ethos.[4] The author in question used it disparagingly as a short-hand expression for "religious fanaticism," referring more to a mind-set than a specific group; there nevertheless seems to have been a high percentage of Free Will Baptists who fit the description.

Ultraists tended to translate moral principles into social and ethical absolutes; they were either completely for a practice or group or in vehement opposition. David Marks's resistance to Free Will Baptists being members of secret societies, such as the Free Masons, is illustrative:

> I mourn that so soon the evil is gaining ground in the rapid spread of the society of Odd Fellows . . . But let this selfish organization be confirmed as children of the devil, whence it originated and where it belongs, and let not the followers . . . of the Savior turn aside to be taken in by its snares, deceiving and being deceived.[5]

Marks and others of his ilk turned their guns against slavery, the liquor traffic and work on Sunday with vigorous campaigns for moral reform. It is easy to see why they were viewed by contemporaries as extremists.

The zeal of David Marks may have been misdirected at times but there can be no question as to the sincerity of his motives. While only seventeen Marks wrote,

> I retired to a grove and dedicated myself anew to the Lord; solemnly covenanting to live nearer the fountain of goodness that I might know the height and depth of perfect love and be more successful in winning souls to Christ. Alas! how many when the Lord calls and makes them sensible of the awful danger of living in sins still harden their hearts and refuse their best, only eternal friend admission . . . unprepared to meet the awful swelling of Jordan. O Savior, help me, teach me to persuade them.[6]

This vision of the high and holy nature of his calling as a preacher of the Christian message undergirded all Marks's endeavours.

Early Life and Conversion

David Marks was born in Shakenden, NY in December 1805 but soon moved with his family to Junius, NY near Seneca Lake, in the Finger Lakes district. He grew up in a Baptist family; he identifies his mother as "godly" but says little about his father. Like John Wesley almost exactly one hundred years earlier, Marks was providentially rescued from a fire at the age of four.[7] David Marks seems to have been a unusually sensitive and introspective child. When David was seven his older brother Benjamin died prompting the younger Marks to think about the meaning of life.

Marks's account of his conversion is also typical of evangelicals in the nineteenth century. A fall from a horse and personal injury at age eleven raised the whole question of his eternal destiny and why he had been spared from death when his brother had not been.[8] Reminiscent of

Martin Luther's struggle, he relates that he despaired of being saved because of God's justice until ". . . Jesus, in a still small voice, removed my guilt and filled my soul with peace and joy, the experience was opposite to my expectation."[9] He then like Luther, saw that assurance of salvation was possible. Unlike Luther, however, and much like Henry Alline and Benjamin Randall, his assurance was rooted primarily in his experience and spiritual impressions and not in a Scriptural text.[10]

Unlike many of his Free Will Baptist contemporaries who eschewed formal education, Marks very early decided that learning and piety were not incompatible.[11] At age thirteen, he set out from his parental home in central N.Y. and walked to Providence, RI, a distance of nearly 600 kilometers (368 miles) to seek admission to Brown University. President Messers told him that tuition was free but that room and board was not. Marks did not think of appealling to Rhode Island Free Will Baptists and so trudged dejectedly homeward.

Marks soon became disenchanted with the Baptist church he was attending; no one spoke to him when he declared himself a candidate for baptism. The sensitive teenager, feeling rejected, then found fault with "particular election" and closed communion, two distinctives of Calvinistic Baptists, though this may have been largely because of his emotional reaction to the perceived slight. Soon he encountered a Free Will Baptist, of whom there were increasing numbers in western New York as "fires" of revival burned.[12] Eld. Zebulon Dean persuaded him to join; he was finally baptized in 1819 just before his fourteenth birthday. Soon he was "exhorting" in classic Awakening style for several weeks at protracted meetings in January 1821 with Eld. Dean.[13] During these meetings Marks felt the overwhelming impression that his life was to be spent preaching the Christian gospel and that he was to live a short life. This feeling was prophetic as Marks died at the age of forty-five, his premature demise, in part, being hastened by his almost frantic exertions and privations in the course of his work as an evangelistic preacher.

Marks's Itinerant Ministry

In 1821 David Marks commenced preaching with the Benton Quarterly Meeting of the Free Will Baptists in western New York at the age of fifteen. With the exception of two brief periods, one in 1835-37, while a pastor in Rochester, NY, and 1843-45 while in Oberlin, Ohio, his

entire adult life of twenty-four years was spent as an itinerant preacher. Marks claimed to have travelled 42,353 miles in the first ten years of his ministry, and preached at 3,489 meetings.[14] This is over 4,000 miles a year and a sermon every day. Compare this with John Wesley who travelled 250,000 miles in 52 years of ministry.[15]

Crowds assembled at first largely because of his youth; he was known as the "boy preacher." Within his first year, he had travelled throughout the state of New York, crossed the Ohio River to preach to a group of slaves in Kentucky and crossed the Niagara into Upper Canada in October 1822 on his first of ten Canadian tours. Marks preached at a Methodist camp meeting during his first brief visit to Canada. The young preacher's frenetic schedule would take him regularly back and forth from New England to western New York, Upper Canada and Ohio.

Physical Difficulties. One obvious but often neglected fact about itineracy was the physical difficulties associated with the peripatetic life. The famous *Harper's Weekly* drawing of a Methodist circuit preacher on horse holding an umbrella over his head in the pouring rain is suggestive. During his first summer preaching Marks reported that

> I preached in China. The day after I walked 13 miles in the rain and attended three meetings. My shoes were worn off my feet on reaching the last appointment in Boston, Erie County, and I was much wearied; my feet were blistered and so painful that I was obliged to sit on a pillow while speaking to the people . . . my sufferings for the cause of Christ . . . [were made bearable] by seeing one sinner this evening persuaded to turn and live.[16]

The early years were difficult ones for young Marks. In June 1822, he was on a Lake Erie steam boat bound for Sandusky, Ohio. The captain set his passengers on an isthmus of land, six miles away from Sandusky. Marks went forty hours without food. He took refuge for the night in a lighthouse though hunger pangs kept sleep at bay. The lighthouse keeper brought a cracker and pint of milk for his breakfast: "this was a delicious morsel and received with thanks."[17] Marks tried to pilot an old skiff across the bay to Sandusky after walking for some time but the wind and waves were too strong. Soon a vessel appeared and took him across: he hoisted his portmanteau on his shoulder and walked nine miles before coming to a house. The residents refused him hospitality and he walked three more miles until

encountering a Free Will Baptist family who received him warmly.

The difficulties of itineracy continued for David Marks throughout his career. In February 1824, while travelling between Chesterfield, VT and Stoddard, NH, he recorded that

> A little before sunset when still six miles from the place, I found the road filled with drifted snow and could proceed but slowly. I had to face a piercing wind with rain and hail. At length I found that my beast was wandering in a field and I knew not where to go. My clothes were frozen around me-the wind had increased to a gale and soon my way was again hedged by drifts.[18]

The itinerant life was strenuous enough for a person with a strong constitution. Marks was a large man (235 lbs) but his health from youth onward was poor. While only twenty-two in January 1828, at Scriba, NY, Marks retired from a sermon when a "death-like feeling came over him, blood flowed freely from his lungs" and he thought his life was over.[19] In addition to the usual colds and flu, Marks suffered from rheumatic fever, pleurisy, dyspepsia, jaundice, and fatally, dropsy. It is all the more remarkable that he persevered with this kind of life given these health problems.

Preaching in Upper Canada. David Marks made five of his ten tours to Upper Canada in the six years from 1827 to 1832. His normal itinerary was St. Catherines, Hamilton, Ancaster and then out Dundas Street to Oxford county. Another small Baptist group of American genesis (the Free or Open Communion Baptists) was centred around Woodstock and Marks made their acquaintance in the course of his travels. David Marks met his future wife, Marilla Turner, from nearby Zorra township at a revival meeting he conducted.[20] Marks's road led westward to Westminster township and the town of London. He made a further circuit from London through Westminster to Southwold and Dunwich townships southward on Lake Erie where small Free Will Baptist congregations were located.

Frederick Norwood has observed that Methodists worked out a system ideal to the frontier whereby itinerant circuit preachers co-operated with local class meeting leaders to bring the gospel message to pioneering settlers.[21] The Free Will Baptists employed both Methodist and Baptist approaches, relying on a combination of itinerants and local farmer-

preachers until the mid-nineteenth century. In contrast to the Methodist system of class meetings and circuit riders, the Free Will Baptists' approach was more ad hoc and individualistic. David Marks is an excellent example of this tendency; his initial concern for Upper Canada was based upon a spiritual "impression" not a systematic plan by his Yearly Meeting.[22] Marks and several other preachers supplemented the efforts of the very few local preachers resident in Upper Canada.[23]

Social Role of Itineracy

Aside from the issue of denominational growth, itinerant preaching filled a significant social need among church and non-church folk alike. Marks indicated that he preached extempore street sermons in St. Catherines and Ancaster enroute to points further west. On one occasion in May 1828, Marks reported that he preached from Amos 4:12 and Exodus 4:13 from the back of a wagon in St. Catherines.[24] The word must have circulated that an itinerant preacher was in town, as on his return journey to New York, he reported preaching to a crowd of approximately 1,000 people in the town square. Even if this total is exaggerated, the numbers relative to the population of the town (about 3,000) are significant.

Itineracy as Entertainment. How can we make sense of the appeal of itinerant preaching to folk in small-town Ontario in the nineteenth century? One aspect of the social function of itinerant preaching appears to have been entertainment. The visiting preacher was a new face who provided relief from the tedium of people's daily routines. During the First Great Awakening in New England and Middle Colonies, people left their businesses and work to hear visiting preachers, most notably George Whitefield, the Grand Itinerant.[25] This phenomenon was continued and extended during the period of revivals in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Young David Marks himself was a novelty as the "boy preacher" who spoke as a "warm-up" to the infamous Lorenzo Dow in the summer of 1823 to crowds as large as 6,000 persons in western New York.[26]

Donald E. Bryne observes that some came to hear the "preacher" with thoughts of diversion and fun foremost in their minds.[27] These hecklers and never-do-wells were a perpetual problem for wandering preachers. The itinerant had to deal decisively with them or lose credibility. Mockers in Ancaster (near Hamilton), Upper Canada, in May 1828, challenged the

young New Yorker to preach on "nothing."[28] Marks showed his aplomb and ability by preaching a message on this theme under six points: 1) *creatio ex nihilo* – man was created out of nothing; 2) man under the law (of God) can do nothing just; 3) nothing justifies impenitent sinners; 4) nothing will comfort them in death or save them from judgment; 5) God's righteous ones also have nothing meritorious in their sinful nature but have nothing to fear from death and nothing will bring grief in heaven; and 6) nothing will turn to the advantage of the wicked in this life, or in the one to come, unless they repent.[29] Marks may have expanded his original message later as he reflected on the occasion; nevertheless, the call upon his personal fortitude and ingenuity cannot be doubted. On his return the mockers again gathered and Marks favoured them with a sermon on the word "something." Obviously some of the same people were again in attendance.

Itineracy as a Civilizing Agent. S.D. Clark has asserted that the various Baptist groups in Ontario were part of a "movement of social masses . . . cut off from the traditional social order-on the margins of the community without strong social attachments."[30] This observation has some truth as Free Will Baptists were rural in orientation and did not number the leading people of society in their ranks. However, as Louis B. Wright has observed, itinerants brought a civilizing and humanizing influence to the rural frontier.

> Actually, these hard riding, fearless Methodist preachers who rode the endless frontier circuits performed a far greater service in civilizing people than we have recognized. They carried tracts which they taught people to read. They insisted upon Bible reading as a mark of Christian piety. And a little later in the frontier period, they preached in behalf of public education.[31]

These comments also apply to the itinerant Free Will Baptist preachers such as David Marks and help explain some of the appeal of itinerants in the early nineteenth century.

While the legend of the rough and ready itinerant, zealous but ignorant and uncouth, is appealing, it is not quite accurate. Baptist, Methodist and other evangelical preachers were often called on to speak at camp and protracted meetings and to work with ministers of differing views and social status. David Marks himself, though not formally edu-

cated, many times made contact with significant community leaders. In 1832, for example, during a cholera epidemic he was invited to the palatial residence of Col. Charles Ingersoll, M.P. near Woodstock.[32] The colo-nel's thoughts had turned to spiritual issues because of the epidemic and the death of his daughter. He related a dream which Marks recorded in his journal. It centred about a black beast pursuing him, which then stood beside his daughter's grave on a hillside before approaching his house. Marks had likely cultivated this relationship on previous visits and Col. Ingersoll trusted him enough to disclose such personal information.

Conclusion

The significance of David Marks's career as an itinerant preacher extends beyond his efforts to plant Free Will Baptist churches in Canada. The propagation of the Christian message was certainly the primary motivation for the itinerant.[33] Marks was a key player in the establishment of his denomination in Ontario.

Nevertheless, viewed from the perspective of their auditors, these roving preachers played a substantial social role in rural communities in the nineteenth century. They represented human companionship and contact with the outside world; they told news and stories for which many frontier settlers were hungry. When not preaching, itinerants like David Marks were sharing meals with families, visiting the sick and counselling the anxious. As an extension of this fellowship dimension, itinerants provided cheap and often stimulating entertainment. At another level, they brought certain elements of Anglo-American civilization to those cut off from the larger currents of western society. It takes some imagination in our recreation-oriented age to identify with the life of rural folk in the past century and the enjoyment they received in listening to a spoken message. David Marks's career as a Free Will Baptist preacher, is a paradigm of itineracy on the North American frontier. One major social significance of itinerant evangelical ministers was that they provided a humanizing and civilizing influence through their lives, spoken words and personal influence, where it was greatly needed.

Endnotes

1. David Marks's *Journal* was published in 1831 on the occasion of his tenth anniversary as an itinerant preacher. *Memoirs of Mr. David Marks Free Will Baptist Minister of the Gospel* was edited by his wife Marilla Marks in 1846 following Marks's death (Dover: Free Will Baptist Printing Establishment). The first twenty-three chapters reproduce, with very small abridgement, the 1831 *Journal* supplemented by other materials including Marks's later journal entries and correspondence. The *Memoirs* conclude with the funeral sermon given by Charles G. Finney in December 1845, whom Marks came to know while at Oberlin College in Ohio. The first run of 5,000 copies was quickly sold out and a further 5,000 published in 1847. A projected publication for western readers never came to fruition.

2. Except for I.D. Stewart's, *The History of the Free Will Baptists for Half a Century, 1780-1830* (Dover: Free Will Baptist Printing Establishment, 1862), a predominantly partisan and hagiographic account of Free Will Baptist development, there were no scholarly attempts to write a history of the denomination until the mid-twentieth century (see Norman A. Baxter, *History of the Free Will Baptists: A Study in New England Separatism* [(Rochester: American Baptist Historical Society, 1957]). More recently, Stephen A. Marini, *Radical Sects of Revolutionary New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), found many similar characteristics between the Shakers, Universalists and Free Will Baptists all of whom had their origins in the Revolutionary War period.

3. See Whitney L. Cross, *The Burned-over District: A Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York 1799-1850*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1965).

4. William B. Sprague, *Religious Ultraism* (Albany: 1835).

5. *Morning Star*, 15 October 1845.

6. *Memoirs*, 113.

7. *Memoirs*, 12.

8. *Memoirs*, 16.

9. *Memoirs*, 21.

10. "And when a silent voice has removed their burden and composure of soul with love to God and his people has succeeded. They have passed the test of conversion without a witness of it," (*Memoirs*, 21).

11. Ruth S. Bordin, "The Sect to Denomination Process in America: The Free Will Baptist Experience," *Church History* 33 (December, 1965): 77-94. This article examines the validity of the Troeltsch-Niebuhr thesis using the Free Will Baptists as a case study. Bordin observes that Free Will Baptists only began to accept the important of higher education for clergy beginning in the 1830s. Despite considerable resistance to this trend, a higher percentage of younger men becoming preachers received at least an undergraduate degree by the time of the Civil War. She concludes that the Free Will Baptist ministry was largely professionalized by the 1890s, later than many evangelical groups.

12. Cross, 16.

13. Stewart, 402.

14. *Memoirs*, 477.

15. Albert C. Outler, ed., *The Works of John Wesley* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1976), I:45.

16. *Memoirs*, 41.

17. *Memoirs*, 105.

18. *Memoirs*, 121.

19. Stewart, 411.

20. *Free Will Baptist Magazine* III, No. 8 (30 June 1830): 175. Marilla Marks became a notable figure in her own right; she married three Free Will Baptist ministers and was a leader among women of the denomination.

21. Frederick A. Norwood, *The Story of American Methodism: A History of United Methodists and Their Relations* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1974), 146.

22. *Religious Informer*, March 1822. Eld. Hermon Jenkins from Bethany, NY departed for Upper Canada 5 November 1821, "feeling a special call to go and preach Christ to them."

23. *Morning Star*, 18 June 1828. Eld. Hermon Jenkins reported on the work of David Marks and Freeborn Straight from New York in the province. Jenkins was requested to visit, baptize converts and form a church, which he did. He then commented that he had visited the townships of Dunwich and Southwold six times since 1821.

24. *Morning Star*, 6 August 1828.

25. Sarah Edwards, "A Thousand People Hang on His Words", in *Religious Enthusiasm and the Great Awakening*, ed. David S. Lovejoy (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 33-4. Mrs. Edwards reported that in Northampton, MS, "mechanics shut up their shops and day laborers throw down their tools to go and hear him [Whitefield] preach, and few return unaffected."

26. *Memoirs*, 111.

27. Part III "Humor and Heroes," in *No Foot of Land: Folklore of American Methodist Itinerants* (Metuchan: Scarecrow, 1975), 178-308.

28. *Memoirs*, 175.

29. *Memoirs*, 184.

30. *Church and Sect in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), 164.

31. *Culture on the Moving Frontier* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), 99.

32. *Morning Star*, 7 March 1833.

33. Robert T. Handy, "American Methodism and its Historical Frontier," *Methodist History* 23, No. 1 (October 1984): 44-53.

Free Methodist Women in the Nineteenth Century

ROSANNE HUTCHINGS

Women have fundamentally contributed to the establishment of the Free Methodist Church in Canada as a source of strength, determination and perseverance in all areas of ministry. I would like to explore the efforts and struggles that women experienced in the formation and progression of the Free Methodist Church in Canada. Beginning with a brief overview of Methodist history, I will trace the roots of Free Methodism in Canada with reference to the role of women preachers. Highlighting several prominent women in the early formation of the church, I will look at the work of women as missionaries, pastors, teachers and evangelists. The final section will deal with the battle for ordination in the nineteenth century, as one of B.T. Roberts' initial, concentrated efforts in the foundation of the Free Methodist Church and its influence upon the church.

Methodist History

John Wesley began a Holy Club at Oxford in the early eighteenth century where believers came to participate in a methodical program of prayer, study and charity to the captive and down-trodden. Out of this Club grew the Methodist movement in England. By 1781, the Methodist church had grown substantially on both sides of the Atlantic.

At first, Canada was considered a foreign mission of the American Methodist church. A woman named Barbara Heck, the cousin of a loyalist Methodist preacher, revived Methodism in upper New York and then brought it into Upper Canada as they fled the American Revolution in

1778. She is considered the mother of American Methodism because of her instigation of Methodist preaching and meetings. Her prayer and study meetings included both black and white, bond and free, and grew to be one of the largest Protestant denominations in North America. Barbara Heck and her husband were loyalists and remained faithful to the Crown as well as to the strict, disciplined principles of John Wesley's Methodism. In Canada, Barbara settled with her family and others from the Methodist fellowships she lead in America, near Prescott, ON where the first Methodist church was built in 1817. The church building no longer exists but the Heck house still stands. Barbara and her husband were buried in the cemetery of the Blue Church, near their home. The Blue Church cemetery was used for all different Protestant faiths that stood under the banner of the Church of England. Similar to Barbara Heck's initial work, before any preacher was assigned to an official circuit there were many lay people involved in the spread of Methodism, many of whom were women. By 1828, twenty-four years after Barbara Heck's death, Upper Canada Methodists became distinct from American Methodists.

During the mid-1850s, problems arose within the Methodist church that precipitated a move away from the established Methodist Episcopal Church by a small group of people. The issues that were pinpointed by this small group were that of worldliness of dress, questionable entertainment, prosperity and its pitfalls, and influence from those involved in secret societies such as the Free Masons.

Free Methodism Emerges

Desirous of maintaining John Wesley's strict methodical doctrine of holiness, a man named B.T. Roberts wrote a series of articles in 1858 entitled, "New School Methodism" which criticized the then leaders and laity of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. He saw the tenets of Wesley's holiness doctrine being compromised and disregarded. As a result of this, he was charged with immoral conduct and ostracized from the church. Roberts made several attempts to be reinstated into the Methodist church but was turned down and eventually surrendered his credentials. In 1860, in Pekin, NY, a convention was held by the ministers and lay people who supported Roberts; they organized what they at first considered a sister church of the American Methodist Episcopal Church. The word "Free" was added to the name to specify four social justice

issues that were crucial in identifying the new Methodist church. These four issues included: freedom from the sway and domination of secret societies; freedom from slavery; free seats in the church to all people; and freedom of the Spirit in the services which included the granting of equal representation of lay people with ministers in a democratic system which meant limiting the power of bishops. Roberts also fought for the ordination of women in the Free Methodist Church up to the time of his death. In 1891, he published a book called, *Ordaining Women*, which was based on Galatians 3:28. Although Roberts never experienced the satisfaction of witnessing the fruits of his efforts in this area, he was influential and ahead of his time in engaging in the struggle for the ordination of women. Through Roberts, this issue remained a stronghold in the growth of Free Methodism.

The claim was made that the influence of those who belonged to the secret societies, such as the Odd Fellows and the Masons, prevented the re-instatement of Roberts' position within the Methodist church as well as the rejection of his final appeal made to the General Conference in 1858 (Howland 28). In hindsight, fifty years later, the Genesee Conference acknowledged its mistake whereby Roberts' credentials were restored to his son but the differences that initiated division between the Methodist's and Free Methodist's remained.

In 1860, those present at the convention held in New York, which determined the new beginning of the Free Methodist Church, also established its creed and general rules, but they did not differ greatly from the original Weslyan doctrines. Roberts was elected the first General Superintendent or Bishop. Free Methodism grew with the struggles and sacrifices common to the establishment of Christian movements during the nineteenth century as well as with the efforts of their itinerant preachers and evangelists.

Free Methodism Comes To Canada

In 1876, a man named Charles Sage came to Canada, sent by B.T. Roberts, and officially established the Free Methodist denomination among several sects of Methodists who were either uniting with other groups to form the United Church or who were establishing their independence (Kleinsteuber 1984, 9). Roberts saw the importance of establishing a Free Methodist tradition in a place where he felt much of the fervor of revival

fire was being snuffed out (Kleinsteuber 1984, 11). Recognizing Sage's his zeal for revival, he sent Sage (much to Sage's chagrin) as the first appointed Free Methodist minister to Canada. For Sage at the time, Canada was a cold frontier with little prospect for revival and church growth. Ironically, the advance of women missionaries and evangelists resulted from such apprehension in taking on the difficult task of forging new territory. In memory of Sage, a poem written by Rev. James Robb in 1933, includes reference to such an attitude:

> And likewise ladies, too,
> For the men were all too few,
> So we sent the sisters out to work instead—
> Maggie Hagle, Miss Sipprell,
> Nancy Shantz we sent as well,
> Martha Thomas, Martha Stonehouse also led.
>
> Then appeared upon the scene
> Laura Warren and Annie Green,
> And great revivals came where'er they went.
> They did preach and sing and pray –
> Sinners glimpsed the Judgement Day –
> Many years of fruitful toil they gladly spent.

Much of the growth of Free Methodism in Canada was due not only to revivals and evangelism but also to various papers published carrying Christian news, including Roberts' own publication, *The Earnest Christian*, and the Free Methodist paper, *The Free Methodist Herald*, which began publication in 1886.

Unofficial Preachers

The first Canadian Free Methodist society Sage visited was in Galt, ON. Once a New Connexion congregation, it affiliated with the Free Methodist Church in 1880. When Sage arrived, it was being pastored by a woman named Sister Smith and was considered the strongest Free Methodist church in Canada with a grand total of 53 members (Kleinsteuber 1984, 82). In 1882, Roberts enlisted ten women in the ministry of evangelization and church planting. They were not paid any sort of stipend but relied upon the charity of families in the towns they went to or their

husband's wage. It was extremely difficult for single women, not only financially but also in the struggle of being a woman in a predominantly male calling to ministry. Lay preachers did not have their roots within the established structure of the church (Ruether and Keller, 242). Women became preachers and evangelists by the inspiration of their own calling regardless of whether their husbands were ministers. Roberts admitted his surprize at the large number of women preachers in Canada that were present at the 1882 General Conference near Galt, ON. Sister Smith started the church in Galt prior to any official appointment of a preacher in or to Canada assigned by either Roberts or a local preacher (Kleinsteuber 1980, 15).

Sketches of Some Prominent Free Methodist Evangelists

In 1879, Valtina Brown, from Woodstock, was the first woman officially sent out to preach from her Bracebridge church. She was a popular evangelist and many people were converted through her efforts. She began several societies or small fellowships that covered a large area north of Toronto out of which developed official churches.

During the same time, a woman named Maggie Jerusha Hagle was a lay preacher near Sarnia. She was one of many women who devoted their time to serving as lay preachers and often were successful in opening new areas to the Free Methodist Church. Converted by Charles Sage in 1877, she assisted in a few ministries until she was accepted and sent with a fellow worker to Muskoka. Maggie Jerusha Hagle and Martha Thomas in 1880 preached fire and brimstone to people everywhere they went. In 1883, near Iona, Sisters Hagle and Thomas held services in a schoolhouse and encountered little opposition in their deliverance of "old-time salvation" (Sigsworth 18). They successfully drew in souls and consequently churches were built by the converted. Maggie Jerusha Hagle eventually married Charles Sage and continued to labour in the building up of the Free Methodist Church both in Canada and in America. Jerusha and Martha were officially designated "supplies" rather than pastors or ministers. Although these women were neither appointed nor ordained, they were considered proper evangelists and preachers and were well-respected and admired for their endurance and zealousness.

Matilda Sipprell spent many years as an evangelist and was one of the most effective in Free Methodist history. She was appointed by the

Conference of 1882 to be stationed in London as an associate pastor; she instead chose to travel extensively as an evangelist and did so from London to Galt to Sault Ste. Marie. She was a woman of prayer and was considered a pastor, although not officially ordained, by many people including Alice Walls who eventually became principal of the Free Methodist College in Port Credit, ON. She raised funds to build a church in Sault Ste. Marie and gave most of the money she received from donations to the church fund. She eventually married and moved to California.

Two other itinerant preachers responsible for building up the Free Methodist Church were Sara Gregory and Emma Richarson. They held leadership positions lasting thirty and forty years respectively in different towns in southern Ontario during the late 1800s (Sigsworth 29).

Miss Martha Stonehouse was converted at one of Valtina Brown's revival meetings in 1879. She became a powerhouse preacher after she finishing a four-year degree in three years at Ladies College in Hamilton. She gave up the possibilities that such a diploma offered her and began work as an evangelist in 1882. She was appointed by the Canada Conference and served several years until she fell ill. She willed her estate to the establishment of a Free Methodist school to prepare students for ministry which was her cherished vision. The Lorne Park Free Methodist College opened 35 years after her death.

Annie Green immigrated to Canada from England in 1875 and was converted at a tent meeting. She worked with Laura Warren for many years in the circuit and moved west with her husband to establish the West Conference. She was a great promoter of foreign missions and served as president of the missions society in several locations.

Another woman who was a prominent, historical figure was Alice Walls. She was born in 1887, a minister's daughter. She went to Toronto University and completed her B.A., after which she taught public school. She served as a pastor in Sault Ste. Marie as her first appointment, taught at the Free Methodist school for nearly twenty years which included a season as principal. She served as president and treasurer of missions and as superintendent. She was the first woman to be ordained in the Free Methodist Church at a Ridgeway Conference in 1918. During her last thirty years she laboured toward the completion of the history of the Free Methodist Church.

Revivalism and Women

Dancing, shouting, being "slain in the Spirit," weeping, leaping and laughing were some of the characteristics that drew, converted and kept people coming into the meetings and churches. Traversing rough terrain in mid-winter did not stop some people from showing up to hear the powerful preaching of revivalists. Suffering from fatigue and enduring hardships, persecution and difficult struggles did not seem to deter these women from carrying on the work that was either given to them or taken on by the inspiration of God. Tent revival meetings were a common way to call in souls to be saved and where many of these women would preach and evangelize.

Mary Craig, a preacher in 1890s, wrote an article for a Free Methodist paper (3 May 1898) that describes the input of women. She pointed out that there was much opposition to women as preachers in her time yet many were undaunted by such pressure. A few of the more fortunate ones had supportive husbands. It is also noted that single women choosing to be preachers and evangelists had a significantly less chance of marrying (Sigsworth 42). Many of these women did not marry until well past the usual age of that time. They often experienced humiliation as in the case of Miss Sipprell, who experienced not only difficulty with the land but also with some of the people. It was reported that a man spit tobacco juice down her white dress as she knelt praying, and she had doors slammed in her face many times (Sigsworth 58).

There were two great revivals recorded in Free Methodist history. One took place in Saskatchewan and the other in Sarnia, ON. Both of these events began with typical house meetings and blossomed into large meetings, eventually establishing churches in their areas. Four women were responsible for these revivals and it is noted that these revivals were unusually free from the fanaticism that often accompanied the excitement and fervor of tent meetings. In 1926, during a time of declining interest in church involvement and evangelization, Christian magazines were calling out for revival in the land in the attempt to stir up the zealousness of Christians to carry on the work.

Women Missionaries: Domestic and Foreign

In 1886, the General Conference in America was lame in considering the organizing of a Women's Missionary Society but in 1890 it was formed under the direction of Mrs. Ella MacGeary. Following this, a

Canadian Missionary Society was formed in 1892, in Brantford, at the prompting of Emma Freeland who reminded the American Society of B.T. Roberts' desire that one be organized. Even though the appeal for the ordination of women was turned down, the motion for forming a Women's Foreign Missionary Society (WFMS) was adopted in 1894. The first president was Ellen Lois Roberts, at that time the widow of B.T. Roberts. She was considered a joint founder of Free Methodism and the pillar of her husband in the success of the break from the Methodist Episcopal Church. She continued with the work of the church well after his death. She died in 1908.

A source of strength for women who felt called into missionary work was the multitude of missionary societies that were established in the mid-to-late nineteenth century (Ruether and Keller 243). Women's work became part of the structure of the church even though the leadership positions of pastor, deacon, elder, bishop and president were, as the norm, given to men.

Women who travelled abroad in China and India were generally appointed Superintendents in their assigned areas and made a way for Free Methodism in foreign territory. As early as 1891, a missionary named Celia Ferries was appointed superintendent in India. Women were the first appointed missionaries to countries such as India, South Africa, China, Mexico and Brazil. Many women served as directors of institutions all over the world. Of all the missionary appointments given between 1885 and 1959, sixty-five percent were women, both married and single.

Close to the time when the General Conference okayed the WFMS, the Free Methodist Church was experiencing divisions and problems to the point of defeat. One author states that if it was not for the unifying front of the committed women in the Missionary Societies and their influence in maintaining a clear vision of the work of the Christian, as well as their effort in raising funds for the church, Free Methodist missions probably would have gone under (Lamson 125).

Many women met terrible deaths in the foreign mission field. Miss Ranf in 1890 died of burns when a kerosene lamp exploded during a service she was leading in India; Miss Ferries sailed to Bombay in 1896 but suffered poor health and after four and a half years returned never to become well again; Mrs. Crockett had a nervous breakdown in India in 1900 and had to return with her husband; Miss Chynoweth died of small-pox in 1908 after her journey to India; Miss Sherman suffered the African

fever in 1894 and died in the place where she was ministering. Many others suffered with disease and poor living conditions in the midst of their missionary work (Hogue 2:265-273).

One mission field that held very little written merit in the Free Methodist history was that of Native missions. Services were held on various reservations in the southwest and northern parts of Ontario. An article in the *Canadian Free Methodist Herald* notes that the singing during services on a reservation was usually done in a Native tongue although the Natives were assisted with prayer. Evangelization of Native people was recognized by the Free Methodist Church as an important and vital area of ministry but there is little information on those who volunteered their services with Native people. Natives were considered foreigners in the Canadian mission field yet were considered brothers and sisters in Christ and therefore open to the prospect of evangelization (Vol. 1, 1923, 2).

Battle For Ordination

In 1890 the American-based Free Methodist General Conference, to which the Canadian Church was bound, turned down B.T. Roberts' proposal to ordain women. In 1911, however, women no longer had to be content with a lay preaching position but could go on to be ordained a deacon. It took another 63 years before women were ordained as elders. Today there are only two female elders in the Free Methodist church in Canada—both are in the Canada East Conference. At the up-coming 1993 General Conference when the next Bishop is elected to replace the current office of Bishop Bastian, one out of the five candidates is a woman. If she is elected, she would be the first woman to hold the office of Bishop in all of the Protestant denominations in Canada.

The battle for the ordination and recognition of women in leadership roles has been in progress for decades in Canada. In 1975, the Anglican General Synod approved the ordination of women; the United Church of Canada since 1936; the Presbyterian Church of Canada since 1967; the Church of England in 1992; the Lutheran Church in 1976; and the Free Methodist Church of Canada in 1918. The Quakers and Salvation Army apparently never restricted the ordination of women.

One article from the *Canadian Herald* written by a student in the Christian and Missionary Alliance seminary in Saskatchewan, asks the

question, "where are all the women?" She comments on the lack of Free Methodist women working as ordained ministers in her generation, even though there were many in the Free Methodist church in its formative years. Her fear was that "if women do not respond to the call of God we will lose this office and the church will suffer" (March 1985, 15).

As with most denominations, the Free Methodist Church opened up to the possibility of ordination for women through the issue being raised at successive conferences. It progressed from bottom up, from lay preacher, to appointed evangelist, to ordained deacon, to elder, and in the present times, to the possibility of the office of Bishop.

A woman named Phoebe Palmer was influential in moving the process along within the patriarchal system. She was a prominent lay evangelist in the Holiness movement in the mid-nineteenth century. After thirty years of powerful and vibrant preaching she wrote a strong defense of the right for women to be in the pulpit (Ruether and Keller, 206). She lead a major Holiness revival around 1850 in America and following that, in Canada. She was never ordained and always worked with her husband in the Methodist Episcopal Church which was the mother church of the Free Methodist denomination (Ruether and Keller, 6).

One factor that might account for the availability of evangelist and preacher work for women during the nineteenth century was the small size of the churches and the unavailability of men to fill the roles. It was a time of strong anti-slavery messages which paralleled with pro-women arguments and activism. Revival experiences of ecstatic and free worship also aided the women who headed the preaching circuits because the revivalist spirit emphasized the individual commitment to ministry and the Lord's work, rather than the ecclesiastical restrictions that imposed silence and subordination on women's activity. Propitiously, many women experienced the fact that the call on one's life to go forth and preach the gospel overrode traditional boundaries. There was little need to confirm such a call when the Holy Spirit urged one to evangelize. Many women who did heed the call never sought to secure a licence to preach or ordination through their denominations. The title of women ministers was not, until much later in the Free Methodist records, labelled as pastor or reverend but simply "supply" which covered every area of ministry. Often when women did pursue ordination it was usually denied by the traditional all-male boards or conferences.

As the fight against slavery declined so did the consideration of the

ordination for women. The fundamentalist spirit of the early twentieth century squelched the views of people like B.T. Roberts, yet the suffragettes and the impact of the social gospel began to rekindle the struggle for women to be accepted as equal in and out of the pulpit (Greaves, 168). During the second half of Free Methodist history, the numbers of women holding clerical roles is declining even though the number of male ministers continues to be too few (Sigsworth, 263).

Women's Work

The Canada Conference of the Free Methodist Church set women to work extensively in the ministry of the church, local and foreign missionary work in evangelizing and preaching, and leadership positions. Their efficiency, stamina and zeal contributed to the basic growth of the church in Canada and sustained outreach to communities both at home and abroad. Women were persuaded to get involved in any way possible. Some suggestions given to inspire women to commit to the missionary cause were listed in the *Canadian Free Methodist Herald*. They included fervent and regular prayer, winning foreign souls in their home country, reading missionary literature to keep informed, passing out tracts, keeping photos of missionaries so that one would be reminded of their sacrifices, and regular attendance at meetings (Vol. 1, 1923, 6).

When women were sent out it was usually in pairs unless they were married. Many societies or congregations, both foreign and domestic, were pastored by these women. One writer states that their devotion, wisdom, and undertaking of the hardship of such labouring can rarely be paralleled among men (Hogue 2:159).

There were Free Methodist allies, all stemming from the Weslyan tradition and as mentioned above, most of whom amalgamated to form the United Church, where women were accepted or at least tolerated as preachers and evangelists. The restrictions placed upon these women were not as strict or rigid as in the motherland, England. There were many who supported women in the pulpit as preachers or in revival meetings as evangelists. The Methodist tradition in Canada as a whole, generally owes its life force to these determined women. Early Methodist movements relied upon the energetic activity of women evangelists although not much is written about their ministries.

Speaking in public was not considered acceptable by many church-

goers yet many women in the Methodist movement, and later in Free Methodism, were bold in the proclamation of the gospel and salvation. The general increase in female preachers in the early nineteenth century led to the struggle for ordination and the encouragement of women to study and be open to the call of ministry.

At the present time, the recognition of women in active ministry as a stronghold in the growth and maintenance of the church is a must for several reasons. The encouragement it brings to future potential preachers or pastors, the importance of its historical value, the fruits of their labours brought to light, and the wholistic picture of the history of the church are all vital points in researching women in ministry. The women who went before us in the Free Methodist church, as with many denominations, are examples of strength, courage, diligence and perseverance. The labours of women both in and out of the pulpit contribute to the past, present and future life of the church. We must listen to the words of the previously mentioned seminarian in Saskatchewan who reminds us of the importance of women in ministry, for the continuing growth and balance of the fellowship of the body of Christ.

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Ottawa Valley Covenanters

ELDON HAY

The Covenanters were also called Reformed Presbyterians [RP], because they professed to adhere to the principles of the Church of Scotland in the purest times of the second Reformation, between 1638 and 1649. A summary of Covenanter convictions reads as follows:

1. Covenanting – public witnessing – is a command of God, hence the name, "the Covenanters."
2. Christ is head of church and state.
3. Since Christ was not yet recognized as head of state, Covenanters did not hold public office, did not swear oaths and did not vote.
4. Supreme scriptural authority – what is not commanded in the Scripture about the worship of God is forbidden; in church services, hymns were prohibited, psalms only were sung. Organs and all musical instruments were excluded. All secret societies were forbidden.
5. Communion was open to believers only.

In Canada, there were Reformed Presbyterian communities in the Maritimes, as early as the 1820s, all founded by the Irish Synod. These were located in the Saint John River valley, the Chignecto region,[1] and the Annapolis valley.[2] Another group of Covenanter communities in eastern Ontario and western Quebec, was founded slightly later, mostly by the Scots Synod. There was a much later group of congregations in Western Canada, founded by American [Old School] Covenanters in the early 1900s.[3] The Covenanter communities in the Maritimes and in Western

Canada died out, though not those in the Ottawa valley, Ontario. This essay is devoted largely to this Upper Canadian branch, particularly those congregations in two counties which have classically been considered the oldest in Upper Canada – Lanark and Glengarry counties. The RP also witnessed in what is now Quebec, and in what is now called south-west Ontario: some attention will be given to these regions as well. The history of the Upper Canada RP is easily divided into three periods: a) The mission situation, 1830-1850 (most of this paper is devoted to this period); b) Ontario RP in the American RP Synod 1850-1975 (very little attention is given to these); and c) contemporary Canadian RP (a brief account will be given of the denomination from 1975 to the present).

The Mission Situation – 1830 to 1850

There were Covenanters in British North America before either the Irish or Scots RP synods established missionary societies. Both in New Brunswick on the one hand, and in Upper Canada on the other hand, appeals seem to have been made, in the first instance, to American RP Synods. Whereas New Brunswick was too far away to get much help from American sources, Upper Canada was closer to American RP assistance; the first three recorded RP missionary clergy came south of the border for visits to Upper Canada. These three were Rev. Robert McKee (1798-1840),[4] then of the Northern Presbytery of the American Synod, who visited Lanark County in early 1830; Rev. James Milligan (1785-1862), then of Ryegate, VT,[5] who later in 1830 visited Lochiel in Glengarry County and Ramsay in Lanark County. At Ramsay,

> he organized the members into a congregation; admitted several others into the communion of the church; and preached on the first and second Sabbaths of July, on the latter of which he dispensed the Lord's Supper to 28 Communicants, with the usual week-day sermons.[6]

In October of 1831, the third missionary visited Lanark county: Mr. Symmes (1801-1874), "a probationer from the Reformed Synod in the States, preached in Ramsay three Sabbaths."[7] Licentiate Symmes later became Rev. John H. Symmes.[8] In fact, considerable thought was given by Lanark County RP to the possibility of looking to American RP for

permanent clergy. Two things stood in the way. One, financial resources were scarce in Upper Canada, though it was felt that should "one of the preachers, expected from the States . . . come, [that] influence would very considerably further the object contemplated."[9] The second factor proved more daunting. The American RP church and its clergy were convulsed in the early 1830s in a controversy which would lead to an actual schism in 1833 between Old School Covenanters and New School Covenanters (The New School opting for a more liberal compromise with the state – allowing voting and holding civil office – the Old School standing by previous standards disallowing these practices.) "During the excitement consequent upon this [controversy], the Covenanter[s] . . . in [Upper] Canada received no further supplies of preaching."[10] So recourse was made to the Scots RP Synod and missionaries sent out by them.

In 1831, the Scots RP Synod "virtually declared itself a *Missionary Society*, and became pledged to *new* and *more vigorous* efforts, for extending the kingdom of the Messiah,"[11] though it would be 1833 before its first missionary was sent to Upper Canada. The Irish Synod had formed its Missionary Society in 1823.[12] Evidently, the old world synods divided the mission: "the Irish will cultivate Nova Scotia and New Brunswick," the Scots will cultivate "the Canadas."[13]

Before outlining something of the career of Rev. James M'Lachlan and later colleagues sent out from Scotland, I note the missionary philosophy of the Scots RP Synod, particularly as compared to that of the Irish Synod. There are two differences: first, the Irish Synod made clear that missions in the new world were secondary to missions in Ireland.[14] The Scots Synod made no such hierarchy of priorities. Among the Scots RP Synod there was no suggestion that the Canada mission was secondary.[15] The second difference is in some sense a reversal of the first. The Irish Synod sent out its missionaries, kept strong ties with them, and consistently supported them financially if not generously: the mission was underwritten over the long haul. As a result, the Maritime RP did not switch from the mother Irish RP Synod until 1879. The Scottish Synod sent out its missionaries, but urged them to become financially independent quickly, for there would be no continuing life-line from Scotland. The letter accompanying the first missionary, offered this pointed advice to the Canadians greeting and hosting their first missionary:

> *God helps them*, it is said, *who help themselves* . . . While your

> *supreme dependence* . . . should be on God, and the exalted Mediator; your *next* should be *on your own exertions* . . . If we are not greatly mistaken in our judgment of *the signs of the times*, every other [financial] source of supply will prove INADEQUATE, TEMPORARY, and PRECARIOUS.[16]

The RP in Upper Canada switched to the American Synod in the early 1850s.

The RP in Glengarry, like those in Lanark, owed their origin and continued existence to Scottish lay RP. In both counties, there were many Scots and many Presbyterians. In both counties, many of these Scots Presbyterians "joined the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Established Church of Scotland."[17] Yet there were a few who could not and would not take this course. This is particularly evident in Glengarry county. From 1833 until the early 1850s Lanark County RP had a long, reasonably consistent experience with the Scots RP missionary, James M'Lachlan. Glengarry County RP did not have such a relationship – in fact, they never had a consistent pastor, but survived for some thirty years on occasional ministers from south of the border.[18] The Brodies were a particularly strong Glengarry family:

> In 1815 Mr. John Brodie and his family came from Scotland and settled in the eastern part of the township on land given by the Government to encourage emigration. They were accompanied by many of their neighbours and acquaintances from the land of their birth, but were the only family among the emigrants arriving at that time, who were then members of the Reformed Presbyterian Church. Both Mr. Brodie and his wife were earnest and devoted Christians, and lived with an ardent love the principles they professed. They could not conscientiously join with the established Presbyterian Church of Scotland, because of its complicity with an ungodly Civil Government, and because of the laxity of practice which was tolerated in it. Still less could they join with other churches which held doctrines more unscriptural and allowed practices still more at variance with the revealed will of God. Zealous for the truth and for the honour of the Lord Jesus Christ, they could not accept ecclesiastical fellowship with any religious society in which the supreme authority of God's word and the Mediatorial Dominion of the Messiah were not plainly asserted and practically upheld.[19]

The earliest Scots Covenanter missionary, the longest serving, and perhaps the most able, was James M'Lachlan (1798-1864).[20] He was born in Glasgow, Scotland, on 14 June 1798, in a pious Secession home, with which body he was connected in early life. He graduated from the University of Glasgow in 1822. He studied theology at Perth Seminary, was licensed by the Glasgow Presbytery on 19 April 1826, was ordained by the same presbytery on 16 November 1826 by the Associate Burgher Church. In the spring of 1827, he went out to the Cape of Good Hope to labour in South Africa under the auspices of the London Missionary Society. On account of the serious illness of his wife (Jane Campbell, whom he had married in 1825), he returned to Scotland in 1828 where his wife died. In 1829, he received the appointment of Chaplain to the Seamen's Chapel in Glasgow, Scotland, an office he held for four years. On 24 May 1833, he connected with the Covenanter Church. In the same year he married Christiana Hamilton of Glasgow.

On the recommendation of secretary Rev. Stewart Bates, the Scots RP Committee on Missions, decided to seek out Rev. James M'Lachlan as missionary to the Canadas; this decision met with the approval of both the Scots presbyteries and of M'Lachlan himself.[21] M'Lachlan's designation as missionary took place in Edinburgh on 10 July 1833. The canny Scots also negotiated and agreed in "regard to pecuniary arrangements."[22] Having received a communication from Megantic County in Lower Canada,[23] the Committee determined that "had they been able to obtain another missionary, they would gladly have sent him to unfurl the banners of the Covenanted Reformation in Lower Canada also." As it was, they "ordered Mr. M'Lachlan to visit the townships [of Inverness, Halifax and New Ireland] on his landing in Quebec, and preach for a short time to the people before he proceeded to . . . Upper Canada."[24]

"Mr. and Mrs. M'Lachlan sailed from Greenock in the *Favourite* on 17 July and arrived at Quebec on 18 August after a passage of thirty-three days."[25] Rev. M'Lachlan preached several times in Megantic County,[26] then left Montreal on 4 September arriving at Ramsay in Lanark County on 13 September 1833. Since there had been no public ordinances in Lanark for three years, many had fallen by the wayside; so M'Lachlan's "arrival was a great joy to the few who still adhered to the Testimony of the [RP] Church."[27] For his part, M'Lachlan re-organized the congregation with a regular session. While there were difficulties, M'Lachlan was able

"on the last Sabbath of February, 1834, assisted by [Rev.] Mr. [James] Milligan, [to] dispense the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper."[28] In a letter to the Scots Missionary Society, M'Lachlan wrote in April 1834, "our little Church consists of twenty-five members, in Ramsay thirteen, in Beckwith seven, and in Lanark five."[29]

For the next few years, M'Lachlan was busily engaged in pastoral work and the erection of church buildings in several communities in Lanark County. Much of the information from this period comes from M'Lachlan's own pen,[30] for he was an assiduous letter-writer to the Scots RP Missionary Society.[31] By 1838, he had "succeeded in organizing three distinct [Lanark County] congregations, Ramsay, Beckwith and Perth, each of which had a separate session"; M'Lachlan's labours were "regularly divided among them."[32] The three congregations called M'Lachlan as pastor, and after thinking about the matter for some time, M'Lachlan said yes. But because of M'Lachlan's missionary work in other areas, it was "agreed that the induction should be delayed for some time."[33] In addition to the core Lanark labours, M'Lachlan made missionary trips east to Megantic County in Lower Canada and west to the upper parts of Upper Canada.

As we have seen, Rev. James M'Lachlan visited RP in Megantic County in 1833. The Scots RP Mission Society kept being appealed to by these folk. And so, apparently, was Rev. James M'Lachlan in Lanark County. That same cluster of congregations was again heard from, by the Scots Committee, in 1835. They stated, "more than two years have now elapsed since Mr. M'Lauchlan visited the petitioners, and still they are looking with the deepest anxiety for a minister from the Reformed Presbyterian Church."[34]

The Synod's Committee was eventually able to respond to these pleas from Lower Canada; early in 1837 it was announced that James Geggie (1793-1863) "had consented to go . . . as a Missionary."[35] Geggie had been employed as a licentiate in mission work among RP in Scotland. "At Edinburgh, on the evening of Tuesday, 27th June, Mr. James Geggie was ordained by the Reformed Presbyterian of Edinburgh to the office of the ministry, and set apart as a Missionary of the Reformed Presbyterian Church to Lower Canada."[36] On 12 August Rev. James Geggie, his wife, and child, arrived in the new world, and Geggie wrote, "The voyage was, on the whole, tolerably comfortable, and not very long; but I was frequently very squeamish, though never very sick. Mrs. G. was twice so

sick as not to be able to attend properly to our child, who, notwithstanding, thrived very well at sea."[37] When he arrived in Quebec, Rev. James Geggie made his way to the townships of Leeds and Inverness – a brother of Rev. Geggie's, Robert Geggie, was there to greet him. Rev. Geggie's work was the subject of favourable comment in the *Sixth Report of the Committee on Missions* in April, 1838.[38] Geggie wrote again from the area late in 1838, noting that his work was proceeding well, though "nothing has, as yet, been done by the people to contribute to the support of the Gospel among them, excepting the putting up of two places of worship."[39]

The Megantic RP were not supporting the missionary in a pecuniary fashion, and this may have been the chief reason why the Scots Synod in 1840 noted that "Mr. Geggie's engagement with the Synod expires in September [1840], and the Committee were instructed to inform him that no new arrangement would be entered into with him. He is, therefore, at liberty to return to Scotland, or to remain in Canada, as it may suit his conveniency."[40] A letter was sent to Geggie, but having received no answer, the 1841 Scots Synod "instructed the Presbytery of Edinburgh to communicate with Mr. Geggie, and to inform him, if he does not furnish them without delay, with a satisfactory account of his conduct, it will be necessary for them to take steps for exercising the discipline of the Church towards him."[41] Clearly "disheartened, and at outs with the Reformed Presbyterian Church,"[42] Geggie "was led to connect himself with the Presbyterian Church in Canada, in connection with the Church of Scotland."[43] He served in that church and the Free Church, which he joined in 1844, until his death in 1863.[44] RP efforts in Quebec did not entirely cease, as M'Lachlan again visited the province on at least one occasion,[45] yet there were no successful, long-term congregations established in that province.

James M'Lachlan's main field of endeavour was in Lanark County. He had made a few trips to Quebec in the mid-1830s, and many more over a twenty-year period to points west. As early as 1838, "there was considerable dissatisfaction with the pastor [in Lanark County], on account of his frequent and long absences, performing missionary labour in . . . Toronto, Guelph, Hamilton, etc."[46] Yet his missionary visits west were clearly mandated by the Scots Committee on Missions. In a letter written on Christmas Day, 1839, to the Scots Committee, M'Lachlan outlined in some detail an eleven-week journey that took him from Lanark to several others, among them Frontenac, York, Waterloo, Peel and Halton counties, travelling on foot, on horse-back and on steam-boats.[47]

The Scots Committee attempted to find a missionary for Upper Canada west, and they seemed to have found a fine candidate in Thomas M'Keachie (1810-1844). The Scots committee had plans for M'Keachie, as laid out in February 1843:

> Mr. M'Keachie, preacher of the gospel, was appointed as a Missionary to the districts of Dumfries, Hamilton, &c., in Upper Canada, where, in the course of his missionary tours, the Rev. Jas. M'Lachlan has succeeded in forming several praying societies. These Societies have applied to the Reformed Presbyterian Church for a Missionary, and promised a considerable sum to aid in supporting him. In consequence of the appointment of Mr. M'Keachie to the upper part of the province, Mr. M'Lachlan will be relieved from labour which rendered it necessary for him to be absent from his own congregations for several months each year, and their request, that the pastoral relation should be formed between him and them, may now be conveniently granted. [Further] . . . it is intended that, on his arrival, he and Mr. M'Lachlan shall constitute a Presbytery in Canada.[48]

Ordained as a missionary on 2 May 1843,[49] and given a letter of instruction from the Committee on Missions,[50] "he and Mrs. M'Keachie embarked at Glasgow for their destination, the township of Dumfries, on 26th of June."[51] M'Keachie gave early evidence of energy and effectiveness; the Scots Committee received a letter (dated 7 August 1843) when the M'Keachies were "on passage up the St. Lawrence" River.[52] Writing from Toronto on 6 November 1843, where he has been labouring, M'Keachie said that "Mr. M'Lachlan accompanied him to his station [Galt] and introduced him to the people among whom he had been sent to labour."[53] In March (4th) of 1844, M'Keachie writes that his "principal stations are Galt, Guelph and Toronto. He expresses a strong desire to divide the field with another labourer."[54] Largely on the strength of M'Keachie's efforts, Rev. James M'Lachlan, accepted the long-deferred RP Lanark call; Edinburgh Presbytery, in which presbytery M'Lachlan had been a member, formally recognized the "pastoral relation between Rev. James M'Lachlan and the united congregations of Perth, Carlton and Ramsay."[55] But all the promise and energy coming from M'Keachie came to naught because of his sudden death in the summer of 1844. Some time after, James M'Lachlan visited the places where M'Keachie had laboured:

> The people in general who sat under his [M'Keachie's] ministry, esteemed him highly. Never do they speak of him but with regret. He was generally esteemed by all who knew him, as kind and amiable in his disposition, and faithful and zealous in all his efforts to do good to his fellow-men . . . The sudden and early removal of their pastor by death has been to them a severe trial.[56]

Nonetheless, the sorrowing RP pressed for a replacement for M'Keachie, urging this on M'Lachlan when he visited.[57] "The stroke [of M'Keachie's sudden death] fell heavily on the hopes of the Committee,"[58] yet the pleas kept coming from Upper Canada.

A replacement for M'Keachie was found in the person of John M'Lachlan (ca. 1805-1870), apparently no relation of Rev. James M'Lachlan. John M'Lachlan made his desires known in September 1846. The necessary arrangements having been made,

> Mr. [John] M'Lachlan was ordained to the office of the holy ministry, in West Campbell Street Church, Glasgow, by the Glasgow Reformed Presbytery, on the 26th of October. On the 23d of the ensuing month, he and Mrs. M'Lachlan sailed from the Clyde for New York, and on the 9th of January [1847] following they reached their destination at Galt.[59]

Rev. John M'Lachlan, writing from Upper Canada the following May, was able to say "I am thankful to say that, through the tender mercy of our heavenly Father, my dear partner and myself have hitherto been blessed with a good measure of health and strength."[60] He ministered where M'Keachie had done, and mentioned three new possibilities – Oneida, Ayr and Hamilton. John M'Lachlan concludes his letter by asking for additional help:

> I am strongly of [the] opinion, that the sooner an additional labourer be sent forth the better. I will receive him as a brother, and do all in my power to strengthen his hands. I feel persuaded that two missionaries would be fully as well supported by the people as one, because they would in that case be more abundantly supplied with ordinances. Until our church have a presbytery formed, she cannot be said to have a substantial footing in this country.[61]

Both Reverends James and John M'Lachlan pressed for additional missionaries; the Scots synod, however, was not persuaded of its merits.

Both sides – the RP in Upper Canada and the Committee of Missions in Scotland – were wearying of the relationship. The new world RP kept petitioning for more clergy. The Scots committee was less than enthusiastic: "The Committee do not entertain any strong opinion on the subject [of sending more missionaries]. Were a person of suitable gifts to offer himself for service in Canada, the Committee are not disinclined to entertain the offer. At the same time, they do not feel justified in pressing the matter on the attention of the preachers or of the church."[62] Was there a way out? What about the Upper Canadian RP joining with the American RP? The Canadians suggested it first, and the Scots applauded the move. Discouraged at being rebuffed by the Scots committee in his pleas for more clergy assistance, Rev. John M'Lachlan demitted the RP in 1851 after four years of service.[63] The congregations and mission stations in which he had worked connected with the Rochester Presbytery, as did Rev. James M'Lachlan and the Lanark County congregations. At the 1851 Scots Synod, the Committee on Missions looked back on its efforts, and noted the changes that had transpired.

> Your Committee regrets that they cannot report favourably regarding the results of your missionary operations in Canada. Since the time that your first missionary [Rev. James M'Lachlan going out in 1833] was sent to those provinces the state of matters, as regards the supply of religious instruction, has undergone a great change. Churches have multiplied in connexion with the larger religious communities, and facilities for farther increase have been also provided. Both as regards the amount of existing destitution, therefore, and the prospect of enlargement without, to the societies under the care of your missionaries, there is a decided change. The families formerly connected with the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland and Ireland are at the same time so widely scattered, and like the other emigrants, so frequently changing their residence, that it is a rare thing to find any considerable number of them so situated as to be able to assemble for public worship in one place. It was the understanding of the Committee from the beginning, that temporary assistance only should be allowed to the missionaries proceeding to Canada; and that to multiply small stations – all of them depending more or less for support on the mother country, would not be satisfactory to the

> church. The arrangement made at the time of sending out each of the three ministers [Reverends James Geggie, Thomas M'Keachie and John M'Lachlan] last appointed to Canada, included a promise of assistance only for three years. The first of these missionaries [Rev. James Geggie, going out in 1837] withdrew at the end of three years. In the providence of God, the second [Rev. Thomas M'Keachie, going out in 1843] was removed by death, after one year of faithful and successful labour. The third [Rev. John M'Lachlan, going out in 1847], after having received assistance from home for four years, has followed the example of the first. The societies to the westward, therefore, are now again without one to break the bread of life to them, and it does not appear that they have at all increased in strength since the decease of Mr. M'Keachie. The course of events for a considerable time past, has led your committee to the conclusion that it would be better on many accounts were the societies, and also the united congregations under the care of Rev. James M'Lachlan, placed in ecclesiastical connexion with the Reformed Presbyterian Church of the United States . . . Under the care of judicatories so near at hand, and from which the requisite advice and succour can be readily and promptly obtained, the various preaching stations which have been formed, may, by the divine blessing, become self-sustaining congregations, at no distant period. In such a result, the Committee, and it is believed, the entire church in this country, would greatly rejoice.[64]

The transition was soon effected. Later, Rev. James M'Lachlan left Lanark County, Ontario, being called to the Lisbon, NY RP church in 1855 where he served until his death on 19 November 1864.[65] Glasgow has this tribute and assessment of the man:

> He was a devoted soldier of the Cross, and bore many hardships in presenting the gospel in new fields. He shrunk from no toil, however arduous, and most cheerfully performed every Christian duty. He was a very quiet, unassuming, and humble Christian, avoiding the very appearance of pomp or pride, and took his chiefest joy in silent meditation with his Saviour. While he was well-read in theology and the puritan Divines, yet he had no taste for general reading and avoided public life. His discourses were carefully written and committed to memory before delivery. He was an acceptable speaker, but by no means eloquent.[66]

Ontario RP in the American RP Synod, 1850-1975

I do not deal with this period except in passing. Two historians of the movement served in this time – Rev. Robert Shields (1827-1883), who was minister from 1865 until 1883,[67] and Rev. Robert J. More (1835-), who was minister from 1963 until 1975.[68]

One matter which did change was the alteration in a key Covenanter conviction: the one that held that Covenanters could not vote or hold civic office. Under fire for some time, the final debate came at the Synod in 1967.[69] Thereafter, from a public point of view, Covenanters were distinguished from other conservative Christians, not by their refusal to vote or hold public office, but rather by their continuing practice of the exclusion of musical instruments from public worship, and by the singing of psalms only.

There were also other changes. The congregations in upper Upper Canada did not develop, but rather withered away. There were no longer three congregations in Lanark county but one only – Ramsay – and the name of that congregation was changed to Almonte in the early 1890s. In the 1850s, when the Upper Canadian congregations switched from the Scots to the American Synod, they were affiliated with the Rochester Presbytery; its name also was changed to St. Lawrence Presbytery in 1937. The congregation in Glengarry county, never large, was under the New York Presbytery until 1865, then in 1866 it became part of Rochester (later St. Lawrence) Presbytery. The name of the congregation was changed from Glengarry to Lochiel in 1867.[70]

Contemporary Canadian RP – 1975 to the Present

Until fifteen years ago, the Ontario RP were largely an ethnic religious group, dependent almost exclusively on Scots and Scots-Irish settlers and their descendants. The movement was also largely dependent on non-Canadian financial and spiritual support – from Scotland until 1850, and from the United States until 1975.

That profile began to be changed some 15-18 years ago. An awareness grew that the Canadian RP work was small and decreasing. Was there a way these fortunes could be reversed? The Rochester presbytery, nudged by the Almonte, Ontario (where Rev. Kenneth McBurney became pastor in 1976) and Lisbon, New York, congregations, determined to try

a reversal. A man was called as associate minister at Almonte, for outreach work in the Ottawa region. That associate minister was Richard Ganz, and his coming made a significant change.

Richard Ganz (1946-) was born in New York, of an Orthodox Jewish family. He converted to Reformed Presbyterianism. He was educated largely in the United States, holding a Ph.D. in Clinical Psychology from Wayne State University. He is a man of considerable energy and charisma. Ganz realized that RP fortunes could only be reversed if the movement became entirely Canadian. He therefore bent his considerable energies towards that goal.

Largely through his efforts, a mission station, and then a congregation was formed in Ottawa in 1981. Again, largely through his efforts, a theological hall was established about a year later in this city.[71] How was it related to the denomination's institution, the Reformed Theological Seminary in Pittsburgh? In a sense, marginally. The Ottawa Theological Hall is not a wing or arm of the Pittsburgh Seminary. It is actually accountable to St. Lawrence Presbytery. The Synod had a lot of questions about the project – what about a library? It was minimal, strictly RP material came from professors' libraries, though of course there are fine libraries in this city. What about salaries for professors? No salaries were paid. Travelling expenses only.[72] The whole matter seems somewhat shaky – it was and is – yet Ganz, and a few colleagues, have made it successful and effective. Ganz built up a network of American and Ulster allies who supported the effort in the RP ecclesiastical-political structure, and I have sensed a good deal of support for Ganz, for Canadian RP, in contacts I have made with American RP, largely at the Seminary in Pittsburgh. In effect, American (and some Irish) clergy come for a few weeks at a time, and give of their time and talent gratuitously.

There have been very few graduates of the theological hall, some of them from American congregations. The best known is Christian Adjemian (1947-), who was converted through Ganz's efforts. Adjemian was born in France, baptized as a Roman Catholic, educated in the United States, became a Ph.D. in Romance Linguistics, and was lecturer, assistant professor, and associate professor of linguistics at the University of Ottawa 1977-88. He was ordained in 1988, and became RP minister at Perth, one of the original Lanark county congregations, though that growing congregation is now centred in Smiths Falls.[73] Adjemian's skills as a linguist are also utilized at the Ottawa Theological Hall. A more recent

graduate, Matthew Hadwen (1946-) was ordained and installed as minister of a mission in Kingston, Ontario in the autumn of 1991.[74] That situation did not work out, at least it is in abeyance at the present time.[75]

Ganz was also responsible for giving Canadian RP a more visible public posture. He has been instrumental in leading the Ontario congregations in vigorous support of the Pro-life movement; in this regard he is allied with American RP, who are also engaged in that political controversy.[76] In an article in the late 1980s, Ganz is reported to have professed interest in the Christian Heritage party – a political movement that seems closest to Covenanter ideals.[77] Moreover, through editing, co-authoring and writing articles and books, Richard Ganz has also raised the profile of the Canadian Covenanters.[78]

The RP movement is still a minor movement.[79] Lochiel maintains its small, precarious, but long-standing existence. The Almonte-Ottawa-Smiths Falls congregations are engaged in traditional outreach – Bible Studies groups – in neighbouring communities. There is a small tent-making ministry in Montreal.[80]

Ganz, however, has changed the Covenanter face in Canada, in at least two ways: first, it has broken out of its Scots and Scots-Irish cultural and historical mold; and secondly, the movement has a much higher public profile.

Endnotes

1. See Eldon Hay, *The Chignecto Covenanters: A Regional History of Reformed Presbyterianism in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, 1827 to 1905* (forthcoming).

2. See 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).

3. See Robert M. More, Jr., *Aurora Borealis: A History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Canada (Covenanter), 1820-1967* (Pittsburgh: Board of Education and Publication, 1967). This is the only work that attempts to outline Covenanterism across Canada.

4. "Reformed Presbyterians in Canada," *Scottish Presbyterian* 1 (March 1835): 26. McKee is also named in William Bell's Diary: "Rev. McKee, a Cameronian preacher from New York, had preached this winter in

various parts of the settlement, especially in Ramsay. He preached too in Perth where he had large congregations. He called upon me in inquire into the principles and views of our church, in order, as he said, to bring about a union between them. But a union with a church under another government, did not appear [to us] expedient" (entry of March 1830, in *A Man Austere – William Bell, Parson and Pioneer*, ed. Isabel Skelton [Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1947]). For further information on McKee, see W.M. Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America* (Baltimore: Hill and Harvey, 1888), 559ff.

5. See Glasgow, 187, 630ff.

6. More, 26.

7. More, 26.

8. See Glasgow, 188, 700ff.

9. More, 25-26.

10. Rev. Robert Shields, "The R.P. Congregation of Ramsay, Canada," *Our Banner* 4 (15 February 1877): 38.

11. "First Report of the Missionary Society in connection with the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland, Adopted February 28, 1833," *Scottish Presbyterian Magazine* 2 (September 1850): 1-7. The Missionary Society (later called the Committee on Missions) published an annual report. The following are extant: First (1833), Second (1834), Sixth (1838), Report of the Synod's Committee on Foreign Missions, July 9th, 1845, Report of 1846-47. Efforts to locate the following have not been successful: Third (1835), Fourth (1836), Fifth (1837); no reports for 1839 to 1844; and none for 1848 onward.

12. Minutes of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Ireland, 1820. There it was resolved "that a minister and a layman attend the next meeting of the regular Synodical Committee for the purpose of forming themselves into a Missionary Society for the sending of the Gospel to places destitute of the same, and that Society to be called 'The Missionary Society of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Ireland,'" (cited by Adam Loughridge, *The Covenanters in Ireland: A History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church* [Belfast: Cameron Press, 1984], 5).

13. Letter from Rev. Alexander McLeod (leading American RP minister visiting Ireland and Scotland, written from Aberdeen) to James R. Willson (fellow leading American RP clergyman in America), dated 4 May 1830: "The Scottish Synod have formed a Missionary Association for England & the Canadas. The Irish will cultivate Nova Scotia & New Brunswick, both in union with our American exertions. We will, thus, have our three churches in the neighbourhood of each other" (this paragraph in a letter from Professor David Carson of Geneva College, Beaver Falls, PA, to author, 7 November 1988).

14. See the *Statement of the RP Home and Foreign Missionary Society* (Belfast, 1828), 15.

15. "From the first formation of the Society . . . the views of the Synod were directed to Canada, as a most inviting field for missionary labour" (Stewart Bates, *Address to the Reformed Presbyterians and Other Christians in British America* [Edinburgh: 1834], 8).

16. Bates, 9-11.

17. Glasgow, 187.

18. Rev. Robert Shields, "A Historical Sketch of the Reformed Presbyterian Congregation of Lochiel in the County of Glengarry Ontario Canada under the care of the Rochester Presbytery of the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America," 1876, 5-10, United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto. Shields names the various ministers and licentiates who came to Glengarry County.

19. Shields, "A Historical Sketch of the RP Congregation of Lochiel," 3-4.

20. For this paragraph on M'Lachlan, I am largely indebted to Glasgow, 606-07. The name M'Lachlan is variously rendered, by Glasgow as "MacLachlane," by others as McLachlan, etc. I have used "M'Lachlan" because the Scots RP Reports use it, and apparently it was the way the man signed his own name.

21. *Second Report of the Committee on Missions in Connection with the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Scotland* (May 1834), 1-2, where M'Lachlan's response to the invitation, written on 2 July 1833, is cited.

22. *Second Report of the Committee on Missions in Connection with the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Scotland* (May 1834), 1-2.

23. *Second Report of the Committee on Missions in Connection with the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Scotland* (May 1834), 3. Resolutions and a petition were "passed at a meeting held 13 January 1833, subscribed by thirty-eight individuals . . . residing in the County of Megantic, Lower Canada." Part of the documents are cited in the Report. The petitioners "are settlers principally from Scotland, are scattered over the face of the forest of Canada, to the extent of three hundred square miles, and completely shut out from access to gospel ordinances, being placed at the distance of between fifty and sixty miles from any regular Presbyterian congregation; that they are in general attached to the doctrine, worship and discipline contained in the Confession of Faith, compiled by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, having been instructed in these things from their early years." They also state that "they are unable, from their present circumstances, to propose any fixed stipend, being all new settlers, but expect, under the favour of divine Providence, in a year or two, to make a suitable provision for a regular gospel ministry among them." A few of the petitioners, "while in this country [Scotland], were in communion with the Reformed Presbyterian Church."

24. *Second Report of the Committee on Missions in Connection with the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Scotland* (May 1834), 3.

25. *Second Report of the Committee on Missions in Connection with the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Scotland* (May 1834), 3.

26. M'Lachlan gives an account of his labours just completed in Megantic County, in a letter written from Quebec, 29 August 1833, found as Appendix II in the *Second Report of the Committee on Missions in Connection with the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Scotland* (May 1834), 7-8.

27. "Reformed Presbyterians in Canada," 27.

28. "Reformed Presbyterians in Canada," 27.

29. Cited in "Reformed Presbyterians in Canada," 27.

30. M'Lachlan is also mentioned in William Bell's Diary: under the entry for 5 January 1835, Bell writes, "Mr. McLaughlin, the Cameronian minister from Carleton Place favoured us with a call, and spent a great part of the day with us. I was happy to see him, but was somewhat disappointed to find that he was not so liberal as I expected. I proposed that he should assist me at the sacrament, and I would do the same for him; but this he

declined, because, he said, it would *interfere with the reformation work to which they had attained*" (in Skelton, *A Man Austere*).

31. Letters and extracts of letters by Rev. James M'Lachlan are found in various issues of the *Scottish Presbyterian* from 1835 to 1848.

32. *Sixth Report of the Committee on Missions* (April 1838), 2.

33. "Reformed Presbyterian Synod in Scotland [24 April 1838]," *Scottish Presbyterian* 2 (May 1838): 55.

34. "Foreign. Canada," *Scottish Presbyterian* 1 (January 1836): 114.

35. "Meeting of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod in Scotland," *Scottish Presbyterian* 1 (July 1837): 287.

36. "Ordination of Mr. Geggie, as a Missionary to Canada," *Scottish Presbyterian* 1 (July 1837): 290.

37. "Letter from the Rev. James Geggie, Missionary, Lower Canada," *Scottish Presbyterian* 2 (January 1838): 18. The date of the letter was 13 October 1837.

38. There is a section entitled, "Lower Canada," 5-6.

39. "The Rev. James Geggie," *Scottish Presbyterian* 2 (January 1839): 140. Excerpts are from the letter dated 11 October 1838.

40. "Meeting of the Reformed Presbyterian Scottish Synod [Glasgow, 11 May 1840]," *Scottish Presbyterian* 2 (June 1840): 336. The actual minutes of the meeting give more detail "As to the expediency of continuing the mission in Lower Canada. On this point the Court gave the following deliverances: That under all the circumstances of the case, it seems expedient to the Synod to discontinue for the present their Missionary efforts at Leeds, and the neighbouring townships in Lower Canada, for this, among other reasons, the Missionary has reported that there is no prospect of his being able to organize a congregation there. It was also agreed that after the expiration of the third year of Mr. Geggie's labours, his relation to the Synod as a Missionary should terminate" (provenance: Scottish Record Office).

41. "Meetings of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod in Scotland [Edinburgh, 10 May 1841]," *Reformed Presbyterian* 5 (November 1841): 274.

42. "Geggie, James. 1793-1863," mss, n.d., United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto.

43. "Geggie, James," in Joseph M. Wilson, *The Presbyterian Historical Almanac, and Annual Remembrancer of the Church for 1866* (Philadelphia: 1866), 8:371.

44. See "Geggie, James," in D. Walkington, "Presbyterian Ministers in Upper and Lower Canada Prior to the Formation in 1875 of the Presbyterian Church in Canada," n.d., 21. The entry reads as follows: "1841-44 Valcartier, Que.; Joined Free Church; Kingston Presbytery: 1846-1847. Edwardsburgh, 1848-1855 Spencerville; Brockville & Ottawa Presbytery: 1856-1858. Dalhousie; Died. January 3, 1893."

45. M'Lachlan went to Sorel, Lower Canada, in the summer of 1844, He wrote about this and other matters in a letter from Ramsay, dated 16 September 1844 ("Canada – Letter from the Rev. James M'Lachlan," *Scottish Presbyterian* ns 2 [March 1845]: 88-89).

46. Shields, "The RP Congregation of Ramsay," 69.

47. "Extracts from a Letter, addressed to the Synod's Committee on Missions, by the Rev. J. M'Lachlan, Missionary in Upper Canada, dated Ramsay, 25 December 1939," *Scottish Presbyterian* 2 (September 1840): 358-60.

48. "Missionary to Upper Canada," *Scottish Presbyterian* ns 1 (March 1843): 88-89.

49. "Ordination of Mr. Thomas M'Keachie," *Scottish Presbyterian* ns 1 (July 1843): 187-88.

50. "Letter of Instructions to the Rev. Thomas M'Keachie," *Scottish Presbyterian* ns 1 (September 1843): 199-200. The letter is dated 13 June 1843, and is signed by Andrew Symington, convenor of the Committee on Missions.

51. "Meeting of Reformed Presbyterian Synod," Glasgow, 3 August 1843, *Scottish Presbyterian* ns 1 (September 1843): 230.

52. "Missions of the Reformed Presbyterian Church," *Scottish Presbyterian* ns 1 (October 1843): 292.

53. "Canada," *Scottish Presbyterian* ns 1 (January 1844): 343.

54. "Reformed Presbyterian Missions," *Scottish Presbyterian* ns 1 (May 1844): 439.

55. "Report of the Synod's Committee on Foreign Mission 9 July 1845," *Scottish Presbyterian* ns 2 (November 1845): appendix, 2.

56. "Canada Mission. – Extract Letter from Rev. James M'Lachlan, dated Nov. 7th, 1845," *Scottish Presbyterian* ns 2 (January 1846): 328. Speaking for himself, M'Lachlan was also grieving: "Though the distance between me and my late fellow-labourer was great, yet it was consolatory to know that there was another labourer in the same cause and testimony." The same Scots RP paper had already published "Fragment of a Discourse, Delivered . . . on occasion of the death of Rev. Thomas M'Keachie, Missionary, Toronto," *Scottish Presbyterian* ns 2 (November 1844): 542-50. The sermon was delivered 29 September 1844 in the "very house" in Scotland in which M'Keachie "was ordained to the office of the holy ministry."

57. "Canada Mission. – Extract Letter from Rev. James M'Lachlan, dated Nov. 7th, 1845," *Scottish Presbyterian* ns 2 (January 1846): 328.

58. "Report of the Synod's Committee on Foreign Mission 9 July 1845," *Scottish Presbyterian* ns 2 (November 1845): appendix, 2.

59. *Foreign Missions of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland*, Report of Committee from 1846-47, read in Synod, 6 July 1847, 6 (provenance: Scottish Record Office).

60. Cited in *Foreign Missions of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland* [1846-47], 6. The quoted letter was written 20 May 1847.

61. *Foreign Missions of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland* [1846-47], 8.

62. "Report of the Committee on Foreign Missions," *Scottish Presbyterian Magazine* 2 (June 1849): 204.

63. See "Cameronian Fasti," in "Reformed Heritage: Studies in Presbyterian Church History" (unpublished mss compiled in Edinburgh, 1977), 19. The entry "M'Lachlan, John" reads as follows: "b. Kilbrandon, about 1805; s. of Archibald M., farmer, and Catherine McDonald; ed. Aberdeen U., G.U. and R.P. Div. Hall; lic. 15 Apr. 1834; ord. as miss. to Canada 26 Oct. 1846; preached at Galt and Guelph; joined Presby. Ch. of Canada [1851]; ind. Acton, Toronto Presb.; trans. Feb. 1861 to Beaverton, Lake Simcoe;

died there 3 Jun. 1870."

64. "Twenty-First Report of the Synod's Committee on Foreign Missions," *Scottish Presbyterian Magazine* 3 (June 1851): 208-09.

65. See J.C.K. Milligan, "Covenanter Ministers of Half a Century," *Our Banner* 11 (February 1884): 58-73. Entry No. 66 reads as follows: "JAMES McLACHLANE. Born in Glasgow, Scotland, June 1798; Glasgow University, 1816; licensed and ordained by Burgher Presbytery, Scotland, as Missionary to Africa, 1826; joined Reformed Presbyterian Church, Scotland, 1834, and sent to Ramsay and Perth, Can.; received by Rochester Presbytery, October 7, 1851; Lisbon, July, 1855; died November 19, 1864."

66. Glasgow, 607-08.

67. Shields, "A Historical Sketch of the RP Congregation of Lochiel," 1-12; Shields, "The R.P. Congregation of Ramsay, Canada," *Our Banner* 4 (15 February 1877): 33-39; (15 March 1877): 68-71; (16 April 1877): 107-10. Shields was pastor of Ramsay when he wrote the following account, "Sketch of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Eastern Ontario, 1872," copy of handwritten document, United Church Archives, Toronto.

68. See Robert M. More, Jr., "Almonte Reformed Presbyterian Church" (unpublished mss, 1974), Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh; and More, *Aurora Borealis*.

69. *Minutes of the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church* (Pittsburgh, PA), 70-77, 121-129 (Synod held at Beaver Falls, PA, 17ff June 1967).

70. In addition to "Glengarry" and "Lochiel," the names "Brodie" and "Dalkeith," have also been assigned to the Glengarry County RP congregation.

71. See H.B. Harrington, "Ottawa Theological Hall: A History and Report," *Covenanter Witness* (November 1988): 8-9. Ottawa Theological Hall is an instrument for the revival and expansion of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America in Canada. There are several reasons why a Reformed Presbyterian theological seminary in Canada is useful and needed.

72. See "Committee to Report on Paper 82-11, relating to the Ottawa Theological Hall," in *Minutes of the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church* (Pittsburgh, PA), 94-96 (Synod held at Grand Rapids, MI, 1982);

"Paper 82-11 from four members of the Court," in *Minutes of the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church* (Pittsburgh, PA), 150-51 (Synod held at Grand Rapids, MI, 1982); "Response to Synod Paper 82-11 Relating to the Ottawa Theological Hall," in *Minutes of the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church* (Pittsburgh, PA), 43-45 (Synod held at Beaver Falls, PA, 1983).

73. See Sharon Nault, "Smiths Falls, Ontario RPC – An 'Older' New Work," *Covenanter Witness* (February 1993): 13, 15.

74. "Ordination examinations for Matthew Hadwen were conducted on Sept. 5 [1991]. He was ordained and installed pastor of the Kingston Mission Church, Kingston, ON, on Oct. 8 [1991]" ("Report of St. Lawrence Presbytery," in *Minutes of the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church* [Pittsburgh, PA], 140-41 [Synod held at Northfield, MN, 1992]).

75. "The work in Kingston ran into problems and has been officially closed by Presbytery this spring [1993]. A few of the members retain membership in the Smiths Falls congregation" (letter from Rev. Kenneth McBurney to the author, Almonte, 27 May 1993).

76. See Christian Adjemian, "O Canada! Reclaiming Christ's dominion from sea to sea," *Covenanter Witness* (November 1988): 4-7. The article contains a photograph with this caption: "Richard Ganz, pastor of the Ottawa RPC, addresses the National Rally for Life on the steps of Canada's Parliament Building last September [1988]."

77. "Our Churches in Canada," *Covenanter Witness* (November 1988): 7, 14. A 1987 Membership Application of the Christian Heritage Party of Canada outlined its Party Principles "based on these biblical ethics [which] are unalterable: (a) We believe there is one Creator God, eternally existent in three Persons: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. We believe in the Lordship of Jesus Christ; (b) We believe the Holy Bible to be the inspired, inerrant, written Word of God and the final authority above all man's laws and government; (c) We believe civil government to be under the authority of God; (d) We believe the purpose of civil government is to ensure freedom and justice for the nation's citizens by upholding law and order in accordance with biblical principles; (e) We believe that decision-making processes by civil government must not in an way contravene these biblical ethics."

78. See Richard L. Ganz, ed., *Thou shalt not Kill: The Case against Abortion* (New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House, 1978); Richard L. Ganz, *You Shall be free indeed!* (Nepean, ON: GSG Group, 1989); and Richard L. Ganz, and William J. Edgar, *Sold Out! How the Evangelical Church is abandoning God for self-fulfilment: A Warning* (Ontario: Onward Press, 1990).

79. "Statistics of St. Lawrence Presbytery," *Minutes of the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church* (Beaver Falls, PA), 218 (Synod held at Northfield, MN, 1992). The statistics refer to December 1991 totals: 246 total members; 265 attend worship; 190 in Sabbath Schools.

80. See Philip Choinière-Shields, "Covenanters Target Montreal," *Covenanter Witness* (December 1992): 16-17. Rev. Ken McBurney writes that "there are now two families in Montreal who are seeking to start a church there. Presbytery has designated it the Montreal Mission and they have weekly worship services" (letter from Rev. Kenneth McBurney to the author, Almonte, 27 May 1993).

The Redemptorist Mission in Canada, 1865-1885[1]

PAUL LAVERDURE

Between 10 December 1865 and 2 January 1866 in Montreal's St. Patrick's church, ten Redemptorist missionaries from the United States heard over 15,000 confessions, helped with almost 1,000 confirmations administered by the bishops of Toronto and Montreal, converted 25 Protestants, administered the Temperance pledge to 2,000 and vigorously denounced secret societies. The mission was so successful that it became known in Rome, and throughout Redemptorist circles in North America, as the classic example of a North-American Redemptorist English mission and was often cited as the first real mission given in Canada.[2] Since historians of Catholicism in North America – Jay Dolan for the United States, Murray Nicolson for the Irish in Canada, Serge Gagnon and Nive Voisine for French Canada – have all cited the Redemptorist mission as an important event in the Roman Catholic mind, this paper will describe the typical Canadian Redemptorist mission.[3] Between 1865 and 1885, the Redemptorist mission was so successful that the mission itself was frozen into a form that hardly changed until the Second Vatican Council. As such, the mission described here is, with only some qualifications, valid for Canada in the period 1865 to 1965 and beyond, since several individual Redemptorists continue to give missions today as they did thirty years ago. This paper also asks in passing, does the Redemptorist mission – and by extension, the Catholic mission – of the nineteenth century differ significantly from Protestant missions?

During the centralizing and unifying decades of Pope Pius IX, the American Redemptorists turned to Father Joseph Wissel, a veteran of the

missions in the United States and Canada, to codify the mission rules.[4] Wissel wrote what eventually became the three-volume *The Redemptorist on the American Missions*.[5] From 1875 to 1912 Wissel copied and preserved the English and German sermons from the oldest Redemptorist missionaries in America and made outlines to be used by new Redemptorist missionaries. Wissel's reminder that his outlines were guides and that each missionary had to develop his own style and adapt to different audiences to be most effective was usually lost in the drive for uniformity and in the realization that the English or Irish Catholic audiences throughout North America were generally homogeneous. So, later North American Redemptorists memorized and delivered the sermons much as the early missionaries had done. Wissel's book was reprinted, minus the German sermons, in 1920, and was used by the Canadians, the Americans and was consulted by Europeans until the Second Vatican Council.[6] Wissel's outlines, therefore, remain our best and most representative description of the traditional Redemptorist mission in North America.

In his classic definition of the Redemptorist mission, Wissel declares:

> A Mission consists of a series of sermons and instructions preached, in connection with administration of the Sacraments, to an organized congregation, for the purpose of making them better Catholics . . . A true Mission, therefore, is that which, after restoring the grace of God to those who have fallen [through the confessional], renews the people in their belief in Christ and Church, teaches sound principles of morality, and re-establishes the pious frequentation of the Sacraments.[7]

In other words, the Redemptorist mission is "an extraordinary work of the apostolate with the purpose of making 'better Catholics' of the people of a parish." Nineteenth-century Redemptorist missions were directed at getting Roman Catholics back to the sacraments and to the Church. Hence, Redemptorist missionaries are in general auxiliaries to an established Catholic parish community and to Catholic clergy; in general they are not missionaries to non-Christians or even to non-Catholics.

Alphonsus Liguori, the founder of the Redemptorists, had fixed the shortest mission at ten days. Longer missions were the norm.[8] North-American Redemptorists gave missions in blocks of between eight and ten

days, overlapping two Sundays, multiplied by the number of groups a parish could be divided. Missions could be preached to the entire parish in eight days, or it could be doubled and given first to the women and then to the men, or it could be divided again into an eight-day mission for the children, eight days for the women and then another mission for the men. If the parish was very large or the church very small, a four-week mission could be preached to the young women, to the young men, to the married women and then to the married men. Throughout the nineteenth century, Redemptorists attracted women and children first in order to have them prevail upon the men to attend. This presupposes a stratification of sin or innocence by sex and age, but our research has found that women, in general, were present in greater numbers at the Redemptorist mission and, later, at the Redemptorist parish activities, devotions and societies. Several theories for this have been put forward, but none have yet been accepted.[9]

There were three sermons each day, a short instruction in the morning, one in the afternoon and a long one in the evening. The short morning instructions dwelled on prayer such as the Our Father, on devotions such as the rosary and summaries of previous night topics. The afternoon instructions were geared to the practical aspects of Christian life adapted to the audience attending that day: marital duties, children, family life, temperance, education and parish societies. In the great evening sermons, missionaries preached the 'Eternal Truths': the "urgency of working out one's salvation, the malice of mortal sin and its punishment, the inevitability and the justice of general judgment, and the pains of hell."[10] Sin, death, judgment and hell were usually given in the first days of a mission to seize the hearers' attention, gain a larger audience for the rest of the mission and predispose the hearers to confession. The remaining evening sermons presented Christ, conversion, confession and salvation and, perhaps, a special sermon tailored to the audience. For example, temperance would be preached to Irish Canadians. The Saturday sermons on devotion to Mary and the Sunday morning sermon on perseverance summarized the many devotional practices and attitudes developed at length during the week and closed the mission.

Missions were meant to be logical, popular, simple and, above all, persuasive. To succeed they aimed at the heart as well as the mind. If length in Wissel's work is any indication, most North American Redemptorists were better trained to preach on hell than heaven, but it also shows that hell was popular. The historians Serge Gagnon, Nive Voisine and

Murray Nicolson state that nineteenth-century preachers whipped their hearers into remorse and drove them tearful to the confessional terrified by the fear of damnation and begging God's mercy; all of the preachers cited are Redemptorists. Redemptorist Provincial Elias Schauer insisted that if the eternal truths were preached "they should not be preached in such a manner that people can say, [. . .] '*Oh! If hell is not worse than that, then I don't care if I go there*.'"[11]

Although missions were often measured by the number of confessions, "It should be borne in mind that the end of the mission is not simply to have the confessions of the people heard, but to effect a change in their lives through constant attendance at a series of sermons and instructions which prepare them to receive the sacraments with more than usual care and profit."[12] Above all, the missionaries sought conversion to Christian perfection as defined by the Roman Catholic Church. Conversion, over a period of time, through devotion to Christ in the Sacraments makes the Catholic revival experience in North America significantly different from the Protestant emphasis on a personal conversion to Christ.

Once relieved of the burden of sin through confession, the renewed Roman Catholic was sent to participate in the sacramental and devotional life of the parish in order to persevere in the paths of conversion, perfection and salvation. The Redemptorist missionaries moved on, returning to the parish to preach a renewal or summary of the mission to reach those who had not made the mission, help backsliders, to remind the parishioners again of God's forgiveness and love as shown particularly in the sacraments of the Church, to teach the practice of the devout life, to promote the sacramentals such as the scapulars, crucifixes, medals, pictures, candles, the rosary, prayer books and, above all, the parish associations such as the Holy Family. Together the mission and the renewal comprised the complete Redemptorist mission and, united with organization, oratory and solemnity, became a powerful experience for thousands.

In 1871, the Holy See named Saint Alphonsus Liguori, the founder of the Redemptorists, *Doctor Zelantissimus*, Most Zealous Doctor of the Church.[13] In 1873 the new Archbishop of Quebec, Elzéar-Alexandre Taschereau, prompted by Saint Alphonsus' growing fame and by the success of the recent Montreal mission and renewals, invited the Redemptorists to take over St. Patrick's Church in Quebec City.[14] The Redemptorist missionaries then fanned across English Canada, reaching Winnipeg, Manitoba, in 1881.[15]

A successful French mission in the Sulpician Montreal parish of Notre Dame in the spring of 1878 brought 40,000 visitors daily and between 19,000 to 24,000 thousand confessions.[16] Such a triumph had not been seen since the French Bishop Forbin-Janson of Nancy visited in 1840-41. The Archbishop of Quebec then thought of offering the Redemptorists the care of the St. Anne-de-Beaupré pilgrimage shrine.[17] Pilgrims from across North America increased from between 20,000 and 40,000 to over 115,000 annually by the end of the century. The Redemptorists crowned the statue of St. Anne in Beaupré after she was declared a patroness of the ecclesiastical province of Quebec. The sodality of St. Anne spread throughout French North America.[18]

A mission tour reached Toronto's St. Michael's Cathedral, St. Mary's and St. Paul's churches in 1880. The missionaries energetically established the Purgatorian Society, the sections of the Holy Family, and confessed and gave retreats to the various communites such as the Sisters of the Precious Blood. Archbishop Lynch mounted the pulpit at the end of the 1880 mission in his cathedral and asked the people to pray that the Redemptorists would remain in Toronto to "do a world of good as city missionaries and as a centre of missionary action for the whole Province, and even the whole Dominion." The Redemptorists took over St. Patrick's parish in downtown Toronto.[19]

Toronto's *Globe* of 14 January 1881 published a full page description of the Redemptorists. Redemptorists were

> members of one of the most ascetic, zealous, and active religious Orders in the Roman Catholic Church . . . a proselytizing agency second only, if indeed it is second, to the Jesuits themselves . . . When they began a mission they were to take it for granted . . . that ignorance of . . . faith and morals was the rule, and by simple, fervent, declamatory sermons, not unmingled with wonderful stories as to purgatory, hell, and the glories of the Saints, especially of the Blessed Virgin Mary, to draw the people heavenwards or to terrify them into morality. Their chief means of grace was to be the confessional, the skill in whose manipulation the fathers gave nearly the whole of their attention during their time of study . . . Its fathers were, therefore, ROUGH AND READY in their mode, rather than polished and refined like the Jesuits, or deeply read like the Benedictines and Dominicans. They were to the religious Congregations what the Franciscans were to the great Orders, impressive preachers depending

> on their power of moving the multitude by sensationalism, often by vulgarity, rather than by deep, scholarly, and finished theological sermons.

The missions multiplied and in one year alone, between 1882 to 1883, thirty-two missions, several renewals, and nine retreats were preached.[20]

In 1882 the Boston mission band under Father Joseph Wissel went to Halifax and to the Diocese of Harbor Grace, Newfoundland.[21] The Redemptorists hammered away at the Irish nationalisms of the local people and upheld the universal nature of the Church. The successes were astounding. The bishop of St. John's, priests and people, after longstanding conflicts over previous episcopal appointments, were reconciled to the new bishop of Harbor Grace.[22] There were over 13,000 confessions in the church of St. John's, Newfoundland.[23] Priests and laity inquired about joining; a new archbishop of Halifax, Cornelius O'Brien, offered the Redemptorists a foundation in Bermuda to keep them in his diocese.[24] The missionaries travelled to Prince Edward Island in 1883 and 1884 and gave another series of successful missions.[25] Wissel became so identified with the Redemptorist mission in Canada that bishops wrote him for foundations.[26] Bishop John Sweeney approached Wissel for a foundation in a suburb of Saint John, New Brunswick. On Wissel's recommendation, the house began in 1884.[27]

The most memorable mission, however, was one that caused an international incident reported in newspapers around the world. Bay Roberts on Conception Bay is thirty miles from St. John's. After the missions of 1883, at the height of the Orange Order's power, five men died as a result of the St. Stephen's Day Parade. During the inquiry, several pointed at the Redemptorist preaching as one of the causes of the tensions between Catholics and Protestants. Five residents swore before a magistrate that they heard one say that ". . . the Protestant religion was established by Queen Elizabeth who was an illegitimate child – that is a bastard." Another five stated that they heard the Redemptorists

> preach to the effect, ". . . put a collar on a monkey's neck and he would make a first class Wesleyan preacher." [They] further stated that the priests asked, "What can you think of the Church of England when it sprang from a bastard? . . . From Elizabeth down, we may call the Protestants a set of whores and bastards."[28]

The missionaries were subsequently heckled on their way to and from the church and during the night. Orangemen built an arch flying Orange flags under which the missionaries and the Catholics had to pass to go to the church. When this did not satisfy the roughs of the place and violence was threatened, the Redemptorists broke off the mission and went on to North River and Harbor Main. They returned with Bishop MacDonald of Harbor Grace who refused to go under the Orange arch. The Redemptorists demanded protection, but the Bay Roberts magistrate refused to admit that the priests were in danger. The Redemptorists, as American citizens, then called on the American consul in St. John's who wired and received the gunship H.M.S. Tenedos, which were given orders to protect the Orangemen! "On being interviewed the Fathers said that they had completed their mission at the Bay at the point of the bayonet and at the muzzle of the Gatling guns."[29]

Bishop Edouard-Charles Fabre offered St. Ann's parish in Montreal and Belgian Redemptorists were officially installed on 30 September 1884.[30] Within a year, the Belgians launched missions identical to their European missions with three sermons daily, solemn procession and setting up of the mission cross, sermons about the Holy Sacrament and the Blessed Virgin Mary, a brilliantly lighted and decorated altar, solemn benediction and other mission acts.[31] To learn English and the slight differences between a North American and a Belgian mission, the Belgians invited Wissel and his mission band to give an English mission in St. Ann, Montreal, and participated in Wissel's missions in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island.[32] All of the missions, French and English, became interchangeable.

Between 1865 and 1885, the Redemptorist mission in Canada was successful both for the Redemptorists and for the Catholic Church. Uniformity and uniform success was further promoted by Wissel's handbook, *The Redemptorist on the American Missions*.[33] More missions and then more offers of foundations came each year as the Redemptorist reputation continued to grow. Popular preaching and short-term intensity, similar to the Protestant revival, seemed perfectly adapted to the masses of people attending the mission, but the message of the missions, reconciliation and perfection in the Church through its sacraments was significantly different from the Protestant revival message.

Between 1865 and 1885 the Redemptorists experienced so much

popular mission success that they became permanently established in every major city of Canada. Was success due to Alphonsus' message of reconciliation and perfection through the sacraments within the context of the Catholic parish? Yet Protestant preachers were successful with a different message. Was success due to the technique? Dramatic, popular preaching gained a hearing from everyone. Or was it the audience? Any religious revival had a good chance of success among a culturally, socially, and spiritually starved immigrant audience. No matter, the technique froze into a pattern which would not change until the Second Vatican Council.

Endnotes

1. I would like to thank the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer's Toronto Province (Eastern English Canada) for funding this article. Materials presented here will appear in a multi-volume general history of the Redemptorists under the editorship of Francesco Chiovaro, C.Ss.R., and in a single volume history of the Redemptorists in English Canada.

2. Joseph Wuest, C.Ss.R., *Annales Congregationis Ss. Redemptoris Provinciae Americanae*, 12 vols. (Ilchester-Boston 1888-1924), 5.1:59, 88-90, 169-72; Redemptorist Archives of the Baltimore Province, Brooklyn, NY (RABP): section 165 Detroit, "Annals"; Archives of the Redemptorist General Government, Rome (AGR): Baltimore, Labores apostolici 1832-1868, "Elenchus Laborum Apostolicorum Provinciae Americanae ab Anno 1865, 1866, 1867 & 1868," 12 ("Haec missio erat prima in terra quae in ditione Victoriae, Reginae Brittaniae quae est *Canada* . . ."); see also AGR: Personalia, R.P. Lorenzo Holzer, "Missione data a Monreale nel Canada del giorni 8 Dic. al I Genn. 1866 dai Padri Redentoristi Holzer, Smulders, Schneider, Dold, Giesen, Wagrich, Grimm, Bradley, Kreis e Neithart" [sic]. So many Fenians, members of the secret anti-British Irishmen with headquarters in the United States, were reconciled to the Church, Wuest states, that the Montreal Fenian organization collapsed (Wuest 5.2:175). See also Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto (ARCAT): L TA01.03, 3 July 1866, Provincial Joseph Helmpraecht, C.Ss.R., to Lynch; 11 July 1866, Helmpraecht to Lynch; L AH16.25, 9 September 1871, Lynch to Mr. Powley. See also AGR: Baltimore, Provincialia, 15 February 1866, Helmpraecht to Superior General Mauron.

3. Jay P. Dolan, *Catholic Revivalism: The American Experience (1830-1900)* (Notre Dame 1978); Jay P. Dolan, *The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865* (Baltimore 1975), 155-8; Murray Nicolson, "The Education of a Minority: The Irish Family Urbanized," in *The*

Untold Story: The Irish in Canada, eds. Robert O'Driscoll and Lorna Reynolds (Toronto 1988), II:759-84; Serge Gagnon, *Plaisir d'amour et crainte de dieu. Sexualité et confession au Bas-Canada* (Sainte-Foy 1990), 38 n. 62; Nive Voisine with Philippe Sylvain, *Réveil et consolidation* t.2 *1840-1898* of *Histoire du catholicisme québecois* II (Montreal 1991), 312-3; and Jean Hamelin and Nicole Gagnon, *Le XXe siècle* t.1 *1898-1940* of *Histoire du catholicisme québecois* III (Montreal 1984), 339. There is a growing historiography about the Redemptorist mission in other countries: see, for example, John Sharp, *Reapers of the Harvest: The Redemptorists in Great Britain and Ireland 1843-1898* (Dublin 1989).

4. RABP: 324 (Helmpraecht), "Circulare Pl. Revdi P. Provincialis," 26 March 1873, which included a lengthy circular from Mauron (this is also printed in Wuest 5.3:135-49).

5. Joseph Wissel, C.Ss.R., *The Redemptorist on the American Missions*, 3rd ed., 3 vol. (Norwood, MS: 1920).

6. RABP: 325 (Schauer), 30 December 1884, Mosciska, Galicia, Austria, Fr. Bernard Lubienski, C.Ss.R. to Fr. Procurator Joseph Wuest, C.Ss.R. Lubienski saw little difference between Austrian and American missions and wanted to purchase Wissel's volumes for use in Galicia. A circular letter of Provincial Elias F. Schauer recommends Wissel's *The Redemptorist on the American Missions* (Archives of the Redemptorist Province of Toronto [ARPT]: "Provincialia" [Scrapbook of letters from the Baltimore Provincial sent to St. Patrick's, Quebec City, 1880-1914], 15 April 1887).

7. Wissel, 1:3-4.

8. Giuseppe Orlandi, C.Ss.R., "La missione popolare redentorista in Italia. Dal settecento ai giorni nostri," *Spicilegium Historicum* (SH) XXXIII, No. 1 (1985): 51-141.

9. Research available in "Perpetual Missions: 1865-1887," North American Redemptorist History 1992 Annual Meeting, 22 October, Wichita, KS. This material is to appear as a chapter in a history of the Redemptorists in English Canada. Reginald Bibby notes the same higher participation of women in all religious groups (*Fragmented Gods: The Poverty and Potential of Religion in Canada* [Toronto 1987], 100-102).

10. ARPT: 577-04 (Missions), "Redemptorist Missions: Nature, Object and Structure" (unpublished mss: anon., n.d.).

11. Emphasis in the original. RABP: 325 (Schauer), "Provincial Regulations for Missions" [1884]. The Saint John, New Brunswick, *New Freeman* of 14 September 1907, described the mission in the following terms: "The Redemptorist Fathers in preaching missions base their sermons on the fear of God. They prove the importance of salvation, the malice of sin, the terror of judgment, the punishment of hell, close with resolutions for leading a Christian life and the means of perseverance. As a rule they give a renewal mission the following year and then base their discourses on the love of God, speaking on the end of man and the love of God as shown particularly in the Sacraments which He has left to His Church" (see ARPT [local archive of St. Peter's, Saint John, NB]: "Scrapbook 1907-1914").

12. RABP: 325 (Schauer) [1886], Schauer to "Dear Rev. Father: . . ." (form letter sent to parish priests before a mission).

13. ARCAT: LPS 5401, 7 July 1871, Letter from Pius IX.

14. ARPT: 501.03, "Agreement . . ." signed by Taschereau and Mauron; AGR: Baltimore, Localia, Quebec, "Agreement" signed by Mauron, 15 October 1873.

15. ARPT: "Annals of St. Patrick's, Quebec," 8 October 1881; RABP: 595.3 (Quebec – St. Patrick), mission report by W. Loewekamp, C.Ss.R. for 1881. A mission was held in St. Mary's Church, Winnipeg, October 16-25.

16. RABP: 325 (Schauer), 30 September 1877, Father O'Dowd of St. Patrick's, Montreal to Schauer, asks for at least ten fathers; 325 (Schauer), 21 October 1877, Provincial Nicholas Jaeckel, C.Ss.R. of St. Louis to Schauer; 325 (Schauer), 12 March 1878, Anton Konings to Schauer [in Latin]; 325 (Schauer), 26 March 1878, Konings to Schauer [in English]; 325 (Schauer), 2 April 1878, Father James Hogan of St. Ann's Church, Montreal, to Father Keitz; 325 (Schauer), 6 April 1878, Konings to Schauer [regarding the number of confessions and the Jansenism in Montreal]. For Sulpician reactions, see RABP: 325 (Schauer), 30 April 1878, Father V. Rousselot of Notre Dame, Montreal, to Schauer [in French]; for a short description of the mission, see RABP: 528 (Rochester), "Domus Roffensis 1878."

17. Michael J. Curley, C.Ss.R., *The Provincial Story: A History of the Baltimore Province of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer* (New York 1963), 184; for a primary source, see AGR: Baltimore, Provincialia, 20 April 1878 and 5 September 1878, Schauer to Mauron [in German].

18. The best modern work on the Redemptorists in French Canada is Jean-Pierre Asselin, *Les Rédemptoristes au Canada. Implantation à Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré 1878-1911* (Montréal 1981). The appendices in Rodrigue Théberge,

C.Ss.R., *Des rassembleurs d'hommes. La Congrégation du Très-Saint-Rédempteur. Les Rédemptoristes* (Sainte-Anne de Beaupré 1978) are useful for short biographies and descriptions of devotions, prayers and songs promoted by the Redemptorists. For detailed descriptions of the Belgian Redemptorists, see Robert Houthaeve, ed., *De Gekruisidge Kerk van de Oekraïne en het Offer van Vlaamse Missionarissen* (Izegem 1990), especially the section by Jérôme Van Landeghem, C.Ss.R., "Onze Redemptoristen in dienst van de Oekraïeners," 321-47. One might also consult *Gerardusbode en Apostolische Werken der Paters Redemptoristen* in the Redemptorist Archives of the North Brussels Province (RANBP), and Armand Boni, C.Ss.R., *Pioniers in Canada, Belgische Redemptoristen in de provincies Quebec, Manitoba en Saskatchewan* (Bruge-Brussel 1945).

19. For Lynch's appeal, see ARPT: "Annals of St. Patrick's, Quebec," December 1880 (211). For the offer, see ARCAT: A92 (General Correspondence 1880-1920), 21 September 1880, Burke to Lynch; see also "Annals of St. Patrick's, Quebec," 2 February 1880, and newspapers such as *The Hamilton Spectator*; RABP: 325 (Schauer), 18 November 1880, Joseph Henning, C.Ss.R., to Schauer, and ARPT: 210. For a brief history of the Redemptorists in Toronto, see Paul Laverdure, "The Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer: The Redemptorists (Congregatio Sanctissimi Redemptoris), C.Ss.R," in *Walking the Less Travelled Road: A History of the Religious Communities within the Archdiocese of Toronto 1841-1991* (Toronto 1993), 122-4.

20. RABP: 595.5 (Toronto, St. Patrick), "St. Patrick's – Toronto – 81"; "St. Patrick's – Toronto – 1883"; "St. Patrick's – Toronto – 1884"; see also ARCAT: A92, "Redemptorist Missions & Renewals."

21. ARPT (Local Archives St. Peter, Saint John, NB): "Annals of St. Peter's Community of Saint John, NB," Vol. 1 (1884-1896). More accessible for chronicles and descriptions of parish societies are the pamphlet by Ray Butler with George O'Reilly, C.Ss.R., *St. Peter's Church, Saint John, New Brunswick, 1884-1984,* and the booklet, *Souvenir of the Dual Anniversary of Saint Aloysius Society 1873-1898, Saint Peter's Young Men's Association 1898-1923* (Saint John, NB, August 1923), 25pp. See also RABP: "Annals 1882," "Circa Missiones in Nova Scotia et Terra Nova"; "Annals of St. Patrick's, Toronto," 19 February 1882, 7 October 1882, 9-10 November 1883; RABP: 325 (Schauer), 26 April 1882, Wissel to Father Joseph Keitz, C.Ss.R.

22. The history of these Newfoundland controversies is summarized in Latin in RABP: "Annals 1882," 273-8. Joseph Wissel summarized it all even further by blaming an overly intense "Irishism," the Franciscan Friars and opposition between the bishops (see RABP: 325 [Schauer], 3 June 1882, Wissel to Schauer). Wissel's description of the end of the mission is in RABP: 325

(Schauer), 17 November 1882.

23. AGR: Baltimore, Provincialia, 19 December 1882, Schauer to Mauron [in German].

24. RABP: "Annals 1884"; RABP: 325 (Schauer), 10 December 1885, O'Brien to Michael Oates, C.Ss.R.

25. ARPT: "Annals of St. Patrick's, Quebec" (June 1883). See also ARPT: 620-15, 27 August 1884; RABP: unfiled material, "Our Lady of Perpetual Help, Boston 1884," which shows that the Boston house held twenty-eight missions, nine renewals and seven retreats in 1884 – thirteen of the missions were in Prince Edward Island and all nine renewals were in Newfoundland.

26. RABP: 325 (Schauer), 11 April 1882, Wissel to Schauer about Halifax; ARCAT: A92 "General Correspondence 1880-1920," undated letter from Wissel to "Most Rev'd Father!" about Saint John, New Brunswick; RABP: 595.4 (St. John, NB, St. Peter) 22 May 1883, Wissel to Schauer, and 14 November 1883, Sweeney to Schauer.

27. AGR: Baltimore, Provincialia, 28 August 1883, and 27 November 1883, Schauer to Consultor General Michael Ulrich [in German]; ARTP: 266; see also "Conventio inter Rmum Dnum J. Sweeny, D.D. et Pl. Rev. Elias F. Schauer C.Ss.R. English & Latin Original and Copies." For a description of the foundation, see AGR: Baltimore, Provincialia, 4 August 1884, Schauer to Ulrich.

28. Elinor Senior, "The Origin and Political Activities of the Orange Order in Newfoundland 1863-1890" (M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1960), 150 in the chapter, "The Harbour Grace Affray," 139-172 (cited also in Kildare Dobbs, "Newfoundland and the Maritimes: An Overview," in *The Untold Story: The Irish in Canada*, I:182).

29. RABP: 325 (Schauer), 4 December 1884, Joseph Henning, C.Ss.R., to Schauer. He suggests that Schauer have the United States government send ships to protect the American Redemptorists "in that savage country." See also 12 December 1884, where he writes "From a dispatch in the 'New York Cath. Herald' I see that appeal has been made to the U.S. government for protection for the Bostonians in Newfdland." Henning summarized the incident privately for Provincial Schauer by suggesting that one of the missionaries consciously or unconsciously roused the "smouldering fire" of Protestant bigotry into flames. "From the New Zealand Tablet," 13 February 1885 and 20 March (13), also recounts some of the incidents, although in garbled form. The Redemptorist story is told in William G. Licking, C.Ss.R., *Reminiscences of the Redemptorist Fathers Rev. John Beil, Rev. Patrick*

M'Givern, Rev. John O'Brien, Rev. Leopold Petsch (Ilchester, Maryland, 1891), 126-59.

30. RABP: 595.2 (Montreal St. Ann), 17 August 1884, Jean Catulle, C.Ss.R., to [Schauer].

31. ARPT: "Archivum domus ad Sanctae Annae Marianopoli. Chronicum ministerii externi," 18-28 October 1885.

32. AGR: Belgium, Vice Provincia Canadensis, 8 February 1889, Catulle to [Fr. Lelouchier, C.Ss.R.] [in French]; also 20 November 1889, Catulle to Father Provincial [Schauer]; RANBP: "Amerika," 21 April 1887, Archbishop Cornelius O'Brien of Halifax to Jean Tielen; RABP: 325 (Schauer), 26 September 1888, O'Brien to [?]; RANBP: "Montréal," 13 May 1887, Bishop Duhamel to Jean Kockerols.

33. ARPT: 265-02, "Missions," and also ARPT: "Provincialia" [Scrapbook of letters from the Baltimore Provincial sent to St. Patrick's, Quebec City, 1880-1914], 15 April 1887, Schauer circular letter. For Wissel's continued popularity in the Maritimes see RABP: 325 (Schauer), 4 June 1885, Archbishop C. O'Brien to Schauer; *The Halifax Morning Herald* for Saturday, 1 April 1882, which reported Wissel's sermon in local news as "magnificently delivered and was listened to with close attention . . ." He was invited to give the mission in Toronto's St. Patrick's church in 1890 (see RABP: 595.5 [Toronto, St. Patrick], "Relatio ad chronistam Provincialem facienda de Missione habita").

John Watson: The Philosopher of Canadian Identity?

CHRISTOPHER HUMPHREY

In this paper I would like to make the bold suggestion that, more than any other intellectual, the philosopher of religion John Watson (1847-1939) is responsible for the high value Canadians place upon unity-in-diversity in culture and politics. This suggestion is bold for several reasons, among which is the fact that I am not first a student of Canadian history, but rather a philosopher of religion. It is meant to stimulate discussion and encourage others to examine the development of a philosophical ideology in John Watson's time and in the era following.

It is not difficult to establish that, at least publicly, Canadians place a higher value on unity-(or identity)-in-diversity than our neighbours to the south: the metaphors of mosaic and melting pot have been used to characterize the difference. So we have books like *Canada: Unity in Diversity*,[1] a standard text, as well as *The Canadian Ethnic Mosaic: A Quest For Identity*,[2] *Conflict and Unity: An Introduction to Canadian Political Life*,[3] *The Canadian Alternative: Cultural Pluralism and Canadian Unity*,[4] and *Baptists in Canada: Search for Identity Amidst Diversity*.[5] There are a number of institutions and book titles which weight the opposition of unity and diversity on the side of identity or unity, to correct the implied imbalance towards diversity or division: among the former are The Council for Canadian Unity, and The Task Force on Canadian Unity, and among the latter are *The Canadian Identity* by W.L. Morton,[6] *A Passion for Identity: Introduction to Canadian Studies*,[7] *In Search of a Canadian Identity,*[8] *The Search for Identity*,[9] *The Search for Identity: Canada, 1945-1967*,[10] *Theme: Curriculum for a Canadian Identity*,[11] and *Our Sense of Identity:*

A Book of Canadian Essays.[12] The title of Marilyn Legge's recent book, *The Grace of Difference: Canadian Radical Christianity*,[13] may likewise assume the existence and value of unity as an implied contrary. We even have a history of a doctor's association which is oriented to the unity-diversity issue: David Shephard's *The Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada, 1960-1980: The Pursuit of Unity*.[14]

It can be said that unity-in-diversity was the central theme of John Watson's thought. Perhaps most of us here have heard of John Watson; a generation or two ago his reputation was much greater. In the middle of this century John Irving described Watson's appointment to Queen's University in 1872 as "the most important event in Canadian philosophy in the nineteenth century." He also wrote, "One of the four great teachers of philosophy (in the opinion of many the greatest) in Canada during the last hundred years, Watson was the first philosopher in this country to achieve an international reputation through his writings." "Even a brief sketch of his writings must indicate that if any Canadian philosopher of the nineteenth century is remembered in future ages, it will surely be John Watson."[15] W.L. Morton wrote of the 1920s that "[i]n professional philosophy the speculative idealism of the great John Watson of Queen's University still remained the chief philosophic influence in Canada, and particularly in theology and the life of the Church."[16] At least until 1965 Watson was the only Canadian to have delivered the Gifford Lectures (in 1910-12).[17] More recently A.B. McKillop has noted that Watson led the "Kantian Revival" in the 1880s in the English-speaking world.[18]

Watson wrote prolifically, producing fifteen major works and more than sixty articles and book reviews. His chief constructive work in philosophy is in the area of philosophy of religion: besides his *Interpretation of Religious Experience*, there is the relatively brief *Christianity and Idealism*,[19] and *The Philosophical Basis of Religion*.[20]

There is good reason to think that John Watson's thought was broadly influential in Canada, if only because of the exposure of Watson to generations of students. Queen's was small when Watson came in 1872; besides the Principal and six teachers, there were thirty students in Arts and another twenty students in Theology. It was also small intellectually: when he came, Watson learned that the students were barred from reading Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859). By the time he retired in 1924 hundreds of Protestant clergy, educators, civil servants and others had passed through the doors of Queen's, both in the regular undergraduate and theo-

logical programs and in the ten-day annual Theological Alumni Conferences (begun in 1893). W.E. McNeill, a student of Watson's and later Vice-Principal of Queen's, observed that "the whole University knew that minds were transformed" in Watson's classes.[21]

But were minds really transformed there? In Carl Klinck's *Literary History of Canada*, Irving writes: "In the popular consciousness Watson is usually associated with the provision of more adequate philosophical foundations for Christian theology. The popular view is, on the whole correct, *but it should be emphasized that he preferred to regard Christianity as an ideal of conduct rather than a historical theology*."[22] What is significant here is not whether Watson did regard Christianity this way—I don't think he did—but the impression of an ethical orientation that Watson left. In her history of Queen's, Hilda Neatby notes that Watson "sent out hundreds of young men and women with a profound concern for truth and an absolute conviction of their own personal responsibility to exemplify it in their conduct . . .," but she also suggests that Watson's influence on hundreds of young men and women is hard to gauge. She comments that "the quality of thinking in the community *must have been to some degree affected* by [Watson's] auspicious reconciliation of the apparently divergent teachings of science, philosophy, and religion."[23]

Neatby's analysis is elaborated by A.B. McKillop, who says that Watson was instrumental in "the transition of the overtly Christian mental and moral philosophy of the nineteenth century in Canada into a broadly secular moral outlook that has dominated much of English-Canadian thought in the twentieth."[24] The "deeply ironic legacy" of the idealists for Protestantism in Canada was the transformation of the faith into a secular message of social service with indefinite "spiritual" significance, promulgated by men like Watson's student, the Methodist "social gospeller," Salem Bland, and the man who led the Methodists into the new United Church of Canada, S.D. Chown. McKillop even suggests that the absence of theological argument in the discussions leading to the union in 1925 of Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists can be attributed partly to the work of idealists. He speculates that "there may not have been many theological questions the advocates of union would have deemed important enough to debate."[25] Ramsay Cook's interpretation is very similar.[26]

So Watson had a broad influence. Minds may or may not have been changed in his classroom. But was Watson's influence really deep? Marguerite Van Die claims (*contra* A.B. McKillop) that idealism did not

influence Presbyterians and Methodists equally. She concludes from a study of the student newspaper at Victoria College, University of Toronto, *Acta Victoriana*, that "what may appear [to McKillop] to be idealism can just as easily be an expression of late nineteenth-century postmillennialism and a modified form of Christian perfectionism."[27] McKillop himself appears to qualify his view of Watson's influence, suggesting that it may have been philosophically indefinite yet widespread. In his discussion of idealism he says that those who were not philosophically astute would likely have adopted a vague Hegelianism from Watson as a way beyond the conflict of religion and science, faith and reason.[28]

I will now describe briefly Watson's thought and the obscurity of his Hegelian method. Then I will show how Watson was misunderstood by one of his students. Finally, I will ask whether we can say that John Watson had a shallow influence in philosophy but a profound influence on the Canadian ethos, specifically in the high value Canadians place upon unity-(or identity)-in-diversity.

Watson's thought is not easy to follow. Leslie Armour and Elizabeth Trott observe that Watson's form of idealism "is complex and does not yield at once to immediate surface analyses."[29] This is the case because Watson does not tell his readers that he is following Hegel's method. However, there is no question that his method and assumptions are Hegelian. He writes,

> . . . Hegel . . . found within the sphere of experience a number of phases, all of which are equally real, though none is a complete and adequate manifestation of the absolute except the most concrete of all. Hegel, therefore, sought in the idea of a spiritual Unity, i.e., a Unity which is essentially self-manifesting and self-knowing, for the true principle which should explain life, art, and religion.[30]

Watson presents the development of everything religious or philosophical in terms of the emergence of contradiction and the achievement of (temporary) reconciliation familiar to us as the thesis-antithesis-synthesis dialectic.

> The principle of thought, if we are to express it generally, is neither identity nor difference, but identity-in-difference. This, in fact, is merely to say that intelligence is a process in which separate con-

> ceptions, which are contradictory of each other, are both held at once. Nor is this merely accidental; for there is no way in which intelligence can reach an all-reconciling conception except through the long and toilsome "labour of the negative," i.e., by first setting up what seem to be adequate conceptions, next awakening to the consciousness of their inadequacy, and then advancing to a more adequate conception.[31]

Watson shows the contradictions in Humean empiricism and the resulting sublation in Kant's idealism, and then he shows the contradictions in Kantian thought which are sublated by the Hegelian philosophy. In religion this development begins with animism and totemism and proceeds through the monotheism of Jewish and Greco-Roman religion, to Jesus' consciousness of the fundamental identity of God and humankind. The truth that Jesus taught *in nuce* is obscured by Greek theological ideas, so that the history of religion becomes the (dialectical) development of a proper understanding of God and of the divine-human relation, traceable from Augustine through to Kant. Since Watson's God is the self-existent, self-objectifying, and self-knowing deity of Hegelianism, he is able to address the empiricism and agnosticism of his day with confidence.

In reality, however, Watson's philosophy is ambiguous, and this ambiguity is the ambiguity of the Hegelian system. The Hegelian *Aufhebung* or sublation is supposedly a movement beyond simple opposition which both *leaves the opposed elements behind or overcomes them*, and *takes them up in a higher synthesis*. The "taking up" of thesis and antithesis only alternates conceptually with their overcoming. This sublation simply doesn't work: rather, the contradiction re-surfaces conceptually in ambiguity. (Incidentally, the source of this ambiguity, behind Hegel, is Spinoza's self-contradictory notion of the totality, which is both *everything there is* without remainder, *and* a self-transcending whole which is "greater than the sum of its parts."[32])

I will not expand on the fine points of Hegelian philosophy here. I will note, however, that Watson followed Hegel in his insistence that the totality, the Absolute, is not known *except in its parts*, its movements or moments, the historical and spiritual determinations and dialectic of which it is composed. The practical result of this was that Watson's students had to follow his dialectical treatment of history (the history of philosophy or the history of religion) without a road map. Watson would simply take

each moment (a philosophical position, a religious movement) and tease out its contradiction. Then he would show that these contradictions were overcome in the next moment of the dialectic. As far as I can see, he directed his student's attention to this demonstration of the dialectic in history, and seldom to the Hegelian method itself. Watson might have told them this: if you find a unity, look for diversity or contradiction within it; if you find diversity, look for the underlying unity. For, in simple terms, this was Watson's omnicompetent method.

In my somewhat cursory research in the *Queen's Quarterly* and the *Queen's College Journal* I found some slight evidence of Watson's influence. One article stood out: in "Does Historical Criticism Do Violence to Special Revelation?", J.A. Sinclair's explicit intention is to reconcile in good Watsonian fashion the notion of a revelation from beyond the immanent world and its wisdom, and the work of biblical criticism which brings such a notion into question.[33] In fact, however, he uses Watson's thought to counter a high view of scriptural authority, a view which is never explicitly stated. To do this he makes use of the principle of the necessary unity of subject and object in the knowing relation. "[T]here is one necessary condition to which Special Revelation must conform in order to be a Revelation *for us*. That condition is, that Special Revelation must not make an absolute break in the unity of the consciousness to which it is given." The author is handling Watson's principles, but without Watson's reasons or powers of reasoning: Watson himself would attempt to show that special revelation is merely the making explicit of natural knowledge which was implicit. The author of this article claims that the alternative to his condition is that the supernatural would be separated from the natural and the Divine Mind would act upon the human being only in his or her "non-rational states." Here again is the immanentism and the insistence upon the rationality of the real which goes back to Hegel. Further, Sinclair writes that "[i]nspiration must not so destroy the unity of consciousness, underlying separateness of personality among men, as to destroy that communication of mind with mind by which we are able to learn from one another." He continues by claiming that, as the identity (or unity) of the subject means the continuity of experience, without contradictions, so Special Revelation cannot contain explicit contradictions in itself, or in relation to ordinary consciousness.

Sinclair's assumptions about the rationality of "revelation" and of the unity of consciousness are Watson's own, though the argument itself

is quite inferior to those of Watson. Though he follows Watson faithfully when he says that knowledge is the process of removing by thought the (apparent) contradictions of experience, he does not seem to see the significance of this for his own method. Borrowing again from Watson's philosophy, Sinclair thinks that the trustworthiness of Scripture lies not in the inscrutability of its origin, but in "its transcendental power of meeting the truest need of its time," or an accommodation to changing needs and circumstances. Thus it must be read "in the light of the different phases of human development."[34]

One can see throughout Sinclair's presentation the adoption of Watson's line of thought (most probably from Watson himself) without a true grasp of it. Watson's conclusions, which have their origin in an argument concerning the necessary conditions of knowing, are turned into dogmatic principles. So, for example, Watson would dispense with the fear that God might act upon the human being in his or her "non-rational states" by denying that the non-rational can ever be a "state" of the human being. Watson's hostility to the irrational (or anti-rational) is indicated by his criticisms of Friedrich Nietzsche's thought: Nietzsche's enthusiasm is "crack-brained," his metaphysics "crude and one-sided," his doctrine "preposterous," and so forth.[35] "Reason is the comprehensive intelligence, and if we can't base religion upon it, religion must go."[36] Similarly, to say that inspiration must not destroy the unity of consciousness that underlies the separateness of personality among men would be, from Watson's viewpoint, a confusion of thought. To begin with, Watson would not admit the possibility of an "inspiration" which might impinge from outside upon the unity of consciousness.

In light of Sinclair's failure to understand Watson's method, and his reduction of Watson's thought to a series of disconnected principles, one wonders how many others in pulpit, classroom, or journal did the same thing with what they learned from Watson. It is certainly reasonable to assume that if Watson's phrases and notions are found in the writings or speeches of those who worked with him, he has had some influence upon them. So Watson's peer O.D. Skelton, Professor of Political Science at Queen's, held to the ideal of "unity in difference" though he was not an idealist *per se*. For example, he concludes by observing that Canada had to offer the world the achievement of "difference in unity," and that this might "seem an idealistic aim," but nonetheless one worth following.[37] In his pamphlet *The Language Issue in Canada*, he argues that French may

be the required language of instruction in Quebec because "[w]e want unity, not a drab, steam-rollered uniformity. The man who forgets the rock out of which he is hewn is no better Canadian for it; to repress old traditions before we have given new ideals is questionable policy."[38] Idealism in its moral aspect lies in the background, too, in Skelton's observations on political leadership in *The Day of Sir Wilfred Laurier*: "The path followed was not as ruler-straight as the philosopher or the critic would have prescribed. The leader of a party of many shades of opinion, the ruler of a country of widely different interests and prejudices and traditions, must often do not what is ideally best but what is the most practicable approach to the ideal."[39] As a modern political scientist, Skelton was impressed by empirical difference, and this seems to have directed him away from the containing philosophy of idealism. It should be remembered, however, that Hegelian idealism is empirically-oriented as well. Though the allusion to the unity of the ideal is slight in Skelton's remark, it appears to form the implicit background to his description.[40]

Watson's influence is more evident in the early work of Queen's political scientist Adam Shortt, who had been a gold medallist in philosophy under him. In an article written in 1901, Shortt argues that duty and freedom are one, as "the central feature" in the development of a moral people "is the growing personality, or self, which in its more or less clear consciousness of a rational freedom, spontaneously recognizes its responsibility for conduct."[41] Immanuel Kant had opposed duty and freedom, but Hegel had "reconciled" them, and Shortt's words could have been written by Watson himself. Similarly Watsonian is Shortt's comment that the ordinary individual acts and thinks "uncritically" "upon the principle that the rational is the real."[42] In an article written a year later, the idealistic influence is reduced to a brief observation in the introduction: though "to the eye of pure reason," Canada's chaotic political past "may seem but a poor product for so long and so strenuous an effort, yet it has in it more of stability and promise than might be suspected" by some.[43]

It seems that Skelton and Shortt, and probably many others, were influenced by John Watson's thought, though in such a way that idealism was reduced to a series of unrelated principles, chief of which was the idea of "unity-in-diversity." On the one hand, demonstrating that this must be the case is difficult, for Watson was not the only idealist in Canada in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, he was the earliest, and the most influential in terms of academic stature and of the

sheer number of influential people who would have heard him or read his works.

I have suggested that John Watson, more than any other intellectual, is responsible for the importance of unity-(or identity)-in-diversity in the Canadian ethos. What might be argued against this thesis? Perhaps the chief objection is the difficulty of establishing influence: the notion of identity-in-diversity is derived (through Hegel) from the Christian view of the Trinity, and from Christian views of the church, and it might be difficult to distinguish Watson's philosophical notion from a direct and loose application of Christian views of the church to the larger society. This is essentially Marguerite Van Die's objection to A.B. McKillop's reading of Watson's influence as an idealist.[44] As a loose collection of assumptions about the immanence of God in the progress of church, or society, or "the human spirit," the idealistic philosophy could be found everywhere.[45] The superficial appropriation of Watson's thought by writers like J.A. Sinclair suggests that, though few really understood him, many would have borrowed simple notions such as that of "spirit," or "the organic nature of society." What seems to be required at this point is a sustained examination of Watson's students, who became professors, ministers of the churches, and educators, to see whether they passed on distinct, if disjointed, principles from John Watson's thought to the next generation of influential Canadians. Chief among these principles would be the unity-(or identity)-in-difference of Watson's Hegelian idealism.

Endnotes

1. Paul G. Cornell et al, *Canada: Unity in Diversity*, with Intro. by William Kilbourn (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1967).

2. Leo Driedger, ed. *The Canadian Ethnic Mosaic: A Quest For Identity* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978).

3. Roger Gibbins, *Conflict and Unity: An Introduction to Canadian Political Life* (Toronto: Methuen, 1985).

4. Conference on Cultural Pluralism and Canadian Unity, *The Canadian Alternative: Cultural Pluralism and Canadian Unity* (Proceedings from a conference at York University, 26-27 October 1979), ed. Hedi Bouraoui (Downsview, ON: ECW Press, 1980).

5. Jarold K. Zeman, ed., *Baptists in Canada: Search for Identity Amidst Diversity* (Burlington, ON: G.R. Welch, 1980).

6. W.L. Morton, *The Canadian Identity*, 2nd ed. (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1972).

7. Eli Mandel and David Taras, eds., *A Passion for Identity: Introduction to Canadian Studies* (Toronto: Methuen, 1987).

8. Richard Hunt et al, *In Search of a Canadian Identity: Essays in the Humanities* (Burlington, VT: Trinity College, 1989).

9. James Foley, ed., *The Search for Identity* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1976).

10. Blair Fraser, *The Search for Identity: Canada, 1945-1967* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967).

11. Ontario Association for Curriculum Development, *Theme: Curriculum for a Canadian Identity* (Proceedings of Nineteenth Annual Conference, 12-14 November 1970, King Edward Hotel, Toronto, ON), ed. Sheilagh Dubois (Toronto: 1970).

12. Malcolm Ross, ed., *Our Sense of Identity: A Book of Canadian Essays* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954).

13. Marilyn Legge, *The Grace of Difference: Canadian Radical Christianity* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1992).

14. David Shephard, *The Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada, 1960-1980: The Pursuit of Unity* (Ottawa: The Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Canada, 1985).

15. John Irving, "The Development of Philosophy in Central Canada from 1850 to 1900," *Canadian Historical Review* 31, No. 3 (1950): 268, 276.

16. "The 1920s," in *The Canadians: 1867-1967*, ed. J.M.S. Careless and R. Craig Brown (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968), 224.

17. Watson, *The Interpretation of Religious Experience: The Gifford Lectures Delivered in the University of Glasgow in the Years 1910-12*, 2 vols. (Glasgow: J. Maclehose and Sons, 1912). Watson's uniqueness as Canadian Gifford Lecturer is noted by John Irving ("Philosophical Literature to 1910," in *The Literary History of Canada: Canadian Literature in English*, 2nd ed., ed. Carl Klinck [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976], 1:455).

18. *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979), 195. Watson's *Philosophy of Kant as Contained in Extracts of his own Writings* (Glasgow: J. Maclehose and Sons, 1888) was revised and reprinted eleven times between 1888 and 1934. On the subject of Watson's scholarship on Kant, Irving again remarked that "[i]t is no exaggeration to say that Watson has done more to promote the study of Kant on this continent than any other North American philosopher" ("The Development of Philosophy in Central Canada from 1850 to 1900," 274). In 1976 the Garland Publishing Company with Lewis White Beck as editor published a series of the eleven most important studies of Kant since that philosopher's death: two of Watson's books were among them (McKillop, *Contours of Canadian Thought* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987], 97).

19. John Watson, *Christianity and Idealism: The Christian Ideal of Life in its Relations to the Greek and Jewish Ideals and to Modern Philosophy*, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1897).

20. John Watson, *The Philosophical Basis of Religion: A Series of Lectures* (Glasgow: J. Maclehose and Sons, 1907).

21. "John Watson," in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd Series, 33 (1939): 160-61.

22. Irving, "Philosophical Literature to 1910," 457.

23. Hilda Neatby, *Queen's University: Volume I, 1841-1917*, ed. by Frederick W. Gibson and Roger Graham (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978), 138, emphasis added.

24. McKillop, *Contours of Canadian Thought*, 97. McKillop traces the spread of idealism through the cultural centres of universities and churches in the ensuing years in *A Disciplined Intelligence*, 208-11, 218-28.

25. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence*, 219-22, 225-26, 228.

26. According to Cook, Watson brought to Queen's "a Scottish interpretation of Hegelian idealism that would become a major influence in the development of theological liberalism in Canada." By the 1890s "theological liberalism" had made its most obvious impact in the Presbyterian Church, "and most markedly in that branch represented and influenced by Queen's University," which was under the influence of George Munro Grant, Adam Shortt and John Watson (*The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985], 9). Cook is probably

mistaken to consider Grant and Watson together (Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* [Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991], 155ff).

27. Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 211-12, n. 93.

28. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence*, 212.

29. Leslie Armour and Elizabeth Trott, *The Faces of Reason: An Essay on Philosophy and Culture in English Canada, 1850-1950* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier Press, 1981), 291.

30. Watson, *Interpretation of Religious Experience*, 2:323.

31. Watson, *An Outline of Philosophy, with Notes Historical and Critical*, 3rd ed. (Glasgow: J. Maclehose and Sons; New York: Macmillan and Co., 1901), 381. (The first edition was published in 1895 under the title *Comte, Mill and Spencer: An Outline of Philosophy*. The editions of 1898 and 1908 were published under the first title.)

32. Wolfhart Pannenberg makes the observation that "the concept of the whole or the totality functions much more in Hegel's own thought de facto as the category of categories, as the integral of their abstract particularity" (*Metaphysics and the Idea of God*, trans. Philip Clayton [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990], 152).

33. J.A. Sinclair, "Does Historical Criticism Do Violence to Special Revelation?", *Queen's Quarterly* 1 (April 1894): 291.

34. Sinclair, 296.

35. John Watson, "Nietzsche's *Genealogy of Morals*," *Queen's Quarterly* 6 (1898): 54, 53, 50.

36. Envelope marked to "Mrs. E.C. Watson, Detroit, Michigan," dated 1925, Watson Papers, Queen's University Archives, Box 1.

37. O.D. Skelton, *The Canadian Dominion: A Chronicle of Our Northern Neighbour* (Toronto: Glasgow and Brook, 1920), 276-77.

38. O.D. Skelton, *The Language Issue in Canada*, Bulletin of the Departments of History and Political and Economic Science in Queen's University, no. 23 (Kingston: Jackson Press, 1917), 24.

39. O.D. Skelton, *The Day of Sir Wilfred Laurier: A Chronicle of Our Own Times* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 325.

40. O.D. Skelton's *Socialism: A Critical Analysis* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1911) does not show any evidence of Watson's influence, though he summarizes Hegel's philosophy with competence and presents Marx's thought in detail (96ff).

41. Adam Shortt, "Legislation and Morality," *Queen's Quarterly* 8, No. 3 (1901): 354.

42. Shortt, "Legislation and Morality," 354.

43. Adam Shortt, "Responsible government," *Queen's Quarterly* 10, No. 3 (1902): 142. The empirical orientation of political science did not encourage extended philosophical interpretations, and Shortt's other writings from this period sound no idealistic notes.

44. See Michael Gauvreau, 272. Gauvreau claims that William James' concern for experience "spoke, in a way that the abstract idealist philosophy of John Watson could not, to professors and preachers concerned, above all, with the practical task of influencing and transforming the spiritual life of the individual" (273).

45. In *The Regenerators*, Ramsay Cook illustrates the pervasiveness of one or more of these general assumptions not only among conservatives like Albert Carman or "liberal Protestants," but among contemporary secular humanists (on Carman, see 192; on liberal Protestantism, 184-185; on the "Religion of Humanity," 61ff).

Lois Althea Tupper: A Biographical Sketch

LYNDA E. GRAHAM

> And now faith, hope and love abide, these three; and the greatest of these is love. (1 Corinthians 13:13)

Lois Tupper is one of those rare individuals who is able to call forth the best in others. During her lifetime she led more than one generation of young people to Jesus Christ and has then empowered them to lead others on that same journey. As a leader among the Canadian Girls in Training (CGIT), as teacher, as Girls' Work Secretary for the Maritime Religious Education Council, as Director of the Women's Leadership Training School and as Professor of Christian Ministry at McMaster Divinity College, Dr. Tupper laboured to make the Word of God come alive to those with whom she came in contact.

The Formative Years in the West

Dr. Tupper was born 23 March 1911 and spent the first eight years of her life at her maternal grandparents' farm in rural Saskatchewan. Her Grandfather Rand was an important person in Lois' life, teaching her to read and giving her his wonderful gift for recitation. Lois can still remember the "funny little poems" that she and her brother and sister learned from him. This one was intended for her four-year-old brother Ben to learn:

When I'm a man I mean to buy
A dozen plates of pumpkin pie
A barrel of nuts, to keep 'em handy
And fifty pounds of sugar candy.

When I'm a man I mean to wear
A long tailed coat and crop my hair
And buy a paper and read the news
And stay up late whenever I choose.

In 1919, the family left the farm and moved to Saskatoon. There Lois attended school for the first time. Many children would have been intimidated by this late start but Lois had been well-prepared by her grandfather and soon took her place alongside her peers.

While living on the farm the family had attended church services in the local school house. Once settled in Saskatoon they joined First Baptist Church. The differences were quite startling. Dr. Tupper remembers being "totally intrigued" by the windows, the organ, the communion table and being thrilled by the opportunity to sing in the Junior Choir. She still recalls the feelings of excitement when, at Christmas, the choir processed up the centre aisle of the church singing the "First Noel." As the years passed, the church gave Lois many opportunities to develop her skills. She tells, somewhat ruefully, how at the tender age of sixteen, she was chosen to be the Sunday School teacher for a group of eleven boys who were eleven years old; she kindly described them as "fascinating kids".[1]

The year 1924 represents a significant milestone in Lois Tupper's life. She was baptized, she graduated from Grade 8, receiving a wristwatch as a reward for passing without having to write any exams, and she joined CGIT, thereby beginning a relationship that continues to this day.

CGIT was a "wartime baby" born of the determination of reform-minded women to provide teenage girls with opportunities to grow physically, socially, mentally and spiritually. The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) had been trying for a number of years to develop a program that would attract young Protestant girls across Canada and had experimented with a variety of strategies including girls' clubs, summer camps and Girl Guide companies. To this end, the YWCA had sponsored a number of Girl Guide companies when Guiding first began in Canada in 1910. However, by 1917, YWCA workers had concluded that

the Guide program was simply too competitive. "Furthermore it was not devoted to religious education and the Guide leaders were unwilling to accept a policy in which group leaders would be responsible to local congregations. The YWCA was, however, committed to co-operating with churches and through their girls' work played an important part in disseminating new ideas throughout Canada, preparing the way for church-sponsored girls' work."[2]

In the autumn of 1915, several YWCA secretaries decided to have dinner together. As a result of that dinner meeting the National Advisory Committee for Co-operation in Girls' Work was formed. The Committee included personnel from the YWCA as well as representatives from the Methodist, Presbyterian, Anglican and Baptist Sunday School Boards and Associations. (The Board was renamed the National Girls' Work Board early in 1920.) Una Saunders, General Secretary of the Dominion Council of the YWCA, was appointed chairperson. Saunders, along with Constance Body, Winnifred Thomas and Olive Ziegler began actively to promote the concept of a unique program for girls. Although teaching material specifically for girls was virtually non-existent, the women were determined not simply to adapt the more plentiful material available for boys. Olive Ziegler said,

> Right from the beginning we felt that the girls' work program must be entirely different. We gained a great deal from the boys' work secretaries, but we worked out the specifics in our program very much on our own.[3]

In 1917 the new program was finally ready.

> Modelled after the YWCA girls' clubs and led by a YWCA worker or a Sunday school teacher, CGIT activities were organized under the YWCA's four standards for youth development. In the planning of the CGIT program their knowledge of girl psychology, the use of self-governing clubs, the recognition of the appeal of camp experience and the commitment of the special relationship of the leaders to each girl were incorporated.[4]

The CGIT purpose eloquently illustrates the Christian grounding of the program:

As a Canadian Girl in Training
under the leadership of Jesus
it is my purpose to
cherish health,
seek truth,
know God,
serve others,
And thus with His help become the girl
God would have me be.

In a manuscript written in 1982, "Co-operation Among Canadian Churches," Dr. Tupper vividly described her teenage years in CGIT:

> Our class in First Baptist Sunday School in Saskatoon was, I suppose, a typical class – 15 of us, tall and short, thin and chubby, serious and giggly, boy-crazy and otherwise. Our teacher, Eva A. Milne (whom we thought to be old, of course, was in reality the gamest of 40-year olds – stenographer and telegraph operator par excellence at the C.P.-R.). We were all ecstatic about the C.G.I.T. idea, especially because there were groups beginning in neighbouring Methodist, Presbyterian and Anglican churches – and because Boys' groups were already inviting C.G.I.T. groups to special functions . . . We did have a wonderful time, many serious moments, and a splendid Mother and Daughter Banquet. We conducted a church service, and visited the hospitals, had toboggan parties, invited the boys to wiener roasts and some of us went to camp!
>
> "Once a camper always a camper." I first went to Camp Wakanda, on Wakaw Lake, Saskatchewan in 1927. The camp boasted one rough hewn "Lodge" and a great circle of tents with lumpy straw ticks for beds. Dorothy Kirkpatrick was our director and my group leader was Ida M. Duffus (another wonderful sport in her 40s--who died only recently in her 90s). I can still close my eyes and sense the spell of campfire readings from "Winnie the Pooh," the Bible and poetry of many sorts. I can still sense the hush of Vesper time at sunset. I can still feel the chill of morning dip and the trials my pal Muriel Young and I had climbing that long hill fast enough to be dressed in time for flag raising, morning watch and breakfast! It was thrilling to hear that in all provinces of Canada, groups of girls like ourselves were at camps, and that the C.G.I.T. idea had already gone to Newfoundland

and Trinidad.[5]

Although the world outside was troubled, one can sense from Dr. Tupper's words the security and peace that another generation of young women were privileged to enjoy through CGIT.

Not all of her time was spent with CGIT! High school was also enjoyable and rewarding. Lois had inherited her grandfather's love of English but during these years she developed an affinity for History, French and Chemistry. Upon graduation Lois received a scholarship to the University of Saskatchewan. Her family, which now included three brothers and two sisters, had moved to Wayne, Alberta where her father's brothers owned a coal mine. Dr. Tupper remained in Saskatoon and began classes at the university, boarding with family friends.

These were good years but in her final year of studies, tragedy struck. Lois received word that her mother, who was only forty-six, was dying of cancer. Dr. Tupper described the train journey home:

> I'm still rather childish about prayer, at this point, maybe I still am. But I'm banging on the gates of heaven and saying, "Dear God, don't let her die till I get there!" Isn't that absurd? But that's the way you pray sometimes and long about – I'm in a lower berth on the train, you see – and eventually – I can describe it only as a voice – the voice said to me, "You know, why don't you go to bed and get a bit of rest, you're going to need it and you know I'm with you and I'm with your mother" – and sort of – "I'll stay up and look after things." It was a very moving experience. I've had a few like that since but that was the first time and that was just unbelievable. Just, just a voice said, "You know, why don't you go to sleep. I'm there and I'm here" and so on.[6]

Her mother was dead when she arrived. Lois remained at home for a month and then returned to school. However, it wasn't long before she was seriously ill herself – with nephritis. She graduated with her B.A. in bed in Civic Hospital in Saskatoon. Knowing how difficult the situation was at home, Lois kept her illness a secret. But, in June, she was expected at home and had to let them know. She was allowed to travel back to Wayne but spent most of the next year in bed.

Dr. Tupper returned to the College of Education at the University of Saskatchewan in the Fall of 1932. She was determined to be a teacher but she was also well aware that her family needed her financial support.

However, it was not easy. The first hurdle was the medical examination. The doctor, a woman, was very blunt, "You might as well go home – you'll never be strong enough to teach."[7] Fortunately, Lois didn't listen and began studies anyway. There were about forty students in her class. The Bachelor of Education was normally a two year process but that year five students completed the program in one year – Dr. Tupper was one of them.

In 1933 the Great Depression was at it height and some graduates wrote hundreds of applications. Dr. Tupper wrote seventeen and then was hired to teach at a rural school in southern Saskatchewan called, rather appropriately, Grainland School. The drought was dreadful. Dr. Tupper remembers walking across the fields to the school in the spring and fall and being hit in the face by grasshoppers. It was, nevertheless, an interesting place; Dr. Tupper was responsible for all grades from one through twelve with the exceptions of grades two and seven. The high school students did correspondence lessons but, quite naturally, needed a great deal of assistance particularly in French and Senior Math. At the end of the year, Dr. Tupper transferred to Shaunoven High School which boasted a staff of five. The following two years were difficult ones. Dr. Tupper had problems maintaining discipline and as she recounted somewhat ruefully, "Lots of trouble with great big boys . . . they were very strict about contracts, after my second year, my contract was not renewed."[8] However Dr. Tupper has described the next four years at Davidson High School as a wonderful experience. She then transferred to Wynward High School where she continued to find fulfilment as a teacher.

Teachers' salaries were not high in Saskatchewan during those depression years. Annual salaries ranged from $400 to $700 per annum. However Dr. Tupper was able to supplement her income by marking Grade XII Departmental Exams in French. The Saskatchewan government was prepared to pay $100 for ten days of marking! The extra money allowed her to send more money back home to her family.

Throughout this time, Dr. Tupper was actively involved in church activities as well as providing leadership for local CGIT groups which, more often then not, she began. Dr. Tupper reports,

> Let me say when I was teaching high school in Saskatchewan I was all the time involved in youth work in the church. Quite often there was not a Baptist Church in the towns I taught in, in Saskatchewan, so I

> did such things as superintend a United Church Sunday School. All my CGIT groups were interdenominational; we had Unitarians, Catholics, lots of United and, if there was a Baptist Church, Baptists, Presbyterians, Mennonites, what have you, because Saskatchewan communities were already pretty cross cultural. Very rich experience working with teenagers . . . At Wynyard we had a high school girls' club and a little contest – What Shall We Call It. The name they chose was "Tupper's Order of Good Cheer"; this was TOGC and I thought that was fun. The second year, of course, it became CGIT.[9]

However, her work with teenagers did not stop there. In 1937, ten years after her first experience "as a very green camper,"[10] Lois Tupper served as a leader at Camp Wakanda. Her talents and commitment did not go unnoticed, with the result that the next year she was invited by Win McElroy, then Girls' Work Secretary of Saskatchewan, to direct the camp. Dr. Tupper described her feelings about directing that first camp:

> I can never forget the responsibilities, joys and challenges of that first time as director! Early rising to have a half hour quiet before God in preparation for the day; work with leaders in Bible study; Council Hour with the whole company of 90 campers; the great privilege of leading worship on a hilltop; the realization of God's nearness in all activities and the joy of thinking through issues with fellow workers.[11]

Dr. Tupper directed camps at Carlyle Lake, Saskatchewan for the next three years. Then in 1943, "out of the blue in the midst of World War II," while (she) was teaching at Wynyard came a letter from Muriel Jacobson, National Girls' Work Secretary and coincidentally a member at Wentworth Baptist Church in Hamilton, extending to (her), on behalf of the Maritime Religious Education Council, the invitation to become Girls' Work Secretary of the Council.[12]

Dr. Tupper's roots were in the Maritimes, in Nova Scotia. Both her mother and father had been born not far from Wolfville. Her father, along with half of his brothers, had gone west to work on the railways while her mother, an only child, had moved west with her family. The Rand family's Maritime roots were especially deep and Lois had grown up on her Grandmother Rand's stories about Nova Scotia. Some of them were about her great uncle, Silas Rand, who was the Baptist missionary to the MicMac and Malecite Indians during the second half of the nineteenth century. So,

although reluctant to leave her family, when both her Grandmother Rand and her sister Marg said "Go!", Lois did.

The East – The Maritime Religious Education Council

The Religious Education Council of Canada (RECC) was formed in 1919 by the Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist and Anglican Churches and representatives from the YWCA and YMCA. It was patterned after the American Religious Education Association (REA) which had begun work in 1903 under the leadership of William Rainey Harper, president of the University of Chicago. The RECC was to be a "national denominationally-controlled, co-operative agency . . . which would replace the old non-denominational Sunday School Association." Its inception "marked the official engagement of the Canadian churches, particularly the Methodists and Presbyterians in the new religious education movement."[13] In 1920 the twin National Advisory Committees for Boys' and Girls' Work severed their relationship with the YMCA and YWCA and became "auxiliary arms" of the RECC. Shortly thereafter, two other boards were created to work with children age twelve and under (National Children's Work Board) and with young adults ranging in age from eighteen to twenty-four (National Young People's Board)[14]. By 1926, duplicate organizations were set up in all of the provinces, the three eastern provinces choosing to form one council – The Maritime Religious Education Council.

As Girls' Work Secretary for the Maritime Religious Education Council, Dr. Tupper's responsibilities were many and diverse. She described her duties with these words:

> The years were packed with conferences, rallies, Sunday School Conventions, Leadership Training events, planning and directing camps for Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. The M.R.E.C. had about 20 girls' camps then (as well as boys', young people's and leadership training camps), and I directed 4 or 5 each summer, and, of course, served on staff of leadership training camps too.[15]

When asked what she felt her greatest contribution was to youth work in the Maritimes, what made her feel most satisfied, Dr. Tupper replied that "the most strenuous and the most thrilling was the camp

work."[16] At the camps there were opportunities to enter into people's lives, to talk about personal relationships, to share in Bible study with camp leaders and opportunities to help them in their struggle with issues that the Scriptures raised.

With twenty-three girls' camps to organize and staff, leadership development was an important facet of Dr. Tupper's work. She identified some characteristics that she looked for in a potential leader. First, a director must genuinely to enjoy the camp experience. She must be interested in both the leaders and the individual campers and be prepared to invest herself emotionally in them, i.e., she must love those who were in her care. She must also be capable of working intergenerationally. She must be willing and able to share her own faith journey and be willing to open doors for others, to try to broaden their horizons whether they came from a non-church background or a very narrow one. Most important, she must have made the important discovery that Bible Study was fun and realize that Jesus was capable of laughter.

While in the Maritimes Dr. Tupper worked as part of a team in close co-operation with two of the Boys' Work Secretaries, Al Gibson and Ralph Young, with Ada Adams, who joined the Council as Children's Work Secretary in 1946, and with the office secretaries, Kate Abrams and Alma Price. However, the "network" extended far beyond the Council itself. Dr. Tupper wrote,

> With what a splendid network of men and women leaders in the churches of many denominations I shared in so many ways as we sought to strengthen the teaching ministry of the churches! And what "friends for always" so many became – like the Levys, McIntyres, Burns, Murrays. At annual conferences in Toronto what a privilege it was to work with Harriet Christie, Margaret Webster, Mary Tully, Trudie Patmore, Jean Baynton, Nelson Chappel, Wilbur Howard, Alvin Cooper and so many others![17]

The effectiveness of Dr. Tupper's work is evident in the statistics contained in the *United Baptist Year Book of the Maritime Provinces of Canada, 1943-1947*:

	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947
Baptist CGIT Groups	56	62	69	81	87
Membership	621	642	833	824	984
Baptist/United CGIT		8			
		93			
Total Number of CGIT					
Groups in the Provinces			334	350	
Membership				3699	
Baptist Explorer Groups		21	28	20	
Membership			286	333	300

When Dr. Tupper resigned from the Maritime Religious Education Council in 1947, the Maritime Baptists recognized her efforts with these words:

> In the Co-operative field we record our regrets that we are losing Miss Lois Tupper from our Girls' Work. She has made a fine contribution to Christian Education in the Maritimes and has set a standard of work that will not be easy to maintain. We congratulate her and wish her very success in her new position at McMaster University.[18]

Central Canada – The Women's Leadership Training School and McMaster Divinity College

Each April the RECC held a staff conference in Toronto to which the provincial secretaries were invited along with representatives from the various denominations. Dr. Tupper described these conferences as "a wonderful time of reunion, sharing, renewal and venturing in hopes and plans for Christian Education of teenagers and their leaders."[19]

At the 1947 Conference, Dr. Tupper received a message from Dr. Harold S. Stewart, the Dean of McMaster Divinity College asking her to meet with him in Hamilton. When they met Dr. Stewart invited Dr. Tupper to become Director of the fledgling Women's Leadership Training School (WLTS) at McMaster. The School had been formed in 1946 in response

to a growing demand for theological training for women and was receiving "enthusiastic financial support and publicity from the various Women's Boards in Ontario, Quebec and Western Canada".[20] Although challenged by the prospect, Dr. Tupper was convinced that she did not have the necessary academic background, specifically formal theological training. However, with the promise of a $500 grant from McMaster, she enrolled in the Master of Arts program offered at Union Theological Seminary in co-operation with Columbia University. One year later, in the spring of 1948, she graduated with the degree M.A. in Christian Education.

The year in New York was an exciting one. Not least because Dr. Tupper was given the opportunity to do her field education component at the historic Riverside Church where, in 1947, Dr. James McCracken, a former theology professor at McMaster, was the senior pastor. She still remembers with excitement what it was like to be at Riverside at that time:

> When I was there you had for family school, church school, three hours (9:00-12:00 a.m.). You were stacked up on ten floors of the tower, I had the juniors . . . The first minister was Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick whose "heretical" sermons we used to listen to at university, up in the attic where nobody knew, because he was thought to be terribly modernistic. He was a wonderful, wonderful man. Riverside was a Baptist foundation but it became, of course, very soon, inter-denominational, inter-income bracket, interracial. It is one of the really great churches.[21]

In the summer of 1948, Dr. Tupper returned to McMaster to take up her duties as Director of the WLTS.[22] The WLTS grew out of the need to enrich the two-year Missionary course for women that the University had been offering since the early thirties. The program was intended to prepare young women "to be pastors' assistants, directors of Christian education, church secretaries and missionaries at home and abroad."[23] As the Director, Dr. Tupper was to be directly responsible for all WLTS students, counselling them in curriculum choices, teaching several subjects, assigning field work and guiding them toward placement at the end of the program. Recruitment was also to be her responsibility. In addition, as a member of the Divinity College Faculty, she was to carry her share of the teaching load in the College. Although it was modified over the years the original curriculum was structured in the following way:

> **First Year**: English, Biblical Literature, Speech, Baptist Church Polity, Missions, Religious Education, History of Christianity, Public Speaking, Field Education. Courses in Home Nursing and First Aid were also offered.
>
> **Second Year**: Psychology, Evangelism, Missions, Pastoral Duties, Christian Ethics, Old Testament Interpretation, Religious Education, New Testament, Christian Theology, Field Education. Courses in Group Leadership were also offered.
>
> **Electives**: Electives were selected in order to meet the individual career needs of the student. They could include such diverse elements as French, German, Spanish, Sociology, Typing, Accounting or Dietetics.[24]

Although the WLTS had the support of the faculty of McMaster and of many in the Convention there were others who were still opposed to women taking any leadership role in Canadian churches, although it was considered appropriate for them to minister overseas. In addition, McMaster continued to struggle with the prejudice generated as a result of the fundamentalist/modernist controversy of the twenties. As one student recalls: "I was warned by my Bible College teacher to beware of McMaster as I might come under the devil's control. I was also cautioned by my minister that I might lose my evangelical zeal. So it was with watchful and wary eyes that I came to Mac."[25]

In 1957, Dr. Tupper was joined by Miss Muriel Israel. Like Dr. Tupper, Miss Israel had a long history of Christian ministry. After graduating from Acadia in 1932, Miss Israel taught in Nova Scotia for a number of years before coming to Toronto where she served at the Royce Avenue Baptist Mission, a project of Walmer Road Baptist Church. Following this she worked for the Baptist Women's Missionary Societies (BWMS) in Beverley Street Baptist Church. During the war years she was asked, by the BWMS to travel to Windsor where she served at both the Anna Phelps Mission and the Aubin Road Mission. Convinced of her need for further study, Miss Israel enrolled at Hartford Theological Seminary where she earned the degree M.A. in Religious Education. On returning to Canada, Miss Israel joined the pastoral team of Howard Park United Church as Christian Education Director. Some years later Miss Israel felt compelled to return to Sydney, Nova Scotia to deal with a family crisis.

While there, recovering from the death of both her parents, she was contacted by Dr. Tupper who invited her to come to McMaster as Assistant to the Director. The two women had much in common, sharing a commitment to Christian Education as a whole and specifically to the work of CGIT.[26]

Just one year after her arrival at the College, from September through December 1958, Miss Israel was called on to direct the school while Dr. Tupper fought a battle against cancer. Thankfully Dr. Tupper won the battle and was able to resume her duties.

During the WLTS years Dr. Tupper was also involved in the wider Christian community. In the summer of 1959 she travelled to England and Scotland to visit training schools "with a view to possible improvement of our own."[27]

She was thrilled, if somewhat overwhelmed, by the invitation to the lead the Bible Studies at the First National CGIT Camp in 1952 and the First National CGIT Leaders Camp in 1961. She says of those experiences, "What joy it was to share in leadership of Bible Study at those camps".[28]

In 1963, Lois was invited by the Baptist Board of Religious Education to take a group of fifteen students to the Baptist World Youth Congress in Lebanon and then on a mission tour to Jordan, Israel, India, Burma, Thailand, Hong Kong and Japan. Dr. Tupper described the opportunity:

> In 1963 I had the opportunity, this was Ken Gillespie's plan and he couldn't go himself, to partner with a leader named Turner from the American Baptists and take a group of young people to the Baptist World Youth Congress in Beirut . . . and then around the world on a mission study tour to both the American and Canadian parts of Burma, India, Thailand. First of all we went to Jordan and to Israel and of course the wall was there – the no man's land – but it was an extraordinary experience. We had eight Canadian young people and seven Americans – we were seven weeks. It was a very great experience.[29]

In the academic year 1965-66 Dr. Tupper had her one and only sabbatical. She has described how this came about and a little bit about her experiences in Nigeria:

> The other experience I had was in regard to the only Sabbatical I ever had. Now Dr. Parker was at Mac for forty-three years. He came from Mississippi to teach Hebrew for three years, as a young man, he stayed forty-three and, of course, became head of the College and he had one and a half years off in forty-three years – It's a bit different now and I hope it stays different – but he determined I should have a sabbatical before he retired. So it came in '65-'66.
>
> Just when I knew it was going to happen I had the phone call from my friend Nelson Chappel in New York who was Head of the World Council of Christian Ed. He asked me to go to Nigeria where there was to be a special Christian Education course for young men in very responsible positions from across Africa. He was doing this, asking professors on sabbatical from various Divinity Colleges to do this in various parts of the .world . . . I went to Nigeria and taught in Immanuel College, this special course. The person who worked with me, the other Canadian was John Johnston . . . It was a very fine time.
>
> I wasn't there the whole year because of the civil war. We had to keep renewing our visas every month . . . so we had to go up to Lagos every month to renew and red tape you know, it was just unbelievable . . . you went to about six different floors of twelve for different things. It's like getting a traveller's cheque cashed in India! . . . I taught a fair bit of Bible to the regular theological students and that was a good experience.[30]

When Dr. Tupper returned to McMaster the winds of change were blowing. In the *Baptist Year Book, Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1966-67* it is recorded that a committee was appointed "to assess the situation and review the school's curriculum in relation to the needs of the churches for women workers. Suggestions from individuals and churches were requested."[31] An explanation was offered in the next year's report which said it had "become come apparent that most of our Churches feel unable to add women staff members; patterns of Christian service at home and abroad are changing, and the young women themselves feel the need for a broader preparation than can be given in a short certificate programme."[32] Thus it was that in 1968 the University Senate, acting on the recommendation of the Divinity College Senate and Faculty, approved the creation of a new degree program – Bachelor of Religious Education

(shortly to become Master of Religious Education). It was intended to "meet the demands expressed by many Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec (BCOQ) churches for specially-equipped persons to undertake leadership in the field of Christian Education."[33] From this point onward women and men would have equal opportunities to prepare for ministry.

As a result the WLTS was closed. Miss Israel returned to Walmer Road Baptist Church in Toronto as Director of Community Work. Dr. Tupper, however, remained at the College for another three years as Professor of Christian Ministry. Thus Dr. Tupper became the first woman to hold a full professorship in any theological college in Canada. This was a position she held until her retirement in 1971.

Throughout her years at McMaster Dr. Tupper was a source of inspiration and support to the students to whom she ministered. One woman wrote, "The most 'growing' aspect of WLTS was to know Lois Tupper. I saw in her the love of Christ for her students. Her desire to help and also to offer friendship was a rich experience. In my teaching days I often thought of her and asked myself, 'How would Lois do this?' Her tact and skill were surely gifts from God."[34] Nor was her influence restricted to the women. One of her male students, Robert Campbell, expressed in a letter his deep respect and love for Dr. Tupper:

> Lois Tupper is simply an outstanding woman, always, realistic, warm, caring and above all sensitive to those she encounters. I'm not sure how she did it but she made it her business to be interested in you as a person so that you felt sincerely cared about. She has always met me with a smile, as if I were one of her children returning after a brief absence. Perhaps that is the truth, I am one of her spiritual sons . . . She would constantly surprise me with her responses. That was part of the mystique about her, she was always fresh and delightful. You couldn't anticipate her.[35]

At Convocation on 7 May 1974, Dr. Tupper was awarded an honorary Doctor of Divinity. Grace Anderson described how, as "the degree hood was placed over her shoulders there was a spontaneous standing ovation. Waves of clapping continued for at least the next five minutes." During the reception that followed, Professor Russell Aldwinckle remarked to one of the guests in a classic English understatement, "I think that was one of our better choices!" It was indeed!

The Retirement Years

Although Dr. Tupper retired from McMaster in 1971, her ministry was far from over. For the next four years she served as part-time Co-ordinator of Christian Education at Westdale United Church. She also taught in the Adult Education Department at McMaster. She has described how she went to the adult education department hoping to teach a poetry course in the evening. However, what they needed was someone to teach Business English to accountants. Never one to turn down a challenge, Dr. Tupper agreed and says of the experience, "It was good you know but it wasn't what I had in mind!"[36]

From 1967-l970 Dr. Tupper served as First Vice-President of the Baptist Federation of Canada and in 1970-71 as Vice President of the BCOQ. Following her retirement, she acted as Moderator of the Niagara-Hamilton Association of Baptist Churches from 1971-72. In addition, Dr. Tupper has also been active in the Baptist World Alliance, leading Bible Studies at their meetings in Miami (1965) and in Stockholm (1975).

In November, 1972 she was elected Vice-President of the Canadian Council of Churches, a position she held until April 1976. Dr. Tupper has been an ardent supporter of the Canadian Council of Churches since its inception in 1944 and has worked on the Council's Committee on Christian Vocation, and (after the Council's reorganization in 1968) on the Commission on World Concerns. Throughout, Dr. Tupper continued to lead Bible Studies both in the Hamilton area and in Toronto through the Ecumenical Forum, an affiliate of the Canadian Council of Churches.

Epilogue

To trace the pattern of a life is a difficult thing. No doubt there are many threads that I have missed, threads that would enrich the telling of the story. But this much I know, Lois Tupper, by her life, testifies to the truth that is found in the Bible she loves so much. Ephesians 4:11-12 says, "The gifts he gave were that some would be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, to equip the saints for the work of ministry, for building up the body of Christ." Lois has been all of that and more.

Endnotes

1. Lois Tupper, interview by author, 10 November 1992, tape recording, Canadian Baptist Archives, McMaster Divinity College, Hamilton, ON.

2. M. Lucille Marr, "Church Hierarchy and Christian Nurture: The Significance of Gender in Religious Education in the Methodist, Presbyterian and United Churches in Canada 1919-1939" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Waterloo, 1990).

3. M. Hewitt, *Sixty Years of CGIT, 1915-75* (Toronto: The National CGIT Committee, n.d.), 5.

4. Marr, 44.

5. Lois Tupper, "Co-operation Among Canadian Churches," mss. dated 1982, Canadian Baptist Archives, McMaster Divinity College, Hamilton, ON, 2.

6. Lois Tupper, Tape Recording #91-068, 15 April 1991, Canadian Baptist Archives, McMaster Divinity College, Hamilton, ON.

7. Tupper, tape recording, 15 April 1991.

8. Tupper, tape recording, 15 April 1991.

9. Tupper, interview with author, 10 November 1992.

10. Tupper, "Co-operation Among Canadian Churches," 3.

11. Tupper, "Co-operation Among Canadian Churches," 4.

12. Tupper, "Co-operation Among Canadian Churches", 4.

13. Marr, 34.

14. See Appendix I: The Co-operative Bodies and Boards of the Religious Education Council of Canada (taken from Marr, 291). This chart predates the formation of the United Church of Canada in 1925.

15. Tupper, “Co-operation Among Canadian Churches”, 5.

16. Tupper, interview with author, 10 November 1992.

17. Tupper, “C o-operation Among Canadian Churches,” 5.

18. *The United Baptist Year Book of the Maritime Provinces of Canada, 1945* (St. John: Barnes Haskins Ltd., 1945), 171.

19. Tupper, “Co-operation Amongst the Churches,” 7.

20. G.M. Anderson, *The Leadership Years* (Hamilton: The Alger Press Limited, 1987), 3.

21. Tupper, tape recording, 15 April 1991.

22. The story of Dr. Tupper’s twenty-three years at McMaster has been captured in G.M. Anderson’s *The Leadership Years*.

23. Anderson, 6.

24. Anderson, 64.

25. Anderson, 18.

26. Summarized from Anderson, 24-26.

27. *Baptist Year Book, Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1958-59*, 174; cited in Anderson, 66.

28. Tupper; cited in Hewitt, 22.

29. Tupper, tape recording, 15 April 1991.

30. Tupper, tape recording, 15 April 1991. Dr. Tupper’s letter home at Christmas is included as Appendix II.

31. Anderson, 70.

32. *Baptist Year Book, Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1967-1968*, 1116; cited in Anderson, 70.

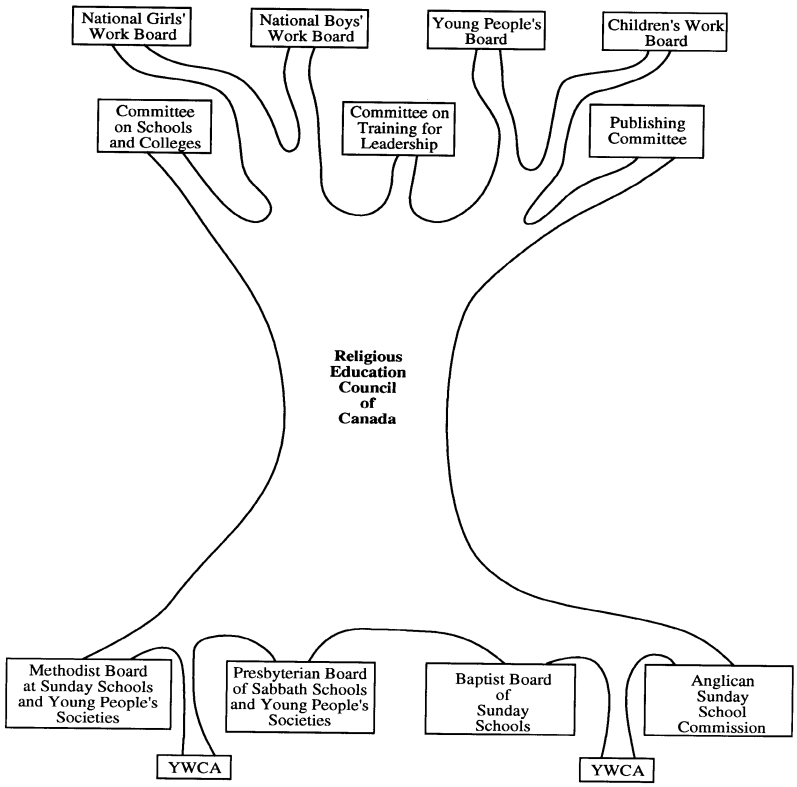
33. Anderson, 70.

34. Anderson, 22.

35. Letter from Robert Campbell to the author, 8 December 1992.

36. Tupper, tape recording, 15 April 1991.

Appendix I: The Co-operative Bodies and Boards of the Religious Education Council of Canada



The Cooperative Bodies and Boards of the Religious Education Council of Canada

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Appendix II

Immanuel College
Ibaden, Nigeria
Christmas, 1965

Dear W.L.T.S. Grads and Friends:

Greetings from Nigeria – warm and long! – for Christmas and the New Year. Perhaps you are already having chilly days in most parts of Canada. Here it is the end of the rainy season, and midday temperatures are climbing higher into the 90's! But I'm writing this in the cooler evening hours.

Above the palms of this beautiful campus the November moon is climbing steadily and revealing the colors of flowers and foliage usually lost when the swift dark descends. The perfume of lily and hibiscus reaches me on the lazy breeze of evening. Songs of a thousand insects fill the air; and the untiring lizards hasten up and down the outside walls of the house that is mine for this term.

This afternoon I went with a young friend from the University of Ibadan to see an outdoor program of Nigerian dances given by students of University College Hospital School of Nursing in honor of the charming Scottish lady who has been their director for 6 years. Can you believe it, I forgot to take my camera! A great pity – for the costumes were colorful and the gaiety unmistakable. Students of the different regions (and tribes) of the land presented characteristic dances in home costume – all to the accompaniment of "an orchestra" of drums played in a furious crescendo by male drummers in flowing Yoruba dress. Often when a dancer had sung a lovely bit of song or performed an intricate dance movement, a member of the audience walked onto the grassy "stage" and pressed a shilling on her forehead or tucked a pound note into her headdress. Fun!

Everyone here is hospitable and friendly. I enjoy thoroughly my classes in Christian Education with the 19 men in third year Theology. Faculty meetings are never dull when one sits with 3 Nigerians and 3 Britishers! Many of you know that I came by invitation of the College and of the World Council of Christian Education especially to assist with a special "pilot experiment" – one year Diploma Course in Christian Education – for experienced pastors and teachers carefully chosen and sent on scholarships provided by World Council of Churches. Not all the 12 have managed to arrive thus far (only 8, in fact) – but they represent 8 African nations and many denominational backgrounds. Under various African leaders they are studying "dynamics" of African society in all its swift changing turbulence. Dr. John Johnston of Lagos, a fearless Canadian Presbyterian, and I are

attempting to help students think into the teaching task of Nigerian Churches today – which is surely a wider and deeper and harder thing than the traditional patterns so firmly rooted and in such need of "jolting" (as are some patterns in Canada – and everywhere in the world today). The men are soon to go to visit a Government school 70 miles away which aims to prepare young people to give leadership in Community Development back in their own towns and villages. Miss Carina Robins, a delightful Britisher, is working with the class on Christian Drama. You can imagine my delight in this! They are creating a paly – complete with songs and dances (instruction in these given by staff members of the University School of Drama). The play is to be presented near Christmas. Theme is "forgiveness."

Of course I've been reading as widely as possible African plays, novels, history, poetry. I'd like to share with you one exquisite poem. It was written by Minji Karibo (who now lives in Enugu – librarian, I think) and published first in "Nigerian Student Verse" in 1959 when she was a student at University of Ibadan. First line is the title –

"It could have been a lonely night,
But tree and shade shared common greenness;

It could have been a tearful night,
But the teasing shadows shook with laughter;

It could have been a poor night,
But the moon showered a million sequins;

It could have been a fearful night,
But the gentle breeze sang of safety;

It could have been a troubled night,
But the unruffled waters spoke of peace."

I'd like to mention two books I brought from home – "Just think, Mr. Berton" by Ted Byfield (answer to "The Comfortable Pew"); and "A Quest for Vitality in Religion" by Findley B. Edge. Both excellent, I think.

Last Sunday at our 10 A.M. Communion in the College Chapel we used the form of service for the Lord's Supper as used by the Churhc of South India – for it will be the basis of the service now being prepared for the Church of Nigeria which comes into being this December, by union of Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches (not Baptist) in this land. We go forward in groups and kneel and partake of the broken loaf and the one cup. For me this is a rich

experience. Many Christian services in Nigeria will be services of Thanksgiving and of dedication of the new church to Mission for Christ. Meantime we seek to pray in very truth for love and wisdom of action for all branches of the Church in these days of trouble and violence in this region.

You may be sure that my thoughts are often with you, grads and friends. Wish I could greet each one of you in person – but I am grateful once again to Irene Flett for mimeographing and mailing this letter for me. Greetings to present W.L.T.S. students also, and to their teachers, Muriel Israel and Muriel Carder! Every happiness to you at Christmas as you share with family and friends. I am excited about the prospect of having Dr. Dorothy Mann of Hamilton (now serving in a Mission Hospital in Kenya) here with me in Ibadan for Christmas.

My love to you,

Lois A. Tupper

Appendix III

McMaster University

Hamilton, Ontario, Canada
L8S 4L9
Department of History

Mr. Chancellor:

By authority of the University Senate I present to you that you may confer upon her the degree Doctor of Divinity, *honoris causa*,

LOIS ALTHEA TUPPER

Miss Tupper comes from a Nova Scotia family of immense renown although her branch of it had settled before her birth in Western Canada. She herself was born and brought up on the prairies, graduating Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Education, with distinction, from the University of Saskatchewan in 1933. Subsequently she did advanced work at Columbia University and at Union Theological Seminary in New York.

For the first ten years after her graduation she taught in the public schools and the high schools of her native Saskatchewan, a province at that time sorely afflicted by the great economic depression. These were years well calculated to reveal the true mettle of those who lived through them, and Miss Tupper made them years of splendid and cheerful usefulness. She was not content to serve her community merely by teaching English, French and History in its schools, she wholeheartedly involved herself in every aspect of young people's endeavours, working with youth groups in church work, in summer camps, in public speaking and in amateur theatricals. the nation-wide attention that this attracted led to her being appointed in 1943 to the Associate Secretaryship of the Religious Educational Council of the Maritimes, and for the next five years she effectively discharged the administrative interdenominational responsibilities this post entailed. From it she came in 1948 to McMaster University's Divinity College to direct the then newly formed Women's Leadership Training School. She remained its Director for the next twenty years, and those of us whose good fortune it was to be her colleagues on this campus during that period can testify to the devotion and capacity, not to

mention the quiet charm, with which she supervised her school, fashioning its students and developed an M.A. programme in Christian education. In 1968 the Divinity College anticipated the women's liberation movement of a few years later and made all of its courses available to members of either sex; whereupon the Women's Leadership Training School lost its separate identity and merged with the College as a whole, and its Director was appointed to the chair of Christian Ministry. Lois Tupper thus became the first member of her sex to hold a full professorship in amy theological college in Canada. She continued to hold it until 1971, when she retired – nominally anyway.

This necessarily brief and rapid summary of her career hardly conveys the true dimension of her services and achievements. She has been a member of the Canadian Council of Churches' Commission on World Concerns and of the Committee on Christian Vocation. In 1963 she led a North American youth group on a world mission study tour. In 1965/66, while on sabbatical leave, she was sent by the World Council of Christian Education to Nigeria as Visiting Professor at Immanuel College in Ibadan, where she helped to establish a new interdenominational course for ministers and youth leaders. She was First Vice-President of the Baptist Federation of Canada from 1967 to 1970 and of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec in the following year. In 1971/72 she was Moderator of the Niagara-Hamilton Association of Baptist Churches; and, whether retired or not, she is still teacher in the McMaster christian education programme and the Coordinator of Christian Education for the Westdale United Church. She is also still very much engaged in her lifetime's work with Bible study groups, youth camps, retreats, church and community affairs and similar activities: she continues to be a woman of all seasons.

In these days of increasing feminine participation in the world's business and of burgeoning ecumenical collaboration in matters spiritual it is a signal honour to be able to present to you, Mr. Chancellor, one who can be authentically described as the practising personification and living embodiment of such enlightened and progressive values:

LOIS ALTHEA TUPPER

E.T. Salmon
University Orator

7 May 1974

The Origin of the Bible School Movement in Western Canada: Towards an Ethnic Interpretation

BRUCE L. GUENTHER

Since the start of the first Bible school in Canada in 1885, Protestant groups have initiated more than 140 such institutions throughout the country.[1] Like their American counterparts, these schools typically offered a Bible-centred, intensely practical, lay-oriented program of post-secondary theological training,[2] and have scattered thousands of church workers, pastors, missionaries and evangelists to every corner of Canada and the world. A conservative estimate indicates that at least 200,000 people have spent at least one academic term at a Canadian Bible school or college.[3] (This figure does not include the many who frequently attended week-end teaching conferences organized by these schools, or those who were influenced by reading the literature published by these schools, or those who regularly listened to radio broadcasts aired by these schools, or the those who were significantly influenced by alumnae from these schools.) The Bible school movement has been a significant factor in the remarkable growth experienced by evangelical Protestant groups in Canada during the twentieth century. Despite its size and influence on Canadian Christianity, the movement is still, as Ben Harder noted in 1980, to a great extent unknown since it has been "largely ignored or else played down as the relatively minor activity of some rather small, fundamentalist sectarian groups."[4] Although certain schools within the movement have attracted some scholarly attention in recent years,[5] a comprehensive analysis like the one attempted by Virginia L. Brereton on American Bible schools is still a significant lacuna within Canadian religious historiography.[6]

Historical Papers 1993: Canadian Society of Church History

As a step towards a fuller understanding of the Bible school movement in Canada I will conduct a preliminary probe into the origin of the Bible School movement in Western Canada. Since a comprehensive study of the Bible school movement is well beyond the scope of this presentation I have set the following parameters. First, the study will be limited geographically to the four western provinces. Seventy-five percent of the Bible schools started in Canada were, and still are, located west of the Ontario-Manitoba border.

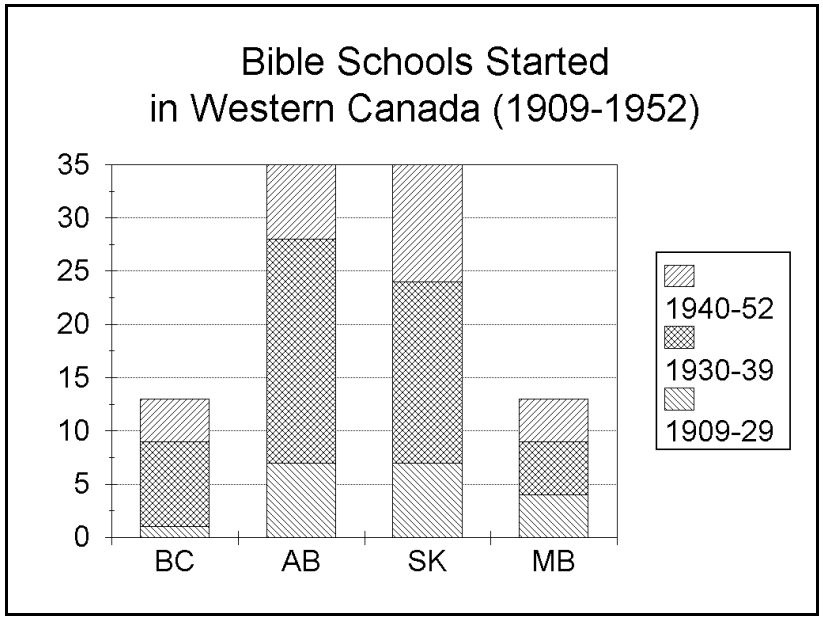

Figure 1

Second, it will be limited to the first half of the twentieth century. Between 1909 and 1952 about 90 different Bible schools were started in Canada's four western provinces. As Figure One indicates almost 20% of these Bible schools came into being during the first two decades of the twentieth century; more than 50% were started during the dreadful depression decade of the 1930s; and the remaining 26% made their debut between 1940-1952. The decade following 1952 marks a significant watershed in the development of the movement: post-secondary schools started

by evangelicals after this date – and there were none for almost a decade – are mostly liberal arts colleges, graduate schools, and Bible schools for Native peoples. During the 1950s and 60s many of the older schools were closed or consolidated with others. These larger, more central institutions became increasingly preoccupied with accreditation and academic respectablity.

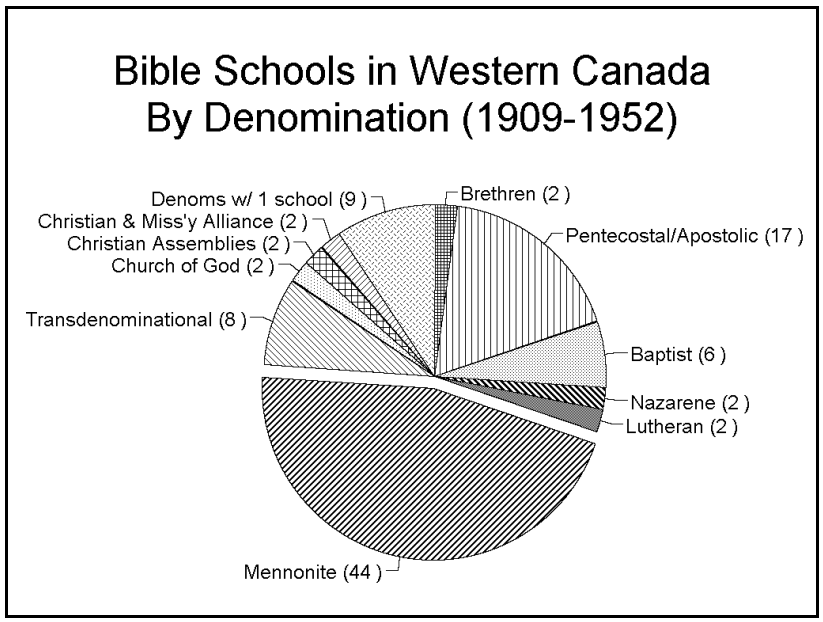

Figure 2

Third, the scope will be narrowed still further by highlighting the role played by ethnicity in the origin of the movement. (By ethnicity I mean the combination of factors such as common history, language, religion and culture which work together to create a sense of peoplehood.[7]) The proliferation of Bible schools that took place between 1909-1952 coincides with the settlement in western Canada by different ethnic immigrant groups. Although Figure Two is organized by denomination, the prominence of ethnicity as a factor within many of the religious communities involved in the movement (e.g., among the Mennonites, Lutherans, Baptists) provides some indication of the potential for the type of analysis

I am proposing. It is the active involvement by some of these ethnic communities that accounts for the disproportionate number of Bible schools in western Canada, and it is this cultural and religious pluralism that calls for a more multi-faceted interpretation of the Canadian Bible school movement than allowed for in previous studies – studies which have allowed religious factors to overshadow ethnic and social aspects,[8] and studies which usually characterized the entire movement in light of the non-denominational schools that have now become the larger, more prominant schools.

I will use as my case study those Bible schools started by three different groups of Mennonites. There are several reasons for selecting Mennonite schools rather than Bible schools started by some other ethnic group (e.g., German Baptists, Norwegian Lutherans, Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant Church, etc.). First, the Mennonites were among the first to introduce Bible schools to the Canadian prairies: Herbert Bible School was started in 1913 preceding Prairie Bible Institute (1922) in Alberta and Winnipeg Bible Institute (1925) in Manitoba by a decade, and Briercrest Bible Institute (1935) in Saskatchewan by more than two decades. Second, of the 90 Bible schools that existed in Western Canada prior to 1952 by far the largest proportion were started and operated by Mennonites (a few identified themselves as inter-denominational but were essentially Mennonite schools).

In constructing the historical context that gave birth to the Mennonite Bible schools I will highlight various challenges faced by this ethnic immigrant community in western Canada. Following a brief survey of Mennonite immigration to Canada, I will look at the dissolution of the village system which the Russian Mennonites tried to transplant in Canada. The disintegration of this system significantly changed the ordered and isolated world of the Mennonites by creating a great deal of social chaos. Almost simultaneous with the disintegration of the village system came a second threat to Mennonite cultural autonomy, the long struggle over, and eventual loss of, the right to operate private German elementary schools. This was followed by a third challenge, a growing disillusionment with the church, which had once been the heart and soul of the Mennonite community. The various Mennonite groups responded in different ways to these problems: of particular interest for this study are three Mennonite denominations which, because of their interest in the revitalization of the church, and because of their desire to compensate for the loss of private

German schools, borrowed several educational genres (i.e., Sunday schools and Bible schools) and adapted them for the Canadian prairies as part of an internal strategy for ethnic and religious self-preservation. I will conclude by showing how the usual characterization of the Bible school movement as a fundamentalist reaction against certain ecclesiastical and theological traditions is in need of revision, and by pointing towards some questions that might profitably be explored in greater depth.

Survey of Early Mennonite Migrations to Canada

First, a very brief introduction to Mennonite immigration to Canada. Mennonites comprised one part of the radical sixteenth-century Anabaptist movement. Over the centuries they have repeatedly sought refuge in countries that would offer them religious toleration. This search eventually led them to North America. Mennonites first arrived in Canada in 1786 when a group of Swiss-German Mennonites from the United States settled in the fertile lowlands between the Niagara escarpment and Lake Ontario. Although there were some 5,500 Mennonites scattered throughout Upper Canada by 1841, it was not until a massive migration beginning in 1874 of Dutch-German Mennonites from Russia (known as the Kanadiers) that the group became established as a sizeable component of Canada's ethnic melange. During the 1920s a second group of Mennonites arrived from Russia (dubbed the Russlaender), and it is these Russian Mennonites who play one of the most significant roles in the Bible school story in Western Canada.

The Russian migration during the 1870s was prompted largely by the desire to escape the impending threat of military conscription, and the increasing encroachment of Russian culture on Mennonite life. Fearful of a possible threat by Bismark, Tsar Alexander II called for a country-wide conscription in 1870. He also informed the Mennonites that henceforth Russian would replace German as the official language of instruction in all Mennonite schools. Both American and Canadian agents tried to entice the disenchanted Mennonites to settle their respective portions of North America:[9] despite a more severe climate and more difficult access to commercial centres, Canada was alluring because it specifically exempted Mennonites from military service (Militia Act of 1793). Following an exploratory tour funded by the Canadian government on the part of a Mennonite delegation, the group was sent a letter by John M. Lowe, secretary

to the Minister of Agriculture, outlining the terms of their agreement: the Canadian government agreed, among other things, to grant entire blocks of land for the exclusive use of the Mennonites; it promised the "fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles . . . without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever; and the same privilege extends to the education of their children in schools"; the government permitted the Mennonites to exercise their preference for "affirming" instead swearing an oath; and the Canadian government even offered to finance partially the immigrants' transportation costs.[10] Of the approximately 17,000 Mennonites who fled Russia at this time, Canada welcomed about 7,500, most of whom belonged to the more conservative groups.[11] These immigrants settled on two large land reserves in southern Manitoba, plus another settlement of two villages (Rosenort and Rosenhof) north and west of Morris, MB.

The Volost vs. Municipalization

The Russian Mennonites, unlike their Swiss-German Mennonite predecessors,[12] attempted to transplant intact their closed habitat/open-field village system (volost) complete with its own administrative infrastructure, taxation system, disciplinary regulations, and educational and welfare institutions.[13] Almost all of the Mennonite immigrants of the 1870s chose to settle within such a village system. Ruled by church elders the two reserves were virtually a collection of autonomous ministates.

This village structure, however, was soon challenged by forces from both without and within. The municipal system adopted by Manitoba in 1879 demanded that land be titled in the name of an individual. This differed radically from the system used by the Mennonites in Russia where land was jointly owned and administered by the church thereby furnishing the church with the ideal means for controlling dissent and for preserving cultural homogeneity.[14] Tension increased within Mennonite communities as municipal authority slowly began to overlap with the responsibilities carried out by the church elders. When a minority of the Manitoba Mennonites began to participate in the municipal electoral process, others – the majority – vigorously resisted. It was, however, simply a matter of time before the municipal system prevailed for it had effectively removed the mechanism by which the church could insure conformity, i.e., it allowed excommunicated dissenters the legal right to retain their land and hence

their livelihood.[15]

While the private ownership of land was the factor that made possible the disintegration of the village system, it was hastened considerably by individualistic impulses that prioritized personal economic gain above the survival of the communal system. To help the community become as self-sufficient as possible (and thereby preserve its isolation), the village system insisted on the development of a mixed economy. This meant dictating to individual farmers what they could or could not produce. As cash-starved pioneering farmers realized that their leaders could no longer enforce their commands concerning how the village land should be used, the temptation to ignore communal dictates and utilize their land for cash crops proved too great a temptation for many. The prospect of personal economic prosperity increased the demand for autonomy from the communal system. Moreover, for enterprising Mennonites, the introduction of railroads brought a variety of new occupational alternatives to the "sacred" occupation of farming. Various towns along the rail line soon became prosperous trading centres, but even more importantly, they served as the hubs of assimilation with, and adjustment to, Canadian society. The village system eventually disintegrated as immigrants moved away from the villages and established homesteads on their own property: by 1910 only a few villages remained intact.

Private German vs. Public English Schools

Simultaneous with the struggle over municipalization and the consequent disintegration of the village system came a second threat to Mennonite cultural autonomy, the long struggle over, and eventual loss of, the right to operate private German elementary schools. As various Mennonite historians have pointed out, this conflict was more than simply a matter of jealous opposition between the English and German language: it was nothing less than the first round in a cultural war between "the British military imperium and a pacifist sect which believed itself to be espousing the kingdom of God and its righteousness."[16] This was part of a larger conflict in Canada between Anglo assimilation and integrationists who wanted to forge Canada's population into one nation with one uniform language and culture, and non-Anglo ethnic groups who preferred to retain some of their cultural and religious distinctives.

In keeping with their tradition, the Russian Mennonites had estab-

lished elementary schools in each village in Manitoba immediately upon their arrival. These schools, patterned after the church school system developed by Johann Cornies in South Russia, provided basic instruction in the three Rs as well as in Bible and Catechism for children up to the age of fourteen. They were deemed an integral part of a Mennonite community by even the most conservative groups.[17] They were not only essential for insuring a certain standard of literacy within the community but were also seen as the primary mechanism for passing religious traditions and language on to the next generation. For the more conservative groups, which were the majority in Manitoba at this time, this was to be done with the most minimal educational advance or intellectual openness.[18] The schools were financed by taxes levied against all property owners in the village and were operated under the direction and strict control of the church. However, for a variety of reasons, these schools became notorious for their inadequate – and deteriorating – level of instruction.[19]

The inferior educational standards brought the matter of Mennonite private schools to the attention of the government.[20] From the late 1870s onward the government made repeated attempts to improve the schools by offering financial assistance to those that hired teachers agreeing to upgrade their credentials. Most Mennonite villages rejected such offers fearing that any financial advantages would be offset by eventual battles over jurisdiction. In the late 1880s a movement for reform in the school system gradually took shape among the progressive minority who believed that a more adequate education and instruction in the English language was essential for the success of their children. Those involved were invariably members of the Bergthaler church and were often merchants from either Gretna, Winkler or Altona, the "urban" centres of commerce for the Mennonites. With the backing of the government they organized a few public schools in the Mennonite reserves.[21]

Controversy intensified with the passage of the Manitoba School Act in 1890. While not aimed directly at the Mennonites, the Act did make it clear that the government intended to replace private denominational schools with a system of state-controlled, tax-supported schools in which English would be the official language of instruction. Although the Mennonites appealled to the terms of their 1873 agreement, they quickly discovered that the promise made by the federal government guaranteeing them autonomy in matters of education was illegal since education was the jurisdiction of provincial governments.[22] In spite of their differences,

neither the progressive Mennonites, and certainly not the conservatives, wanted their children educated in schools run entirely by the state. For both groups, the responsibility to educate their children was seen as a sacred trust from God,[23] and as the means for perpetuating their language, culture and religious beliefs. Despite their differences, they all agreed that "their identity as a people depended in large part on how successfully they would transmit their religious and cultural heritage to their children."[24]

Fortunately for the Mennonites, the furor that shook the entire country with the passage of the Manitoba School Act prompted a number of concessions to religious and bilingual instruction.[25] But the conservatives resolutely refused to accept public schools and took full advantage of the fact that the bill had stopped just short of making attendance compulsory either at public or at recognized private schools. The progressives now joined forces with the government. Together they hired Heinrich H. Ewert of Kansas to reopen Gretna Normal School (later renamed Mennonite Collegiate Institute)[26] and to serve as the government inspector of schools among the Mennonites.[27] It was Ewert's conviction that "the best way to preserve Mennonite values was to accept public schools for Mennonite areas but to place well-qualified teachers in them. They could supplement the government requirements with the curriculum and language of the church."[28] By running teachers' conventions and a series of five-week sessions that included instruction in both English and German, in methods of religious instruction, and in subjects like Bible, church history, apologetics and ethics as well as the program of studies outlined by the government, Ewert prepared prospective teachers capable of teaching in bilingual schools (he also recruited qualified teachers from Russia and the United States). Moreover, as Ewert slowly gained the confidence of Mennonites in the various districts, he was able to persuade them to accept bilingual public schools:[29] by 1895 there were 24 such schools in operation (an increase of 16 in five years), and by 1902 the number had increased to 45 (one-third of all the Mennonite schools).

By the time Saskatchewan and Alberta officially became provinces the idea of a public school system was generally accepted by the Mennonites (the notable exceptions were the two large Old Colony reserves in Hague-Osler and Swift Current). In 1905 a group of progressive Mennonites in Saskatchewan established a teacher training institute, the German-English Academy, at Rosthern. Like the Gretna school, it too was led by an American, David Toews and served as a rallying point for the

progressives in the area. Neither school was controlled by one specific denomination; rather each was governed by a society of subscribers from which a board was elected. These two schools marked the first two post-elementary schools established by Mennonites in Canada. Although both schools were initially designed as teacher training institutes they both eventually became high schools; neither however, attained the college level to which each aspired (influence of the American model).[30] As teacher training schools, they accepted and promoted the public elementary schools but tried to keep them as Mennonite as possible. As high schools they served as substitutes for the public system.

The final round in the battle over schools was precipitated by the imminent advent of the first World War. Pro-war propaganda and rising nationalistic sentiments turned public opinion against the German-speaking Mennonites. The suspicion of Mennonites as "enemy aliens" was aggravated by a general resentment over their exemption from military service, and their obstinate refusal to assimilate. The growing nationalistic spirit generated pressure on governments to use the public school system for assimilating ethnic minorities and instilling a general sense of patriotism.[31] In 1907 Premier of Manitoba Rodmund P. Roblin decreed that the Union Jack, the symbol of the British Empire, be flown over every public school building. It was his intention "to inculcate feelings of patriotism and materially assist in blending together the various nationalities in the Province into one common citizenship irrespective of race and creed . . . what we need is to get the youth filled with the traditions of the British flag and when they are men . . . they will be able to defend it."[32] Needless to say, the Mennonites found this extremely offensive; many of the public schools operated by the Mennonites reverted back to private status.

The pressure increased in 1916 when Manitoba, despite complaints from many sources,[33] passed the Attendance Act in 1916 which made English the sole language of instruction and compelled all children to attend public schools or approved private schools (Saskatchewan followed suit a year later with a similar bill). The Mennonite private schools were condemned as inadequate and the buildings requisitioned to serve as public schools. Parents who failed to send their children to a recognized school were fined or in some cases, even jailed. This attempt to coerce particularly the conservative Mennonites into compliance prompted a massive exodus of approximately 8,000 Mennonites to Latin American countries.

The progressives lobbied aggressively to save their public bilingual schools.[34] In a petition to the Provincial Legislatures they emphasized that they were unable

> "to delegate to others the all important responsibility of educating their children, convinced as they are, that instruction in other religious schools would result in the weakening and even loss of faith, and would be generally detrimental to the moral and spiritual welfare of the children." But they declared their readiness to provide for adequate instruction in English; to strive toward "the highest standard of education which is possible to attain under our Mennonite teachers with their present qualifications"; to intensify the training of Mennonite teachers; to facilitate inspection by the Department of Education; in short, to "place our schools beyond just criticism."[35]

Despite such assurances, their efforts to save their parochial schools were unsuccessful. As Francis observes, it

> was no more a question of educational standards which prompted the authorities to destroy the Mennonite private grade schools once and for all, and to replace them with English public schools. It was part of a consistent national policy aimed at the assimilation of ethnics to safeguard national unity and cultural uniformity. In this policy the school figured prominently as the most effective means to wean the children of immigrants away from the traditions of their group and to indoctrinate them with the ideals and values of the dominant majority.[36]

As the response to the demise of the Mennonite private elementary school system indicates, the concern for the religious instruction of their children is a deeply rooted part of Mennonite history and tradition – the responsibility to educate their children was seen as a sacred trust from God. Moreover, all believed that "their identity as a people depended in large part on how successfully they would transmit their religious and cultural heritage to their children."[37] This was a general concern among all Mennonite groups, motivating both the conservative groups in their dogged resistance to any degree of acculturation and their eventual emigration to Latin America, and the more progressive groups in formulating their compromises with the government. When such compromises as the

bilingual elementary schools were no longer permitted, their concern for the education of their children left little choice but to develop alternative strategies for providing religious education and teaching German to their children. For this they looked to a number of educational models, namely Sunday schools and Bible Schools.

Church Decline and Renewal

The external and the internal threats to the Russian model of community life that I have described created a great deal of chaos for Mennonite social institutions. This was particularly true for the churches, which had long been the very heart and soul of the community.[38] Overcoming the disallusionment that many felt towards the churches, and stimulating a spiritual revitalization, especially among the younger generation who had not known life in Russia and who were most tempted by assimilation, was the third challenge facing Canadian Mennonites at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The popularity of the Western-Canadian Mennonite churches reached an all-time low in the 1890s after a long period of stagnation, conflict and decline. Many immigrants became disillusioned by the inability of their religious leaders to foresee and forestall the threats to their cultural autonomy. The church was discredited further by leaders who exploited their power to protect or further their own interests. Still others left the church disappointed by its continual resistance to "progress" and the pejorative designation of "worldly" to all things new or different.

Differing opinions concerning appropriate responses to what appeared to be the deterioration of Mennonite values and the pernicious influence of Canadian culture resulted in a series of church schisms; this not only eliminated the possibility of a united front on such issues like public schools, but also fragmented the immigrant community into rival factions.[39] The more conservative groups (e.g., Old Order, Kleine Gemeinde, Old Colony, Sommerfelder, Chortizer) continued to resist change by advocating an ever greater degree of withdrawal and separation.[40] The more progressive groups (e.g., Bergthalers, Mennonite Brethren in Christ, Mennonite Brethren, Bruderthaler, Rosenorter) felt that Mennonitism could be saved only through new movements, through spiritual awakenings and aggressive institutional advances. For these Mennonites who were eager for renewal within the church, the preservation and the propogation

of Mennonitism depended on the adoption of evangelical Protestant models. For example, they vigorously advocated the use of Sunday schools; introduced innovations in worship like four-part singing and instrumental accompaniment; promoted rural, urban and foreign missions; developed a more organized approach to works of charity; cooperated with different voluntary societies; and began to make better organizational use of centralized conference offices.[41]

The three Mennonite groups most affected – some would say infected – by North American evangelicalism just prior to and immediately after the turn of the century were the the Mennonite Brethren, the Mennonite Brethren in Christ, and the General Conference Mennonite Church. While still the distinct minority in Canada in the early part of the twentieth century (they became the majority by about 1950), these three groups quickly became the most popular and influential ecclesiastical option among Canadian Mennonites. Instead of withdrawing to Latin America or other, more remote, parts of Canada, they were busy organizing institutions and networks designed to accommodate various aspects of Canadian culture while retaining their ethnic distinctiveness. Members of these three denominations were often the urbanizers and entrepreneurs, establishing congregations and businesses (and missions) not only in rural districts but also in the growing prairie towns. This required a certain degree of competence in English, and certainly more education than basic literacy. As a result, these groups often produced leaders who served as spokespersons for Mennonites as a whole. It is also these three groups that are involved in initiating and operating Bible schools.[42] I will survey briefly the involvement of these three groups in the Bible school movement pointing out some of the differences in emphasis among the three groups, and then highlighting some of the concerns and characteristics they all had in common.

The smallest ecclesiastical option for progressive Mennonites in Canada during the early part of the twentieth century was the Mennonite Brethren Church (Brüdergemeinde).[43] The first Mennonite Brethren congregation in Canada came into existence in 1888 (Burwalde, Manitoba) as the result of church extension efforts by two ministers sponsored by the Mennonite Brethren in the United States.[44] The Burwalde congregation, which moved to Winkler in 1897, soon started a number of satellite congregations in neighboring communities. The membership of these churches comprised mostly former members of Sommerfelder and Old Colony

churches.[45] Shortly after the turn of the century, the Mennonite Brethren presence in western Canada received a substantial increase in members as Mennonite Brethren immigrants from the United States settled in seven different Saskatchewan towns. These American immigrants were familiar with evangelical Protestantism and were therefore particularly interested in introducing various innovations to the church in Canada.

Despite being one of the smallest Mennonite denominations at the time the Mennonite Brethren were the most aggressive in the Bible school movement. The school that has the distinction of being the first Mennonite Bible school in western Canada, and also the second Bible school in western Canada, is Herbert Bible School.[46] Started in 1913, it was the fruition of two years of work on the part of the Northern District Mennonite Brethren Conference. The conference succeeded in establishing a school at such an early date primarily because of the proximity of John F. Harms (1855-1945), a prominent Bible teacher among the Mennonites who had been involved in Bible school work in Kansas prior to settling on a farm at Flowing Well south of Herbert in 1908.[47] During the winter months Harms taught short one-month Bible courses which in 1913 were expanded to become a two year program in the newly formed Bible school. The stated purpose of the school was twofold: "to establish and strengthen youth in the fundamental principles and doctrines of the Scriptures" and "to provide sound Biblical training for definite Christian service in such work as Sunday School instruction, Daily Vacation Bible School, Young People's and choir work, as well as extended Mission work at home and abroad."[48] The language of instruction was German. In 1918 Harms moved back to the United States, and the school closed due to financial difficulties.[49]

After a two-year closure, the school was reopened in 1921 by William J. Bestvater, a graduate of Moody Bible Institute, a former Winnipeg city missionary and a popular Bible conference speaker. According to Toews, it was Bestvater who gave the school its particular image, an image, one might add, that was used repeatedly as a model by other Mennonite Brethren groups starting their own schools.[50] By writing various textbooks (e.g., *Die Glaubenslehre* and *Die Bibelkunde*), and by editing a modest periodical entitled *Das Zeugnis der Schrift*, Bestvater disseminated the dispensationalist eschatology he had learned at Moody and through "the Scofield Bible Courses [and] Bible Conferences [with] men like A.C. Gaebelein, William Evans, A.C. Dixon, William B. Riley,

Harris Gregg and others."[51] Epp indicates that the dependence on such theological influences was "a harbinger of things to come in the Mennonite Bible School movement in the prairies, especially among the Brethren."[52] Although the Mennonite Brethren were and remained the driving force behind the school, the local executive actively sought the support of local General Conference Mennonites and even the Sommerfelder. An informal association with the General Conference Mennonites continued until the 40s when they began to support their own Swift Current Bible Institute.[53]

In 1925 a second Bible school was established by the Mennonite Brethren, this one being quite different than the first. Abraham H. Unruh, a teacher at Tschongraw Mennonite Brethren Bible School in Russia emigrated to Canada in 1924. Largely through his influence Pniel [meaning "the face of God"] Bible School came into being the following year in Winkler, Manitoba (the name was later changed to Winkler Bible Institute). Although the school began with a modest six students, the number increased to seventy within three years. Unruh therefore recruited several former associates from Tschongraw to assist as teachers. As was the case in Herbert, the General Conference Mennonites were also actively involved in this school during the first few years.[54]

Although both Herbert and Winkler were run by the Mennonite Brethren there were definite differences in perspective and emphasis. The curriculum at Winkler was "patterned largely after that in Tschongraw which in turn was patterned after the curriculum of the German Baptist Seminary in Hamburg."[55] As a result it emphasised the training of ministers.[56] The school at Herbert was modelled after certain American Bible institutes and stressed missions and the preparation of lay workers. The addition of American-trained A.A. Kroeker to the staff at Pniel helped incorporate into the program an emphasis on the intensive training of Sunday School teachers. Herbert and Winkler represent the two major strands of influence converging in the Bible schools started by the Mennonite Brethren.

Beginning in the late twenties and continuing throughout the thirties the Mennonite Brethren started at least sixteen additional schools in western Canada. Most of these schools have long ago either closed or been incorporated as a part of another school. While impossible to sketch the history of each institution I will highlight several of the schools that have survived as well as some of the significant trends that developed during this period.

In 1927 the Mennonite Brethren started a second school in Saskatchewan; this school, located in Hepburn, was designed to serve the northern constituency in the province. It was modelled after the Herbert school. According to Toews it has, more than any other Mennonite Brethren school, inspired its students and graduates for mission work at home and abroad.[57] Although at least five other schools were established in Saskatchewan during this period – some in relatively close proximity to Hepburn, all, including Herbert, were incorporated as a part of Bethany by 1957.[58]

In Alberta, the Mennonite Brethren established five schools within eight years. All of them were, for various reasons, closed by 1966. Most influential was Coaldale Bible School (initially called Morning Star Bible School); more than a 1000 students attended during its thirty-seven year existence. Like Bethany in Saskatchewan, Coaldale was in 1961 designated the provincial school. Other schools included Bethesda at Gem, a school that served a relatively small constituency; La Glace in the Peace River area that was founded by G. Harder, a graduate of Aberhart's Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute. Attempts to establish institutions in Vauxhall, Crowfoot and Grassy Lake were short-lived.

As the Mennonite Brethren continued to move further west, Bible schools began to appear in British Columbia. The first was Elim Bible School at Yarrow, one of the fastest growing Mennonite communities in the thirties and forties. Started in 1931, its enrollment during the forties peaked eleven years later at over 150. It was, however, forced to close in 1955. Like some of the Mennonite Brethren communities in Alberta and Saskatchewan, various communities in BC (Chilliwack, Greendale, Black Creek) also made attempts to establish Bible schools. With the exception of the school at Chilliwack, few lasted more than several years. The final school that deserves mention is Bethel Bible School originally located in Abbotsford. This school was started in 1936 by one congregation, but joined forces with several other local Mennonite Brethren congregations in the mid-forties to become the Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute. In 1955 it relocated to Clearbrook and soon after was designated the provincial Bible school. In 1970 it was involved in a unique merger with a General Conference school, Bethel Bible Institute. Since Bethel desperately need to escape both from "inadequate facilities and the unpleasantness of polluted air," and MBBI was looking for a way to broaden its support base, the two schools joined together to form Columbia Bible Institute (now known as Columbia Bible College).[59]

Manitoba never saw the same proliferation of Mennonite Brethren schools as did the other three western provinces. This was largely due to the relatively small number of Mennonite Brethren and because of Winkler's established reputation. Nevertheless, the Mennonite Brethren did for a short period during the thirties conduct an evening Bible school in Winnipeg and were the catalyst behind the founding of Steinbach Bible School (now known as Steinbach Bible College) in the early thirties. The Steinbach school soon became a community Bible school and is still operated by a consortium of four Mennonite denominations.[60]

The second Mennonite denomination to become involved in establishing a Bible school in western Canada was the Mennonite Brethren in Christ. A formidible force among the Mennonites in Ontario they were a much smaller part of the Mennonite presence in western Canada. Strongly influenced by Methodist revivalism in Ontario, the Mennonite Brethren in Christ stressed the necessity of a climactic, emotional personal conversion and personal piety, and demanded strong institutional loyalty as an expression of the Christian life.[61] This difference is, at least in part, also explained by the fact that the Mennonite Brethren in Christ were predominately made up of Swiss Mennonites.[62] The group concentrated its energy on winning converts and, as a result, reached well beyond its ethnic borders. It had, for example, established a mission in Edmonton by 1906, which three years later became Beulah Home for unmarried mothers. The group's mission emphasis and readiness to de-emphasize its Mennonite ethnic and theological distinctives not only gave the group a greater freedom in neighborhood evangelism but also made them one of the groups most open to assimilation into Canadian culture.[63] As part of an effort to improve its missionary efforts, the Mennonite Brethren in Christ was one of the first groups to use English for church services and was the first to suggest that its Mennonite name might be obstructing its evangelistic objectives.[64] In 1921 the group began the Mountain View Training School in Didsbury, Alberta.[65] The school had a strong emphasis on missions and evangelism, and was among the first Mennonite schools to use English as the language of instruction. Reflecting its general openness towards assimilation was its conscious maintenance of an interdenominational faculty. In September 1992 the school merged with Hillcrest Christian College to form Rocky Mountain College in Calgary. Over the years the Mennonite Brethren in Christ became a unique conglomeration of influences, so much so in fact that it is no longer identifiably Mennonite.[66]

The third Mennonite denomination involved in the Bible school movement was the General Conference of Mennonites. In contrast to the Mennonite Brethren in Christ who deliberately reached beyond the Mennonite boundaries, the General Conference Mennonites worked at consolidating Mennonite congregations who were "in danger of drifting away because of geographic isolation, cultural differences, congregational practices, or doctrinal variance."[67] Through the work of Reiseprediger (itinerant American preachers), who were sent north as "home missionaries" throughout the 1880s and 90s,[68] the General Conference Mennonites attempted to extend its conference network to western Canada.[69] While initially unsuccessful in their attempt to establish formal ties with the more progressive groups like the Bergthaler in Manitoba and the Rosenorter in Saskatchewan, the Reiseprediger did exercise considerable influence on them through services, Bible studies and home visitations.[70] To encompass the natural diversity within such a large – and loosely affiliated – general conference of churches, the General Conference Mennonites were more accepting of urbanization, of public schools, and had developed a more "liberally oriented" stance towards personal behaviour.[71]

The absence of a clear denominational structure in Canada at the beginning of the twentieth century helps explain why the General Conference Mennonites were somewhat later in starting their own Bible schools. Many General Conference Mennonite congregations simply collaborated with local Mennonite Brethren schools and saw little reason to start their own. The first General Conference Mennonite Bible school, Elim Bible School, began in 1929 as an appendage of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute. After ten years it was moved to Altona. Motivating the General Conference Mennonites was the fact that the Mennonite Brethren had already established three Bible schools by 1929 and that many General Conference Mennonite young people were attending them.[72] Three years later Johann H. started the Mennonitischen Religionsschule in Winnipeg; a similar school was also established at Rosthern. Despite their slow start the General Conference Mennonites, like the MBS, witnessed an incredible proliferation of Bible schools during the 1930s. More than a dozen schools were begun by General Conference Mennonite groups between 1929-1939. One of the few General Conference Mennonite schools to survive until the present is Swift Current Bible Institute. It began in 1936; in 1961 it absorbed the Rosthern school. In 1939, five General Conference Mennonite schools were founded in British Columbia.

The only one to survive any length of time was Bethel Bible Institute which was first located at Aldergrove and then relocated to Coghlan. As mentioned previously it merged with a Mennonite Brethren school in 1970 to become Columbia Bible College.

Both the Mennonite Brethren and the General Conference Mennonites across Canada received an enormous boost from the fresh wave of Russian Mennonites entering Canada during the mid to late 1920s. Many were able to settle in areas already occupied by Mennonites because of the simultanous exodus of 8,000 conservative Mennonites. This arrival of another 20,000 immigrants substantially altered the face of Mennonitism in Canada. Better educated than their Kanadier counterparts, and much more willing to assimilate, they gave the educational endeavours on the part of the more progressive Mennonites substantial support.[73] In fact, the Russlaenders arrived with such strength and leadership that their "many gifted and devoted ministers, leaders, teachers, and men qualified in practical affairs" soon assumed dominant roles in many congregations and institutions.[74] A case in point already mentioned is the Mennonite Brethren Bible school located in Winkler, Manitoba.

Having surveyed the Mennonite denominations involved in the Bible school movement highlighting some differences in emphasis and approach, I will now examine some of the characteristics and objectives they had in common. Initially most of the Bible schools admitted students immediately after the completion of elementary school;[75] in this they filled an educational void before the development of provincial high-school systems.[76] Starting in the late 1930s and early 1940s some of the Bible schools developed provincially-approved high school programs (e.g., Steinbach Bible College). To accommodate rural students the academic term was kept short – on average only four months, beginning in late October after harvest and finishing in February or March before seeding. This also allowed many instructors to support themselves thereby reducing the financial demands on students and on the constituency. The majority of the early Bible schools were started in homes or in church buildings, and served very specific congregations or districts. Always present was the dual curricular emphasis: Deutsch and Religion. In some schools, German was the sole language of instruction until the late 1930s after which English gradually came to be used as the dominant language of instruction.[77]

As suggested previously, it is no accident that the birth of the Men-

nonite Bible school movement coincides with the time when public elementary schools became an unavoidable reality. In fact, the Bible schools can be seen as an extension of their concern for the religious education of their children and for the preservation of certain cultural attributes (i.e., language). Church leaders apprehensively warned: "Die Schulen unseres Landes sind religionslos. Unsere Kinder bekommen in den Distrikt und Hochschulen gute Unterweisung in vielen nützlichen Fächern, aber die direkte religiös Unterweisung wird vermieden."[78] Although a few schools did begin with the stated objective of training ministers for the church (e.g. Winkler), this focus was soon subsumed by the primary passion that animated the other schools, i.e., keeping the young people and grounding them in the Mennonite faith, language and way of life. The early literature of the Mennonite Bible schools is preoccupied – almost obsessed – with desperate attempts to impress the young people of the utmost importance of attending Bible school. Jacob Theilmann, Principal of Alberta M.B. Bible School in Coaldale, emphatically implored: "Bible School training is a *MUST* for *ALL* Christian young people."[79] Cornelius Braun, Principal of Herbert Bible School wrote: "Whereas our public and high schools fail to offer any Christian training, a period of Bible instruction is indispensible. *No young person who has such an opportunity can afford to miss out on this training*" (emphasis mine).[80] In addition to welcoming missionary speakers to speak at chapel services, Mennonite Bible schools also frequently invited travelling evangelists to conduct services: more than a few schools note how such meetings resulted in the conversion of students.[81] This was undoubtedly what many leaders hoped would happen to their young people while at Bible school – it also confirms that, at least for a time, the task of training church workers was not the first priority.

This is not to suggest that the churches did not recruit workers from their Bible schools; it is only to say that this was, at the outset, a desirable by-product for the denominations involved. Students trained in Bible schools did bring vitality and energy back into the life of the local church life.[82] For example, in 1963 the Mennonite Brethren estimated that 90% of their missionaries abroad, 86% of their missionaries at home, 59% of their ministers, and 67% of their Sunday School workers had some Bible School training.[83]

By moving momentarily beyond the parameters outlined at the beginning one can observe several subsequent developments among the Mennonite Bible schools. Beginning in the forties and continuing on for more

than a decade is a trend towards consolidation and amalgamation. This was precipitated by technological advances in communication and transportation – and the growing post-war prosperity among the Mennonites that enabled them to afford automobiles, and the growing economic burden created by what were, in many cases, redundant institutions only a few miles apart. The process of consolidation and amalgamation created larger institutions making it possible "to improve the quality of education, to expand services, and to operate more economically." While economic realities played their part, the move was also precipitated by a desire to create educational institutions of higher learning that could attract those students who might otherwise go to universities.[84]

The move towards accreditation resulted in the creation of several degree-granting colleges. As early as the forties various denominational leaders realized that the pastors of the future (particularly in urban churches) would require a more general education to keep pace with lay people in their congregations. Moreover, denominational leaders felt a certain degree of frustration when they saw their best students attend American colleges and then not return to Canada. In 1944, A.H. Unruh left Winkler to head up the Mennonite Brethren Bible College in Winnipeg; only a few years later the General Conference Mennonites established the Canadian Mennonite Bible College, also located in Winnipeg. The creation of these, university-affiliated colleges created an identity crisis among the remaining Bible schools. Most were not located near a university campus, and neither did they have the financial and faculty resources to move towards college status: it became increasingly difficult for Bible schools to attract young people for a three or four year period.[85] The trend towards accreditation has moved a step further in the last twenty years with the establishment of two colleges that function within a university system: Conrad Grebel College began in 1963 and is a part of Waterloo University; in 1988 Menno Simons College became an undergraduate college affliated with the University of Winnipeg.[86]

In conclusion I will highlight briefly several implications of this study that identify certain dimensions of the movement that require additional study. First, I have demonstrated that the Mennonite Bible schools did not originate as a reaction against existing ecclesiastical or theological traditions – although in one sense the Anabaptist tradition has always represented a rejection of other ecclesiastical and social traditions; rather they represented a major effort on the part of various Mennonite denomi-

nations to protect their homogenity as Mennonites by passing on their religious and ethnic distinctives to successive generations. One can, therefore, suggest that a more multi-faceted explanation of the development of the Bible school movement in Canada is necessary. Although I have looked only at the reasons for the emergence of the many Mennonite Bible schools in western Canada, any re-assessment of one part of the Bible school movement inevitably requires a new view of the whole movement. This means that the commonly held assumption that the Bible school movement in Canada was simply a fundamentalist response to theological liberalism needs to be revised.[87] While such a thesis – aside from its careless use of the word fundamentalist – is probably valid in explaining the origins of many Bible schools in the United States and for certain schools in Canada, it does not provide an adequate explanation for the existence of the numerous Mennonite schools in addition to doing considerable injustice to some other schools as well.[88]

Second, while it has not been the focus of this paper, a study of the Mennonite Bible schools raises questions about the complex relationship between faith and ethnicity. In addition to using various evangelical institutional models as part of a strategy for cultural and religious self-preservation,[89] many within the Mennonite denominations also endorsed certain evangelical emphases, particularly the central place given to missions and evangelism. Although these emphases varied among the different Mennonite denominations, it did eventually mean confronting the possibility of integrating non-Mennonites into the church and community, and addressing an inclination towards ethnocentrism. As a result, a certain ambivalence towards North-American evangelicalism has always existed among Canadian Mennonites. Some considered these evangelical emphases as essential for the spiritual health and vitality of the church and therefore encouraged the creation of a multi-ethnic community of believers appealing to a spiritual unity that transcended ethnic differences; others were more reticent fearing that trying to separate and subsume ethnic distinctives was tantamount to an open endorsement of cultural assimilation (or homogenization). Without going into detail about how the various denominations have struggled with these questions (suffice it to say that it is still far from being a dead issue),[90] the struggle was exacerbated by the large numbers of Mennonite young people who, despite having a plethora of Mennonite schools from which to choose, opted instead to attend one of the non-denominational evangelical institutions. Student enrolment

figures at both Prairie Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute indicate that, from the late 1930s onwards, Mennonite students consistently made up 25%-35% of the student population.[91] On the basis of the evangelical influence in the Mennonite Bible schools, along with the impact of the non-denominational schools on Mennonite students, a case could be made arguing that evangelicalism served as a potent force accelerating the "Canadianization" of ethnic immigrant groups like the Mennonites.[92] Evangelicalism was far more effective as an agent for assimilation than the deliberate, and often coercive, efforts on the part of the Anglo-Saxon establishment to homogenize new immigrants. Finally, as I said at the outset, this is a preliminary probe: much more needs to be done before a full assessment of the Bible school movement can be made.[93] Such an assessment has the potential of being a significant window from which to view the way evangelicalism has shaped the cultural and social configuration of Western Canada.

Endnotes

1. The first Bible school in Canada was the Mission Training School in Niagara Falls; the second was the Christian Institute in Toronto (founded by William Gooderham in 1888 but under the direction of Alfred Sandham, a Methodist: it became insolvent in early 1893); the third was another short-lived attempt called the Toronto Missionary Training School founded by John Salmon (with the encouragement of Alfred Sandham) in October 1893 as an outreach of Bethany Church (C&MA). All three schools had close links to the Christian and Missionary Alliance. In 1894 Elmore Harris of Walmer Road Baptist Church initiated an inter-denominational venture known as the Toronto Bible Training School which had the backing of a much broader constituency than the first three schools – the school still survives and is now known as Ontario Bible College.

2. A Bible school or institute is an educational institution operating at roughly a high school level. They are different from Bible colleges, which are "degree-conferring" and whose curricula include "more liberal arts or general education courses" (S.A. Witmer, *The Bible College Story: Education with Dimension* [Manhasset, NY: Channel Press, 1962], 37; see also Virginia L. Brereton, *Training God's Army: The American Bible School, 1880-1940* [Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990], vii).

3. A guide to evangelical higher education published by the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada in 1985 listed 76 Bible institutes and colleges with a combined enrollment (FTE) of 8,300. The total number of graduates from these schools was calculated to be 60,000: this did not, however, include alumni who had never graduated nor did it include those who attended schools no longer in existence in 1985 or not listed in the Guide (see "101 Reasons to Prepare for Life and Ministry in Canada: Annual College Guide," *Faith Alive* [November 1985]: 31-54).

4. "The Bible Institute-College Movement in Canada," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 22 (April 1980): 29. Harder's article was the first article specifically devoted to the Canadian Bible school movement to appear in an academic journal. While he refers to the superficial treatment given to the movement by H.H. Walsh, J.W. Grant and D.C. Masters, he fails to mention W.E. Mann, who in 1955 included a look at some Bible schools in his sociological study of sects and cults in Alberta (*Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press]), or Leonard F. O'Neil's work ("A Survey of the Bible Schools of Canada" (B.D. Thesis, McMaster University, 1949). Harder's analysis is limited by that fact that he includes only those schools still in existence in 1980, and by the way his interpretation is based primarily on the non-denominational schools which eventually became the more prominent schools.

5. See for example, John G. Stackhouse, Jr., "Proclaiming the Word: Canadian Evangelicalism Since the First World War" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1987). This formed the basis for his recently published work entitled *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to its Character* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

6. Keith Clifford makes a similar lament in "The History of Protestant Theological Education in Canada," *Study Sessions* 56 (1989): 94. Leaders within the Bible school movement must share a certain responsibility for this lacuna. Typical of the twentieth-century evangelical reticence to spend a great deal of energy analyzing history is Henry Hildebrand, founder of Briercrest Bible College, who asserts that evangelicals should be "more interested in making history than recording it! Driving with one's eye on the rear-view mirror is not safe" (*In His Loving Service* [Caronport, SK: Briercrest Bible College, 1985], 9). Such disregard for the necessity of an

historical perspective has also been accepted by his protege H.H. Budd who explains that true evangelicals are "much busier in making history than in writing it" (cited in G.A. Rawlyk, *Champions of the Truth* [Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990], 5).

7. For some excellent discussions of the relationships between ethnicity and religion see Timothy L. Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America," *American Historical Review* 83 (December 1978): 1155-1185; John H. Redekop, *A People Apart: Ethnicity and the Mennonite Brethren* (Winnipeg: Kindred Press, 1987); and Rodney J. Sawatsky, "Mennonite Ethnicity: Medium, Message and Mission," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 9 (1991): 113-121.

8. The same complaint is made by Cornelius J. Jaenen in his analysis of the Manitoba School Question ("The Manitoba School Question: An Ethnic Interpretation," in *Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education*, ed. Martin L. Kovacs, 217-231 [Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1978]).

9. Neither government was motivated by charity: the rapid expansion of the American railroad system prompted fear in Canada that the United States might make an effort to annex its western most territories. Settlers for the Canadian west became, therefore, an urgent priority. The government was particularly keen to find Protestant settlers to counterbalance the large Catholic Metis and French population in Manitoba. And finally, both governments knew that many of these immigrants were not destitute: for example, the value of the Mennonite's immediate contribution to Manitoba's wealth was estimated in excess of $1M (Henry J. Gerbrandt, *Adventure in Faith: The Background in Europe and the Development in Canada of the Bergthaler Mennonite Church of Manitoba* [Altona: D.W. Friesen and Sons Ltd., 1970], 61, 73).

10. Cited in Gerbrandt, 57-59. The terms were presented – albeit in a slightly altered form – and approved by an Order-in-Council on 13 August 1873.

11. I am following Frank Epp's use of the categories "conservative" and "progressive" (*Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People*, Vol. 1 [Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974], and *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival*, Vol. 2 [Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1982]). The conservative groups came from the Chortiza, Bergthal and Fuerstenland colonies, and from the Kleine

Gemeinde of the Molotshna colony. Many had been poor and landless in Prussia and among the least educated in Russia. These factors need to be considered in understanding their response to the threats of assimilation in their new homeland.

12. The Swiss-Germans had emigrated as families, or at most, extended families. Moreover, the areas in which they settled had reserved fourteen out of every forty-eight lots for the Crown and the Anglican Church as specified by the Constitutional Act of 1791.

13. For an excellent description and discussion of the Russian volost village system see John B. Toews, "Russian Mennonites in Canada: Some Background Aspects," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 2, No. 2 (December 1970): 117-146.

14. The Mennonite resistance to involvement in affairs of the "state," are ironic when one considers what a thorough marriage of church and state their settlements had become. It is not simply a coincidence that many of the church elders, whose position was equivalent to that of a mayor, were often among the wealthiest (see John B. Toews, "Cultural and Intellectual Aspects of the Mennonite Experience in Russia," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 53, No. 2 [April 1979]: 140-141).

15. E.K. Francis writes, "the incorporation of the rural municipalities interfered directly with the traditional institutions of self-government and eventually led to their collapse. More decisive than the imposition of Canadian institutions of local government, however, was the kind of legal and political freedom permitted to the individual, fostering dissension within the group itself and resistance to social controls" (*In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba* [Altona, MB: D.W. Friesen & Sons Ltd., 1955], 108-109). Underlying the dispute about the legal division of land was a confrontation between two world views: the Mennonite communitarian social values was thrust into competition with the more individualistic ideology of democracy. Gerbrandt notes that both the Canadian government and the Mennonites used the word "freedom," but the word meant radically different things to each group (72-73).

16. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada*, I:334.

17. See William Friesen, "A Mennonite Community in the East Reserve: Its Origin and Growth," in *Historical Essays on the Prairie Provinces*, ed. Donald Swainson (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart Limited, 1970), for a lengthy excerpt from Kleine Gemeinde regulations concerning education (116-117).

18. The suspicion of education has a long heritage among the Mennonites (see Francis, 167-68, and Epp, *Mennonites in Canada*, 1:338).

19. The village school system suffered from a lack of trained teachers, partly because villages, and therefore schools, were more numerous in Manitoba than in Russia, and partly because the more liberal-minded teachers did not emigrate. Moreover as opportunities for economic prosperity increased it became more difficult to attract and keep competent teachers. But despite the problems, the Mennonites were among the few ethnic groups that required every member of the community to acquire at least a minimal level of literacy (Francis, 164).

20. E.H. Oliver describes a visit to these schools: "All have the same type of backless seats, the same dazzling light pouring into pupils' eyes from left, right and front, the same absence of maps, pictures and charts. Some have a blackboard three feet by four feet. One even has two, but some have none. All the pupils pass through four grades: 1. A.B.C., 2. Catechism, 3. New Testament, 4. Old Testament. In the forenoon they sing and say their prayers, then study Bible history and practice reading . . . for three hours in the afternoon they work at arithmetic and writing. It is simple fare, but it is all the teacher himself has ever received. Frequently he does not even know Hoch Deutch well enough for conversation. So through seven years they go, from October 15 to seeding and again for one month in summer, ignorant of the facts of Canadian history . . . and taught that the English language will only make it easier to lapse into the great world of sin outside the Mennonite community" (cited in C.B. Sissons, *Church and State in Canadian Education: An Historical Study* [Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1959], 203). See also a report made by W. Thiem-White which precipitated government action (cited in Jaenen, 320).

21. This was bitterly resented by the conservatives. Because many of the conservatives refused to vote, the progressives were able to enact the School Act and have a public school instituted at public expense in some districts. This forced all people in the district to pay a municipal school tax

on top of the private levy they might already have been paying in support of a private school.

22. Many had seen a copy of John M. Lowe's letter: the terms were, however, altered in the statement approved by Order-in-Council--presumably by legal clerks who wished to match the language of existing laws. The paragraph pertaining to education in the Order-in-Council reads: ". . . that the Mennonites will have the fullest privileges of exercising their religious principles, and educating their children in schools, *as provided by law* [emphasis mine], without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever." The highlighted change does give the agreement quite a different meaning (cited in Epp, *Mennonites in Canada*, 1:339).

23. One Old Colony Bishop explained, "the question of conducting school is for us a religious issue. Hence we cannot submit the schools to government control" (cited in Calvin Redekop, *Mennonite Society* [Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989], 190).

24. See Rudy A. Regehr, "A Century of Private Schools." In *Call to Faithfulness: Essays in Canadian Mennonite Studies*, ed. Henry Poettcker and Rudy A. Regehr (Winnipeg: Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 1972), 106.

25. Any school district with more than 10 students with a mother tongue other than English could officially offer instruction in a language other than English. Religion could be taught by lengthening the teaching day. Jaenen cites *The Manitoba Free Press* to point out that these concessions were made by the Province of Manitoba to appease the French-Catholic lobby "in the expectation that it would be taken advantage of only by the French and by them in a limited degree and by a few and diminishing number of Mennonite communities." In reality, it had exactly the opposite effect: ethnic groups soon realized that it allowed for the possibility of ethnic group perpetuation, and as a result, exacerbated the very tensions the government had tried to circumvent (323-329).

26. The school was initially founded in 1889 (was called the Mennonitische Lehranstalt) but closed after one year due to opposition from a contingent of Bergthalers in the area and incompetent leadership.

27. The affiliation with the government and the presence of an educated American deepened the rift between the progressives and conservatives. The conservatives had legitimate reason to suspect the American influence for the American Mennonites were among the first to assume "the inevitability, and perhaps even the desirability, of a language transition." They had, therefore, established a network of colleges that were "intended to fortify Mennonite religious values so that any cultural accommodation to American society would not threaten the essential core" (Epp, *Mennonites in Canada*, 1:335).

28. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada*, 1:342. The strategy underlying such cooperation was similar to the one used in Russia during this time. The intention was to learn a new culture while strengthening the old one, however it seems that the Mennonites feared Russification a great deal more than Anglicization.

29. Sissons gives a remarkably positive review of these schools (204).

30. Due to some internal conflict at the Mennonite Collegiate Institute another school was established for a time in Altona (1908-1926).

31. A case in point is an editorial appearing in the *Winnipeg Free Press* on May 18, 1920 which insisted that "the modern democratic state cannot agree that the parents have the sole right of determining what kind of education their children shall receive . . . the children are the children of the state of which they are destined to be citizens; and it is the duty of the state that they are properly educated" (cited in Francis, 179).

32. Cited in Francis, 174.

33. In 1913 the Mennonites had organized a Schulkomission consisting of representatives from the Bergthaler, Sommerfelder and Brethren churches. It presented briefs asking for the continued right to have their own private schools and to teach German and religion in the public district schools (Epp, *Mennonites in Canada*, 1:355).

34. The refusal to allow the continued existence of bilingual schools was not precipitated only by the Mennonite schools. The influx of numerous eastern European ethnic groups had caused serious conflicts in some ethnically mixed school districts. Francis observes that "the abolition of the bilin-

gual public school had been justified on account of its inefficiency and the frictions it caused. The immediate effect was a much greater inadequacy of the school in Mennonite school districts and increasing frictions between the minority and majority; this in turn, was used as a convenient rationalization to demand complete suppression of all Mennonite private schools. Behind this demand, of course, lay ulterior motives, primarily national sentiment and resentment in and after World War I, and the determination of the Anglo-Saxon majority to forge Canada's population, outside Quebec, into one nation with one uniform language and culture" (Francis, 184).

35. Cited in Francis, 186.

36. Francis, 186; see also Epp, *Mennonites in Canada*, 2:105-109.

37. See Regehr, 106.

38. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada*, 1:233ff. The church provided not only a spiritual centre but also a sense of identity, social status, community and fellowship for Mennonites.

39. It is somewhat ironic that such schisms sometimes meant that Mennonite groups could get along better with their Ukrainian, Russian or Greek neighbors than with members of a rival Mennonite group.

40. The conservative church leaders frequently made rather "lavish and indiscriminate use of excommunication not only for serious offenses . . . but also for minor infractions of old customs" (Francis, 89). Many deviants cast their lot with the Provincial authorities to free themselves of the tyranical control of their authoritartian brethren.

41. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada*, 1:235-236.

42. If one moves beyond western Canada one must include the Old Mennonites who in 1907 started Ontario Mennonite Bible Institute.

43. The Mennonite Brethren came into being as part as part of a religious reform movement in Russia during the 1860s. They were strongly influenced by European pietism and the British & Foreign Bible Society.

44. John A. Toews, *A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church: Pilgrims and Pioneers* (Fresno, CA: General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches, 1975), 153. The official inauguration of a congregation in Canada was preceded by four years of visits by two Mennonite Brethren ministers from Minnesota. The Mennonite Brethren were never as effective as the General Conference Mennonites in attracting disenchanted members of the more conservative groups, largely I suspect because of their insistence on rebaptism by immersion.

45. See Toews, *Pilgrims and Pioneers*, 156.

46. The first Bible school in western Canada was likely the Holiness Bible College which was first located in Crystal City, MB (1909-11). After several relocations it eventually merged with a Free Methodist (Aldersgate College) school in Moose Jaw, SK (see Zella Nixon Brown, *Aldersgate: The College of the Warm Heart* [n.p., n.d., ca. 1976], 43).

47. Harms was educated and had five years teaching experience in Russia before emigrating to Mountain Lake, Minnesota in 1878. Several years later he attended the Evangelical College in Naperville, Illinois. He moved to Canada in 1906 where he lived in Edmonton until settling on a farm at Flowing Well. Here he became the first minister in the Gnadenau M.B. Church (see Anna Redekop, "A Brief History of the Herbert Bible School," n.d.). A different story is told by Margaret Epp who states that he came to Canada in 1905 as the founding principal of the German-English Academy at Rosthern (*Proclaim Jubilee*, n.p., n.d. [1977], 3).

48. *Herbert Bible School Prospectus* (1955-1956), 5.

49. Harms did not actually teach at Herbert during the winter of 1915-1916. Herman Fast, a co-worker with Harms, filled in for one year.

50. Toews, *Pilgrims and Pioneers*, 259.

51. Anna Redekop, "Amazing Grace: The Life Story of William J. Bestvater," Rev. Wilhelm J. Bestvater Papers, Box 1, Centre for Mennonite Brethren Archives, Winnipeg, MB.

52. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada*, 2:85.

53. Epp, *Proclaim Jubilee*, 2.

54. Bergthaler bishop Jakop Hoeppner donated the land for the school at Winkler; his successor, David Schulz took classes at Pniel but felt that official support should only continue if some of their own teachers were included on staff. In 1929 the Bergthalers, together with the Blumenorters, established their own school in Gretna (Elim Bible School) which subsequently moved to Altona (Epp, *Mennonites in Canada*, 2:256).

55. Russian Mennonites interested in theological education in the late nineteenth-early twentieth century generally opted for one of two schools: the Freie Evangelische Predigerschule in Basel, or the Predigerseminar der deutschen Baptisten zu Hamburg-Horn. Harry Loewen notes that Mennonite Brethren students preferred the Baptist seminary in Hamburg, which was "more devotional in nature" than the school in Basel ("Intellectual Developments Among the Mennonites of Russia: 1880-1917," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 8 [1990]: 94). See also Fränzi Edelmann, "Zur Gründung der Evangelischen Predigerschule in Basel," in *Basileia – Festschrift für Eduard Buess* (Basel: 1993): 91-102.

56. This was one of the few Bible schools that was originally designed to train ministers. Unlike many other Mennonite denominations at the time, the Mennonite Brethren usually chose ministers who had received some prior theological training.

57. Toews, *Pilgrims and Pioneers*, 261. The Western Children's Mission was launched as an outreach program of the school in the late thirties.

58. Tabor Bible School was located in Dalmeny, less than twenty miles from Hepburn. Although Tabor declared itself to be an interdenominational school it was in reality operated almost exclusively by the Mennonite Brethren.

59. Regehr, 113.

60. The consortium is comprised of the Evangelical Mennonite Conference, Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference, Evangelical Mennonite Brethren Conference, and the Chortizer Mennonite Conference.

61. This stood in stark contrast to the spirituality exhibited by conservatives Mennonites who strongly resisted revivalism and the breakdown of community that inevitably seemed to accompany it. For them joy and satisfaction "lay in conforming to the will of God as interpreted by the bishop, in raising large families, keeping a good household, and otherwise exemplifying a well-ordered life in social conformity and agricultural productivity." Salvation was more corporate than individual, hence the great emphasis on conformity and on group separation from the world (Epp, *Mennonites in Canada*, 1:285).

62. See Henry Paetkau, "Russian Mennonite Immigrants of the 1920s: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 2 (1984): 72-83, for a discussion of the way two different historical-geographical political-cultural crucibles helped to form two different "sub-ethnic" communities.

63. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada*, 1:240. Hints of Epp's discomfort with evangelicalism abound: a rather glaring example occurs in his discussion of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ, a denomination that he believes has been affected by the inflated "denominational ego and spiritual arrogance" which are a "characteristic by-product" of the evangelical awakening. He nevertheless defends the implicated Mennonites by arguing that for "timid Mennonite people such expressions of self-confidence helped to wash away an apologetic gospel and inferiority feelings, which generations of persecution, isolation and nonconformity had written deep into their souls. To join the Mennonite Brethren in Christ, therefore, or to imitate them, meant the discovery of an identity which was socially more respectable and personally much more satisfying than the old separatist style" (1:237). It is however more probable to suggest that the emphasis on personal conversion nurtured this type of confidence and not some inflated denominational ego. Moreover, "timid" is not the first adjective that immediately comes to mind when I think of Mennonites and their often bitter inter-nicene schisms!

64. Efforts to get the denomination to drop the word Mennonite did not succeed until 1947 (Epp, *Mennonites in Canada*, 1:327). This debate tends to erupt in those Mennonite groups most infiltrated by evangelicalism: it is currently raging among the Mennonite Brethren.

65. The Didsbury Mennonites were quick to become involved in local business and civic affairs (the first two representatives of this area to the provincial legislature were Mennonites). Some had even enlisted in the army during the First World War.

66. Epp notes that "from the Wesleyans, they accepted revivalism, a second work of grace, doctrines of holiness and the notion of complete sanctification, and new forms of church government; from the Pentecostals, the emphasis on the Holy Spirit, though never sufficiently to satisfy those who were really Pentecostal at heart; from the Calvinists, elements of predestination; and from the Darbyites, premillennialism" (*Mennonites in Canada*, 2:505).

67. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada*, 1:238. Their rapid growth in the United States was also due to their success in attracting the immigrant groups arriving in the United States. General Conference Mennonites church leaders were concerned about the implications of Mennonites scattering into scores of little isolated communities across the prairies. The conference idea was forwarded as the means for retaining a sense of community (1:318). The conference (or denomination) strategy stood in opposition to the more conservative groups who opted for having one bishop oversee one or, at most, several congregations.

68. Epp notes how the conservative groups were "especially aggravated by their [the Reisepredigers'] insistence that they had light and truth to bring to the north" (*Mennonites in Canada*, 1:289).

69. Small groups of General Conference Mennonites congregations were, however, established at various places in Saskatchewan in the early 1900s.

70. Both the Bergthaler and the Rosenorter functioned as synthesizers, a community to which the disgruntled progressives from other Mennonite denominations could migrate. In 1903 they finally joined to form the Conference of Mennonites in Central Canada, a conference that was destined to become the largest Mennonite denomination in the country.

71. The Mennonite Brethren in Christ and General Conference Mennonites differed also in polity: the Mennonite Brethren in Christ developed a more centralized superintendency to oversee its missionary endeavors; the General Conference Mennonites was much more democratic. It would not

undertake anything that had not been approved by delegates of the largely independent congregations.

72. Regehr, 106; Epp, *Mennonites in Canada*, 2:255-256. Pressure was also felt by Mennonite groups as more and more of their young people began to attend non-Mennonite schools. Particularly popular were Prairie Bible Institute and William Aberhart's Prophetic Bible Institute. In Saskatchewan, schools like Millar Memorial Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute also attracted Mennonite students (Epp, *Mennonites in Canada*, 2:470).

73. In 1914 the Mennonites in Russia were operating 450 elementary schools, 19 high or central schools for boys, four girls schools, two teachers colleges, two four-year trade schools and one eight year business college (both trade and business schools required three languages), one school for the deaf and dumb, one deaconess institution and one Bible school (three others were started between 1923-1926). About 250 students were attending Russians institutions of higher learning and about 50 were studying in seminaries and universities outside of Russia (Frank Epp, *Mennonite Exodus: The Rescue and Resettlement of the Russian Mennonites Since the Communist Revolution* [Altona: D.W. Friesen & Sons Ltd., 1962], 21, and Loewen, 90-93). This openness was the deciding factor that permitted their entry into Canada. There was a short period of time during the 1920s when the Mennonites were forbidden to enter Canada as immigrants, but this restriction was rescinded by MacKenzie King.

74. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada*, 2:255; see also 2:417 for a discussion of how such a "takeover" was resented by various Kanadier groups, and even by some leaders within the more progressive denominations.

75. Admitting such young students created serious discipline problems for some teachers, prompting more than a few teachers to despair (Epp, *Proclaim Jubilee*, 2).

76. Bible schools were an attractive option in part, as Mann points out, because they offered "rural youth a means of improving their social status . . . Bible colleges gave individuals with little schooling who were attracted to ministerial or missionary careers a chance to rise socially" (86).

77. See *SCBI '61-'62: 25th Anniversary*, 14. From the outset, English was taught as a second language in most schools with the Bible being used as the textbook. In a few schools (Bethany
77. Bible Institute in 1927 is a good case in point) English was the language of instruction from the beginning (see *Konferenz-Jugendblatt* [November-December 1955]: 13)

78. J.H. Enns, "Mennonitische Biblschulen in Canada," *Warte-Jahrbuch* 1 (1943): 32. Enns' article also includes a discussion on the importance of Mennonite young people retaining their "Muttersprache."

79. Jacob B. Epp, Principal of Bethany Bible Institute, declares, "never before has there been a greater need for our young people to receive a thorough traniing [sic] in God's Work both for their own spiritual enrichment and in preparation for true Christian service." Epp and Theilmann are cited in A.J. Klassen, ed., *The Bible School Story, 1913-1963: Fifty Years of Mennonite Brethren Bible Schools in Canada* (Clearbrook, BC: Canadian Board of Education, 1963), 17-18.

80. *Herbert Bible School Prospectus* (1953-54), 2.

81. For example, see *SCBI '61-'62: 25th Anniversary*, 18.

82. Sunday schools were another opportunity to keep German-language instruction alive. They were first used by the Swiss Mennonites in Ontario, and became a significant tool in the fight to ward off anglicization. Epp describes the addition of the Sunday School as an event of "revolutionary significance," for it "involved the non-ordained people in the work of the church." Furthermore, "it helped to hold the young people's interest, increased Bible knowledge, elevated spiritual life, raised moral concerns, especially temperance, created lay-leadership, promoted the missionary movement, and generally enriched church activity and expression" (*Mennonites in Canada*, 1:244; 2:450-454). For the Mennonites there was a symbiotic relationship between the Sunday school movement the Bible school movement. Both were parts of an overall strategy to keep Mennonite culture alive and young people within the church. The growing demand for trained Sunday schools teachers (and later Daily Vacation Bible School workers) provided students for the Bible schools; the Bible schools in turn stimulated energy and enthusiasm in the form of trained workers.

83. Klassen, 16.

84. Toews, *Pilgrims and Pioneers*, 264. Many Bible schools obviously had some way to go before they could be considered competitors to local universities. Describing Bethany Bible Institute in 1955, one early historian writes, "formerly it was an exception to have a high school graduate in the ranks of the students. Today about half of the students have completed high school . . ." ("MB Bible Schools in Canada," *Konferenz-Jugendblatt* [Nov-Dec 1955]: 14)

85. In response to this dilemma, schools like Bethany Bible Institute and Swift Current Bible Institute recently reverted back to a two-year instead of a three-year curriculum.

86. For a time there was talk of establishing a Mennonite university in Canada. Instead, an endowed Chair of Mennonite Studies was established at the University of Winnipeg.

87. In Canada, William E. Mann, Ben Harder and Ronald Sawatsky have forwarded such a view. Mann attempts to apply S.D. Clark's church-sect theory to Alberta: he maintains that Bible schools came into being "primarily to produce pastors for the fundamentalist movement" (82). Harder argues that the Canadian Bible institute/college movement originated in opposition to the established church colleges, which had been contaminated by theological liberalism. Moreover, "these schools were part of a movement which sought to re-orient society away from secularism, humanism and materialism, philosophies which had ended in frustration and failure" (36). Sawatsky – who relies heavily on Harder – similarly argues that "the Bible schools were founded in reaction to the apparent drift from evangelicalism to rationalism to secularism that characterized main-line Canadian and American Protestant higher education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century" ("The Bible School/College Movement in Canada: Fundamental Christian Training," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1986): 3). Both imported this explanation from S.A. Witmer, an expert on American Bible schools, who in 1962 suggested that Bible institutes were essentially a reaction to main-line church colleges: "they represent a pietistic reaction to secularism, a theistic reaction to humanism and agnosticism, a resurgence of spiritual dynamic in Protestantism, a restoration of Biblical authority and direction in education, and a return to the central concern of Christian

education – the implementation of Christ's Great Commission: 'Go ye into all the world'" (30).

88. Stackhouse also suggests a modification of Harder's assessment in light of the broad range of denominations involved in the history of Toronto Bible College (*Canadian Evangelicalism*, 235, n. 81). Moreover, a good number of denominational Bible schools also do not fit the prevailing fundamentalist thesis for they were started to counter the attraction of the larger non-denominational evangelical schools (e.g., Lutheran Collegiate Bible Institute).

89. This substantiates Leo Driedger's argument that urbanization did not necessarily lead to assimilation. Rather, the crucial factor in maintaining ethnic identity was the strength of institutional support among Mennonites (*Mennonite Identity in Conflict* [Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1988]).

90. The Mennonite Brethren in Christ were most openly evangelistic and as a consequence were also the first to remove "Mennonite" from their name. The Mennonite Brethren and General Conference Mennonites were also evangelistic but usually targeted only other Mennonite groups – although missionaries would be sent overseas cross-cultural evangelism was not a serious priority in Canada. This has changed, and has ignited a significant debate – particularly among the MBS – concerning the relationship between North American evangelicalism and Mennonites (see e.g., Richard Kyle, "The Mennonite Brethren and American Evangelicalism: An Ambivalent Relationship," *Direction* 20, No. 1 [Spring 1991]: 26-37). In 1977, F.C. Peters, then Mennonite Brethren Moderator, declared, "I'm asking whether the use of a name which has an ethnic connotation [i.e., Mennonite Brethren] should not be reconsidered. [On the other hand can we] retain our spiritual heritage [if we drop the name?] . . . it is the biggest issue we have faced in 50 years" (*Mennonite Brethren Herald* [July 22, 1977). More recently this debate has focused on the pandora's box of issues opened up by John H. Redekop's *A People Apart*. Redekop claims that "Mennonite scholars have given scant attention to the complex issues involved in the relationship of faith to ethnicity."

91. See the way Enns complains about the number of "unserer Jünglinge and Jungfrauen in Bibelschulen anderer Denominationen" ("Mennonitische Bibleschulen in Kanada," 36). In 1978 Harold Jantz conducted a survey of Mennonite Brethren Bible school/college students in which he

discovered that 37% of the 800 students had chosen to study in non-Mennonite schools ("The Schools Students Choose [Part I]," *Direction* 8, No. 3 [July 1979]: 33-40, and "The Schools Students Choose: Why Young People Choose Mennonite Brethren Schools [Part II]," *Direction* 9, No. 3 [July 1980]: 20-23).

92. Robert Burkinshaw makes a similar observation in his study of conservative Protestant groups in British Columbia ("Strangers and Pilgrims in Lotus Land: Conservative Protestantism in in British Columbia, 1917-1981" [Ph.D. Dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1988]).

93. In addition to the reasons already forwarded by George Rawlyk, Ian Rennie and Michael Gauvreau explaining why fundamentalism never gained the same momentum in Canada that it did south of the border, one might add that the preoccupation with ethnic self-preservation kept Canadian Mennonites (and probably some other groups in Western Canada as well) from becoming involved. It is interesting to note that this is less true of Mennonites in the United States, who did not have the same strong sense of ethnic identity as their Canadian counterparts (see Paul Toews, "Fundamentalist Conflict in Mennonite Colleges: A Response to Cultural Transitions?" *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 57 [July 1983]: 241-256; and Rodney J. Sawatsky, "Denominational Sectarianism: Mennonites in the United States and Canada in Comparative Perspective," *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 3 [1978]: 239-241).

The Presbyterian Church in Canada and Native Residential Schools, 1925-1969

PETER BUSH

In 1990 the subject of the church-run Residential Schools for Native Canadians reached the front pages of our national newspapers. In Manitoba, students of the Residential School system were heard clearly for the first time as individuals like Phil Fontaine, Chief of the Manitoba Assembly of Chiefs, spoke forcefully on the issue. Even the CBC played a role by broadcasting the movie, "Where the Spirit Lives." This discussion in the public media led the churches to examine their role in the running of these schools. The Roman Catholic Church in Manitoba has committed itself to providing financial support to those hurt by the Residential system, while other denominations are still struggling with how to respond to this emotional issue.

At last year's General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, there was an extremely emotional debate about how the Presbyterian Church should respond to the fact that the Women's Missionary Society (Western Division) (WMS-WD) operated two Native Residential Schools from 1925 to 1969. These schools were the Birtle Residential School in Birtle, Manitoba and Cecilia Jeffrey Residential School located near Kenora, Ontario. The proposed report and confession were defeated by the Assembly, primarily because the proposed document failed to recognize the context in which the schools were run, and substantially downplayed any good that might have come from the schools. As I witnessed this debate, I was struck by the fact that the debate was taking place in an historical vacuum. Very few of the commissioners at the Assembly

knew where the two schools in question were located, let alone who was responsible for the schools, what was taught in the classrooms, or what life was like for both students and staff. This paper hopes to fill some of that vacuum.

There are in fact two historical contexts in which the schools existed. One is the Native context, for the perspective of the student must be heard. But that is a context with which I am not qualified to deal, for I believe that such a story should be told by Aboriginal people and not by a white researcher. The other context, is the perspective of the "top-down." This is the story as seen in the Annual Reports of the Schools, the correspondence between the school staffs and the WMS-WD, and the dialogues between the WMS-WD and the government. It is this story that will be examined in this paper.

The Presbyterian Church has always seen education as part of its mission. This view led to the development of schools being part of the missionary activity of the church, be that endeavour in China, Taiwan, Guyana or among the Native peoples of Canada. Often this educational activity was carried out by women—missionaries sent out by the WMS-WD. Teaching people to read and write was a spiritual activity for it allowed the students to read the Bible and to take their proper place in the civilized, literate world. These early educational missionaries had a spiritual vision of their calling. This vision can be clearly seen in the life of Lucy Baker, the first female Presbyterian missionary to work among the Native people of Canada.[1]

The move from small one-room day-schools on reserves, like those started by Lucy Baker, to the establishment of large Residential Schools was motivated by a desire for efficiency. The churches realized that they could not hope to build and staff schools within easy walking or horseback riding distance of each Native band. Therefore, small dormitories were added to many of the schools to house those students who were unable to return home daily. The federal government was very supportive of the churches' educational activity and offered some financial assistance. It began with the government building large residences, often housing over two hundred students, which were attached to centrally located church-run schools. This dramatically changed the face of schooling for Native children—so much so that by 1900 the Residential school system was seen as the most efficient way of educating Native children. It was only after the Residential schools had been established that the so-called benefits of

removing children from their parents, reserves and culture were seen.

At the turn of the century educational ministry was the cornerstone of the Presbyterian Church in Canada's missionary activity among the Native peoples. By 1920, the denomination was running seven residential schools and five day-schools on reserves. The residential schools were located in Kenora, ON; Portage-la-Prairie and Birtle, MB; Round Lake and File Hills, SK; and Alberni and Ahoushat, BC.[2] With the completion of Church Union in 1925, the United Church of Canada was awarded five of the residential schools and all of the day-schools, while the Presbyterians were left with Cecilia Jeffrey and the Birtle School.

This divison of property was an arbitrary decision made by a federal government commission without consultation with the Native people connected to the schools affected. The Sioux Indians living on the Portage Reserve petitioned the Commission to leave the Portage School in the hands of the Presbyterians. Their request was ignored.[3]

The federal government's involvement with the schools had started by paying for only capital projects, like the new buildings, beds, mattresses – while the WMS-WD paid all salaries as well as covering food and clothing costs for the Presbyterian-run schools. Beginning in the 1920s the government provided an annual per capita grant, which grew over time to cover more and more of the day-to-day operation of the schools. By the 1950s, the government grant covered all the costs of running the schools. In 1947, this annual grant was set at $210 per student in residence. By 1952, it had risen to $338 per student. While this appears to be a handsome increase it was clear that the Residential School administrations were hard-pressed to provide for the students' needs out of this grant. For example, of the 1952 per capita grant, once the staff salaries had been paid there was only $21 a month per student to cover food, clothing, recreational pursuits, transportation, and building maintenance.[4] The school staff had difficulty making the money stretch as far as the government thought it should. Even the most successful principal-manager, N.M. Rusaw, complained to the WMS-WD:

> I can't see how we can cut the food bills down with the number of children we have at present. The Indians have been complaining to the agent and have written to Ottawa that their children have not been getting sufficient. Personally, I agree that the children have not had any too much.[5]

Those responsible for the day-to-day operation of the schools, did not find the government grant overly generous. In fact, they were convinced that students were being short-changed, but their appeals for more funding from the government fell on largely deaf ears.

However, as the government through the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Mines and Natural Resources paid a larger and larger share of the school costs, they demanded an increasing amount of control over the operation of the schools. In 1940 E.W. Byers was removed as principal of Cecilia Jeffrey School, Kenora, not because of the allegations of widespread sexual activity among the student body or because Byers had little disciplinary control of the school or the staff, but because

> the principals of the Indian Schools are appointed subject to the approval of the Department [of Mines and Natural Resources], and as for two years the Government has not been satisfied with conditions in the School, there was no other course open to us but to ask for your resignation.[6]

The two things that the Inspector, sent from Winnipeg, as upset about were: how Byers was spending government money, and that, "As pointed out previously, Mr. Byers gives the impression that he has no responsibility except to the church officials."[7] The Indian Affairs Branch wanted it very clear who called the shots – the principals of the Residential Schools, and, in fact, the entire staff, were responsible to the government for their actions especially in relation to financial matters. As the Memorandum of Agreement between the federal government and the WMS-WD shows, the government very clearly saw itself as jointly responsible with the various Christian denominations, which were running schools, for the well-being of the students in the schools.[8]

While the Society sought to employ as principals of the Residential people who had background in education and were ordained ministers of the Presbyterian Church, the principals were hired primarily as managers. More than eighty-five percent of correspondence in the Presbyterian Church Archives relating to the Native Residential Schools deals with managerial and accounting issues. The principals were responsible for co-ordinating a staff of fifteen to twenty people, something with which few of the principals had any experience. The staff included the matron (who was

usually the principal's wife), three classroom teachers, an art or craft teacher, farm instructor, physical education instructor, cook, one or two kitchen helpers, washing person, sewing room matron, maintenance person, supervisor for the boy's dormitory, supervisor for the girl's dormitory and night watchperson. The actual configuration of the staff changed from school to school – but the above list is fairly representative of the staff positions in the school. Lockhart, who was principal of Birtle school from 1933 to 1940, stated "90% of the problem in our schools is our staff."[9] Managing a staff was a more difficult process than Lockhart had anticipated.

The principals also played a role in managing the finances of the schools. The principal would purchase the supplies needed to run the school, submitting monthly bills to the Society in Toronto to pay, but they never knew exactly how much the Society had received in per capita grants. T.C. Ross, one of the more innovative principals at Cecilia Jeffrey, had a three-year running battle with the WMS-WD asking for more information about how much money the Society was receiving to run the school, so that he could determine what to buy when salespersons came selling their products.[10] Lockhart, principal at Birtle school from 1933 to 1942, finally resigned as principal because he and the Society could not agree on how to do the accounting.[11] The WMS-WD Executive, located in Toronto, used the purse strings to maintain control over the schools and the actions of the principals.

It was easy for the WMS-WD and the principals to lose sight of the fact that these were schools and that education was a spiritual endeavour. Educationally the schools had two foci – on the one hand, their purpose was to teach young Native people to read and write and to develop an appreciation for learning. At the same time, the schools had a mandate to give the students the living skills that the dominant, white society believed they needed to live fulfilled lives. This split vision led to a confused leadership of the schools.

Since the Residential Schools were boarding schools which the children attended for ten months of the year (children were not allowed to go home for Christmas until the early 1950s), most Native parents did not send their children to school until they were eight or nine years old. The children at Residential Schools were only in class half-days, spending the other half of the day working on the farms attached to schools or helping prepare meals, washing clothes, and doing other household chores. Thus,

by the time most Native children left the Residential School system at the age of sixteen or seventeen they had completed no more than a Grade five or six education. R. Webb, principal of Birtle School from 1942 to 1945, challenged the prevailing view when he noted,

> The Indian parents see the white children going to school all day. Then, their children tell them how they spend their half-day out of school. This half-day is spent working in the laundry; or, in mending clothes . . . *They are not learning anything* [sic] after the first short while . . . The Indians want their children to have every educational opportunity. The plain facts of the situation are that they are not.[12]

Against the wishes of the government, Webb introduced to the Birtle school full days in the classroom for students in Grade four and over. While this initiative was supported by the local Indian Agent, the Indian Affairs branch believed that the most valuable things that Native children could take back to the reserves would be a knowledge of basic hygiene and simple farming techniques. It was feared that full days in the classroom would limit the chance of children learning these skills. The government's approach condemned Native people to never succeeding academically, or reaching beyond a secondary school education. Under the leadership of R. Webb and N. M. Rusaw, Webb's successor, Birtle School saw a number of its graduates go on to trade schools and universities. Among those who went on for further education were Gordon Williams, the first Native person to be ordained a minister of The Presbyterian Church in Canada and Colin Wasacase, who became the administrator of the Cecilia Jeffrey Native Residence in 1967.

The schools existed in the middle of a dominant society that was uncertain about its beliefs concerning Native people. On the one hand, there were those who believed that the Native people were capable individuals who should be treated as such; and on the other hand, there were those whose limited view saw Native peoples as "wards of the government." This same tension was reflected among the staff of the two schools.

Barbara Dean became the teacher of the senior class at the Birtle school in September 1946, and quickly realized that if she was going to teach effectively she would have "to have respect for Indian culture."[13] Towards this purpose she tried to obtain dictionaries in Sioux, Cree and Saulteux (the three languages spoken by the Native children at Birtle

School) as well as a book of Indian songs and ceremonial dances. There were no such books at the school, an indication of the low importance placed on Native culture in the Residential School environment. But the WMS-WD did not have any such resources and the Indian Affairs Branch of the federal government was able to provide only a Sioux-English dictionary. At this time it was still illegal for a Native person in full Native dress to perform a traditional dance, without the written permission of the Indian Affairs branch. The penalty for such a performance was a $50.00 fine or a month in jail or both.[14]

This openness to Native culture was reflected in the work of J. Eldon Andrews, principal of Cecilia Jeffrey 1952-1953, who resurrected a student government system that had been introduced by E.W. Byers in the 1930s. The student government was built on the Native model of an elected Chief and Band councillors – thus within the confines of the school, the council and chief had self-government.[15] Andrews argued that anyone working with the Native people of Canada had to have a solid understanding of sociology and anthropology, further he maintained that teachers and administrators at Cecilia Jeffrey School should learn Ojibwa as a pre-requisite to teaching Native children English.[16]

As a counter-point to this desire to understand Native culture, there were those connected to the schools who showed no such openness. This immediately makes people think about the stories of abuse that have become all too common as Native people have talked about their experiences in the Residential Schools. The abuse took two forms: first, physical and sexual abuse; and secondly, cultural abuse by a dominant culture over a subordinate culture.

Given the "top-down" approach this paper has taken, it is hard to determine how much physical and sexual abuse took place in the Presbyterian run schools – it was not the kind of thing that made the official reports in the period under study. However, in 1939 the Indian Affairs Branch and the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) visited Cecilia Jeffrey School, following up rumours of sexual immorality among students and between students and staff, and to pursue charges regarding the misappropriation of government funds. The OPP took statements from fifteen young people in their mid-teens who had engaged in heterosexual intercourse in the dormitories and on the grounds of the school. The students' statements made reference to their witnessing some of the unmarried staff engaging in sexual activity. One male student, age seventeen, stated that he had been

seduced by the supervisor of the girls' dormitory. None of these statements were ever followed up by the police or by the WMS-WD. The only result of the investigation was that it provided further grounds for the removal of Byers as Principal of the school.[17]

Byers' replacement, Pitts, was a strict displinarian who believed in the use of the strap. The following was reported to the WMS-WD by a Miss Ross, a teacher at Cecilia Jeffrey:

> . . . one time when the children were being strapped . . . from the noise it seemed as if the girls were being knocked against the wall. A rubber strap is used which must reach the children's arms because they swell. The door opened and it seemed as though someone tumbled out. Mr. Pitts called out "You dirty, filthy" but Miss Ross did not catch the last word. "Spit it out in the hall, you dirty, lying rats," he concluded. On another occasion Mr. Pitts had called the children in Miss Ross' classroom "You dirty, lying sneaks."[18]

Ross also noted that Pitts had beaten a boy so badly that he had to be cared for by the nurse. The WMS-WD took Ross' complaints under advisement, but the minutes of meeting held with her by the WMS-WD executive, show little concern over Pitts' disciplinary style. Ross left the school in April 1944, saying she could no longer work in that kind of environment.

It seems clear from the two situations recounted above that Cecilia Jeffrey was struggling under poor leadership through the period from 1937 to 1945. The leaders created an atmosphere in which physical abuse was able to exist unchecked. But these are the only examples of this type of abuse that my research has discovered.

The cultural abuse was more subtle, but none-the-less real. Much of this abuse had to do with the dominant, white culture using its power to denigrate the subordinate, Native culture. The reserves were seen as cesspools of poor health, ignorance and maybe even sin. Students coming from the reserves had to be made ready to go to school, and the Indian Secretary of the WMS-WD in 1933 was genuinely surprised to find out how much time it took to "get the children cleaned up."[19] Even Andrews, who was so open to Native culture, refused to let children return to the reserves for Christmas holidays in 1953 unless their parents or guardians could guarantee that there would be proper sanitation, lighting, ventilation and nutrition provided to the students over the holidays.[20] The general perception of the reserves was well expressed by R. Webb, who wrote to

the WMS-WD saying, "The Reserve life is not what it should be for young graduates; but the tendency is to drift back there."[21] Underlying these concerns about the reserves was a paternalistic belief that the Native people were unable to care for themselves as well as might be hoped.

There were more blatantly racist views that were also expressed. In the school year 1939-1940, Mary Begg, the first Native person to hold a teaching position at Birtle school, was hired to teach craft skills. But she left in March, before the end of the school year, saying that she had been mistreated by the staff and the principal. The one white teacher who had been able to befriend Mary Begg wrote that, "I think it breaks [Mary's] heart to be in such a disgusting affair. I do not think she wants to go, but would rather die than be misunderstood."[22] It is not entirely clear how Begg felt mistreated, but racist attitudes among some of the staff played a role in her departure. The racist attitudes expressed by one of the Presbyterian Church's missionaries to the Native peoples, summed up the views of many connected with ministry to Native people: "Of course, I suppose you know the difference between the Indian and the White man. The White takes what is given to him and is thankful for that. The Indian takes what he gets, and asks for some more."[23] This attitude towards the Native peoples, would have made it difficult for Residential school staff to take seriously the complaints raised by students and their parents.[24]

T.C. Ross, principal at Cecilia Jeffrey, put his finger on the problem that the Residential schools faced when he wrote,

> Here is an institution in which the government professes to be attempting to educate, and the church professes to be attempting to evangelize. The government grant is too small for an adequate staff of teachers. As a result education suffers. None but a few of the present staff attach due importance to the task of presenting the Gospel of Jesus Christ to these children.[25]

The government was unwilling to provide the schools with the financial resources necessary to do their job well. The WMS-WD was unable or unwilling to support the schools financially, choosing instead to manage the schools on behalf of the government. In the process of managing the schools, the WMS-WD and the staffs of the schools lost the spiritual center that had created the schools in the first place. N.M. Rusaw, who the WMS-WD heralded as one of the most successful principals, was criticized by

staff, students and parents for not encouraging the spiritual life of the school.[26] As the leaders in schools lost their spiritual focus, it became easier for racist, abusive, and de-humanizing forms of leadership to enter the school. As the WMS-WD became simply the managers of people, money, and the schools – they lost the spiritual core that had brought them into educational ministry in the first place. The loss of the spiritual vision, meant that the schools became the perpetuators of the dominant society, oppressing and destroying Native life and culture through a belief in the "-rightness" of the "Canadian social religion."

Endnotes

1. Elizabeth A. Byers, *Lucy Margerat Baker: A Biographical Sketch* (Toronto: WMS-WD, 1920), passim. This item can be found in The Records of the WMS-WD, Box 60, file 2, Presbyterian Church Archives (PCA).

2. WMS-WD Reports, *The Planting of the Faith* (Toronto: WMS-WD, 1921), 263.

3. Petition from Sioux Village of Portage-la-Prairie, 17 February 1927, Records of the WMS-WD, Box 2, file 5, PCA.

4. Statement "Re: Principal's Duties," 9 May 1952, Correspondence, Indian Secretary, Records of the WMS-WD, Box 15, file 8, PCA.

5. N.M. Rusaw (Principal, Birtle School) to Secretary of Indian Department (WMS-WD), 19 November 1945, Records of the WMS-WD, Box 7, file 5, PCA.

6. Lang (Indian Secretary, WMS-WD) to E.W. Byers (Principal, Cecilia Jeffrey), 5 February 1940, Records of the WMS-WD, Box 8, File 1, PCA.

7. Report of Inspector Hamilton, Indian Affairs, Winnipeg to Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Ottawa, July 1939, Records of the WMS-WD, Box 8, file 2, PCA.

8. Memorandum of Agreement between Her Majesty the Queen in the Right of Canada and WMS-WD, 22 May 1962, Records of the WMS-WD, Box 13, file 5, PCA.

9. Lockhart (Principal, Birtle School) to Lang (Indian Secretary, WMS-WD), 24 August 1940, Records of the WMS-WD, Box 7, file 2, PCA.

10. T.C. Ross (Principal, Cecilia Jeffrey) to F. Matthews (Indian Secretary, WMS-WD), 19 August 1949, Records of the WMS-WD, Box 14, file 8, PCA.

11. Lang (Indian Secretary, WMS-WD) to Lockhart (Principal, Birtle School), 11 February 1942, Records of the WMS-WD, Box 7, file 3, PCA.

12. R. Webb (Principal, Birtle School) to Lang (Indian Secretary, WMS-WD), 30 November 1944, Records of the WMS-WD, Box 7, file 4, PCA.

13. Barbara Dean (Teacher, Birtle School) to M.C. Cruikshank (Indian Secretary, WMS-WD), 19 October 1946, Records of the WMS-WD, Box 8, file 4, PCA.

14. Correspondence to Indian Secretary, WMS-WD, Records of the WMS-WD, Box 12, file 3, PCA.

15. J. Eldon Andrews, "Toward a Better Understanding of the Canadian Indian," *The Glad Tidings* (publication of the WMS-WD) (June 1954): 256-260.

16. Report of Cecilia Jeffrey School, 6 April 1953, Records of the WMS-WD, Box 15 file 4, PCA.

17. Ontario Provincial Police Report, 27 July 1939, Records of the WMS-WD, Box 8, file 2, PCA.

18. Minutes of Special Meeting, WMS-WD Executive Committee, 27 April 1944, Records of the WMS-WD, Box 8, file 3, PCA.

19. Secretary Indian Department, WMS-WD to Mrs. Currie (Matron, Birtle School), 14 September 1933, Records of the WMS-WD, Box 7, file 1, PCA.

20. J.E. Andrews to Parents of Students, December 1953, Records of the WMS-WD, Box 15 file 4, PCA.

21. Webb (Principal, Birtle School) to Lang (Indian Secretary, WMS-WD), 5 March 1945, Records of the WMS-WD, Box 7, file 5, PCA.

22. Kathleen Stewart (teacher, Birtle School) to Lang (Indian Secretary, WMS-WD), 26 March 1940, Records of the WMS-WD, Box 7, file 2, PCA.

23. J.Y. Garrett (missionary at Waywayseecappo) to Dr. Cameron (General Secretary, Board of Mission, Presbyterian Church of Canada), n.d., The Records of the WMS-WD, Box 7, file 6, PCA.

24. J.C.E. Andrews, Annual Report of Cecilia Jeffrey School, 1953, Records of the WMS-WD, Box 15, file 4, PCA.

25. T.C. Ross (Principal, Cecilia Jeffrey) to F. Matthews (Indian Secretary, WMS-WD), 5 January 1949, Records of the WMS-WD, Box 14, file 8, PCA.

26. G. Kelly (Director, National Missions, WMS-WD) to Elsie Pitman, 7 July 1966, Records of the WMS-WD, Box 13, file 6, PCA.

The Jesuit Journal *Relations*, 1959-1969: Modernity, Religion and Nationalism in Quebec

DAVID SELJAK

In this paper I wish to trace the development of the relationship of religion and nationalism in *Relations*, a journal produced since 1941 by a group of French-speaking Montreal Jesuits. In particular, I would like to examine the influence of the social modernization represented by Quebec's "Quiet Revolution" of the 1960s and the Catholic Church's own wrestling with modernity which found expression in the Second Vatican Council. These two dramatic events introduced a painful period of transition for the Jesuits of Quebec since the secularization of Quebec politics and society diminished their status and power while the redefinition of the church that was called for during the Second Vatican Council challenged their conservative Catholicism. Because the writers of *Relations* hoped to remain faithful to their heritage while adapting it to new circumstances, one can note a constant effort to redefine both Quebec Society and Catholicism.

During the 1960s, the Jesuits refused to abandon the corporatist orientation of traditional nationalism which marked the first twenty years of the journal. However, they did not simply restate the corporatist policies of the 1930s which had been discredited by the actions of right-wing governments in the 1940s. The Jesuits of *Relations* transformed corporatism from a concrete political strategy into a philosophical basis for their criticism of the modernization of Quebec society as it was defined by the liberals, social democrats and socialists who supported Quebec's Quiet Revolution. I wish to argue that this nationalist opposition was not opposition to modernity itself as some might argue (see Tiryakian and Nevitte

1985, 73, 79), but to the *étatiste* definition of modernity of the supporters of the Quiet Revolution. The Jesuits of *Relations* were nationalists who supported the modernization of Quebec society but under a different sign, a conservative ethos of co-operation that would transcend the ethos of competition inherent in capitalism and the ethos of conflict inherent in socialism. This conservative ethos, which was rejected by the leaders of the Quiet Revolution, arose out of their commitment to Catholic social teaching that was critical of capitalism and socialism and promoted corporatism. As the 1960s progressed, however, the Catholic reform which led to the Second Vatican Council challenged the religious foundations of this same conservativism.

"Relations": A Conservative Critique of Duplessis

The journal was founded by Père Joseph-Papin Archambault in 1941 to support and disseminate the work of *l'Ecole sociale populaire*. Because of the prestige of the Jesuit order, its subscriptions grew from 1,000 to 15,000 within seven years. For a religious journal that addressed itself to a small number of educated French Canadians, this number of subscriptions was extraordinarily high (Richard 1982, 91). The editorial position of the journal was established by an editorial committee which consisted of six to ten Jesuits and a number of lay Catholics. Issues were discussed and hotly debated in editorial meetings but the editor (always a Jesuit until the late 1980s) had the final word over the contents and editorial position of the journal. However, since the editor relied on the editorial committee for their labour and goodwill, consultation and consensus were the preferred means of coming to decisions. It must be remembered that *Relations* did not represent the official position of the Jesuit order in Quebec or Canada, nor were the authors all Jesuits. Still the editorial team and especially the editor was responsible to the provincial head of the order.

Unlike its contemporary, *l'Action nationale*, *Relations* was fundamentally religious and social, rather than nationalist, in its focus. It had arisen out of two historical developments. The first was the Great Depression which hit the Quebec economy with particular severity. Suffering, especially in Montreal, was acute. Dominated by an economic liberalism, the governments of Taschereau and Duplessis refused to intervene in the crisis. The second development was the evolution of a certain interpretation of Catholic humanism and social teaching defined by the papal encyc-

licals *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931). Both Catholic humanism and social teaching were formulated in opposition to the secular humanism, laissez-fair liberalism and socialism. *Quadragesimo Anno* especially inspired the Jesuits to challenge laissez faire liberalism and its main competitor socialism.

While most immediately concerned with the suffering, chaos and social issues which industrialization had brought to Quebec society, *Relations* has remained "nationalist" throughout the years. The authors presupposed that the "imagined community" (to use the fortunate term of Benedict Anderson), the *nous*, or collectivity to which they felt they belonged and whom they addressed, were strictly Catholic French Canadians until the later-1960s and then francophone Quebeckers, groups which they did not hesitate to define as a people or a nation. Furthermore, they argued that, like devotion to one's God and family, nationalism was not only natural but a duty. Finally, the editorial team overtly supported a succession of nationalist positions in important questions ranging from language legislation to federal-provincial constitutional negotiations.

The editorial content of the first eighteen years of *Relations* (1941-1959) was marked by a dynamic version of traditional "clerico-nationalisme", a vision of French-Canadian society as an organic, hierarchical society created naturally through a common history, a shared language, the Catholic faith and French culture. The Jesuits' version of religious nationalism was marked by its conservative opposition to the Union Nationale of Maurice Duplessis, a political party which agreed with the social conservatism of traditional nationalism but also encouraged economic liberalism and the unrestrained industrialization of Quebec led by American and English Canadian capital. The bewilderment and outrage of the Jesuits of *Relations* over the inactivity of their government during the 1930s and 1940s has left its stamp on the journal. However, their positions on state intervention, which followed the tone and general outlines of the *Programme de réstauration sociale* adopted by the E.S.P., were never socialist. In fact, during this period, the Jesuits of Relations dedicated an inordinate amount of editorial space to denunciations of communism and socialism (neither movement was ever a real social force in Quebec).

Relations was founded to awaken French Canada to the forces which threatened it socially, culturally, religiously and nationally. As the first editorial makes plain, these challenges were inter-related and stemmed from modernity's rejection of the spiritual in favour of the material, a

movement introduced by the Reformation, developed by liberalism and taken to its logical conclusion by communism (Richard 1941, 1). The journal's mission was to mobilize the population behind a moral, intellectual and social elite to combat this degeneration so evident in the decline in the Catholic faith and French language in Quebec. This call to mobilization had a heavy moral emphasis and a voluntarist attitude. This orientation influenced the nationalist discourse of *Relations* which tended to be voluntarist, elitist and apolitical. It focused on personal morality and social structures rather than political parties. This emphasis on the personal and social realm meant that conservative nationalism of Relations more social and cultural than political.

Their conservative ideology lead them to support the colonisation movement which sought to encourage francophones to establish traditional rural, parish-based communities in Quebec's hinterland as an alternative to urbanization and industrialization. After it became apparent that these latter two trends were irreversible, the journal dropped its articles on colonization to give exclusive focus to *corporatisme*, the social, political and economic organization of society promoted by conservative ideology. Blessed by Catholic social teaching, particularly the papal encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno* (Archibald 1984), corporatism was the dominant ideology of *l'Ecole sociale populaire*.

Politically, the writers of *Relations* supported a conservative interpretation of Canadian Confederation that would allow Quebec the social space to pursue its Church-led paternalistic corporatism. Thus they supported the demand of the Duplessis government for greater provincial autonomy and protested the interference of the federal government in provincial matters even when that meant opposing socially progressive legislation on pensions, family allowances, welfare and hospitalization insurance. However, they were not opposed to better social services and a growing social bureaucracy. Hubert Guindon has argued that in the twentieth century, the clergy in Quebec had become bureaucratic overlords of an immense urban-based system of social institutions (schools, hospitals, orphanages, hospices for the elderly, etc.). This involvement in modern bureaucracy meant that these ordained professionals had their own institutional self-interests and were increasingly socialized into modern rational, utilitarian, bureaucratic thinking. Increasingly, in the 1950s, *Relations* became involved in the rhetoric of competence, efficiency and rationalization. It found itself in direct conflict with the Union Nationale

which rejected "bureaucracy" and relied on personal contacts and informal arrangements. Hence out of ecclesial self-interest, learned bureaucratic values, concern for human welfare, and what Guindon called "sheer structural location" (Guindon 1988, 22-23), the editors of *Relations* promoted modernized social bureaucracies which, they complained, were underfunded by a callous, pro-business provincial government.

The Victory of Liberalism in Quebec, 1960-1969

The death of Maurice Duplessis in 1959 and the election of the Liberal Party of Quebec represented a great change in Quebec society. The Quiet Revolution and its supporters brought about the secularization of Quebec society through the growth of state power. While scholars do not agree on the extent and exact nature of this secularization (see Nevitte 1978; Nevitte and Gingras 1984), they do agree that by the 1970s on the levels of public institutions and the symbolic self-definition of society there was a profound change in orientation. As Guindon wrote less than two decades after the death of Duplessis: "Retrospectively, it is now clear that what was revolutionary about the Quiet Revolution was the liquidation of the Catholic church as the embodiment of the French nation in Canada" (1988, 104). More and more, nationalists looked to the state for the well-being of the nation, for the maintenance of the education, social welfare and health care systems, and also as the instrument of national liberation, responsible for the collective destiny of French Canada (Balthazar 1986, 130-34).

This new reliance on the state apparatus meant that nationalists began to focus on *l'Etat du Québec*, the only state over which French Canadians had the control of a majority, as "*l'expression politique du Canada français,*" to use Jean Lesage's term (Balthazar 1986, 131). This meant that the "imagined community" moved from French-speaking Catholics of North America to French Canadians or to the "*Québécois*." The politicization of French Canadian nationalism had meant a redefinition of the nation itself.

A certain clarification is necessary about nationalism and federalism in Quebec politics. Largely because of media interpretations, it is commonplace to identify the Parti Quebecois as the nationalist party and the Liberal Party of Quebec as the federalist party. But these positions are only relative. In the 1960s, as Louis Balthazar has pointed out, Quebecois

nationalism inspired the Liberals to pursue the nationalization of hydro-electric power, part of an aggressive program aptly described by the party's election slogan *Maître chez nous* (1986, 162). One might also note that when Pierre Trudeau moved into federal politics to fight the absolutizing trend of Quebec nationalism, he was referring to Lesage's Liberal Party and not the growth of the independence movement (Trudeau 1967, v). The Quiet Revolution represented the liberalization of Quebec society but it was also, to a very large degree, a nationalist awakening (Balthazar 1986).

"Relations" and the Conservative Critique of Liberal Modernity

For conservatives, the Quiet Revolution posed a great opportunity and a great threat. Like many Quebeckers of the middle class, they rejoiced at the announcement of Duplessis' successor Paul Sauvé that *désormais* (from now on) the state would fund the semi-public clerical bureaucracies in a predictable, rational and more generous manner. Universities, hospitals, social agencies, schools and government bureaucrats would all benefit from the new orientation of the Union Nationale (Guindon 1988, 23, 30). However, they were worried that the Liberal Party would replace these institutions with secular, state-run ones. In a parallel development, they also worried about the new *étatiste* orientation of the nationalist movement which would mean its politicization and the end of its embodiment by the Church.

Led by Richard Arès, a well-known and influential conservative nationalist who edited the journal between 1956 and 1969, the team of *Relations* had difficulties reacting to the sweeping changes in Quebec society. Deeply committed to a conservative and corporatist vision of Quebec, they reacted with uncertainty to the various demands for state intervention in Quebec and the politicization of nationalism (see e.g., Arès 1961). While happy with some of the initiatives of the new government, they remained loyal to their conservative interpretation of Confederation as a pact binding two distinct nations which assured the autonomy of the Catholic Church in the social realm in Quebec. Hence many of the campaigns begun in the 1950s were continued in the 1960s, including the "bon parler" column of Joseph D'njou and wide coverage of francophone minorities in Canada. However, these traditional campaigns were overshadowed by new nationalist issues arising out of the secularization and dynamism of the Quebec state, especially those of the role of the state,

education, language policy, and the new orientation of federal-provincial constitutional negotiations.

Education and the Growth of the State

Nowhere was the Jesuits' worry over state growth more evident than in their reaction to the government's plans to reform the education system, an issue which dominated the journal (as much as any one issue did) during the early years of the 1960s. As guaranteed by the BNA Act, Quebec had two boards of education, one English and Protestant, the other French and Catholic. There was no Minister of Education since this was a realm that social conservatives felt should be left to the churches and private organizations. The PLQ wanted to bring the school system under direct government control, democratize it, improve accessibility to it, introduce new curricula and generally adapt it to modern, urban, industrial society with an economy dominated by capitalism, science and technology (Dion 1967).

The writers at *Relations* opposed these reforms as a threatening growth of state power, an interference of the purely political into the social realm. They were not opposed to education reform in itself and in fact actively promoted wider government investment (but not participation) in education. The role of the state, they felt, should be to promote the nation and its minorities through private agencies, to offset the worst abuses of capitalism and industrialization, to direct resources to education, social welfare and health care, to secure the French language in Quebec but not to move beyond its proper realm. The Jesuits had come to accept liberal democracy and were, during the 1960s, no longer dedicated to the political realization of a corporatist society. Yet they still clung to corporatist ideals of the subsidiary state, one which promoted co-operative, intermediary bodies but which limited its intervention to the bare essentials.

Arès especially found Bill 60 threatening. In a classical conservative condemnation of liberal modernity, he argued in a 1964 editorial, entitled "Le bill 60 et la démocratie totalitaire", that liberal democracy could become totalitarian because it sought to eliminate all bodies between the state and the individual (Arès 1964). At that point, social life was dominated completely by politics and the state. Only the confessional committees proposed by bill 60 offered any real guarantee against this type of totalitarianism.

Arès also objected to the assumption that rational technique applied to schools by trained bureaucrats. Classical education had developed over the centuries and was part of organic human nature, he argued, and it would be ill-advised to force a hastily constructed, mechanical, technocratic reform of it (Arès 1965, 36). The February 1965 issue of *Relations*, which was dedicated to the Parent Commission's report, showed that mistrust of educational reform was generalized amongst contributors to *Relations*. They saw it as a wilful act of state technocracy, an assault against the Church's rightful position in society, the undermining of culture and morality and a violation of the rights of parents to choose a Christian education for their children. But as Arès made explicit in an article for *l'Action nationale*, the issue of education was also a struggle over the soul of a nation. If schools were the primary mode of socializing youth into a French Canadian identity and the very core of that identity was inextricably linked to Roman Catholicism, then the schools had to remain confessional (Arès 1969, 315-348).

The State, the Language and the Nation

This is not to say that the editorial team of *Relations* was opposed to every development of the Quiet Revolution. They supported a dynamic state when it came to securing the rights of the French Canadian community in Quebec and Canada. Partly this was a result of new demographic information provided by the 1961 census which showed that the French-Canadian community was losing ground to anglophones across Canada. Most disturbing was the high rate of assimilation of francophones outside of Quebec (Arès 1963a, 65-8). In Quebec, the situation was also disturbing. While francophones largely remained loyal to their language and culture, a significant number assimilated to the language and culture of the English minority (Arès 1964a, 47-8). More importantly, most immigrants adopted English as their language, especially if they lived in Montreal (Arès 1964b, 74-6). Coupled with a low fertility rate among French-Canadians, nationalists could see a time when francophones could be reduced to a numerical minority even within the province of Quebec.

The nationalists at *Relations* argued that the provincial government had to act decisively to protect the French language in Quebec (D'Anjou 1962; 1963a; 1963b). This position differed significantly from traditional nationalism since it relied on state intervention rather than moral will.

Furthermore, the Jesuits argued that the provincial government had to negotiate a tough deal with the rest of Canada to protect francophone minorities outside of Quebec. They supported the position of the provincial government in asking for more power during constitutional negotiations during the 1960s and protested the federal government's intransigency when Trudeau took power in 1968.

These negotiations took on a new orientation with when the Lesage's Liberal Party came to power. No longer satisfied with Duplessis' strategy to bolster "provincial autonomy", the Liberals now defined the provincial state apparatus as a national state. Thus the relationship between Quebec and Canada had to be one of *états associés*. If *l'Etat du Québec* was to be the political expression of French Canada and that society required a modern interventionist state, then the Quebec government needed to acquire the powers of a real state. The positions taken by the writers of *Relations* were somewhat more modest. While they supported the government positions, they did so from their own perspective, the conservative interpretation of Confederation as a pact between two nations (Arès 1960).

In comparison to the new secular and Christian independence movements which were founded in Quebec in the 1960s, the position of *Relations* was cautious. This is partly because they refused, unlike the secular *Ralliement d'Indépendance national* (RIN) or the Christian-democratic *Regroupement national* (RN), to redefine "the nation" as Quebec rather than French Canada. Arès himself was never able to abandon francophone minorities outside of Quebec. For him they were the key; if English Canadians would respect their rights, then the Quebecois could see that Confederation was a pact within which they could thrive (Arès 1963, 68). Only Joseph D'Anjou was at all open to considering the logic of *séparatisme* (D'Anjou 1960).

With the rare exception, positions taken in the journal were consistently federalist, hoping for a renewed and fair federalism based on the two-nation hypothesis which was the basis of the *Report of the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* (Editorial 1965, 101). The Jesuits still promoted the independence of the Canadian state from Britain, protesting the Queen's 1964 visit to Quebec as a sign that Canadians were still unwilling to be their own country (Editorial 1964, 314). Moreover, they refused to support separatism even as a bargaining chip that would force the federal government to alter Confederation as was proposed by the

leader of the conservative Union Nationale in his book *Egalité ou indépendance* since it would leave the fate of francophone minorities unclear (Arès 1967, 295-97). Needless to say, they rejected the violence of the independentist *Front de la Liberation du Québec* (FLQ), arguing that Christian love demands positive engagement in society and not violent revolution (Arès 1963b, 212).

This conservative definition of Confederation, we noted above, dovetailed neatly with the social role of the Church in Quebec, a role the Jesuits felt was guaranteed to it by the terms of Confederation. The secularization and modernization of Quebec nationalism, which is to say its politicization, its redefinition in terms of the territory of Quebec, and its adherence to Keynesian liberalism, meant the end of the Jesuits' uncritical support for the nationalist movement as a political movement. However, the authors of *Relations* never questioned, as did some of the authors of *Cité Libre* after 1960, the social nationalism of French Canada. They never imagined Canada, bilingual and multi-cultural, to be the true *patrie* of French Canadians.

The Religious Challenges of Vatican II

It was not only the political and social conservatism of the Jesuits of *Relations* that was challenged during the 1960s. There were great religious changes in the Church itself which undermined their religious orientation. The Second Vatican Council presented a difficult challenge to conservative Catholics because they had relied so heavily on the rhetoric of obedience of the church hierarchy in their anti-liberal and anti-socialist ideology. Now the Magisterium of the Church was opening itself to themes of modernity and changes were coming from above. Only a small fraction of Catholics, such as the Lefevbrists and their Quebec followers, were willing to dismiss the hierarchy and the changes of the Council. Other conservatives had to accept, ignore, or reinterpret the statements of the Council by focusing on its more conservative elements.

The Council presented a challenge to the religious justification of clerical nationalism in Quebec, especially the triumphalist doctrine which defined the Church as a deposit of spiritual truth, above the contingencies of material self-interest, politics and human history. This spiritualist, moralistic and hierarchical Catholicism which had supported traditional nationalism had been severely criticized (see Grand'Maison 1970,

1:133ff). Furthermore the Council introduced the principles of egalitarianism, democracy and participation into a church that had been ruled by the conservative rejection of those values (Hamelin 1984, 269ff.). A new respect for individual conscience and freedom undermined the hierarchical infrastructure of the conservative ideology. Finally, the acceptance of the autonomy of the political order meant that no longer did the Church occupy a privileged place in political discourse nor was Christian morality the privileged terms of political decision-making among Catholics.

In Quebec, the two most powerful bishops, Mgr Maurice Roy of Quebec and Cardinal Paul-Émile Léger of Montreal actively encouraged the redefinition of Quebec Catholicism. Their influence was important in the transfer of education, health care and social services to the state (Hamelin 1984). This influence was especially important in the battle over Bill 60, since traditional nationalists rallied around this issue as the most important battle between conservatives and liberals. While they demanded important concessions from the Lesage government, the moderate position taken by the bishops of Quebec (led by Roy and Léger) on the creation of a Minister of Education put a damper on the most vocal conservative opponents to Bill 60 (Dion, 1967, 138-40). In their response to the secularization of the social realm and its transfer to the welfare-state, the Bishops admitted that the state rather than the Church was the political expression and embodiment of the French Canadians of Quebec.

The Jesuits of *Relations* wrestled with the reform of Catholicism. They published special issues on the important papal encyclicals *Mater et Magistra* in 1961, *Pacem in Terris* in 1963, *Populorum Progressio* in 1967 and on the opening of the Council itself in 1962. However they tended to see these events as being more in continuity with traditional Catholic social doctrine than as being a radical departure. Throughout the 1960s, their critique of modernity continued to be rooted in the conservatism of the papal encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadregisimo Anno*. In the important issues of education reform and secularization they lagged behind the hierarchy.

Conclusion

The 1960s marked a difficult period for the Jesuits of *Relations*. Their hopes of a dynamic Quebec under Paul Sauvé's renewed Union Nationale were dashed by his untimely death. The Liberal Party of

Quebec's aggressive *étatisme* challenged their conservative understanding of society, particularly in the domain of education. While the Quiet Revolution did satisfy some of their demands for state support for education and French culture, the Jesuits saw themselves moved from their position as influential critics of the Duplessis regime to the margins of society as Quebec developed into a secular, bureaucratic welfare-state. It was clear that Quebec would modernize under the model of secular, liberal, capitalist modernity rather than Catholic, conservative, corporatism.

The Jesuits at *Relations* were not ready to give up their dream of a conservative and Catholic French Canada. In doing so they provided a critique of the liberal universalism of those leading the Quiet Revolution. For example, they consistently uncovered the assumptions, presuppositions and values of so-called "neutral" schools and the allegedly neutral, scientific method of the Parent Commission. As well, they consistently opposed the integration of French Canada into a depoliticized, individualistic consumer culture. On the other hand, they did not extend this ideology critique to their own outlook. They failed to appreciate the constructive elements in the liberal and social democratic reforms in the realm of politics, economics and social organization, and the religious reform of the 1960s, which is to say the principles of egalitarianism, democracy and participation.

Near the end of the decade, the attitude of the Jesuits began to change in response to sociological reality and the coincidence of the Second Vatican Council which challenged conservative Catholicism's orientation to the rest of society. The important documents of the Council redefined the Church in the modern world as one actor among many, as one who searched for truth rather than possessed it, as one open to dialogue and learning rather than monological teaching. This religious reform undermined the religious authority of traditional Catholic nationalism in Quebec.

As the decade progressed, the Jesuits at *Relations* wrestled with the religious reforms of the Second Vatican Council. One sign of this change was that *Relations* published significant excerpts from Grand'Maison's stinging criticism of conservatism in 1969 (Grand'Maison 1969a; 1969b; 1969c). But it was not until the change in the editorial committee in September 1969, and the replacement of Richard Arès with Père Irénée Desrocher, that a new spirit was to infiltrate the pages of *Relations*.

During the 1960s the journal *Relations* remained more conservative

in the face of secularization than the Catholic hierarchy in Quebec. Unlike the reactionary positions taken by the Catholic Church in France, Mexico, Spain or Portugal in the face of similar modernization and secularization, the Church hierarchy in Quebec did not reject the new society and its new secular nationalism. Instead the hierarchy handed over control over many social institutions with relative serenity (Baum 1991, 15-47). Increasingly the bishops of Quebec even abandoned their triumphalist stance in moral and social teaching, much to the chagrin of many Catholic, conservative nationalists writing for *l'Action Nationale* (Brueghel 1965, 1966; Angers 1960, 1967; Genest 1970, 954-56). The Church hierarchy had come to a watershed. It had come to realize that practising Catholics were now a minority even in Quebec, that loyal Catholics wanted, for the most part, to be addressed as free citizens on political issues and not as obedient believers, and that the Church had become one voice among many in Quebec society, and not the dominant voice at that. Partly these realizations had come about over the fight over the reform of the education system (Dion 1967). Certainly the concessions made by the Bishops to the new minister of education announced that they had accepted the priority of the state of Quebec as the political expression of French Canadians.

Gregory Baum has argued that it was the coincidence of the political modernization of Quebec and the religious reforms of the Second Vatican Council that allowed some Catholics to become critical of their Church and support projects that were proposed by secular thinkers and parties (1991, 15-47). Despite their efforts, the Jesuits of *Relations* could not come to terms with the reforms of the Quiet Revolution and the Second Vatican Council. This inability was rooted in their deep conservativism. This same conservativism promoted a certain *apoliticisme*, one that was reinforced by the fact that their definition of the nation did not coincide with the political borders of Quebec, home of the new state apparatus of French Canadians or, as more people were beginning to say, *les Québécois*. In an era where state intervention had become the primary means of addressing social issues, the positions taken by the writers of *Relations* appeared reactionary.

This conservativism became particularly apparent in their positions on education reform and secularization. It was also the issue of eduction reform which best reveals the combination of traditional Catholicism, ecclesial self-interest, ideological conservatism and, one must say, deeply committed social activism which provided the influential framework for the synthesis of religion and nationalism in *Relations* during the 1960s.

Because education was given over to the Catholic Church by the terms of the BNA Act, the Jesuits of *Relations* remained deeply committed to Canadian confederation. The education system, which was dominated by the clergy, was also the primary means of socializing French Canadians into a traditional, nationalist ideology. Through their control of the education system (and the rest of the social bureaucratic infrastructure of modern Quebec) before 1960, the Church occupied a privileged position in Quebec society and politics. A conservative interpretation of Confederation and a strong sense of clerical nationalism were the key ideological elements which held this particular conservative, socio-political vision together and served to legitimate the religious, political and social project of the Church and the Jesuits of *Relations*.

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Aspects of Canadian Nationalism Among Conservative Evangelicals in British Columbia

ROBERT K. BURKINSHAW

Observers of the western Canadian phenomenon – particularly evident since the 1930s – of relatively strong conservative Protestant groups and weakened mainline Protestant denominations frequently have alluded to the lack of Canadian identity or nationalism among the evangelicals. In the absence of strong ties to more established Protestant bodies in other parts of Canada, American influences are often cited as the source of much of their strength in the west. W.E. Mann, for example, described conservative Protestantism in Alberta as, "in many respects, an extension of that great upsurge of fundamentalism which first began around 1877 in the United States."[1] In a popular work roughly coinciding with the nation's centennial, Forrest, Kilbourn and Watson depict the evangelical groups flourishing in the 1940s as "tiny evangelical sects supported by American fund and manned by American Bible-school graduates."[2] Using selected membership data on both sides of the border, Harry Hiller concludes that "The proportionately greater activity in the United States leads Canadian third force participants into strong continentalist relationships, dependencies, and alliances."[3]

Such a portrayal is not totally inaccurate, especially in areas such as southern Alberta where a substantial proportion of settlers were American. Throughout western Canada, ties to the centre were often weak or non-existent and American ties did abound. However, as is often the case, the situation in reality is much more complex.

This paper will explore two very different responses among conser-

vative evangelicals in British Columbia to the question of the importance of Canadian identity as evidenced by responses to opportunities to affiliate with American bodies in the two decades following World War II. It is difficult, of course, to gauge accurately the nature and strength of nationalist sentiments but the assumption here is that the creation or rejection of denominational ties with American versus Canadian bodies provides a very useful measurement. As the evidence presented indicates, however, even that rather straight forward assumption must be qualified in light of the many other factors which often come into play in such situations.

Three evangelical denominations have been chosen for study here: the Convention of Regular Baptist Churches in British Columbia (CRBC), a provincial body representing the fundamentalist side of the 1927 division of the Baptist Convention of British Columbia, and two American-based groups in the province, the Baptist General Conference (BGC) and the Evangelical Free Church of America (EFCA). All three groups shared a similar conservative evangelical doctrinal stance, a strong commitment to evangelism at home and on the mission field and a "believers' church" ecclesiology. All three contained large dispensationalist elements but none required explicit adherence to that position. The three were similar enough to begin very close co-operation in the late 1980s in jointly operating a seminary consortium known as the Associated Canadian Theological Schools (ACTS) on the campus of Trinity Western University in Langley.

During the three decades after World War II, the CRBC successfully consolidated and grew to become the largest Baptist denomination in BC. Most of the initiative for the developments came from within the province and did not depend in any direct way on the upsurge of conservative Protestantism in the United States. In fact, these Baptists quite clearly displayed their Canadian nationalism by rejecting affiliation with a large, dynamic American denomination in the period and instead focused on developing their own theological college and pursuing a church-planting program throughout the province. In 1965 they affiliated with a Canadian body, the Fellowship of Canadian Baptists in Canada (FCB).

The CRBC entered the post-World War II period in a weakened state, both in numbers and in morale. The denomination had grown rapidly immediately after the 1927 schism but suffered ongoing schisms in the late 1920s and during the 1930s. A number of churches opted for independence in those years due to a range of conflicting opinions, most of which centred around issues of leadership styles, denominational centralization and

foreign missions policy. Considerable overall growth among fundamentalist Baptists as a whole did take place during the 1930s but the CRBC gains were more than offset by the loss of churches departing for independent status.

After the war, however, the denomination successfully consolidated and reversed the downward trend. From their well-established base in Vancouver and the surrounding areas of the Lower Mainland, the CRBC successfully began a number of new churches in the interior and northern regions. The number of churches and missions doubled from twenty-five in 1944 to fifty-one in 1960, surpassing the number of churches of the previously much larger mainline Baptist Convention. Membership growth kept pace, increasing from nearly 1,400 to 2,700, and Sunday School enrolment nearly tripled from just over 2,000 to about 5,600.[4]

The consolidation and growth occurred despite a dramatic challenge to the CRBC which came in the form of an opportunity to affiliate with the massive Southern Baptist denomination in the early 1950s. For some time, many CRBC had felt the need for the wider fellowship, unified programming, published materials and increased Baptist overseas mission fields which only membership in a larger denomination could provide. Fellowship and co-operation with the older, theologically heterogenous Baptist Convention was out of the question to most and the fundamentalist Baptist Bible Union of North America had passed out of existence in the 1930s. T.T. Shields' Regular Baptist Union of Ontario and Quebec was too distant, and the Regular Baptist group in Alberta was too small to contribute much beyond some co-operation in operating Northwest Baptist Bible College and in an infrequently published joint newsletter. Informal fellowship meetings with General Association of Regular Baptist (GARB) pastors in nearby parts of Washington State were attempted for a time during and after World War II but these became increasingly unsatisfactory and soon were abandoned. The GARB pastors' independent, nondenominational outlook and unanimous dispensationalist stand contributed to the demise of these meetings.[5]

The Southern Baptists came to the attention of British Columbian Baptists as they gained millions of members across the United States after World War II and vigorously organized churches in Washington and Oregon. Many within the CRBC were attracted by the Southern Baptist denomination's vibrant Sunday School and evangelism programs and its strong denominational identity. They longed to be part of a dynamic,

growing organization and felt that the only way Baptists could hope to evangelize Canada was by joining forces with their southern counterparts.[6] The leadership of the Southern Baptists in Washington and Oregon made several visits to BC as guests of the CRBC and, while being careful not to offend their hosts, they certainly did not discourage such sentiments.[7]

Several younger pastors in BC kept the issue uppermost on the churches' agenda by urgently pressing for direct affiliation with the Southern Baptists in 1953. Emmanuel Baptist church of Vancouver, which was led by one such young pastor, precipitated a crisis by associating itself with the Southern Baptists later that year. Several smaller churches followed its lead and divisions occurred in still other churches over the issue. These actions and fears of widespread defections to the Southern Baptists caused genuine alarm among CRBC leaders and led to a resolution to ". . . continue in undivided fellowship."[8] At the 1955 annual convention delegates overwhelmingly reaffirmed their "loyalty to the convention and its interests."[9] With the lines thus drawn, the inroads stopped. In 1955 Southern Baptist strength in BC stood at four churches in the Vancouver area and one in Kamloops. The CRBC lost approximately 250 members to the Southern Baptist Convention.[10]

The major cause of the inability of the Southern Baptists to attract a greater number from the CRBC proved to be the strength of Canadian national feeling. Although many in BC truly were attracted by the successful programs of the Southern Baptists, the majority could not allow their organization to be swallowed up by a vast American denomination. Some regarded the Southern Baptist problem as a "foreign intrusion."[11] The editor of the *Western Regular Baptist* wrote in 1954:

> We believe the hour has come for a united testimony across Canada. We are Canadians. Let us stay Canadian. Canada needs the testimony of Canadian Baptists. If we can profit by the methods of our American Baptist brethren, well and good. But let us preserve and promote the distinctive work of our Canadian Baptist organization. This editor feels that it is time to turn our eyes towards the East. We appeal for a strong comradeship between ourselves . . . which will one day develop into the uniting of our forces in one great Canada-wide evangelical Baptist convention.[12]

These sentiments represented the editorial position of the *Western Regular*

Baptist throughout the crisis period and most of the troops rallied to the patriotic flag.[13] Of particular importance was the need for a Canadian, as opposed to American, Sunday School curriculum.[14] Those who did join the Southern Baptists later confirmed that such nationalistic sentiments prevented more CRBC from following them.[15] For a group with still quite recent British roots, the Southern Baptists were simply too "American."

As an alternative to an American affiliation, the CRBC heeded their editor's advice and quickly began discussions with the Fellowship of Evangelical Baptists in Canada (FEBC). The FEBC had been created in 1953 by the merger of the Union of Regular Baptists in Ontario and Quebec (formerly led by T.T. Shields) and the Fellowship of Independent Baptist Churches in Ontario (many of which had earlier broken from Shields' rigid control). The FEBC leadership was eager to develop a Canada-wide organization of conservative evangelical Baptists and readily engaged in discussions with western Baptists. These resulted initially in increased co-operation between the CRBC and other Regular Baptists in the prairie provinces, Ontario and Quebec, and culminated in 1965 with the FEBC becoming a national organization of over three hundred churches.[16] The nationalist vision of this body was reflected in the title of its first history, *This Dominion: His Dominion*.[17]

At almost the same time that the CRBC was rejecting affiliation with an American body, a total of thirteen independent evangelical congregations in the province as well as its oldest Bible school, the Vancouver Bible Institute, took virtually the opposite route. They maintained a doctrinal and ecclesiastical stance almost identical to that of the CRBC but affiliated with American bodies, the Baptist General Conference (BGC) and the Evangelical Free Church of America (EFCA).

Both American denominations had only several congregations in BC before the mid-1950s but the influx of independent congregations and prodigious church planting efforts, partially subsidized from the United States, resulted in remarkable growth from that point. By 1960, the EFCA and the BGC, though still small, had become relatively significant bodies, with a combined Sunday School enrolment rivalling that of the rapidly growing CRBC. Between the two groups, they claimed thirty-five congregations with 1,700 adult, baptised members (plus many adherents) and a Sunday School enrolment of approximately 4,700. Their educational efforts enlarged their significance. In 1962 the EFCA began Trinity Junior College, a liberal arts college in Langley. The college developed over the

decades into a university and became the largest evangelical educational enterprise in the nation. In addition, enrolment at the ACTS seminary consortium, operated by both the EFC and BGC as well as the CRBC, quickly grew to approximately 200 by the early 1990s making it one of the larger seminaries in the country.

Both the BGC and the EFCA originated among Scandinavian immigrants to North America but both had assimilated into North American culture and became closely identified with the wider evangelical movement after 1920. Neither were militantly fundamentalist but both were definitely conservative and highly concerned with a strong evangelistic and church-planting thrust. Both had existed for decades in the Canadian prairies but had largely failed in their attempts to establish themselves in BC before World War II. After the war, their renewed efforts were assisted by two significant developments: the affiliation of formerly independent congregations and the greater availability of money from the United States and the Canadian prairies for church-planting.

The BGC originated in the mid-nineteenth century among Swedish Lutherans converted to Baptist beliefs while both in Sweden under the influence of the pietist movement and in the United States under the influence of nineteenth-century revivalism. In 1856 the churches formed by the converts in Minnesota and Illinois organized as the Swedish Baptist General Conference. By 1889 the new denomination included churches from New England to Washington State.[18]

In Canada, the first Swedish Baptist church was organized in Winnipeg in 1894. A total of twenty-six other churches, supported where necessary by both the Baptist Union of Western Canada and the Swedish Baptist General Conference, were established on the prairies during the great influx of immigrants between 1896 and 1914.[19]

Firm establishment of the BGC In BC did not come until much later. A Swedish church was organized in Golden, in the East Kootenays, in 1906 but it did not last more than several years. In 1910 the Swedish Baptist Church in Bellingham, WA, assisted eighteen of its members residing forty miles to the north in Matsqui, BC—in the Fraser Valley near Abbotsford—to organize their own church. It survived but never became large because the Swedish community in the area did not grow significantly. The next year a Swedish Baptist church was organized in Vancouver but was disbanded in 1928.[20] During the 1930s, however, Swedish Baptists in Washington and Oregon inaugurated the Scandinavian Baptist Mission

in downtown Vancouver. It continued for twenty years, offering food to the destitute and emotionally stirring revivalistic-style services featuring a Scandinavian string band.[21] In 1948, mission work was begun in the growing newsprint town of Powell River, on the coast 120 kilometres north-west of Vancouver, and a congregation composed largely of non-Swedish members was formed.[22]

The BGC quite unexpectedly became a significant force in the Vancouver area in the mid-1950s. The large, independent Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church, second-oldest Baptist church in Vancouver and the "flagship" church of fundamentalists during the 1920s, affiliated with the BGC in 1954. Two years later the denomination assumed control of Vancouver Bible Institute (VBI), an independent but largely mainline conservative-oriented school. Despite enrolments topping one hundred in the immediate post-war period the school went into sharp decline in the 1950s. The council of the school had offered its assets to three groups in 1956: the Canadian Sunday School Mission, the EFCA and the BGC. The Canadian Sunday School Mission declined the offer; the EFCA was eager to accept but was unable to bring the issue to its convention for a vote before the enthusiastic trustees of the BGC accepted.[23]

The transfer of VBI made good sense in that Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church had affiliated with the BGC two years earlier. Since the founding of the school in 1917, its relationship with Mt. Pleasant Baptist had been close. R.W. Sharpe, the VBI council's first vice-president and primary benefactor until his death in 1925, had been a prominent member of Mt. Pleasant Baptist. The church's facilities were frequently used by the school and many of its young people attended VBI. Thirty years after the death of Sharpe, when discussions regarding the possibility of the transfer began, the chairman of Mt. Pleasant's board of deacons was serving as vice-president of VBI's council and the church's associate pastor was an alumnus of the school.[24]

It appears surprising that the British-oriented Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church would affiliate with the American-based, Swedish-oriented BGC but several factors led to the move. After nearly twenty years of independence, the congregation clearly felt a need for being part of a denomination that could provide help in areas such as ministerial education, church planting work and youth programming. However, lingering memories of the repeated schisms of the 1920s and 1930s and ongoing concerns over the issues of theological liberalism and denominational centralism made

both major Baptist groups in the province, the theologically-mixed Convention Baptists and the CRBC, unattractive.

Further, the BGC was known to the congregation through a Canadian connection by means of a prominent member who had been associated with the denomination's large Grant Memorial Baptist Church in Winnipeg and who initiated the discussions about affiliation. Investigation led to the conclusion that the BGC almost perfectly met the congregation's criteria for denominational affiliation: it had not been tainted by involvement in any of the earlier schisms; it was solidly conservative in theology and evangelistic in practice; and it made considerable allowance for the autonomy of local congregations in areas of emphasis and practice. In view of the fact that it had left the CRBC in 1935 due to a centralization of the denomination's foreign missions efforts, Mt. Pleasant Baptist was specially interested in the BGC's missions support system which allowed congregations great flexibility to continue their significant support of interdenominational "faith" missions.[25]

The potential problem of the British-oriented Mt. Pleasant Baptist congregation experiencing difficulty in fitting into the Swedish-originated BGC was significantly alleviated by changes which had occurred within the BGC. It was rapidly losing its ethnic character and distinctiveness. Enough of its members saw their identity in terms of their evangelical beliefs and practices rather than in their ethnicity; this removed most cultural barriers that might have stood in the way of Mt. Pleasant Baptist's full participation within the BGC. The BGC membership increasingly viewed itself as part of North American conservative evangelicalism rather than as part of a minority ethnic group. Its revivalistic and pietistic heritage, combined with its opposition to theological liberalism, had created strong sympathy within the denomination for the conservatives during the fundamentalist/modernist controversy. In the 1930s and 1940s most of the BGC members read books and periodicals by fundamentalists and evangelicals and many supported interdenominational, evangelical missions. They did differ a little amongst themselves regarding their degree of acceptance of all doctrines commonly held by fundamentalists, such as dispensationalism, but almost all came to view American evangelicalism as a safe haven, well fortified against the threat of modernism, within which to assimilate themselves into North American culture.[26]

The affiliation of Mt. Pleasant Baptist with the BGC set in motion a significant chain reaction. In the early 1950s the church was sponsoring

two mission churches in south Vancouver and these went into the denomination at the same time as did their mother church.[27] Also in 1954, a mission in North Vancouver, begun in part by members of Mt. Pleasant, officially affiliated itself with the church and, thus, with the BGC. It grew rapidly to become one of the larger evangelical churches in the prestigious North Shore suburbs.[28]

The chain reaction spread still further. As previously noted, the BGC's acquisition of VBI was significantly related to the Mt. Pleasant Baptist's transfer of allegiance two years earlier. The new orientation of VBI, in turn, influenced the long-established, independent Broadway West Baptist Church, Vancouver, into joining the BGC in 1957.[29]

At about the same time, a non-denominational home missions church-planting organization, the British Columbia Evangelical Mission (BCEM) was bringing its operations to an end. Between the early 1920s and the 1950s the BCEM operated at any one time up to fifteen Sunday Schools and congregations in outlying areas of Greater Vancouver and the Fraser Valley. It maintained very close ties with VBI and the school supplied a significant proportion of its workers. Although much of the support for the BCEM had come from conservatives in the mainline denominations, it was encouraging the congregations of its mission stations to affiliate with their choice of an evangelical denomination. Three of the missions in the greater Vancouver area voted to organize as churches and join the BGC. They were influenced to do so by their close ties with VBI through workers trained there and by one of the BCEM's board members who was a member of Mt. Pleasant Baptist.[30] A fourth mission, in Aldergrove in the central Fraser Valley, begun by the BCEM but turned over to the Mennonite Brethren West Coast Children's Mission in 1957, voted two years later to organize as a church and join the BGC.[31] Finally, also in 1959, an independent church in the suburb of Coquitlam, begun in the 1940s, also decided to affiliate with the BGC.[32]

At the same time that the BGC was growing in BC from the affiliation of existing churches and missions, it was also aggressively seeking to begin other new churches. With strong financial and personnel support from Vancouver's Mt. Pleasant Baptist and with new grant money from churches in Washington and Oregon, significant churches were begun in Vancouver's eastern suburbs of Coquitlam and Surrey and a second mission was launched in North Vancouver.[33]

Thus in the space of the six years, 1954-60, one Bible Institute and

a total of twelve congregations and missions were added to the two small existing BGC churches in the province. The fourteen congregations and missions totalled just over 800 adult baptized members, plus many additional adherents, and drew nearly 1,700 children to their Sunday Schools in 1960.[34]

The churches and their members were a diverse lot in terms of ethnicity and church background. Only the oldest BGC church, the small Matsqui congregation, and the new church in south Vancouver contained substantial Swedish elements and were thus linked ethnically to the majority of BGC churches in North America. A strong British-oriented, separatist Baptist heritage entered the BGC with Mt. Pleasant and Broadway West Baptist churches. A great ethnic diversity was represented in the affiliating missions started by the efforts of mainline Protestants and other evangelicals working through the BCEM and VBI. Even a Mennonite Brethren influence entered the denomination with the affiliation of the Aldergrove church. Thus little held them in common in terms of their origins and ethnic background. Only their conservative evangelical commitment, fostered in many cases by strong links to VBI, a pragmatic desire for denominational fellowship free of both centralized polity and a legacy of distrust of the existing Baptist denominations in the province stemming from earlier schisms, brought them together into the BGC.

The experience of the second American denomination under consideration, the Evangelical Free Church of America (EFCA) in BC shares many similarities with that of the BGC, but its establishment in the province involved other, different, dynamics. The EFCA, like the BGC, originated among Scandinavian immigrants to North America. Evangelical awakenings in Sweden and Norway in the latter part of the nineteenth century resulted in converts who, upon immigration to the United States, organized congregations which emphasized pietism, missions and congregational autonomy from hierarchical and state control (thus the name "Free"). Further revivals and evangelistic efforts produced many new converts among the largely Lutheran immigrants. The Swedish Evangelical Free Church was formed in 1884 and the Norwegian-Danish Evangelical Free Church Association in 1891. The two bodies developed separately but the fading of linguistic and nationalistic barriers paved the way for their merger in 1950 as the Evangelical Free Church of America.[35]

In Canada Norwegian roots predominated in the early years. The first continuing EFCA church in Canada formed in 1917 in Enchant,

Alberta, following revival meetings among Norwegian settlers recently arrived from the American mid-west. Active evangelism continued in Alberta and Saskatchewan throughout the 1920s but no other churches were established until 1932, when three were established in eastern Saskatchewan. Up to that point, the identity of the Evangelical Free churches in Canada was strongly Norwegian and all church members and new converts claimed Norwegian origins.[36]

Very quickly, however, a process began which later would be of immense significance in BC. The EFCA experience in Canada parallelled that of the American body which, in the words of George Marsden, is one of several denominations which "have been so shaped by twentieth-century contacts with organized transdenominational evangelicalism as to be virtual products of that movement."[37] The Norwegian identity faded and the denomination in Canada became known more instead as a theologically conservative body intensely concerned with the evangelization of people from a wide variety of ethnic groups.

The natural process of assimilation accelerated rapidly because of a close relationship between the EFCA in the prairie provinces and the Prairie Bible Institute (PBI). From the late 1920s onward, relatively large numbers of Evangelical Free youth had been drawn to study at the non-denominational, ethnically diverse Bible school.[38] That association increased and the ethnic orientation of the denomination decreased rapidly as a result of radio evangelistic campaigns which brought an unprecedented evangelical revival to Alberta and parts of Saskatchewan.

These radio campaigns began when Oscar Lowry of the Moody Bible Institute conducted a six-week series on Calgary's powerful CFCN station in the fall of 1938. He had been invited to Calgary by Lee Fosmark, a PBI graduate and pastor of the Enchant Evangelical Free Church, and was backed financially by PBI. The results were phenomenal: Lowry received 5,700 letters from listeners, mostly in Alberta, and over 1,000 conversions were reported. Pastor Fosmark felt the radio campaigns ". . . just set the province of Alberta aflame." Daily evangelistic broadcasts conducted by other radio preachers kept the revival fires burning at least until 1947.[39] Sociologist W.E. Mann cites claims of J.D. Carlson, the most successful radio evangelist, that his audience totalled 500,000 listeners who sent him 300 to 400 letters per day in the winter months.[40]

The radio-induced revival powerfully influenced both PBI and the EFCA. PBI's enrolment nearly doubled from its 280-295 range in the

mid-1930s to 475-544 during the early 1940s, despite war-time conditions which caused enrolments in other similar schools to decline.[41] The EFCA had stagnated by 1938, the Enchant church was at a very low ebb, almost closed, and no new churches had been opened in six years. However, the denomination capitalized on the great receptivity to the evangelical message created by the radio broadcasts and opened eleven new churches in Alberta and western Saskatchewan between 1940 and 1947, nearly quadrupling its roster of congregations in those provinces. In addition, the EFCA was conducting preaching at thirty-five other prairie mission stations by 1945. Significantly, PBI supplied the pastors for the churches and workers for the mission stations, summer camps and vacation Bible schools. Thus, even though no great change in doctrine had occurred, the EFCA quickly became far more identified with PBI's brand of Christianity with its very pronounced emphases on evangelism, world missions and the pietistic focus on the believer's separation from the "world" than with ethnic distinctions.[42]

This relationship between the EFCA and PBI and the resultant weakening of the ethnic identity of the denomination were further encouraged by the merger of a group of independent churches in Saskatchewan and Alberta with the EFCA in 1957. The Fellowship of Gospel Churches was composed of approximately twenty independent congregations, most of which had been begun by, and were pastored by, graduates of PBI. After several years of discussion, eighteen churches of the Fellowship formally merged with the EFCA in 1957, bringing the total number of EFCA congregations in the prairies at the time to forty-three.[43] The PBI influence continued to be strong in the denomination for some time thereafter. As late as 1966, thirty PBI graduates were serving as pastors of EFCA churches in Canada[44] and in the 1968-69 school year, the first in which such figures are available, the EFCA sent more students to PBI than did any other denomination except the Baptists.[45]

The EFCA first attempted expansion into BC when it was still an ethnically-oriented body in 1930. That attempt, in the form of a downtown Vancouver mission to the Norwegian-speaking population, failed and was discontinued after several months. Greater success came six years later when the pastor of the Enchant, Alberta, church moved west to start an English-speaking EFCA church on the east side of Vancouver. With financial assistance from the United States, the new Vancouver congregation, Bethel Evangelical Free Church, survived and was formally organized

in 1938. The following year the congregation began a branch Sunday School in New Westminster which developed into a full-fledged congregation by 1945.[46] At about the same time a new, independent congregation in White Rock, twenty miles south of Vancouver affiliated with the EFC. Over the next five years, these first three churches successfully launched an additional three, bringing the total to six by 1950.[47]

Much greater success came in BC during the 1950s as fifteen new churches were added in that decade bringing the total to twenty-one by 1960. Combined adult, baptized membership in the province totalled just under 900 but the Sunday Schools were quite large and enrolled over 3,000 children.[48] Included among the twenty-one churches were four which had existed prior to affiliation as either independent congregations or as mission stations of the BCEM. These were located in Surrey, White Rock, Delta and Victoria.[49] One of these, Johnston Heights Evangelical Free Church, quickly grew to become one of the largest of all the churches in the rapidly growing suburb of Surrey and the largest EFCA church in Canada.

The decision of these churches and missions to affiliate with the EFCA were strongly influenced by the connections between the EFCA and PBI. Graduates of the school had either served at the various locations or were well-known by the people involved.[50] The Green Timbers church in Surrey, which later merged with another mission church to form the large Johnston Heights church, exemplified this. It had actually been started by students of VBI but the mission later developed links with PBI through several of the school's graduates who had served as workers in Surrey. Some of the members were recent arrivals from Alberta and Saskatchewan and were familiar with the EFCA there. As a consequence of these various links, enough was known of the Evangelical Free Church for it to be considered an option by the group seeking some kind of wider affiliation.[51]

The character of the EFCA was also an important factor in the affiliations. It was theologically conservative enough to satisfy all but the most extreme fundamentalists yet was flexible enough on denominational and theological issues that often separated evangelicals to satisfy those comfortable in the interdenominational approach of BCEM and VBI. Of importance to some with mainline connections was the flexibility of the EFC on the issue of baptism. Adult baptism of believers was generally practised but it was not always insisted upon. In addition, each congregation had at least as much autonomy as that which had attracted other

churches to the BGC.[52]

The very different patterns of denominational affiliation between the CRBC, the EFCA and the BGC in BC certainly indicate different views on Canadian nationalism. A clear sense of identity as Canadians and a belief in their calling to evangelize Canada motivated the CRBC to reject the overtures of the Southern Baptists and link up with the FEBC. The churches affiliating with the EFCA and BGC, on the other hand, evidenced no such nationalistic views but instead quite readily made common cause with American evangelicals.

It is too simple, however, to leave the story as one of Canadian nationalism versus a more American orientation as too many other factors enter into it. One such factor is the differing ethnic backgrounds and character of the various groups involved. The leadership and membership of the first generation of CRBC reflected the overwhelming British dominance of the pre-World War I wave of immigrants and were strongly British in origins and outlook. Nine of the sixteen ministers who led the separatist movement in the province were British-born and only one was from the United States.[53] They looked to Charles Spurgeon, the British Baptist, as their model in separation from any taint or toleration of theological liberalism.[54] No dominant personality within BC emerged as leader, but the English-oriented T.T. Shields of Toronto played a very significant role. He visited Vancouver frequently and encouraged the local militant conservatives in their resistance. He was much more influential in the British-oriented west coast than he was on the more American and European-oriented prairies. His church provided significant financial support for the separatist Baptist organization in BC and his *Gospel Witness* was read widely in the province.[55] Thus, although no formal Canadian ties emerged until the 1960s, the strong British and Canadian orientation of the CRBC was well-established long before then.

In the case of the BGC and the EFCA, a later wave of immigration played a very significant role. An important BC phenomenon in the post-war period was the influx of huge numbers of former prairie residents to the province. That flow, which had become significant in the 1920s and even more so in the 1930s, swelled to a flood during and after World War II. The number of prairie-born residents in BC nearly tripled from 115,000 in 1941 to 323,000 in 1961. One in every five British Columbians (20.3%) had been born in the prairie provinces by that time. Already by 1941 more people in the province had been born in the prairies than had been born in

central and eastern Canada, and by 1961 the prairie group comprised nearly three-quarters of the BC population which had been born elsewhere in Canada.[56] Significantly, a very large proportion of the prairie migrants had European origins: more Europeans came to BC by way of the prairie provinces than came directly from Europe.[57]

This shift in the make-up of the provincial population bore obvious consequences for groups such as the BGC and EFCA which had been established for several decades on the prairies. The westward flow brought many former members and adherents or others at least familiar with the two bodies, thus aiding their establishment in the province. They were viewed in BC not simply as American denominations but as bodies with strong connections to the Canadian prairies.

In addition, it is difficult to overestimate the role of the Bible school movement in Western Canada in the development of the BGC and the EFCA in BC. In the case of the EFCA, the PBI orientation was especially critical. By the post-war period the huge Bible institute had developed a strong constituency on the west coast and provided a link for many to the EFCA. This was already noted in the case of several of the affiliating BCEM congregations, but its effect went further. For example, in the case of the strong and influential Langley congregation, begun in 1948, the largest part of the founding membership came out of the local Conference Mennonite church. The dissidents were English-speaking younger people dissatisfied with the cultural conservatism of their Mennonite church. Several of the young people had received training at Bible institutes in the prairies, especially PBI, and returned to Langley desiring a church more fervently evangelical and theologically conservative than was their doctrinally more latitudinarian, yet culturally more conservative, Conference Mennonite congregation. Large numbers thus gravitated to the PBI graduate beginning the EFCA church in nearby Langley.[58]

Indeed, the infusion into the province of PBI graduates to pioneer new churches ranks as more important than was the infusion of American funds in the spread of the EFCA into the province. The PBI products came imbued with the missionary fervour for which their school was famous and sought out towns and villages where few or no evangelical churches existed. Despite increased denominational funding, most workers needed to be at least partially self-supporting through other employment. In the majority of communities they found no existing core of committed people with which to work and consequently had to rely on strenuous evangelistic

efforts in order to build a congregation.[59]

It is interesting to note that PBI's network also extended south of the border and became one of the stronger influences on the EFCA in the American Northwest. Over one-quarter of the pastors of the EFCA's Pacific Northwest District churches in Washington, Oregon and Idaho during the 1950s and 1960s had studied at PBI. Six of the twenty-two pastors for which data is available had studied at PBI in contrast to only four who had studied at the denomination's own seminary, Trinity, in Illinois.[60]

On a more limited scale, the smaller, more localized influence of VBI was important to the BGC. That Bible school and Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church were instrumental in founding most of the churches and missions which affiliated with the BGC. Once the church and school became part of the denomination, it was not surprising that a number of the smaller churches would follow. An interesting pattern developed which saw the BGC churches concentrated in the Vancouver urban and suburban area, where the influence of the mainline oriented, urban-based VBI was stronger, while far more of the EFCA churches were located in the Fraser Valley, and by 1960, in the interior of the province where the PBI influence was much more pronounced.

Finally, the characteristics of the American denominations courting the Canadian congregations must be taken into consideration. The Southern Baptists were foreign to most Canadian Baptists in a number of ways. As a long-established denomination in the USA, it was unabashedly American in outlook. In addition, the Southern Baptist piety and church polity was somewhat foreign. On the one hand, the southern brethren seemed too liberal by accommodating a few allegedly modernistic elements within itself and by condoning such "worldly" practices as the use of tobacco.[61] On the other hand, the denomination appeared too narrow and sectarian with its "Landmarker" tendencies. The Oregon-Washington Convention, in particular, revealed its "Landmarker" tendencies by rejecting the validity of any baptism not performed by a Baptist church and by practising "closed communion," the exclusion from a church's communion service of all but members of that particular congregation.[62]

By way of contrast, the EFCA and BGC, while American-based, were much less foreign to many Canadian. With origins among relatively recently-arrived Scandinavian immigrants their sense of American nationalism was much less fully developed. Their character also became

much more North American rather than simply American as thousands of Swedes and Norwegians from the American mid-West moved into the Canadian prairies in the pre-World War I period. A great deal of cross-border contact led to the development of a concern for Canadian sensitivities. In addition, as previously noted, the piety of the denominations and their relatively decentralized structure, so strongly influenced by the Bible institutes, were not at all foreign to the BC congregations seeking a wider affiliation. Motivated by such pragmatic considerations and their response to local historical circumstances, they chose to join the American denominations.

Thus, nationalism, or lack of it, was not the only, or even necessarily the most important, factor in determining a church's choice in affiliation. Of course, once links were established, these influenced the orientation of the churches. The CRBC strengthened their Canadian ties and the EFCA and BGC congregations developed increased ties south of the border. While the CRBC functioned as an autonomous Canadian denomination since its establishment, it took the other two denominations much longer to establish a clear Canadian identity. It was not until the early 1980s that changes in government policy, along with the growth of numbers within Canada and a growing sense of Canadian identity, led both the EFCA and the BGC to develop into nearly autonomous Canadian denominations.[63]

Endnotes

1. W.E. Mann, *Sect, Church and Cult in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), 28.

2. A.C. Forrest, William Kilbourn and Patrick Watson, *Religion in Canada: The Spiritual Development of a Nation* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968), 64.

3. Harry H. Hiller, "Continentalism and the Third Force in Religion," *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 3 (1978): 183-207. See also John S. Moir, "The Sectarian Tradition in Canada," in *Churches in the Canadian Experience*, ed. J.W. Grant (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1963), 129.

4. Compiled from Gordon Pousett, "The History of the Regular Baptists of British Columbia" (B.D. Thesis, McMaster Divinity College), Table 17; and Convention of Regular Baptist Churches, *Convention Yearbook*, 1961.

5. John B. Richards, *Baptists in British Columbia: A Struggle to Maintain Sectarianism* (Vancouver: Northwest Baptist Theological College, 1977), 100-7, 113-4, 122-3; and John J. Ruhlman, *A History of Northwest Regular Baptists: The General Association of Regular Baptist Churches in Washington, Oregon and Idaho, 1939-1975* (Schaumburg, IL: Regular Baptist Press, 1976), 279-80.

6. Rev. J. Yoder, interview with author, Vancouver, 19 February 1980. Yoder was a student at the Bible college in Port Coquitlam in the period and was one of the first Regular Baptists to advocate union with the Southern Baptists (see also the *Western Regular Baptist*, February 1952, 10-1; Pousett, "The History of the Regular Baptists of British Columbia," 130-133; and Richards, 114-115).

7. Pousett, "The History of the Regular Baptists of British Columbia," 134.

8. *Western Regular Baptist*, July 1954.

9. *Western Regular Baptist*, July 1955.

10. Computed from Pousett, "The History of the Regular Baptists of British Columbia," Table 26, 177.

11. Rev. D.W. Reed, interview with author, Vancouver, 20 February 1980. Reed was editor of the *Western Regular Baptist* in the period.

12. *Western Regular Baptist*, January 1954.

13. See e.g., *Western Regular Baptist*, July and November 1954.

14. *Western Regular Baptist*, July 1954.

15. Yoder, interview with author, 19 February 1980.

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18. Adolph Olson, *A Centenary History* (Chicago: Baptist General Conference Press, 1952); and Gordon Carlson, *Seventy-five Year History, Columbia Baptist Conference* (Seattle: Columbia Baptist Conference, 1964), 2-3. The Columbia Baptist Conference functions as the north-west district of the Baptist General Conference.

19. Joel E. Harris, *The Baptist Union of Western Canada: A Centennial History* (St. John, NB: Lingley Printing, 1976), 41, 57; and C. C. McLaurin, *Pioneering in Western Canada* (Calgary: By the author, 1939), 357-80.

20. Gordon Pousett, "Baptists in British Columbia," in *Circle of Voices: A History of the Religious Communities of British Columbia*, eds. C.P. Anderson et al (Lantzville, BC: Oolichan books: 1983), 64-5; and Carlson, 140, 262.

21. 1961 Census, 1:3., Table 127; John Norris, *Strangers Entertained: A History of the Ethnic Groups of British Columbia* (Vancouver: British Columbia Centennial '71 Committee, 1971), 124-32; and Carlson, 30-3.

22. Carlson, 39-41, 110.

23. Robert C. Stagg, "A Brief Concerning the Future of the Vancouver Bible Institute in Relation to the Baptist General Conference," (unpublished paper, n.d.); Rev. Robert C. Stagg, interview with author, North Vancouver, 1 June 1987; Baptist General Conference, *1957 Annual*, 50; and Evangelical Free Church of America, *Minutes of General Council*, 22 June 1956, cited in Arnold T. Olson, "A Review of Planning the Proposed School in Canada from June 22, 1956 to January 20, 1961," mss, n.d., Trinity Western University Archives, 8. Ironically, formal approval of the deal by the annual convention of the Baptist General Conference was not actually gained until 1957 but the trustees of the denomination acted on their own in anticipation of convention approval.

24. Stagg, "A Brief Concerning the Future of Vancouver Bible Institute," 1; and Stagg, interview with author, 1 June 1987.

25. Carlson, 48-49, 256; and Stephen Anderson, "The Beginnings of the Baptist General Conference in BC," (Undergraduate thesis, Trinity Western University, Langley, 1986).

26. Virgil A. Olson, "The Influence of History upon the Baptist General Conference," in Carlson, 253-257; and Joel Carpenter, "The Renewal of American Fundamentalism, 1930-1945" (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1984), 195-196.

27. Carlson, 49, 203.

28. Carlson, 200-201; and Stagg, interview with author, 1 June 1987.

29. Anderson.

30. Carlson, 50-51, 194, 198, 206.

31. Carlson, 116.

32. Carlson, 195; and Stagg, interview with author, 1 June 1983.

33. Carlson, 197, 202, 207.

34. Computed from Carlson, 116, 140, 193-210.

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36. Calvin B. Hanson, *From Hardship to Harvest: The Development of the Evangelical Free Church of Canada* (Edmonton: The Evangelical Free Church of Canada, 1984), 15-76.

37. George M. Marsden, ed., *Evangelicalism in Modern America* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984), xv.

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39. Goertz, 216-24.

40. Mann, 125.

41. Goertz, 216-224.

42. Goertz, 223-224; and Hanson, *From Hardship to Harvest*, 97-104.

43. Hanson, *From Hardship to Harvest*, 117-23; and Rev. David Enarson, interviews with author, Langley, 25 and 27 January 1983; 11 June 1987. Enarson was moderator of the Fellowship of Gospel churches at the time of the merger.

44. Muriel Hanson, *Fifty Years and Seventy Places: The Story of the Evangelical Free Church of America* (Minneapolis: Free Church Publications, 1967), 74.

45. John G. Stackhouse, Jr., "Proclaiming the Word: Canadian Evangelicalism Since the First World War" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1987), 91.

46. Hanson, *Hardship to Harvest*, 77-90.

47. Hanson, *Hardship to Harvest*, Appendix.

48. *Yearbook* (1961), Evangelical Free Church of America.

49. *Johnston Heights Evangelical Free Church: A Thanks to God for These 20 Blessed Years* (Surrey: Johnston Heights Evangelical Free Church, 1978), 1-2; Enarson, interviews with author, 25 and 27 January 1983; 11 June 1987; and Mrs. J.A. Stewart, interview with author, Surrey, 6 March 1984. Mrs. Stewart was one of the founding workers of the Green Timbers Mission, Surrey, which merged to form the Johnston Heights church (see *B.C. Evangelical News* 3-7 (1944-1948), and Hanson, *Hardship to Harvest*, 91, but note that Hanson confuses the BCEM with the BC Sunday School Mission).

50. Enarson, interviews with author, 25 and 27 January 1983; 11 June 1987.

51. Enarson, interviews with author, 25 and 27 January 1983; 11 June 1987.

52. Rev. Ted Handy, interview with author, Abbotsford, 12 June 1987. Rev. Handy was the first pastor of the Langley Evangelical Free Church.

53. Compiled from Pousett ("The History of the Regular Baptists of British Columbia," Appendix E) in conjunction with J.B. Richards, interview with author, Vancouver, 7 December 1979; and D. Hills, interview with author, Vancouver, 3 January 1980.

54. *The B.C. Baptist*, 19 November 1925, 2-3.

55. Pousett, "A History of the Convention of Baptist Churches of British Columbia" (M.Th. Thesis, Vancouver School of Theology, 1982), 176. Issues of the *Gospel Witness* from the first half of 1926 give extensive coverage to two such trips in the first six months of that year.

56. Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 365, Table 8.

57. Jean Barman, "The West Beyond the West: The Demography of Settlement in British Columbia," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 25, No. 3 (Fall 1990): 6, Table I.

58. Enarson, interviews with author, 25 and 27 January 1983; 11 June 1987; and Handy, interview with author, 12 June 1987. See also, *Bethel Mennonite Church* (n.p., 1980), 9-13 for evidence of the cultural conservatism of the Coghlan church.

59. Enarson, interviews with author, 25 and 27 January 1983; 11 June 1987. Enarson was district superintendent of the EFC's Pacific (i.e., BC) District from 1957-66 when much of the expansion occurred.

60. Compiled from Robert A. Rapp, "A History of the Pacific Northwest District Conference of the Evangelical Free Church of America" (Graduate research project, Western Evangelical Seminary, Portland, 1976), Appendix O.

61. Yoder, interview with author, 19 February 1980.

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It Can't Be True, and If It Is, It's Not Our Fault: An Examination of Roman Catholic Institutional Response to Priestly Paedophilia in the Ottawa Valley

SHEILA A. REDMOND

> Between 1983 and 1987, more than two hundred priests or religious brothers were reported to the Vatican Embassy for sexually abusing youngsters, in most cases teenage boys – an average of nearly one accusation a week in those four years alone. In the decade of 1982 to 1992, approximately 400 priests were reported to church and civil authorities for molesting youths. The vast majority of these men had multiple victims. By 1992, the church's financial losses – in victims' settlements, legal expenses, and medical treatment of clergy – had reached an estimated $400 million.[1]

I want to open with two short stories from my own work as both caregiver and counsellor with men who are living with HIV and AIDS. In many ways, HIV disease can create a window to the soul. The men I counsel are predominantly Roman Catholic, some are gay, some are straight, but none of them has a positive relationship with their faith. The first story is about a man in his early forties who had been sexually abused as a child by a Roman Catholic priest. From the time he was four years old, Father Raymond used to give him toys after touching him and masturbating in front of him. This man was in the terminal phases of HIV disease and what was eating him apart was the priest's abuse of him and his mother's reaction when he told her. She told him to forget it – after all, priests had

needs too. He agonized over his sexuality, he agonized over his responsibility for the assault and he agonized over his inability to forgive this man. He believed that his AIDS was a punishment for having tempted the priest. And he agonized over his inability to make peace with God and the church, no matter how hard he tried. His descent into AIDS dementia before his death was perhaps his saving grace.

The second story took place on Sunday, 2 May 1993. One of my men is going through recovery from substance abuse. As we have been walking this road together, one of his concerns is about spirituality and the importance of his Roman Catholicism and his belief in God as his higher power. Sexually assaulted as a child himself, one of the problems we have discussed is the sexual abuse of children by priests and brothers and the church's poor response. Nevertheless, he had begun attending mass again and finding that it was spiritually uplifting and a help in his recovery process. 2 May 1993 was apparently designated in Ottawa as the day for discussion from the pulpit about sexual assault by clergy. Parishioners were told, as my client related it to me, that they should not blame the church for the actions of a few sinful priests. Furthermore, they were told that there was not enough money to train priests properly and that they should think of putting the church in their wills to support the education of new priests. Both he and his partner found this inexcusable and have not returned to mass. Furthermore, this issue can be related to problems he is experiencing with his God.

Despite the fact that priests and other clergy have been convicted of the sexual abuse of children, despite the other cases which involve Christian families, despite evidence that this social problem occurs in all socio-economic and cultural strata, people want to believe one prevailing myth: that child sexual assault does not happen within a religious context, and if it happens within Christian structures, it is a recent phenomenon and is caused by the intrusion of the "secular" world. The following paragraph in the middle of the summary to Chapter Six of the CCCB publication, *From Pain to Hope: Report from the ad hoc committee on child sexual abuse*, supports this assumption:

> Child sexual abuse flourishes in a society that is based on competition and power and which is undermined by sexual exploitation and violence against women. Contemporary society has shown itself quick to reject traditional values, to be unable to offer new ones, and to be

> unfair to women and children. The challenge to transform society becomes enormous when we begin to realize the terrible social cost when child abuse is tolerated.[2]

This assumes that the sexual violation of children, violence against women, sexual exploitation, competitive social structures and the abuse of power are recent phenomena unrelated to the Christian basis of western society. It also implies a causal connection between the deterioration of "moral values" and a rise in the sexual abuse of children. However, it is not known whether there is a real increase in sexual assault of children or whether since child sexual assault is now recognized as having a long-term negative developmental effect on those who have been abused that more cases are being reported and more people are speaking up.

This paper is a reflection on an issue that arose from my doctoral research as well as from my work providing support services and counselling for people living with HIV disease. Child sexual assault by Christian clergy is a serious and destructive fact of life in North America. The sexual abuse of children by Roman Catholic priests and religious and the institution's response effects not only those who are abused and their families but also the Catholic community as a whole. The following discussion of some of the issues arising from the institutional response to priestly paedophilia highlights the need for historical research in areas of Roman Catholic history that have not been forthcoming.

The Impact of Sexual Assault

The impact of the sexual abuse of children by priests and religious does not include only the negative factors normally associated with child sexual assault. Some of these children will themselves become abusers, others will turn to substance abuse and other destructive behaviours, others will commit suicide, others will remain depressed, unhappy and insecure about their lives and their sexuality. The irreversible effect on the child's, and her or his parents', religious beliefs and the further negative impact on the community of believers is just as important.[3] Outrage and loss of faith are two immediate consequences of the discovery that a priest has been sexually molesting children under his care and instruction. This betrayal of trust causes the same kind of grief and destruction of relationships for children and their families as intrafamilial child sexual assault.[4] In fact,

there seems to be a close relationship between the reactions of families to disclosures of father-daughter incest and subsequent denial from family members and the reactions of people in cases involving priests where denial is the common reaction and the fault is often placed on the victims.[5]

What becomes clear from the "priest" cases is that the priest is considered "holy" and to small children – God. Like the father, the paedophiliac priest has characteristically been in a virtually unassailable position, which has made it extremely easy for these men to abuse children. Part of this religious "halo" is the important fact that the priest is called "father" by his parishioners, both adults and children. Furthermore, the sacramental nature of Roman Catholic priesthood means that the priest becomes an incarnation of Christ during the sacrament of the eucharist.[6] It is useless to talk about metaphors and symbols as they are supposed to be understood by adults. For children, these relationships, symbols and metaphors are a concrete reality. Because the abuse often occurs during the concrete phase of development when abstraction abilities are limited, there can often be an arrest in the development of God image and the belief structure. As a result, the ideas about God, the church and priests are carried into adulthood with limited change.

The Abusers

In his book, *Sexual Abuse in the Church: A Quest for Understanding*,[7] John Loftus argues not only that there is more to learn – which is true – but also that we don't know very much – which is not true. We certainly know more about the abuser's profile, social history, temperament, personality structure, behaviour and beliefs than we'll ever know for certain about Martin Luther, St. Augustine and of course, Jesus of Nazareth. It is a generally accepted that most, if not all, paedophiles were themselves sexually assaulted when they were children. This would suggest that there is already a long history of child sexual assault within the Roman Catholic milieu just as there is in the rest of society. Until there is more data available as well as historical studies focusing on this aspect of church history, it will be a long time before we get the information we need.

In addition, Loftus' book attempts to lay the blame for this problem on a priest's isolation, alcoholism, the pressure of the job, the immaturity of the priest and lack of training in matters of sexuality and intimacy.

These may be factors, but there are many priests who suffer from these problems and do not sexually abuse children.[8]

The Winter Commission calls the priests "regressed offenders" (actually "pseudo-affective regressed homosexuals") without having access to the psychological files of these offenders. Regressed offenders are considered to be those who only sexually assault children situationally and fixated offenders have children as their primary sexual interest.[9] These priests certainly have not behaved like regressed offenders but given the multiple numbers of victims would appear to be fixated offenders. Paedophiles (and ephebophiles – those who are attracted to young teenagers) reoffend consistently and they are one of the most difficult offender populations to "rehabilitate." Abusers can easily sexually assault multiple dozens of children in a lifetime.[10] One of the things that we can expect is that there will be more accusations against priests and religious. Just as no one talks about the places to which the brothers at Mount Cashel were removed – no one talks about the priests who are moved from parish to parish.[11]

The authors of *From Pain to Hope* appear to depend on *The Winter Commission* and John Loftus for their information. They either dismiss, or are unaware of, the findings of people who specialize in the abuser population – some of them from the Christian milieu such as Dr. James Poling. He quite frankly admits that his counselling with males who have sexually abused children has tested and radically changed his Christian faith. Instead of talking in technical terms about the abusers, he speaks of fragmented, destroyed men who have little control over their emotions and their lives.[12] Perhaps there is a tendency within the institution to feel that priests are somehow different from other offenders. Unlike Poling, the men of the institution are unwilling to say, there but for chance, fortune, luck or the grace of God, go I.

The Cases and the Institution

Cases against priests often begin with a priest pleading guilty and later reversing his position. Sometimes there is a not-guilty plea leading to a trial which results in a guilty verdict for the defendant. In 1986, Ottawa saw its first major trial of a priest, Father Dale Cramden, accused of sexual assault of boys. He was sent away to an alcohol treatment facility for psychological assessment by the diocese. The parents had tried for a

number of years to get the diocese and the Papal Legate to deal seriously with Father Cramden. It took the criminal courts to find him guilty and sentence him; it took a civil suit by the parents to receive compensation for the suffering and care of the boys in the aftermath of the assaults.

Despite the "Report of the Pastoral Commission on Sexual Ethics in the Diocese of Gatineau-Hull" and its recommendations that the Church be more open and face up to its responsibilities in reference to sexual allegations against a priest,[13] and the CCCB position on more openness, six years later, when Father Kenneth Keeler was first accused by three men of sexually assaulting them when they were in their teens, the diocesan investigation cleared him and offered to send him away to an alcohol treatment centre. When the men brought their charges to the secular justice system, Keeler was brought to court in criminal proceedings. In 1993, he finally pleaded guilty after initially arguing that the boys were old enough to know what they were doing, an issue which is irrelevant, since, as a celibate, he should not participate in sexual activity at all. The archbishop was unavailable for comment. He later preached a sermon at Keeler's parish to express his dismay.[14]

Victims and the Institution

In the ad hoc committee report, *From Pain to Hope*, the question of the impact of sexual assault on a victim's faith is left to a couple of pages. But this is the most crucial aspect of the problem for most people, including all those non-offending priests, pastoral counsellors and secular counsellors who are trying to pick up the pieces of lost faith. The fact is that most victims do lose their faith and attempts at retrieval of the belief system seem to be ultimately doomed.[15] In fact, as my dissertation points out, retention of the Christian belief system is counter-productive to the recovery process itself for adult survivors of incest.[16] The problem is that, for many sexually abused men who were raised in a Catholic environment, they can find nothing to replace the faith they lost.

John Loftus, the head of Southdown, a treatment centre for troubled Roman Catholic religious, and a resource person for the CCCB ad hoc committee on child sexual abuse, in his book, *Sexual Abuse in the Church*, almost always places the word, victim(s), in brackets, sometimes adding the word "alleged" as a modifier. He says that he has had limited experience "with immediate 'child' or adolescent victims" but it is his

impression that "every effort has been made to respond with compassion and concrete assistance . . ."[17] That was in 1989. The recent case of Kenneth Keeler showed neither on the part of the church as institution.

Priests and the Institution

The following two sentences are found in the section entitled, "Pastoral Care to Victims and Their Families" in *From Pain to Hope*:

> The direct and personal responsibility of the abuser for the deed should not prevent the ecclesiastical community from showing kindness and compassion to innocent victims. Too often in the past, the uneasiness felt by Catholics in such circumstances prevented them from responding adequately to victims.[18]

They reflect the more colourful title of the thesis. The institution is not responsible for the individual actions of its priests. At best, this can be read to mean that the institution should not wash its hands of taking care of the victims – even if it is not the church's fault – primarily because, as it is explained later in the document, it is the role of Christians to support those against whom injustice has been perpetrated. While it is incumbent upon the abuser to come to his own personal understanding of his complete responsibility for his actions, the institution is also responsible for what has happened to these children. This report does not share Archbishop Penney's confession "We are a sinful church. We are naked. Our anger, our pain, our anguish, and our vulnerability are clear to the whole world."[19]

Instead, there is talk of "firing" priests who sexually assault children. This would certainly give satisfaction to some parishioners and other priests, but it conjures up an image of the church washing its hands of responsibility for its priests' behaviour and for its role in the abusing priests' formation. Outside of the difficulties this poses on a theological level, the church would then be *abandoning* its priests, just as in the past it resolved child sexual abuse problems by *covering up* for its priests and moving them from parish to parish. Besides, some of the parishioners of an offending priest in Gloucester, Father Michael Mullins, would take him back with open arms! This case is noteworthy in that one and a half years ago in Ottawa, this priest had been charged with sexually assaulting a minor. The victim had been sexually harassed. The priest was found not

guilty by a judge who refused to believe that a skateboarder was shy and embarrassed about being molested. A short while later in Ireland, the priest, Mullins was found guilty of sexually assaulting a minor and received a sentence of eight years. In Ottawa, the police and defense lawyers were "astounded at the severity of the Irish judge's sentence."[20]

Institutional Response

The Roman Catholic church has its own legal system with its laws and jurisdictions. For believers, the church is an entity in and of itself and greater than its individual human representatives. To the victims, therefore, betrayal is by the church as well as by the individual abuser. It is not that individual priests and bishops do not have compassion for the victims, it is that the institutional and hierarchical nature of the church creates a necessity to qualify the response. The number of pages devoted to legal discussions, both canon and civil, plus media relations in *From Pain to Hope*, for example, compared to the pastoral, moral and ethical issues indicates the institutional nature of the problem for Roman Catholicism. If, as the report states, there is an over-riding concern for the souls of the community of the faithful, this is balanced with a careful assurance that the rules will be followed, with new protocols being created where necessary.

There is the recommendation that new priests be mentored, but this ignores the fact that this was already done with sexually-abusive priests, and ignores the possibility that the mentor may not be the best influence.[21] It is recommended that the authority of hierarchical officials be exercised as a form of service and not power. The hierarchical structure which is itself a breeding ground for abuse of power, is never questioned. They recommend that the church support Health and Welfare child sexual abuse programs and include "the presentation of up-to-date statistics on the present-day phenomenon of family violence" in seminaries without questioning the role that the church's doctrine has had in supporting many of the inequities that lead to family violence.[22]

Child sexual abuse by Roman Catholic priests can be considered to have an extreme impact on the victims because the church, by doctrine, and the laity, by faith, place priests on a pedestal. Therefore, the church, by any moral standard, bears a great responsibility for the abuse and its legacy – a responsiblity it is loathe to assume. A *National Catholic Reporter* editorial in 1988 after the U.S. bishops issued a statement on

paedophilia among priests critically assessed the report as being overly concerned with legalities. This is a moral crisis, not a legal one, the editors said and listed four positions the Catholic church should take.

> First, find out the facts and share them openly . . .
>
> Second, take an unequivocal stand in identifying and removing from pastoral service any and all who have been convicted of paedophilia offense and who have otherwise compromised the trust that is the hallmark of their ministries . . .
>
> Third, develop a national policy that responds to the pastoral needs of victims and their families . . .
>
> Fourth, do not fall back on the advice of lawyers. In the final analysis, this is a moral issue that cries out for moral and pastoral answers . . .[23]

In other words, *Do the right thing and let the chips fall where they may*.

Areas For Research

In his conclusion to *Lead Us Not Into Temptation* Jason Berry offers the following scenario that will help begin to stall the erosion that this issue is causing in the Roman Catholic church:

> And so a consideration of reform prospects must begin with a qualifier: what *should* be done has little relation to what will be done until influential lay people prevail on reasonable churchmen to confront the decay in authority so pronounced in the paedophilia scandals. Denying the existence of this decay is one symptom of a spiritual cancer. Arresting the illness requires a structural change in the ecclesiastical concept of church, and history suggests the Vatican will resist that to the bitter end.[24]

In her book on the fourteenth century, Barbara Tuchman suggests that "when the gap between reality and the ideal becomes too wide, the system breaks down."[25] Comparing the ideal and the reality of the church's intransigence over this issue with the situation in Christendom prior to the reformation would put into perspective some of the broader structural

issues. If it is true that Rome considers itself to be in a schism with the North American church, how does it relate to previous schisms in history? There is the possibility that the North American church will separate and the church in Rome will respond by retreating into further conservatism. The ideal of a celibate, caring clergy is now seen to be a far cry from the reality of many priests and religious. Is it true that the paedophilia crisis is a peculiarly North American problem? It hardly seems possible that it is only the North American church that has this problem, particularly if the problem is related to the Christian understanding of sexuality. The issue of married clergy is one of the most popular solutions for restructuring Roman Catholicism and addressing the problem of paedophilia. To evaluate that solution, and other solutions, one of the historical questions that needs to be answered is how long has paedophilia existed within the church? Taking a lead from historian Rudolph Bell, it may be possible to do a historical analysis of the writings of, for example, medieval clergy and religious that might indicate reaction formations to child sexual assault.[26] Other historical questions would need the co-operation of the institution, itself, to answer and co-operation has not been forthcoming to researchers in this area.

What is the historical perspective on the institution's responsibility towards priests who have broken their vows? Has the institution, as a general rule, disavowed responsibility for the behaviour of its priests and cut them loose? The moral position, by most standards, would argue that the church has a responsibility to ensure that its priests and religious accept their responsibility for the abuse and suffering they have perpetuated. The tendency has been to help them escape the consequences, legal and spiritual, of their actions by blaming alcohol, isolation and the stresses of the job for their behaviour as well as the secularization of western society. A historical study of the process and procedures of canon law and the role it has played in impeding the taking of a moral stance over and above the legal stance is an important issue that must be researched. To create change successfully, the past must be understood – things were never the way people think they were and the idealization of the past will only re-create the problems of the past.

The Rev. Thomas P. Doyle, an American canon lawyer, has called the sexual abuse of children by Roman Catholic clergy "the most serious problem that we in the church have faced in centuries."[27] I suggest in my dissertation that child sexual assault is an issue that will call for a re-

evaluation of some of the most basic of Christian principles if we are truly serious about eradicating the misappropriation of children for the sexual and affective needs of adults. The issues which arise from the sexual assault of children in our society create a microcosm for explaining what is very problematic in many of Christianity's basic positions about the relationship between God and humans. By understanding the impact of abuse in childhood on the development of males and females, and by understanding the anger and the unresolved and ambivalent feelings of those who have not only been abused physically, sexually and emotionally but also spiritually betrayed, we can re-evaluate the past and build a more secure future.

In the same way, it is probable that the sexual assault of children by Roman Catholic religious may serve to act as the microcosm which calls into question some of the basic positions of Roman Catholicism. The institution seems to be focusing on the trees, when the real problem is the forest. *The Winter Commission* proposed radical, and what must only seem Utopian, solutions to the problem of clergy paedophilia. Its recommendations are virtually unachievable within the Catholic institution under present management. To meet *The Winter Commission* recommendations, the church would need a new theology as well as a new form of bureaucracy. Jason Berry's call for a "structural change in the ecclesiastical concept of church" should be heeded by the men of the institution and this is unlikely at the present time.

Postscript

The one thing that astounds me is the depth of betrayal that all those I counsel feel towards "the church." The church, itself, for these men is more than an institution – its hierarchy cannot be compared to the government or General Motors however structurally similar they may be. The suffering and the anger are almost insurmountable barriers for these men who are trying to make spiritual peace with their past, their present, their disease and a future that will end far too soon. When we face a terminal illness, we need our faith, spirituality and our religious community in order to live the rest of our lives with dignity and a sense of justice. The sexual abuse of children by priests, the horrors perpetrated at Alfred, have stripped these men of their spiritual roots and left them with a void that is almost impossible to fill.

It is an empathic understanding of the deep spiritual nature of the paedophilia crisis that is lacking in the institutional response. It is hard enough to do counselling over spiritual issues when the problem is between the adult who was sexually assaulted as a child and his or her Christian God. One can work with a client and help in the creation of a new understanding of what God and spirituality mean. This is further complicated when the problem is not just God or a priest or a parent but includes the institution that is the mystical body of Christ – the sense of betrayal is deep and painful. What I have come to understand is that their sense of betrayal by "the church" is something as deep as their sense of betrayal by the actual perpetrators of the abuse. It is not good enough to talk of flawed humans – the problem is deeper than celibacy, authority and the proper formation of priests. They might even be able to understand a priest's abusive behaviour, if not forgive it, but their attitude towards "the church" is like their attitude towards God – both are supposed to be above suspicion.

Endnotes

1. Jason Berry, *Lead Us Not Into Temptation: Catholic Priests and the Sexual Abuse of Children* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), xix.

2. Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, *From Pain to Hope: Report from the Ad Hoc Committee on Child Sexual Abuse* (Ottawa, June 1992), 41. Fifty-six cases have been brought forward to date in Canada.

3. M. Lew, *Victims No Longer: Men Recovering from Incest and Other Sexual Child Abuse* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1988); E.S. Blume, *Secret Survivors: Uncovering Incest and Its Aftereffects in Women* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1990); S.A. Redmond, "The Father God and Traditional Doctrines of Guilt, Suffering, Anger and Forgiveness as Impediments to Recovery from Father-Daughter Incest" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Ottawa, 1993); Paul Wilkes, "Unholy acts: my priest the pedophile," *The New Yorker*, 7 June 1993, 62-79.

4. ". . . when priests are the abusers, 'the effects' . . . are long lasting and go well into adulthood. This is well documented though it may well be difficult to predict the extent of the effects in particular cases. We are speaking not only of psychological effects but also the spiritual effects

since the perpetrators of the abuse are priests or clerics. This will no doubt have a profound effect on the faith life of the victims, their families and others in the community . . . Other questions arise when the abuser is a priest. How will the child be able to perceive the Church and clergy in the future as unselfish, loving representatives of the Gospel and Body of Christ? what happens to the child's perception of the sacraments as administered by the clergy? As an adult, will the victim come to view the hierarchy of the Church as hypocritical and weak for not having prevented the abuse or putting a stop to it once it was discovered? Depending on how widely the situation is known among the child's family and acquaintances, how many other ancillary victims will there be for each abused child?" (A.W. Richard Sipe, *A Secret World: Sexuality and the Search for Celibacy* [New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1990], 177-178).

5. See "Letters to the Editor," *National Catholic Reporter*, 5 July 1985; 19 July 1985; 6 September 1985; Michael Harris, *Unholy Orders: Tragedy at Mount Cashel* (Markham, ON: Viking Press, 1990); Berry, *Lead Us Not into Temptation*; Dereck O'Brien, *Suffer Little Children: An Autobiography of a Foster Child* (St. John's, NF: Breakwater, 1991). But "Victims of child sexual abuse are not to be blamed for being victims" (*The Report of the Archdiocesan Commission of Enquiry into the Sexual Abuse of Children by Members of the Clergy*, 3 vols., June 1990 [Hereafter known as *The Winter Commission*]). For a summary of the 55 recommendations of *The Winter Commisssion* see, "The Report of the Archdiocesan Commission of Inquiry into the Sexual Abuse of Children by Members of the Clergy: Conclusions and Recommendations," *The Monitor* (Insert), July 1990, 1-7.

6. One of the facts of the Catholic priesthood is that the priests' actions have no impact on the efficacy of the sacraments. As long as a priest does not commit heresy, and sexual behaviours such as paedophilia are not heresy, then his sacraments are valid and his position unassailable. One of the great contradictions in this whole issue is that priests who marry women are required to leave the priesthood.

7. Many of the priests who have been accused and found guilty of sexual assault entered the priesthood prior to Vatican II. Some of them have been resident in Roman Catholic facilities for sexually dysfunctional and substance-abusing priests and nuns a number of times. The pity is the great reluctance of these rehab centres to publish any data or talk to outsiders

about the reality of what their clients tell them (Berry, *Lead Us Not into Temptation*; John Loftus, S.J., *Sexual Abuse in the Church: A Quest for Understanding* [Aurora, ON: Emmanuel Convalescent Foundation, 1989]; Sipe, *Secret World*; Wilkes, "Unholy Acts").

8. This is the same story we have been hearing for years with father-daughter incest--only there it is the wife who was not doing her job vis-a-vis her husband rather than the job itself that caused a father to assault his child sexually. We also know the distinction between regressed and fixated offenders is not as clear as it used to be. For example, in the beginning of child sexual assault research, it was often assumed that the father or stepfather was a regressed offender, sexually abusing only children in the home. However, it is now becoming clear that this is not the case: without the available daughters, these men are likely to abuse other children.

9. The study on which this initial model was created is fifteen years old (a lifetime in this area of research) and was done with incarcerated offenders, a small specific proportion of abusers (see A. Nicholas Groth, "The Incest Offender [1982]," in *Handbook of Clinical Intervention of Child Sexual Abuse*, ed. Susanne Sgroi [Toronto: Lexington Books, 1987]); A. Nicholas Groth with H. Jean Birnbaum, *Men Who Rape* [New York: Plenum Press, 1979]). The discussion of sexual preference in *The Winter Commission* focuses on homosexuality and is rather perfunctory. For example, they note that "There is no evidence in the literature that male adult homosexuals are more likely to prefer children to adult partners." There seems to be little understanding of the fact that paedophiles whose primary sexual interest is male children are not homosexuals. Paedophiles whose primary sexual interest is male children often have heterosexual adult sex lives – that does not make them heterosexuals. A common problem in much religious material on paedophilia is the lack of understanding of paraphilias (see *The Winter Commission*, I:46-50 for their discussion of sexual offender classification).

10. While only convicted of indecently assaulting seven altar boys, Dale Crampton of Nepean has been accused of abusing young boys as far back as 25 years ago (*Ottawa Citizen*, 23 May 1986).

11. Berry, *Lead Us Not*; and Sipe, *Secret World*. The abuse of females by Roman Catholic clergy and religious has yet to become a major issue. There are a few instances that could become more prominent in the future,

such as the class-action suit against the Grey Nuns in Quebec. *Ottawa Citizen*, 30 May 1992, A4. *Jennie's Story*, a play set in Alberta in the 1920s contains a brilliant portrayal of the priest as abuser of a teenage girl and the long term ramifications for the woman she became. Betty Lambert, *Jennie's Story and Under The Skin* (Toronto: Playwrights Canada, 1987). Traditionally, priests have had greater access to male children and this may, in part, account for the larger number of male survivors.

12. James N. Poling, "Child Sexual Abuse: A Rich Context for Thinking About God, Community and Ministry," *Journal of Pastoral Care* 42 (1988): 58-61; "Issues in the Psychotherapy of Child Molesters," *Journal of Pastoral Care* 43 (1989): 25-32; "Social and Ethical Issues of Child Sexual Abuse," *American Baptist Quarterly* 8 (1989): 257-67; *The Abuse of Power: A Theological Problem* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1991).

13. Fr. André Guindon, Chairman, *Report of the Pastoral Commission on Sexual Ethics in the Diocese of Gatineau-Hull* (Hull, 3 June 1986).

14. *Ottawa Citizen*, 14 January 1993, A1. In between, and afterwards, the Ottawa Valley has had cases in Hull, Cornwall and Alfred.

15. Annie Imbens-Fransen and Ineke Jonker, *Godsdienst en incest: de Horstink i.s.m. de Vereniging tegen Seksuele Kindermishandeling binnen het Gezin* (Amersfoort: De Horstink, 1985). The work has been published in translation as *Christianity and Incest* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1992).

16. Redmond, "Traditional Doctrines." See also S.A. Redmond, "Christian *Virtues* and Recovery From Child Sexual Assault," in *Christianity, Patriarchy and Abuse: A Feminist Critique*, eds. J.C. Brown and C. Bohn (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1989), 70-88.

17. Loftus, 6-7.

18. "Pastoral Care to Victims and Their Families" in *From Pain to Hope*, 26.

19. This is one aspect of the Newfoundland case at Mont Cashel orphanage that is unique in North America. He is alone in all of North America from the Roman Catholic hierarchy to take ultimate responsibility for what happened and for the cover-up. He tendered his resignation and it was

been accepted by Rome. Penney saw his complicity in the cover-up detailed by *The Winter Commission* for all to see. The problem for many of the hierarchy of the church is that they have also participated in moving sexually abusing priests to other parishes – Penney's complicity is their complicity. However, they have not been willing to accept their responsibility.

20. Peter Hum and Senan Molony, "Priest faces dismissal: Catholic church reopens inquiry after Irish court jails local priest," *Ottawa Citizen*, 26 July 1991, B1. Some of Keeler's parishioners would also take him back (*Ottawa Citizen*, 14 January 1993, B1).

21. Harris, *Unholy Orders*; and Wilkes, "Unholy Acts."

22. Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Breach of Trust, Breach of Faith: Child Sexual Abuse in the Church and Society* (Ottawa: CCCB, 1992). This workshop manual is part of the response of the CCCB to increase understanding of what has happened in the church and promote healing.

23. *National Catholic Reporter*, 8 January 1988, 12.

24. Berry, 366.

25. Barbara Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), xix-xx.

26. Rudolph M. Bell, *Holy Anorexia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); Georgiana Donavin, *Incest Narratives and the Structure of Gower's Confessio Amantis*, ELS Monograph Series, #56 (Victoria, BC: University of Victoria, 1993); Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000-1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

27. Jonathan Friendly, "Catholic Church Discussing Priests Who Abuse Children," *New York Times*, 4 May 1986.

Lutheran Missionary Activity Among Quebec Francophones in the Late-Twentieth Century

DAVID SOMERS

Almost all Canadian Protestant denominations have established missions among Roman Catholic Quebec francophones. From the Conquest onwards, the established Anglican Church had persistently planned to convert the French-Canadians through legislation. By mid-nineteenth century, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists were all involved in mission work among french-speakers.[1] However, the dawn of the twentieth century witnessed dwindling interest and support.[2] Only the Baptists survived as a dynamic missionary force in the francophone field.[3]

Not until the 1960s did interest in mission work among francophones wax again. This time a full range of Protestantism was represented. Pentecostal groups, Mennonites, Brethren groups and others joined the Baptists to work intensely in french-speaking Quebec. Finally, yet another church entered the arena; the Lutherans arrived on the francophone mission scene. My primary interest here is to describe the Lutheran missionary activity among Quebec francophones in the late-twentieth century. I will discuss the various contextual elements which contributed to the work's beginnings as well as its development. I will also offer an explanation of this group's motivation for initiating work when other traditional churches had curtailed their missionary activity among French-speakers.

Factors Contributing to a Favourable Climate for Lutheran Mission Work in Francophone Quebec

Lutheran missionary activity targeting French-Canadians was already a nascent notion in the early post-World War II years. The interest in that community was only part of a broader thrust to reach outward and to expand. In general, Lutheranism was maturing on Canadian soil. This coming-of-age provided energy and resources to go beyond the traditionally Lutheran spheres of soul-gathering based on historical affiliation. Immigration swelled the ranks,[4] churches were being built, congregations were growing,[5] and Lutherans felt comfortable enough on the English-Canadian scene to look elsewhere. French-Canadians were singled out. Three major factors permitted this audacious enterprise to be considered feasible.

Vatican II. First, on a global scale, was the series of sweeping reforms of Vatican II which encouraged exchange between Protestants and Roman Catholics. The impact for Quebec's religious establishment was revolutionary. That which had been taboo became sought-out, and with Rome's imprimatur. Naturally, the point of departure for reconciliation was the point of initial rupture. Thus, among the first ecumenical dialogues of which Quebec took note were those between Lutherans and Roman Catholics.[6]

The Quiet Revolution. Second, the social upheavals of the Western world during the sixties were made manifest in Quebec in the form of the "Quiet Revolution." Following on the heels of such World War II effects as urbanization, industrialization and secularization, the far-reaching reforms of that revolution brought about a general attitude of openness to the hitherto unknown and prohibited.

One indication of the pervasiveness of the changes was that of participation in the Roman Catholic mass. Religious practice plummeted at an amazing rate from near universal attendance at mass (excepting certain urban parishes) in the early sixties to less then 50% by 1975.[7] On both the religious and socio-political fronts a new openness was in vogue.

Public Lutheran Awareness. Several specific events heightened public awareness to help create a climate for Lutherans to ponder the possibilities of bringing the Lutheran reformation to Quebec's francophones.[8] First was the Christian pavillion at Montreal's Expo '67 sponsored jointly by Roman Catholic and Protestant churches, including

the Lutheran. This blatant Roman Catholic-Protestant co-operation glaringly legitimized a Lutheran presence on Roman Catholic Quebec territory. The other emboldening event from within the inner-sanctum of the Lutheran ethos was that of the approaching five-hundredth anniversary of Luther's birth.[9]

Another factor also helped to determine the choice of mission work in French-speaking Quebec, namely former non-involvement. The hope was that the openness of the sixties would allow room for a denomination that was recognized as catholic, but without the baggage of law-oriented "romanism" or the distaste for things "English" in the form of the British Protestant churches. Until this point, Lutherans had simply been absent from any French-Canadian reality. Church officials thought that the attitudes of prejudice and social, historical and religious resentment were linked with specific denominations, but not with the Lutheran. The question involved was the reason for the drop in religious practice: did it represent a wholesale rejection of Christianity, or only of particular expressions of the same?

The Beginnings of French-Language Lutheran Outreach

On 15 November 1948, the Ontario District of the Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod (LCMS) reported correspondance with a student at the LCMS Concordia Seminary in Saint Louis, Missouri concerning the possibity of French-language work in Quebec.[10] No mission work resulted from this contact. However, a decade later, Daniel Pourchot, a pastor from the Lutheran Synod of Monbéliard (France) who had studied at the Saint Louis seminary, arrived in Montreal. Although not serving the church in an official capacity, he did occupy the protestant chair of the University of Montreal's (Roman Catholic) faculty of theology. This position gave him access to seminaries and religious orders as guest lecturer on various aspects of Lutheranism. His contacts with Roman Catholic professors and Dominican fathers earned him the title, "The Pet Heretic of Quebec."[11]

This unofficial ministry of the church was legitimized in 1965 by the English District of the Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod's agreement to sponsor the *Centre de documentation et rencontres*. Pourchot was named the part-time director. The dream was to make the center a co-operative effort of the major Lutheran church bodies in Canada,[12] so as to avoid the disaster of carrying Lutheran differences into French Canada. Pastor

Pourchot envisioned a center that would:

> 1. Initiate a program for dialogue with French Canada to reach the lay and clerical members of the church in ecumenical studies. There is no thought of proseletizing among any members of any existing church.
>
> 2. Serve those who have no church relationship and might be interested in forming a worshipping community. A congregation could result from the work at the Centre but this should not be the immediate purpose for its establishment.[13]

In 1966, independently of the Center's activity, Saint Paul congregation[14] (LCA-CS) in suburban Saint Laurent began bi-weekly services in French. A retired pastor from France, Florimand Canapeel, officiated at the services. Through Saint Paul, this same pastor initiated French (and German) worship services in Quebec City in 1967, and continued to do so for three years. One church historian commented, "However, this ministry was not followed through by the BAM (Board for American Missions) with an agressive approach towards making an entry into the field . . . Nor was the BAM excited by the prospects, even though a survey had not been taken . . . So the dream faded."[15]

The same fate seemed to await Pourchot's project. The centre that had been built on so much hope floundered for a decade. Still, the prolonged non-directional venture provided time and opportunity for evaluation and planning. Ironically, the attention that the problematic situation required was partially responsible for the perpetuation of the interest in French ministry. Often that stimulus was in the negative in the vein of "so much to do, so little being done, so poorly."

Nevertheless, during the decade 1966-1976, several events steered the French work in a more defined direction. These events led to the establishment of worshipping communities in both Montreal and West Quebec. In 1969, the work being done by Pourchot was undergirded by the broadcasting of "L'heure luthérienne," a radio program from France sponsored by the Lutheran Laymens' League (LLL), an auxiliary of the LCMS. For several years, only one station carried the program. But by 5 April 1976, two more stations in Quebec added the program, thereby covering most of the province.[16]

Meanwhile, the Center's work progressed. Professors and students

gathered for discussion and several students were instructed in the Lutheran faith. This group requested that Pastor Pourchot lead them in regular worship at the University chapel.

Concurrently, Christ Memorial Evangelical Lutheran Church, the English District's English-language Montreal congregation began to consider work in French. By September 1975, Pastor Pourchot transferred his work to Christ Memorial which became the mission congregation of "La Réconciliation" after the English congregation disbanded because of dwindling numbers. One of Pourchot's theology students who had become Lutheran, Denis Fortin, was ordained in 1979 and began working on Montreal's East side. His work led to the development of another mission congregation which eventually took the name "La Communauté de la Pâque."

During the same time that full-time French work was being consolidated in Montreal, similar work was being planned by the Ontario District of the LCMS in West Quebec. The district's official organ, *The Supplement*, revealed the come-of-age mentality that helped spark the new work: "We are ready to begin, for the first time in the nearly 100-year history of the Ontario District, mission work in the French language."[17] The city of Gatineau was deliberately selected so as to be surrounded by the care and support of the six English-language LCMS churches in the area. West Quebec was the only part of Quebec where this physical proximity of so LCMS many churches held true.

The French ministry was launched in 1976 by David Elseroad, a newly-ordained American from the Saint Louis seminary. At the same time, Charles Cooley, one of Elseroad's classmates, had been assigned to the then century-old parish in Buckingham, thirty kilometres east of Gatineau. Cooley was to study the French language and begin part-time French outreach in that town as a complement to the Gatineau initiative.

The new mission work in Gatineau took hold, and was organized under the name "L'Église luthérienne évangélique du Sauveur Vivant." Door-to-door surveys, small-group Bible studies and newspaper announcements conveyed the message that the Lutherans were present. A Quebec-produced radio program, "Au pays des vivants," provided another contact to heighten the awareness of that presence. Indeed, the first family of Lutherans-to-be came to the mission through that program.[18]

Evolution of the Missionary Activity

The initial flurry of activity in outreach and response in both Montreal and Gatineau gave rise to great expectations. These two spheres of activity were seen as only small beginnings of better things to come. In 1981 Elseroad reported that L'Église du Sauveur Vivant had ten communicant members. The sobering reality of limited response could not be ignored. Still, far from being discouraged, he optimistically stated: "The faithful are catching a vision of what their mission is throughout Quebec as pioneers of the Reformation witness to the Good News in 'La Belle Province.'"[19] Reports from Montreal reflected the same sort of limited response as well as the same sort of optimism.

Despite the optimism, the pioneering endeavour of French work took its toll on the missionary workers. In the period from 1976 to 1990 a total of ten full-time workers were sent to establish the Lutheran presence in Quebec. Various posts were begun and failed. Out of the ten workers who had been sent to do French work, only three were in place by 1990. The monthly French worship services begun in Buckingham in 1976 came to a halt with the departure of Pastor Cooley in 1981. In 1980 a candidate was sent from the Saint Louis seminary to begin work in Aylmer (West Quebec). After six months the pastor felt uncomfortable with the French-Canadian culture and took a call to a Hispanic parish in Brooklyn.[20]

In 1985 Elizabeth Chittim, a convert to Lutheranism through the French outreach, began her work as deaconness with the two communities in Montreal. Lack of funds from the district caused her to seek employment as a social worker elsewhere in 1988, while remaining active in the French work.[21] Also, in 1988 monthly French services and outreach were begun again in Buckingham as a ministry of the Gatineau mission, but after a year the services were stopped because of limited interest. In 1990, after ten years of diligent, intensive and dedicated work, Pastor Denis Fortin left the Lutheran ministry. Combined factors of lack of numerical growth and funding as well as geographic and cultural isolation from the Lutheran community-at-large contributed to his resignation.[22] His departure marked the end of the Communauté de la Pâque congregation that had already been reduced through doctrinal controversy and work-related transfers of members. Since the early 1980s, Ascension, Montreal, had half-heartedly attempted to establish some French work but never quite succeeded.

Along with the internal failures that hampered the work were many external factors that adversely effected the missionary activity. The

secularization that so devasted weekly participation in the Roman Catholic mass did nothing to inspire the seeking out of another form of Christianity. Those who did seek out an alternative to Roman Catholicism often found Lutheranism too Catholic in practice or too Protestant in doctrine. Moreover, the element of "former non-involvement" that had been viewed so positively often worked against the outreach because Lutheranism was *so* foreign and unknown.[23]

By the late 1980s the handwriting was on the wall for Communauté de la Pâque, and La Réconciliation had reached a plateau of growth. But all was not considered lost. Indeed, a series of events brought new life and vigour to the French missionary enterprise. The Gatineau parish, by then being served by Pastor David Somers, had broken out of a holding pattern and began to grow at a modest but steady rate. In 1988, one of the Gatineau members, Yves Osborne, entered Concordia Lutheran seminary (LC-C) at Saint Catharines, ON. He was the first French-Canadian to do so.[24] He was ordained in 1992 and was assigned to the Gatineau parish.[25] By 1988, David Milette, a member of Ascension, Montreal, announced his intentions of entering the same seminary with the goal of working in French.

Then, in 1990, a group of three disenchanted francophone Pentecostals of former Roman Catholic background literally knocked at the door of the English-language Ascension church. After having studied the Lutheran confessions, they had decided that they were Lutherans and thus had sought out the church. Eventually, in September 1992, their presence gave rise to the founding of a preaching station under the supervision of the East District of the Lutheran Church – Canada (LC-C)[26] through the Gatineau pastors. One of that initial group, Jason Kouri, entered the seminary at Saint Catharines in 1992.[27]

Also in Montreal, francophone Lutherans had become more numerous in the fourteen congregations of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada (ELCIC).[28] One parish, Good Shepherd in suburban Saint Lambert, began monthly services in French to serve its own members. Although no independent French-language community existed in the ELCIC the situation led to the formation of "Le comité pastoral francophone" in order to address the needs of the francophone community.[29]

Despite the minimal results after so many workers and so many years of Lutheran outreach, the Lutherans appeared more optimistic than ever. The East District president wrote in 1993 concerning the situation,

"prospects for mission outreach in French-speaking Canada are brighter than they have ever been."[30]

Motivation

The last aspect of the Lutheran missionary outreach among Quebec francophones in the late-twentieth century to be considered is that of motivation. Limited success notwithstanding, the Lutherans remained determined to continue work in French. The drive to perservere is evident in the pertinent church literature which conveys a consistent message of a sense of uniqueness in the Lutheran presence in Quebec. The first missionary at Gatineau expressed it thus:

> The Lutheran Church is the last major church to enter the field. Is our presence necessary or will we only duplicate the efforts of others? . . . There is cetainly more than any one denomination can claim to do. But there is also an urgent need for a mission ministry of Word and Sacrament that is truly informed by the Scriptures and the Confessions; for a clear witness to the objective Gospel of justification by grace through faith in Christ amidst the confusion of man-centered subjectivism; for a sound demonstration of that Christian liberty that faith in the Gospel engenders . . . Will that call to stand firm with the authentic Gospel be heard in Quebec?[31]

The zeal for a clearly Lutheran expression of the Christian faith was not unique to the Quebec outreach. One author expressed the same in writing about the necessity for a Lutheran presence in the whole of Canada in 1977: "It would seem that an indigenous Lutheran church is necessary because we would not feel ourselves completely at home with another tradition on account of either doctrine or practice. We feel we have something to say and to show about the Gospel that other denominations are not saying or showing."[32]

This attitude of unique confessionality within the church catholic helps explain the interest in establishing a francophone Lutheran presence in Quebec at a time when ecumenism was all the rage. While other mainline churches were in the mainstream of ecumenism, many Lutherans often tended to swim in the same waters but in other currents. Denis Fortin, the first French-Canadian Lutheran pastor expressed it thus:

> Is not the essential for Christians that Jesus be recognized as Savior and Lord? That the Good News be shared with the greater number? Structural Union, desirable though it may be, cannot occur at the expense of the spiritual growth of members, and of the faithfulness to the Gospel message. Differences do remain at this level, and they are more than theological quarrels about theoretical formulations.[33]

Conclusion

Lutheran missionary activity in the late twentieth century was the culmination of a series of developments. Both inside and outside Lutheranism, the time appeared to be right, everything seemed in place. The opening of the Roman Catholic Church to the outside world through Vatican II at the same time as the Quiet Revolution made Quebec more readily accessible to outsiders than ever before. That accessibility, coupled with an increasing Canadian, Lutheran self-confidence, attracted mission attention to the geographically-convenient province where Lutheranism was virtually unknown especially among the francophone population. Despite these apparently favourable conditions, the mission endeavour was an uphill battle exacting casualties in personnel, time and energy. Response to the outreach was largely indifferent and growth was not only slow but also limited.[34] But for one factor the missionary activity might have succumbed to the discouraging situation. The key element in the pursual of the French work was the conviction that Lutheranism had a vision of the Gospel that was necessary to communicate despite the cost. It is that sense of uniqueness that leaves the story of Lutheran missionary activity among Quebec francophones in the late-twentieth century an unfinished tale.

Endnotes

1. See Robert Merrill Black, "Different Visions: The Multiplication of Protestant Missions to French-Canadian Roman Catholics, 1834-1855," in *Canadian Protestant and Catholic Missions, 1820s-1830s*, eds. J. Moir and C.T. Mcintire (New York: Peter Lang, 1988), 49-73.

2. John S. Moir, *Enduring Witness* (The Presbyterian Church in Canada: Eagle Press Printers, 1987), 155-157.

3. W. Nelson Thomson, "Witness in French Canada," in *Baptists in Canada: Search for Identity Amidst Diversity*, ed. J.K. Zeman (Burlington: G.R. Welch Co. Ltd., 1980), 55-59.

4. Lutherans made up 1% of the Canadian population in 1881, 2% in 1901, 3% in 1921 and 1941, and 4% in 1961 (see Reginald W. Bibby, *Fragmented Gods: The Poverty and Potential of Religion in Canada* [Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1987], 47).

5. F.M. Malinsky, ed., *Grace and Blessing* (Kitchener, ON: Ontario District of the Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod, 1954), 26.

6. Jean Hamelin, *Histoire du catholicisme québécois. Le XXe siècle*, Tome 2, *De 1940 à nos jours*, dir. Nive Voisine (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1984), 308.

7. Bibby, 20.

8. Beginning in 1854, Lutherans established congregations in Montreal and West Quebec. By the 1960s there were eighteen such communities numbering 5,079 communicants. Although nine languages were used for worship, French was not one of them (see J. Bodensieck, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church* [Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1965], s.v. "Quebec," by B. Pershing).

9. E.T. Bachman and M.B. Bachman, *Lutheran Churches in the World* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Press, 1989), 558. The stimulus of such reformation-related events on Lutheran outreach was observed in Germany at the three-hundredth anniversary which contributed to a confessional revival, as well as the 400th anniversary which led to an intensified thrust of Lutheran doctrine dissemination in the English-speaking world (see Clifford E. Nelson, *The Lutherans of North America* [Minneapolis: Augsburg Press, 1975], 151, 334).

10. Norman Threinen, *Like a Mustard Seed* (Kitchener, ON: Ontario District of the Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod, 1989), 171-172.

11. "Lutherans in La Belle Province," *Lutheran Witness* 105 (February 1986): 7.

12. The major divisions working in Eastern Canada at the time were the American Lutheran Church (ALC); the Eastern Synod of the Lutheran Church in America (LCA); and the English District, the Ontario District and the Synod of Evangelical Lutheran Churches (SELC) of the Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod (LCMS).

13. "French Lutheran Centre", 27 May 1965, Minutes of Organizational Meeting, East District Archives, Kitchener, ON.

14. For the purposes of this paper, the terms "congregation," "worshipping community," "mission" and "parish" are used in a non-technical sense to describe a gathering of believers.

15. Roy Grosz, *The Wheels of Change* (Kitchener, ON: Eastern Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada, 1989), 188-189.

16. "Lutherans in La Belle Province," 21.

17. Threinen, 173.

18. "Mobilizing for Mission in Quebec," promotional pamphlet, 1983, archives of L'Église évangélique luthérienne du Sauveur Vivant, Gatineau, PQ.

19. Threinen, 174.

20. Rev. Kelly-Ray Merrit to Dr. A.J. Stanfel, 29 January 1982, East District Archives, Kitchener, ON.

21. Report of Meeting of the Advisory Board for l'Église évangélique luthérienne au Québec in Montreal, 13 September 1989, East District Archives, Kitchener, ON.

22. Denis Fortin, "Bilan pastoral du temps vécu depuis la dernière assemblée de l'Église," 20 May 1989, pastoral report, archives of La Communauté de la Pâque, Montreal, PQ.

23. Denis Fortin, "Être Québecois et protestant aujourd'hui," in *L'Église Luthérienne: origine et implantation au Québec* (Montreal: Église évangélique luthérienne au Québec, 1987), 16-25.

24. Denis Fortin, the first Quebec-born francophone Lutheran pastor, did his theological studies at the University of Montreal.

25. *East District News* (Lutheran Church-Canada) 1 (June 1992): 1.

26. The Ontario District of the Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod became the East Disrict of the Lutheran Church – Canada in 1991.

27. "Montreal French Outreach Goes Ahead," *East District News* (Lutheran Church-Canada) 1 (October 1992): 1.

28. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada (including the former American Lutheran Church) and the Lutheran Church of America – Canada Section merged in 1986 to form the Evangelical Lutheran Church In Canada (ELCIC).

29. Derek-Michael Strauch, "The Lutheran presence in Montreal," *Canada Lutheran*, November 1992, 12.

30. R.E. Winger, *East District Report*, in *Third Lutheran Church-Canada Convention Workbook* (Winnipeg: Lutheran Church – Canada, 1993), E50.

31. "*Q-in*," mss, 1983, Eglise évangélique luthérienne du Sauveur Vivant, Gatineau, PQ, 3-4.

32. V. Ericksson, "Rationale for an Indigenous Lutheran Church in Canada," in *In Search of Identity*, ed. Norman Threinen (Winnipeg: Lutheran Council in Canada, 1977), 45.

33. Original French text: "L'essentiel pour les chrétiens n'est-il pas que Jésus soit reconnu comme Sauveur et Seigneur, que la Bonne Nouvelle soit partagée au plus grand nombre? L'union structurelle aussi souhaitable qu'elle soit ne peut se faire aux dépens de la croissance spirituelle des membres et de la fidélité au message de l'Évangile. Des différences demeurent toujours à ce niveau, et elles sont plus que des querelles de théologie sur des formulations théoriques" (Fortin, 26-27).

34. The two francophone missions of La Réconciliation, Montreal and Sauveur Vivant, Gatineau, had a combined communicant membership of 40 in 1991 (see *Lutheran Churches in Canada: 1992 Directory* [Winnipeg: Lutheran Council in Canada, 1992], 37).

The Canon of the Classroom: A Case Study in the Teaching of Religion in Canada

TOM SINCLAIR-FAULKNER

Ever since Peter Gzowski found out that I know how many angels can dance on the head of a pin – and more importantly, why it is a significant question – I have found myself from time to time on CBC's *Morningside* answering some fairly loaded questions. But perhaps none are more loaded – if you will pardon my putting it that way – than the question of the canon of the classroom. When the study of religion in Canada is introduced to students for the first time, what is it that one simply *must* teach?

Incidentally, when we speak of "what we are not at liberty to omit" it is worth remembering that this constitutes Mark Van Doren's classic definition of liberal education itself.[1] The question of what we really *must* teach is unavoidable when we introduce a subject for the very first time.

On one of those *Morningside* moments I was brought in to help pick up the pieces following some comments that a colleague at University of Toronto's Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies had left behind in a discussion of the saints and martyrs whose feast day happens to coincide with that of blessèd Saint Patrick. It seems that my mediaevalist friend decided to focus his remarks on the Jesuit martyrs in Huronia during the seventeenth century, thinking that the radio audience would be stirred and gratified to hear the details of their bravery under torture at the hands of the savage Iroquois.

As it happens his radio audience included Iroquois and Hurons who were stirred but not at all gratified by his account of the events at Ste-Marie in 1649. One of them – an instructor in Native Studies at Trent

University – wrote to the President of the CBC to ask,

> Why would we want to consider these missionaries, who were so determined to destroy the Huron culture and way of life and so instrumental in the almost complete elimination of the Hurons as a people, as martyrs? The Jesuits then are martyrs only to those who believe that attempting to destroy the culture and spirituality of the Hurons because of their own misguided self-righteousness was the right thing to do. At the very best, to Aboriginal people, they can be regarded as well-intentioned, insensitive and harmful intruders . . . [His] tirade against the Iroquois was clearly racist in intent and incredibly insensitive at a time when Canadian people and Canadian churches . . . are attempting to correct some of the injustices suffered by Aboriginal people.[2]

Those are strong words – and, I think, quite unfair on the score of racist intent. But fair or not they underscore the need to ask what *must* be taught in an introductory class on religion in Canada. What is in the canon? Let's examine the historical meaning of this concept of "canon" for a moment.

About the middle of the eleventh century the leadership of the Catholic Church began to strive for greater autonomy for the Church from the political order of the day. In self-defence kings and princes were driven to define their own powers as distinct from those of ecclesiastical authorities. Providentially, Justinian's magisterial collection of laws was rediscovered at about the same time and the first European university was founded at Bologna in order to make systematic sense of it. In the twelfth century, therefore, we see the publication of John Gratian's *Concordia discordantium canonum* (*Concordance of Discordant Canons*) and the first important scholarly works on secular law, counterpointed by legislative measures from both ecclesiastical and secular authorities.

In short, the notion of "canon" was given currency in an effort to establish authority in the face of competing aspirations. I therefore find it curious that today's debate over what certain people have cleverly described as "political correctness" – a phrase that I remember using in the 1960s, but only with a Russian accent – is generally couched in terms of whether or not there shall be a single canon of approved learning that "must be taught."

If we were to return to the meaning originally given to "canon" we would recognize that it does not imply that there is only one possible

authority; instead it suggests that there may be more than one coherent body of knowledge, each having a focus that is more or less distinct from that of others, however much these bodies may overlap, support or strive against one another. We would also recognize that canons are developed because human beings simultaneously yearn for the stability that authority gives and chafe at its inhibitions when they seek to live in new ways. The tension between these two inclinations is particularly pronounced in times of stress caused by uncertainty – for example, in times like ours when old symbol systems seem less and less adequate to more and more people.

In times like these we need more canons, not fewer canons. And I think that an introductory class on religion in Canada ought to be structured in light of this need.

Consider, for example, Comparative Religion 3003R offered in 1993-94 at Dalhousie University with a description in the *Calendar* that reads as follows:

> When Canadians have built cities, gone to war, founded economic empires, fallen in love, designed school systems and elected governments, religion has often been a decisive factor. Sometimes religion has been the most decisive factor. What is "religion" in Canada? In the course of this extensive historical study of life in Canada from the sixteenth century to the present, a variety of answers will be explored.

Like most departments in the humanities we view our first-year classes as thresholds, not foundations. In first year the student is making the transition from secondary school to university and therefore it does not matter what we teach so much as how we teach it. The truly foundational classes are found at the second-year level, and at Dalhousie we require students to take a number of second-year classes that provide a broad introduction to the world's great religious traditions before we permit them to enrol in third-year classes. Comparative Religion 3003R "Religion in Canada" is a full-credit class at the third-year level which students can take only after they have demonstrated some mastery of Canadian history and of the world's great religious traditions.

Comparative Religion 3003R begins with an "Overview" in which I remind the students of some basic definitions of religion and their various uses in the study of religion in Canada. Then I have them read two fairly elementary and brief accounts of religion in Canada, both taken from *The*

Canadian Encyclopedia. The article on "Christianity" appeared in the first edition of the encyclopedia[3] and provides a road-map of religious patterns in Canadian history while serving as a scratching point for those who itch over the unexamined proposition that the history of religion in Canada is essentially the history of Christianity. The article on "Protestantism" appeared in the second edition of the encyclopedia[4] because someone with the wit to read the first edition carefully noticed that the articles on "Catholics" and "Jews" referred to the "Protestant" character of Canada but there was no entry on "Protestantism" to clarify what this encapsulization might mean. Both the content of the entry on "Protestantism" and the manner of its appearance serve to stimulate questions in the students' minds about what religion in Canada is.

That sets the stage for the first major section of the class, "Encounters with First Nations," described in the syllabus as including the following topics and assignments:

- Sam D. Gill, *Native American Religions*
- Ronald Wright, *Stolen Continents*
- John Webster Grant, *Moon of Wintertime*
- Brian Moore, *Black Robe*
- Shamanism
- *Mission of Fear*
- S.R. Mealing, ed., *The Jesuit Relations* (RR)
- The Witch Hunts in Seventeenth-Century France
- Metlakatla, a Victorian Utopia
- Native Spirituality Today: Appropriation or Expropriation?

Although this section of the year-long class begins in September and is completed in October it includes half of the book-length assignments of required reading. This is deliberate. Concentrating the required reading assignments in the early fall eases the burden of exam preparation in December and March while freeing students to concentrate on wider reading of their own in the second term when they prepare a term essay on a topic of their own choosing. And it makes it easier for the instructor to make the point that there are many different ways to understand the encounter between the First Nations and others.

We start by plugging a major gap in the Dalhousie curriculum, focussing as it does on the so-called "great religious traditions" in survey

classes at the second-year level. I teach, for example, "Judaism," "Christianity" and "Islam" as axial religions[5] in which the notion of "scripture" is central. Yet the people of the First Nations did not use alphabetic writing at all when they first encountered Europeans, and there are therefore features of their religious traditions that can only be grasped by university scholars through a deliberate and difficult act of the imagination. Sam Gill makes this point in his brief text, *Native American Religions: An Introduction*, particularly in the chapter on "Nonliteracy and Native American Religions."[6]

Then we read a recent history that has excited a great deal of interest: Ronald Wright, *Stolen Continents: The "New World" Through Indian Eyes*.[7] This text is not about religion but it does bring the debate over "point of view" into the classroom in a stimulating and eloquent fashion. And in any case, by the time students have mastered Gill's work, they have come to understand fairly well that religion was not found in a discrete "segment" of the lives of the so-called "Indians"; it was something that permeated every aspect of their existence.

Wright's book is followed by John Webster Grant's *Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534*,[8] an outstanding work of scholarship that models for the students what really good historical writing can be.

Having required them to come to grips with a first-rate example of scholarly history I then feel free to ask the students to consider and discuss a work of fiction: Brian Moore's *Black Robe*,[9] the account of a Jesuit father's first venture into the seventeenth-century mission to the Hurons. Although this novel was written in a beach house in Malibu it represents a serious literary attempt to recreate aesthetically the experience of religious doubt and to be faithful to the seventeenth-century context. Moore was deliberate and careful in his effort to be guided by such scholarly studies as Bruce Trigger's *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*,[10] but the scatological character of the language that he places in the mouths of his Huron and Iroquoian characters is generally a bit startling to students who find Nellie McClung's notions of dialogue more in line with what they expect to find in a "religious" novel. Nevertheless nothing is wasted: the obscenities scattered so abundantly through the pages of *Black Robe* provide an interesting stimulus to consideration of how reflection on patterns of swearing can give us a better understanding of religious life.[11]

The study of *Black Robe* serves two other purposes here. First, as the well-crafted product of a gifted literary imagination this novel entices students to do what R.G. Collingwood tells us that all historians must do: they must enter imaginatively into the experience of the people whose lives they are studying, not remain aloof from those experiences.[12] But second, it gives the class a chance to ask whether Moore has truly succeeded in evoking the seventeenth-century mind – and therefore to ask whether we ourselves are capable of doing so. In fact I have my doubts that Moore is presenting the dilemma of a seventeenth-century mind when he portrays a crisis of faith precipitated by the silence of God which is to be resolved by a profoundly humane joining of Jesuit and Huron. I think that this is a characteristically twentieth-century dilemma echoed in another fine novel about Jesuits in seventeenth-century Japan,[13] but it is not a characteristically seventeenth-century dilemma. On the other hand the story of Father Noel Chabanel's life and death as described in Francis Parkman's work[14] – which Moore refers to as the inspiration for *Black Robe* – is an authentically seventeenth-century life, entangled as it is in the demands of God rather than the silence of God. The problem that the students have to confront is this: how do our twentieth-century presuppositions about what is at the heart of religious life impair our ability to grasp what is going on in the lives of religious people of another era?

I give the students a chance to catch their breath for awhile by pausing to lecture on shamanism – a presentation that draws upon Mircea Eliade's account of the shaman as someone who practices "archaic techniques of ecstasy"[15] and that argues that if the prophets with their scriptures represent the third and latest development in the religious life of humanity, then the shamans represent the first development.

They are then introduced to a collection of primary documents – S.R. Mealings' excerpts from Reuben Thwaites' edited translation of *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*[16] – by means of a full-length feature movie originally produced in French under the title *Le festin des morts*, a dramatization based upon Father Jean de Brébeuf's 1636 account of the Feast of the Dead.[17] The English-language version of this black-and-white production from the National Film Board of Canada is entitled *Mission of Fear*; the set for the film is the reconstruction of Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons in Midland, Ontario.

The excerpts from *The Jesuit Relations* cover three basic periods in the Jesuit penetration of North America and the students are asked to

reflect upon particular questions pertaining to each period:

The Encounters Before 1640 (pp. 13-56)
How did the Jesuits see *les sauvages*?

Consider the relationship between their view of the noble savage and Rousseau's theories of education and penal reform.

The Period of Martyrdom (pp. 57-88)
What place does martyrdom play in the self-understanding of the Jesuits?

Westward Expansion (pp. 89-114)
After Louis XIV came to power, royal control was asserted over New France. How did this alter the relationship between church and state, patriotism and religion?

The study of original written documents in translation is supplemented by references to a three-dimensional model of the reconstruction of the Jesuit's settlement, Sainte-Marie Among the Hurons, maintained by the Province of Ontario at Midland. To be specific, the students are invited to consider what the architecture of this religious community and stronghold tells us about Jesuits and Hurons in the seventeenth-century.

The study finishes with three lecture presentations. One explores the witch hunts of seventeenth-century France in order to make the point that the behavior of the Hurons and Iroquois towards their prisoners which we find so appalling had its counterpart in the behavior of Catholics towards those suspected of Satanism or demonic possession in France. The primary sources for this presentation are the letters of Marie de l'Incarnation,[18] Norman Cohn's study of the witch hunts of Europe[19] and Aldous Huxley's account of *The Witches of Loudun*.[20] This is more than a matter of being even-handed in presenting course materials about Jesuits and Hurons; it also provides an opportunity to ask what was the religious meaning of such sustained and inhumane torture during this era of our history.

Another lecture is based upon Jean Usher's study of Metlakatla,[21] a nineteenth-century Victorian effort to reform Tsimshian society which illustrates colorfully the power and perils of later efforts in English Canada to benefit from what Rudyard Kipling called "lesser breeds without the

law."[22]

The last lecture is an effort to bring the story up to our day by looking at the controversy over residential schools and the recent efforts of the United Church of Canada to make room within its precincts for peoples of the First Nations.

No account of an undergraduate class is complete without reference to its means of evaluation. Like all of our classes in Comparative Religion at Dalhousie, this class is evaluated by a combination of term essays and examinations composed of essay questions. At the conclusion of the segment on "Encounters with First Nations" in Comparative Religion 3003R the students are asked to write a term essay on one of two topics presented to them. That assignment reads as follows:

> The primary purpose of this paper is to acquaint students with the style and standards of historical writing expected in this class. The assignment is comparable in difficulty and scope to any of the one-hour questions found on the examinations in December and April. The paper is to be about five typewritten, doublespaced pages long (approximately 1200 words). Handwritten papers will be accepted if they are neatly written in ink and doublespaced. The paper will be graded and returned with extensive typewritten comments. It should respond to one of the following two questions:
>
> (1) Both friends and enemies of the Jesuits have criticized them for being too "worldly," too disposed to abandon that which is, in the critics' eyes, truly "spiritual." In a disenchanted letter to Ignatius of Loyola one young Jesuit described such worldliness as "bowing the knee to Baal." Writing as an historian, assess the Jesuit mission in Canada during the era of New France. Did the Jesuits bow the knee to Baal?
>
> ***OR***
>
> (2) Discuss the problem of suffering in the encounter of Jesuit missionaries and peoples of the First Nations in Canada in the seventeenth century.

The danger, of course, of emphasizing the many different possible points of view in the study of history is that the emphasis on diversity may inadvertently breed an uncritical relativism. But when Collingwood urged

us to step into the sandals of a Roman legionary whenever we study Roman legions, he never meant us to stay laced into those sandals or to wander barefoot through a moral wasteland where no one – least of all ourselves – is called to account for what they do. The purpose of assigning essay topics as provocative and demanding as those given above is to remind the students – and the instructor – that it is essential for an historian to be both fair and disciplined in reconstructing what has happened in the past, but equally essential to reflect upon the right and the wrong of those past lives as they are resurrected in our imagination. It would be inhumane not to undertake such reflection, and history is surely the most humane of all the academic disciplines.

Endnotes

1. Mark Van Doren, *Liberal Education* (New York: Henry Holt, 1943).

2. Letter from Tom Jewiss (Department of Native Studies, Trent University) to the President of the CBC (22 March 1993).

3. James H. Marsh, ed., *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1985), s.v., "Christianity," by Tom Sinclair-Faulkner.

4. James H. Marsh, ed., *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1988), s.v., "Protestantism," by Tom Sinclair-Faulkner.

5. Karl Jaspers, *The Origin and Goal of History* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953).

6. Sam D. Gill, *Native American Religions: An Introduction* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1982), 39-58.

7. Ronald Wright, *Stolen Continents: The "New World" Through Indian Eyes* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1993).

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

9. Brian Moore, *Black Robe* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart,1985; reprint, Toronto: Penguin Books, 1987).

10. Bruce Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Kingston and Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987).

11. On the meaning of obscenity and blasphemy, see Ashley Montagu, *The Anatomy of Swearing* (New York: Collier Books, 1967).

12. R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (New York: Galaxy Book; Oxford University Press, 1956), 282-302.

13. Shusaku Endo, *Silence* (New York: Taplinger Publishing Co., 1979).

14. See chapter XXX, Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1910).

15. Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, Bollingen Series LXXVI (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 4.

16. S.R. Mealings, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963).

17. See Trigger, 442, n. 52.

18. Dom Guy Oury (rédacteur), *Marie de l'Incarnation, Ursuline (1599-1672). Correspondance* (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1971).

19. Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons: An Enquiry Inspired by the Great Witch-hunt* (Bungay, Suffolk: Chatto-Heinemann, 1975).

20. Aldous Huxley, *The Witches of Loudun* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1971).

21. Jean Usher, "Duncan of Metlakatla: The Victorian Origins of a Model Indian Community," in *The Shield of Achilles. Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age*, ed. W.L. Morton (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968), 286-310.

22. "God of our Fathers, Known of Old," #516, *The Hymnary of the United Church of Canada* (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1930).

Teaching Canadian Religion: Some Questions of Approach

JOHN WEBSTER GRANT

Just before the meetings in Charlottetown last year, after a glass or two of wine in a roadhouse near the campus, I made some very incisive comments about the ethical responsibilities involved in teaching religious history and especially Canadian religious history. I must have done so, for otherwise why would Maureen Korp have asked me to share some of them with you this morning? Unfortunately I cannot recall a word I said on that occasion, but rather than leave a gap in the program I will at least suggest a few tensions, ambiguities and perhaps even ethical questions of which I have become aware in the course of my teaching career.

Over a number of years of teaching history, and especially Canadian religious history, I gradually became aware that I was trying to do two things at once. On the one hand, and with the greater gusto, I wanted students to have the experience of doing history, which is essentially research. To that end I assigned essay topics and directed students to archival collections. On the other hand, I was forced to recognize that most students have no ambition to be historians and treated the assignments I handed out as so much busy work. What they wanted – or were pressed by advisors to seek – from my courses was some understanding of how we got from there to here. I have no regrets about my sometimes fanatical efforts to push students toward primary sources which in some cases resulted in very fruitful encounters with a lived past, but I have also come to recognize the legitimacy of the demand for guidance about meaning.

In fact, like all of us, I have devoted most of my efforts throughout

my teaching career to relaying history and thus introducing students to it at second hand. But perhaps my greater love for the investigative aspect has led me – again, I suspect, like most of us – to think it my duty to shake up students by breaking down their entrenched preconceptions. How better to start students thinking for themselves, after all, than by casting doubt on what they had always taken for granted? After a while – too long, I am sure – I began to realize that most students do not have ingrained preconceptions about history, or even about the basics of Canadian folklore. I discovered this most dramatically when I passed on what Hereward Senior assured me as a true story. After William of Orange defeated James II at the Battle of the Boyne, the news was relayed as quickly as possible to Rome. When the Pope received it, he ordered the bells of the city pealed in celebration of a glorious victory. In terms of the politics of the time this made sense. James II was a protege of Louis XIV, who was busy whittling away papal prerogatives in France, while William was co-ordinating an opposing coalition of which the papacy was a part. What reversal of Protestant expectations, I thought, but when I told the story to a class of United Church theologs it was received without a flicker of surprise.

Gradually it penetrated my thick skull that what I told my classes, for me often revisionism, was for them the received view of history. William and the Pope were allies – why not? – and down this went in their notes. Having written far too much Canadian religious history, I have had the same experience from my writings. Again and again I have wondered where younger writers could have picked up such ridiculous ideas, and when I checked the footnote there it was – John Webster Grant. In such cases, of course, some future historian will set the record straight, but my words will still be in cold print to mislead hapless students into repeating them. Probably nothing has troubled my historical conscience so much. If there is a lesson, it is probably that we need to be especially careful to point out to students that historical events can be approached from more than one angle. I do not mean by this to suggest acceptance of historical relativism, as if each historian could bend events to his or her taste. I am still convinced that every historical question has a single answer, though we may not be able to discover it. What I have in mind is that each generation, each group, and each person will approach history with different questions, and different questions will naturally call forth different answers.

Looking back over my teaching career, I think that the major

challenge has been in responding to widening ripples of plurality. From the beginning I have always tried to be fair to other traditions, sometimes to the point of scandalizing denominationally conditioned students. In retrospect, however, I have come to realize that unconsciously I assumed a pattern of Christian history in which the central thread ran from the apostolic church to the formation of the United Church of Canada in 1925. My first acute awareness of other possible patterns came during a year in India when in preparing a lecture on the Council of Chalcedon I suddenly realized that my class contained both Monophysite and Nestorian students. This was a good preparation for moving into an ecumenical consortium where I was answerable to students of various traditions. Others have faced a similar challenge as the focus of religious studies has moved from the seminary into the secular university. For me, however, this shift was comparatively painless compared with the mental adjustments required – though perhaps not always successfully carried out – by the increasing enrolment of women, Koreans and older students of various backgrounds, as well as by increased awareness of other world religions, native spirituality, newer religious movements, popular religiosity and secular equivalents of religion. Here the problem was one not merely of coping with the unfamiliar but of keeping up with perceptions and demands that seemed to change almost from day to day.

I cannot claim ever to have dealt adequately with such concerns, which were raised with great urgency only in the later years of my teaching career. I am not happy with a response typical of too much Canadian multiculturalism: "All have won, and all must have prizes." All must be seen to win, at any rate, except MWASPs (male white Anglo-Saxon Protestants), although in recent years male white Irish Catholics (we might call them MICs) have also become fair game. Honesty in critical judgement, after all, is of the essence of history. Neither can I accept the suggestion that in order to avoid cultural appropriation we must leave the study of other groups to their own members. For one thing, limitations of personnel make it impractical; I claim no great expertise on native religion, but I was aware that unless I said something about it the topic was likely to be neglected. Again, many of the most valuable historical insights are accessible only through comparisons, indeed the whole of history consists of the study of interactions. In any case, sticking to my own tribe would have been contrary to the whole philosophy of the historical department of Toronto School of Theology, which deliberately trusts its members to deal

fairly with one another's history.

But perhaps that last remark gets at the nub of the problem. Christian denominations now generally trust one another to estimate them fairly, but increasingly we are finding out that other groups have reason not to trust us in this way. I do not pretend to have a global solution. Certainly part of it must be to provide a broader mix of teachers, but this does not relieve individual teachers of responsibility for fair play. All I can offer is the importance of trying to enter as imaginatively as possible into the perspectives of others, so that the negative judgements we must sometimes offer do not come across simply as criticisms from the outside. Of course this empathy is possible only within limits. Still, I recall with some satisfaction an occasion when a Roman Catholic student told me after a lecture that this was the first time in his theological course that he had heard someone put in a good word for the Pope. In fact this had been a lecture on the Renaissance popes, and I had not tried to defend them. What I had done was to try to put myself in the place of a pope of the period who had some desire for reform and to indicate some of the difficulties he would face and some of the compromises he would be likely to make in seeking to overcome them.

Finally, there is the basic question, How can I justify having spent most of my adult years teaching history and especially Canadian religious history? On this question I spent most of my career in a tug-of-war with students – generally, you must remember, theological students. With my Collingwoodian principles I wanted to help them see how everyone from the Renaissance popes to John Strachan made sense of their actions to themselves. For the most part they wanted to pass moral judgements on historical actors and events: to argue about who was right or how things ought to have come out. Nor was I greatly cheered when with unabashed whiggery a kind colleague would insist that church history really is useful because it teaches many practical lessons, for almost invariably the lessons we draw from history are shaped by the values we bring to it.

So what is the real justification for teaching history? I still think that there is real value for students in acquiring something of a historical sense, and despite myself I must admit that there is some practical wisdom to be gained from history. Increasingly over the years, however, I have found myself most comfortable in justifying my way of earning a living simply by insisting that communities as much as individuals live in large measure out of memory. No individual would willingly face the prospect of suf-

fering from amnesia, although there are some things we might wish to forget, and by the same token an amnesiac community or institution is seriously depersonalized. Similarly, ignoring the history of other communities is equivalent to expunging their heritage from our consciousness. Perhaps in coming to this position I have unconsciously been absorbing the post-modern spirit with its emphasis on story. In any case, I offer it not as the whole truth but at least as a significant part of the truth.

CSCH President's Address 1993

A Paean to the Faithful

RANDI R. WARNE

An image of some years ago stands out in my mind: I was standing outside of a classroom, listening to hearty applause from a clearly delighted audience. The person occasioning that appreciation was a small woman in a yellow dress, Phyllis Airhart, who had just finished her excellent Presidential address, "The Three Conversions of Edis Fairburn." The audience's appreciation was obvious; moreover, it was *critical* appreciation. The members of the Canadian Society of Church History (CSCH) who made up that audience had come to expect excellence, and with good reason. The CSCH has over the years consistently demonstrated scholarly excellence through its general membership as well as its executive. When the invitation was extended to me three years ago to let my name stand for the Executive of the Society I was keenly aware of that standard, and of the responsibility I was agreeing to undertake.

This is not the Presidential Address I had originally anticipated delivering. In 1990 I was already pondering the topic I might research for presentation in the event that such would be asked of me. Canadian feminist and Methodist Nellie McClung was an obvious possibility. She had travelled extensively in the United States in support of the U.S. suffrage campaign in 1917, preaching her gospel of women's rights and temperance to an eager audience south of the border. That story had yet to be told, and would provide I hoped, an entertaining and enlightening hour.

Important questions could be considered: how did feminism cross boundaries, both national and ideological, in the early years of this century? Why was McClung, a Canadian from rural Manitoba, looked to by American women as a "saviour" who could make temperance a reality they might not bring about themselves? And what role did conventional religion play in this whole drama?

Yet another topic was Edmonton's temperance march, also held in 1917. The photographic image of several thousand women marching down Jasper Avenue in this small provincial capital was an impressive sight, and begged for further investigation. What was said from the pulpits about these women? From which pulpits, if any, were they allowed to speak? And what does that kind of public social action, grounded in women's experience, analysis and quite often religious conviction, have to offer us by way of insight and reflection today? Here too was an intriguing theme for exploration and reflection to bring forward to a discerning audience.

All this remained a possibility as recently as eighteen months ago. By this time last year, however, it was becoming clear that obtaining adequate research time would be unlikely, as other concerns developed which took increasingly pressing priority. During this same time another topic kept nudging at the edges of my consciousness, a topic with its own independent validity. All of us have witnessed over the last several years the deeply destructive impact of a faltering economy on every facet of life. We have heard the horror stories: "strongly encouraged" early retirements, positions being axed, support staff being let go, salary roll-backs threatened, inadequate library budgets, and in the case of Religious Studies at San Diego, the wiping out by President Day's fiat of the entire department. We have seen already stretched departments being told to "do more with less," leaving us to wonder just how thinly things are going to have to be stretched before they begin to fall apart completely.

What I want to talk about today emerges from that context, and reflects it. The topic of this address is "the effect of the current economic climate on the face of a discipline;" its title is "A Paean to the Faithful."

The academic landscape is very different from what those of us who hoped for scholarly careers looked forward to in the 1960s and 1970s. We saw so many changes, and it is with no small amount of irony that I note that we expected disciplines to change radically, but economic prosperity to vary only in its increase! The folly of youth aside, it is fair to say that disciplines *were* being transformed, not least among them our own of

church history. (What follows is not new information, but it bears some brief recounting.) Changes took place in two arenas: the study of history, and the study and practice of religion.

By the time I undertook university studies in the early 1970s religion had been all but excised from the study of history. Even where "religion" was present, neither it nor persons of faith were generally dealt with sympathetically. Religion was "old-fashioned," something to be superseded by sheer evolution if nothing else. This perspective persists both in the academy and in many students' general experience; I am regularly asked to give a lecture on "women and religion" to a History of European Women course, and each time I have to preface my talk with some discussion of what religion *is*.

At the same time the study of religion itself was undergoing a sea-change. Departments of Religious Studies emerged to engage questions not easily addressed in Departments of Theology. These questions were not, however, on the whole *historical* ones. The current Canadian scene bears this out. Students of Christian history are considered suspect, possible "closet theologians" for their interest in Christianity, while others less exercised about a confessional focus are, it seems, largely disinterested in learning from the past.

The training given scholars in the 1970s and 1980s reflects these shifts. Historians trained in the "New Social History" rightly looked to the tools of social and political analysis to elucidate the objects of their study. Unfortunately, the social theory which was most available in this regard, Marxism, was not especially nuanced in its assessment of religious commitment and action. Religious Studies scholars found the genesis and development of other religious traditions fascinating, but in the main preferred to investigate Christianity according to other, more theoretical criteria, such as those found in the social sciences. Denominational history was seen as a vestige of an earlier stage of development, an unwelcome hangover from seminary days. Seminarians for their part were facing challenges to received wisdom from perspectives hitherto marginalized. An increasingly female student population was decidedly unreceptive to injunctions to study Calvin's perorations in the "Monstrous Regiment of Women," seeing that directive, perhaps rightly in part, as a not-so-subtle message about the desirability of their continued presence in seminary. So, History truncated religion, Religious Studies had reservations about

Christianity, and theologians and other religious practitioners wanted to focus on what was happening NOW. Where did that leave Church History?

Potentially, it left it in the capable hands of those trained in the midst of the developments named above. Scholars with a range of preparations, with considerable experience and facility working with and through the creative tensions of disciplinary growth stood poised to take the scholarship into new and fruitful fields. Unfortunately, it was about this time that the bottom dropped out of the academic market. Jobs became fewer and fewer. As they did, the established disciplines consolidated their new orthodoxies. "Pushing the boundaries" was still *de rigeur* for demonstrating originality, but creative re-engagement with areas and approaches just recently determined to be beyond the pale pushed the wrong boundaries entirely! The one discipline in which reconfiguring past formulations of knowledge was strongly encouraged tended to reject religion, particularly Christianity, outright. I am speaking here of Women's Studies. (The scenario being laid out here underlines the critical, ground-breaking character of the session set up for the Kingston Learneds by one of our past-Presidents, Marguerite Van Die. Ruth Compton Brouwer's paper "Transcending the 'unacknowledged quarantine': Putting Religion into Canadian Women's History" illustrates in a profound way how even new "liberating" paradigms can conceal as well as reveal.)

Many new scholars found themselves between a rock and a hard place. Reluctantly, some began to consider, or even found themselves teaching in the seminary contexts which they had originally rejected. At the same time the seminaries themselves had changed. I will not speak for other denominations, but in the United Church (a denomination not known for an emphasis on historical tradition, although rightfully for other good things) an anti-intellectualism is gaining momentum, fed I regret to say (and I *do regret* to say this) by a kind of "Church Feminist" orthodoxy which sees the type of scholarship to which the historian is called, and at times even scholarship in general, as "malestream," "conservative," and "irrelevant to the demands of practical ministry."

Some scholars got into the system and some did not. Those who did not found other ways to do the work to which they were called: in archives, in ministry, on the edges of the academy, in spite of all the obstacles. I would now like to consider some of those obstacles, and through their exploration turn to some concluding reflection on the effect of the current

economic climate on the face of our discipline.

It seems to me that the impediments to scholars practising church history on the edges or outside of a formal academic context manifest in three related areas, namely: material constraints, identity questions and focus. Living with any of these for any length of time provides considerable challenge and demands great fortitude; to contend with all of them is not to be wished on anyone (well, perhaps some university administrators we could think of, if only as an educative measure!).

Material constraints: One of the first things that signals to a new appointee that she or he has "arrived" is the upscaling of material support given through the employing department. First of all, an office is provided – a place to work, usually complete with a desk, shelves, a filing cabinet, and even your name on the door. That door can and may be closed; you can "do your work" without having to share the space with anyone else. This basic material arrangement has immeasurable impact on the factors of identity and focus to which I will turn below.

In addition to office space, there are support services provided: access to the department copying machine, and even on occasion, someone to do the copying for you. Stationery is provided, paper clips, white-out, scratch paper . . . even with the reductions in these services in recent years due to economizing measures, the general convenience of access contributes positively to the ease of academic life. There are mail services, access to letterhead, a phone number . . . all these basic material provisions "grease the wheels" in a daily way. And if things are not always perfect, there is a considerable difference between complaining about inadequate support services and having none at all. The concrete support given to academic work through providing for these material needs makes scholarly life immensely easier.

Receiving an adequate salary is another plus – being able to pay back student loans, buy new books and bookshelves to house them, being able to think about attending conferences elsewhere – for here especially, an academic position provides access to forms of funding (perhaps less than hitherto, but still available) not open to the unaffiliated scholar. And with mobility to conferences, including the Learneds, comes networking and again, identity, legitimacy and profile.

Identity: Material support is important, and none of us would deny the importance of an adequate income in doing our work. At the same

time, humanities scholars tend, in the main, not to be terrifically financially acquisitive. All those years in graduate school perhaps, or a simple preoccupation with a non-consumerist agenda, but for whatever reasons, the prime source of self-worth tends not to be a bulging bank account, or a yacht in the Toronto harbour. What is important is to be known by one's peers, and to have one's work respected.

Living in the academy provides some of that automatically. You are listed in departmental faculty rosters, in brochures and outside of department corridors. Your name, as mentioned before, is on your office door – you have a place to work and you deserve it, people are paying you money and are willing to be associated with you in print. They may even be proud of having you around! Students (sometimes) take you more seriously, because you are a "real" professor. Your status is established externally; you are then free to enhance it, but you do not have to try to prove your worth at the outset. This is a "given" of academic appointment, at least to the outside world. And while it is certainly true that tests of legitimacy and worth occur regularly – incessantly! – within the system as well, there is still a profound difference between being evaluated for how well you play a game and trying to prove that you deserve a chance to play at all.

One of the most telling examples of what I am trying to point to comes for me at Learned societies conferences, when introductions are being made. Stated affiliations are paramount – and how much easier it is to say "I'm at Carleton" or "I'm the Reformation person at VST" than "I'm interested in . . ." The awkwardness can perhaps be circumvented by openers like "My latest publication is . . ." but there is a fine line between creating a legitimate identity and just "trying too hard." Doing this dance, again and again, causes tremendous strain, and wears very thin over time.

Finally, there is the question of *focus*. This is a problem for all academics, in the system or not, as we are all becoming increasingly overburdened trying to keep the apparently sinking ship of post-secondary education afloat. For the un/under-affiliated scholar, however, there are further difficulties. Scholars who have found their primary employment outside the academy face "shifting gears" from the work – often equally important and challenging work – which "pays the rent," and the scholarship to which they are called. The difficulty of that move is recognized implicitly through sabbatical leave; we have to get away from daily demands to really do some thinking.

For those outside and on the edges of the system who still have some desire to get in, the situation is even more difficult. Jobs are described and advertised in the "fishing expeditions" which characterize a buyers' market. Those in the system who are asked to prepare and teach in an area in which they are no longer current will recognize what is being asked here. Imagine if your entire future rests on providing credible, even outstanding expertise in often quite separate areas which, while perhaps part of one's graduate school preparation, are very far from what one currently cares about. And imagine the demand on one's psyche and time if those areas are constantly changing in relation to the available job offerings, from year to year.

What does all this have to do with church history? In addition to many of our scholars, our discipline itself is arguably "outside the system," or at least on its edges. It lacks a firm material positioning in mainstream academic departments, and while its status in seminaries is more or less intact, its centrality to theological education is suspect in the prevailing ideology. Church history's identity is likewise jaundiced in the secular academy. (I cannot, for example, tell you the confusion engendered when I indicate my affiliation with this Society in Women's Studies gatherings.) But what church history has – what WE have – is focus. The scholarship which I have encountered in this Society over the last eight years has been stimulating, and consistently creative. The Society itself has striven, successfully, to be gender-inclusive, and actively seeks to treat all members equally, regardless of university affiliation.

That this is the case is due in large measure to those who do this work for the love of the work itself – despite the barriers, despite the frustrations, and despite the real hardships imposed by the seemingly interminably constrained circumstances of current academic life. Their commitment deserves at least *this* acknowledgement. And it is because of *all* of our work, within the academy and without, and facilitated through this Society, that the subject we love will continue to survive and to flourish.