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Reverend Henry Davidson (1823-1903): Maintaining and Creating Boundaries

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"It is painful to say yes, but how can I say no?"[1] Henry Davidson's response to his daughter Frances's announcement in the mid-1890s of her call to pioneer in the Brethren in Christ (River Brethren) fledging mission project articulates his struggle. A trailblazer himself, he was among the most ardent of supporters of missions in the denomination. In his latter mid-life years, Davidson had also broken ground with the launch of a denominational paper, the *Evangelical Visitor*. He had used the paper to bring together the far reaches of the mobile late nineteenth-century community and to broadcast the denomination's version of the gospel message well beyond the sectarian community's borders. Recently, he had been coerced into giving over the reins of editorship of the nine-year-old paper. Newly bereaved by the death of his wife and Frances's mother, his words reflected deep conflict. His loss would be multiplied as his beloved daughter stepped forward, the first to volunteer to explore the potential of an overseas missionary enterprise. At the same time, his response demonstrates integrity and hints at his reputation as a calm, objective, visionary leader.

Frances Davidson's twenty-four year career in South and South Central Africa has been well documented.[2] While researching her pre-Africa days, I have found myself increasingly drawn to her father, especially in his role as founding editor of the *Evangelical Visitor.* In a surprising gender reversal, far more is known about his daughter than this significant male leader, despite his role in launching what quickly became a bi-weekly transnational periodical that survived for over 125 years.

Unlike Frances, who published a missionary memoir, kept journals, and even penned articles for the *Evangelical Visitor* itself, Henry appears to have written little, other than editorials and administrative pieces related to the paper and denominational meetings. Even his burial place has been forgotten.[3]

Despite the fog that obscures this significant leader's ministry, spanning the latter half of the nineteenth century into the early twentieth, it is clear that Henry Davidson's story makes a significant contribution to the transnational history of evangelical Christianity, in the United States and Canada to be sure, but also in global Christianity.[4] "Devoted to the spread of evangelical truths and the unity of the church" as proclaimed in *Evangelical Visitor*'s masthead, Davidson brought the Brethren in Christ into the world of communication so important to the shaping of nineteenth-century institutions and movements.[5]With his vision and even-headed leadership, his was the driving force in converting a separate people to the use of contemporary tools of communication that fostered community in the context of late nineteenth-century geographic expansion and mobility.[6] This essay is a preliminary probe into what I hope will become a larger exploration of the ways in which Davidson's story pushes geographic and community boundaries, including gendered norms of the time.

Davidson's studio photograph, done in upper mid-life, gives valuable clues into this leader's personality. The astute observer sees intense eyes peering out from under bushy dark eyebrows and a heavy thatch of wavy snow-white hair riding mid-ear. His hairless upper lip is symbolic of the pacifism of the denomination; meanwhile, his well-trimmed beard partially covers a dark bowtie, suggesting an independent spirit setting him apart from the plain dressing sect. Indeed, his apparel reinforces questions that his English name among a primarily Germanic community raises. Overall, Davidson's portrait suggests a strength that had the potential for conflict; at the same time, it engenders a sense of confidence.[7]

Davidson's obituary, published in *Evangelical Visitor* following his death in October 1903, tells readers that he was of Scottish ancestry, the first generation of the family to be American born. Birthed on 15 April 1823, in Westmoreland county, south-western Pennsylvania, he was the grandson of Robert Davidson, who, with his wife (typically, unnamed in the historical record), was among the "steady stream" of tens of thousands of Scots-Irish pushed to emigrate from Ireland by economic challenges and

religious oppression.[8]The most widely scattered of all the colonists, large numbers of Scots-Irish, the majority Presbyterian, responded to William Penn's invitation to religious groups and settled in Pennsylvania.[9]There they established themselves, to quote historian William Sweet, amongst "Mennonites, Dunkers, Moravians, Schwenkfelders, Lutherans, German and Dutch Reformed, several varieties of Presbyterians, Welsh and English Baptists, Anglicans and Roman Catholics, with no one group having an actual majority."[10]

A clergyman, Henry's grandfather Robert Davidson was placed in Philadelphia.[11]From the outset, colonial Presbyterians set high standards for education among their ministers. Colonists frequently had been trained at Scottish universities. We can assume that Robert Davidson was among these because only the well educated were put into parishes.[12]With the Presbyterian support of George Whitefield and colonial evangelicalism, Henry's grandfather may well have been among the converted, many of whom are known to have been pastors.[13]

Whatever the case, Henry's father Jacob Davidson was likely a child when the family emigrated; both parents died soon after, leaving their young son and his sister Elizabeth orphaned. With the close proximity of the variety of ethnicities and religious backgrounds in Penn's woods, their adoption into what has been described as a "Pennsylvania Dutch" family is not surprising.[14]And yet, it did put Henry's family into a situation where the marked differences in temperament and tradition between the "impetuousity" and "restlessness" of the Scots-Irish and the Germans "who, once they found a home, tended to remain fixed," would at times be problematic, if also beneficial.[15]

In due course, Jacob married Mary Young; they affiliated with the German Baptists (later United Brethren in Christ, not to be confused with Brethren in Christ). Unlike the Brethren in Christ who emerged in Pennsylvania, the former had originated in central Germany.[16]By 1815, when the "vague and undefined" membership in the United States officially declared itself a denomination, the thirty-three-year-old Jacob Davidson had become a German Baptist minister, and he was among the decision makers that solidified their status as United Brethren in Christ.[17]

Henry arrived in the family, eight years later, in 1823. Although he was well down the line, the fourth and last son in a family of eight children, Henry showed promise. He was ordained by the time he was twenty-three years old. By that point, the family lived in Brownsville, Pennsylvania, in a former tavern converted into their grand home. An

extensive landowner, Jacob was prominent in town. For instance, he was appointed as director at the local Monongahela Bank. He had also switched denominations. Henry followed in his father's footsteps as a minister among the River Brethren (after 1860 officially Brethren in Christ)[18]who held similar values and practices to the United Brethren in Christ, including the Anabaptist influence manifested in their common pacifism and strong communities, although the former were known to be more enthusiastic in their worship.[19]As W. O. Baker, the medical doctor and lay theologian who became a close friend of Henry's, put it in reflections on his mid nineteenth-century decision to convert to the River Brethren: "It was said that these brethren claimed to be possessed of the Holy Ghost. This seemed to me a high attainment. But from what I know of the word of God I believe that it ought to be so. I learned that they were generally accounted as Christians in the neighbourhood."[20]

Preparing to leave behind the prosperity of their western Pennsylvania community, judging by its industry in ship building, for instance, and the support of a strong community, Henry modelled his Scots-Irish heritage. With his wife Hannah Radcliffe Craft at his side, Henry began what became a lifetime of following the trend of demographic mobility characteristic of the time. Henry Davidson was among the mid nineteenth-century Americans who, as historian S.J. Kleinberg has put it, "searched for land, mineral wealth, riches and a new start."[21]When their young family joined the trek to Ohio, they were among the "more than half of the population" who had been born outside the state.[22]It would be remiss not to note that Henry was as culpable as anyone who, in their quest for good farming, displaced the aboriginal people who had made their homes on these territories for millennia.[23]

Hannah Craft Davidson's death not long after their move left thirty-two-year-old Henry a widower, with five small children. Henry was still young, and women's work was indispensable to the family economy. In that era, bereaved husbands often advertised for household help "with an 'unsullied reputation' who would manage the 'female concerns of country business.'" In Kleinberg's words, "[t]he list of jobs included '[raising] small stock, dairying, marketing, combing, carding, spinning, knitting, sewing, pickling, preserving, etc.' and occasionally instructing the daughters of the household in the domestic economy."[24]It comes as no surprise, then, that not long after Hannah's death, Henry returned to their home community in Redstone, Pennsylvania, to look for a wife. He soon proposed to a close friend of Hannah's, twenty-five-year-old Fannie Rice.

He already knew the family, and, like Hannah, Fannie came from a United Brethren in Christ clergy home; thus Henry was convinced that Fannie had the qualifications necessary to make a good wife.

It must have been a difficult decision for a young woman to take on the rigorous duties of a domestic situation that included raising five youngsters, including an infant, several days' journey from the support of family. And yet, from her side, she was already past her prime and the offer must have been tempting when faced with the possibility of spinsterhood.[25]Whatever Fannie's motivation may have been, Henry successfully wooed her, and she joined him in Ohio, taking over the duties of motherhood and running the domestic side of their enterprise. Eight more from this union eventually made Henry the father of thirteen, over a twenty-six-year span, well surpassing the national average of five children.[26]

The River Brethren (Brethren in Christ) and the German Baptists (United Brethren in Christ) were both active in the Ohio communities where Davidson and his family farmed. In pioneer times these faith communities met in members' homes and barns, and as they became more established it was common for the two groups to share worship space in what they called union meetinghouses.[27]For the plain people, ministry was called out from the congregation, untrained and unpaid.[28]Thus a variety of farming operations, and, as was typical of the times, other moneymaking efforts, for instance operating a cheese factory, supplemented Davidson's preaching and evangelistic ministry through most of his life. His Scots-Irish restlessness was demonstrated in the multitude of farm purchases and moves that took the family from Bath, to Smithville, to Georgetown, while in Ohio, then in 1881 to White Pigeon, Michigan, and finally, in 1891, to Abilene, Kansas, where he had already purchased several farms to be run by his sons and others.

These latter moves were strongly motivated by Davidson's vision for a church periodical. From the mid-1870s, he joined his voice with those from Michigan and Kansas, well outside of the denomination's geographic centre in Pennsylvania, who recognized the symbiotic relationship between population mobility and the potential of assisting connectedness through the media. The promoters of a church paper were in a minority. As denominational historian Carlton Wittlinger tells readers, although, during their first century, Brethren in Christ did take advantage of the postal revolution to communicate with one another, they continued to favour meeting in person at annual conferences, local meetings, and personal visitation by leaders, to communicating by post.[29]Thus discussion

languished for years, only to be revived and opposed again; finally, in 1887, Davidson, his friend W. O. Baker, and a small group of other supporters were given the opportunity to test the waters in what by now had become for the majority of evangelicals in nineteenth-century America, including their co-religionists the United Brethren in Christ with their *Gospel Visitor*, an essential force in community-building. In just over three months, Davidson, now a bishop in Michigan, had the first issue published.[30]

Research has yet to reveal the extent of Davidson's credentials for such an enterprise. With his background, and "[t]he surging levels of education and literacy in the post-Revolutionary era," he would have been schooled, certainly, in the basic three Rs.[31] His fast friendship with William Baker, the medical doctor cited earlier, who, alongside his medical practice, devoted much time to thinking theologically about the doctrines of the sect as it evolved into a denomination, suggests that Henry, too, was gifted with a strong intellect, and may have had the opportunity of higher education.[32]In an editorial penned in June 1893, for instance, Davidson described Baker thus: "his reasoning powers make his sermons 'needed and appreciated.'"[33]

Perhaps an even stronger indicator of Davidson's support for higher education was his decision nearly fifteen years earlier to follow the contemporary cultural trend favouring women's higher education, in the face of a denominational prohibition against women speaking publicly. Following Baker's lead, Davidson supported his daughter Frances in her desire to join William Baker's daughter Anna at the newly established United Brethren in Christ Ashland College.[34]

Feminist historians stress that gender is essential to a fuller understanding of the past. They say that in a world where gender strictly separated men's and women's worlds, it was women who were the primary educators and nurturers of children, both boys and girls, practically, but also intellectually and spiritually; girls learned what it meant to be women from their mothers, and they made meaning based on what they read.[35]Indeed, historians of women have argued that by the last quarter of the nineteenth-century, American culture had become feminized, in Kleinburg's words, "as women increasingly dominated the cultural marketplace and comprised about four-fifths of the reading public."[36]

An editorial early in Davidson's tenure as editor of *Evangelical Visitor* places his family among the American reading public. They, too, subscribed to and absorbed "family friendly" papers that had emerged

during his lifetime.[37]Frances Davidson's decision to pursue higher education suggests her mother Fannie's strong influence. Gendered analysis raises other tantalizing questions. How much did Fannie Davidson influence her husband Henry's use of his editorial license to cross gendered boundaries to publish a variety of articles that favoured girls' education, texts that cited women's writings, and a multitude of pieces penned by women themselves, including his own daughters?[38]

In his role as editor, Davidson could potentially influence the burgeoning denomination in a way heretofore unknown. "[D]evoted to the spread of evangelical truths and the unity of the church," Davidson gave many voices opportunities to share their testimonies, including dramatic conversion stories, in print.[39]Here, as was typical of the literary culture of the late-nineteenth century, many women, along with a smattering of men, responded to what they regarded as their duty to write.[40]A column devoted to "our dead" even gave death bed opportunities for testifying and warning the living; take, for instance, the ten-year-old girl whose extreme piety was published as an exemplary model for young women.[41]

Davidson's leadership provided much more than evangelical testimonies, however. Under his editorship, the paper provided a forum for teaching with doctrinal expositions, sermons, and evangelical exhortations on a large range of topics, including the ordinances of baptism, communion, and foot washing, peace and non-resistance, and separation from the world. Morals told through story and poetry provided a literary component, often explicitly aimed at youth. Detailed reminiscences helped to create historical memory. And for many, the opportunities to write, and to send in articles they had selected from other religious sources, and to read the experiences of others, provided that sense of home that papers had long given an American mobile population, many of whom found themselves far from family and community.[42]

Under Henry Davidson's leadership, *Evangelical Visitor* became an institution that thrived for well over a century, linking the Brethren in Christ community in the United States from east to west, and north to Canadian churches in Ontario and Saskatchewan. Henry's strong support of missions also took the denomination to far parts of the globe, including South Africa, northern India, and Japan. *Evangelical Visitor* provided a link for missionaries such as his daughter Frances, already in 1898 on her station in the Rhodesias (Zambia and Zimbabwe).

Meanwhile, in fall 1894, a mere three years after their move to Kansas, tragedy again struck the Davidson family. Henry's second wife

and the mother of his large family succumbed to cancer. As daughter Frances put it in her journal, without mother's presence, home was no more. The family scattered, including Davidson himself who, stripped of his editorial duties by the denomination two years after Fannie's death, moved back east to Pennsylvania and married for a third time.[43]His wife was Kate Brenneman, a professional woman two decades his junior, who had been a co-founder of Messiah Home for the Aged at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Davidson was now in his mid-seventies, and he had seven final years of ministry. This included leadership in the Messiah Home, a final pastorate in Ohio, and on-going committee work, including chairing the Board of Foreign Missions.[44]

As readers may anticipate, Davidson's strong leadership and vision ruffled feathers. And yet, ironically, despite his restless Scots-Irish spirit, he was known as "'The Peacemaker' for his calm handling of discussion," and he served as Moderator of international conference sessions up until his death in 1903.[45]The eulogy penned by George Detwiler, editor of *Evangelical Visitor* at the time of Henry Davidson's death, says it well:

> He had his share of sorrows and hardships and struggles. We need not think, occupying the prominent place he did, that he had the praise of everybody. The Apostle Paul makes use of the expression, 'men of like passions' and we know that Elder Davidson did not claim for himself perfection. He had his weaknesses and no doubt made many mistakes, (and who would undertake to throw the first stone!) but we believe that throughout his long career there was an honest purpose to serve the Master whose servant he had become, and to the extent of his ability, given him by God, to work for the unity, and prosperity of the church. He now rests from his labors.[46]

With his vision to embrace change and his willingness to accept the personal sacrifices that such leadership demanded, Henry Davidson led the Brethren in Christ in pushing their boundaries. In his fifty-year ministry as elder, minister, and bishop, he left the heritage of a space where a far-flung people could encourage one another and could gain the benefits of community through writing and through reading the words of others. He also aided the process of putting down doctrine and belief in published form. In short, the evidence suggests that this nineteenth-century leader was instrumental in creating a more unified North American denomination, which, by the end of the century, was able to extend itself globally in international mission.

Endnotes

1. Anita Brechbill to the author, telephone conversation 24 July 2013.

2. Frances Davidson, *South and South Central Africa* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Publishing House, 1915); H. Frances Davidson, Papers. 1881-1931, Messiah Archives.pastperfect-online.com; accessed 22 December 2014; Morris Sider, "Frances Davidson," in *Nine Portraits: Brethren in Christ Biographical Sketches* (Nappanee, IN: Evangel Press, 1978); and Wendy Urban-Mead, "Dynastic Daughters," in *Women in African Colonial Histories,* eds. Jean Marie Allman, et al. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).

3. With the help of the following people, the author researched and found Henry Davidson's gravesite in Wooster, Ohio. Email correspondence with Morris Sider, 22 July 2013; Glen Pierce, 23 July 2013; Susie Holderfield, 23 July 2013; the helpful staff of the Wayne County Historical Library, Wooster, Ohio provided a map of the Wooster cemetery. http://www.wcpl.info/ genealogy/ index.php/ Main_Page

4. See *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, The British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990*, ed. Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington and George A. Rawlyk (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 5-6, for their emphasis on the significance of evangelicalism to the history of Christianity.

5. This history is developed in Carlton Wittlinger, *Quest for Piety and Obedience: The Story of the Brethren in Christ* (Nappanee, IN: Evangel Press, 1978), 1-34; see also *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies,* 9, for the significant role of communication in shaping nineteenth-century evangelicalism.

6. See S. J. Kleinberg, *Women in the United States 1830-1945* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1999), 5, for her discussion of "the grand forces shaping American life," including "the westward movement."

7. Wittlinger, *Quest for Piety and Obedience*, 47.

8. William Warren Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1965; original 1942), 250-1.

9. Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America*, 252-3.

10. Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America*, 323.

11. Sources differ as to the time of emigration and Jacob Davidson's birth. According to *Evangelical Visitor* (1 April 1903), 15, Robert Davidson emigrated from Scotland in 1789, which would have made his son Jacob

seven years old. Franklin Ellis concurs: "Jacob Davidson, was born in England. When quite young his father, who was a minister of the gospel, emigrated to America, and located in Philadelphia." *History of Fayette County, Pennsylvania: with biographical sketches of any of its pioneers and prominent men.* Philadelphia: L.H. Everts & Co. Ebook https://ia700408.us.archive.org/10/items/historyoffayette00elli/historyoffayette00elli.pdf. Earl Brechbill differs, suggesting that Robert Davidson emigrated in the mid-1770s and died in 1784 ("The Ancestry of John and Henrietta Davidson Brechbill: A Historical Narrative" [Independence, KS: Robert K. Brechbill,1973], 52).

12. Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America*, 267.

13. Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America*, 277-8.

14. Brechbill, "Ancestry," 52.

15. James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 199.

16. Galen Hochstetler, *Celebrating 150 Years of Paradise Church of the Brethren, 1841-1991* (Smithville, OH: Bicentennial Committee, 1976), 1.

17. Paul R. Fetters, *Trials and Triumphs: History of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ* (Huntington, IN: Church of the United Brethren in Christ Department of Church Services, 1984), 46 http://www.huntington.edu/uploadedFiles/UBHC/PDF_Files/trials.pdf; and Brechbill, "Ancestry," 56.

18. D. Ray Heisey, *Healing Body and Soul: The Life and Times of Dr. W.O. Baker 1827-1916* (Grantham, PA: Brethren in Christ History Society, 2004), 208.

19. *Evangelical Visitor,* 1 April 1903, 15-16; Brechbill, "Ancestry," 53-5; and "German Baptist Church Annual Council," *Wayne County Democrat,* 22 May 1872, in *Celebrating 150 Years*, 19.

20. W. O. Baker, "Reminiscences No. 1," *Evangelical Visitor*, 1 August 1887, 9; cited in Heisey, *Healing Body and Soul*, 21-22.

21. Kleinberg, *Women in the United States*, 133-4. See also *Celebrating 150 Years*, 22-23, for commentary on pioneering in Ohio.

22. David M. Henkin, *The Postal Age: The Emergence of Modern Communications in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 27.

23. The Wayne County History Book Committee did note this tragedy in their *History of Wayne County,* 34.

24. Kleinberg, *Women in the United States,* 16-17.

25. In *Mothers and Daughters in Nineteenth-Century America: The Biosocial Construction of Femininity* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 34, Nancy Theriot has noted that although "marriage robbed a woman of personal power," in the time that Fannie was born, spinsterhood was rare. Only 7.3% of women remained single (30).

26. Brechbill, "Ancestry," 55-57; Kleinberg, *Women in the United States*, 140.

27. *Celebrating 100 Years*, 1; Baker, "Reminiscences No. 1," 9; cited in Heisey, *Healing Body and Soul,* 23.

28. "German Baptist Church Annual Council," *Wayne County Democrat,* 22 May 1872, in *Celebrating 150 Years*, 19.

29. Henkin, *The Postal Age,* 3-4.

30. Wittlinger, *Quest for Piety and Obedience*, 258-9; Heisey, *Healing Body and Soul*, 150-1; Fetters, *Trials and Triumphs,* 2; "German Baptist Church Annual Council," *Wayne County Democrat,* 22 May 1872, in *Celebrating 150 Years*, 19; see also David Paul Nord, *Communities of Journalism: A History of American Newspapers and Their Readers* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 2-3.

31. Kleinberg, *Women in the United States,* 58.

32. Heisey, *Healing Body and Soul,* 151, 157.

33. H. Davidson, "Editorial," *Evangelical Visitor*, 15 June 1893, 184, in Heisey, *Healing Body and Soul,* 243.

34. Heisey, *Healing Body and Soul*, 275, 313, 347n.5, 348n.29; Sider, "Francis Davidson," 161; and Kleinberg, *Women in the United States*, 156-7.

35. See, for instance, Theriot, *Mothers & Daughters,* especially 5, 21-24, 32-35, 63; Kleinberg, *Women in the United States,* 8; Ann Douglas*, The Feminization of American Culture.* (New York: Avon, 1978); and Nancy Chodorow, *The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

36. Kleinberg, *Women in the United States.* In *Healing Body and Soul,* Heisey has insisted that W. O. Baker "acknowledged the value of women's writings as much as men's and used their material in his sermons and publications," 276.

37. Evangelical Visitor (May 1888); see also Kleinberg, *Women in the United States,* 71, for her discussion on the women's magazines that had emerged since 1820.

38. Heisey, *Healing Body and Soul*, 262, 276.

39. In *Communities of Journalism*, 3, David Paul Nord, has discussed this significant potential held by periodical editors.

40. Henkin, *The Postal Age,* 32.

41. Noah Zook, *Evangelical Visitor* (November 1887).

42. Henkin, *Postal Age,* 43; *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies*, 6, 9; and Kleinberg, *Women in the United States*, 81.

43. Wayne County History Book Committee, *A History of Wayne County, Ohio* (Dallas, TX: Taylor Publishing Company, 1987), 34; Brechbill, "Ancestry," 55-58; *Evangelical Visitor,* 1 November 1894, 16; Susie Holdenfield pointed me to Fannie Rice Davidson's obituary in *Reflector,* see http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr. She also directed me to the following: 1860 Census Family History Library Film 805050, http://search.ancestry.com/egi-bin/55e.dll?db=1860; 1880 Census Family History Library Film 1255077 http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/55e.dll?db= 1880

44. Ray Zercher, *To Have a Home: The Centennial History of Messiah Village* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Messiah Village, 1995), 33, 89; Brechbill, "Ancestry," 58; and George Detweiler, "Elder Henry Davidson," *Evangelical Visitor,* 1 April 1903, 3.

45. Brechbill, "Ancestry;" and Heisey, *Healing Body and Soul*, 156.

46. Detweiler, "Elder Henry Davidson," 3.

Keeping the Loyalists Loyal in Post-Revolutionary Nova Scotia: The Preaching and Writing of Reverend Jacob Bailey

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The Reverend Jacob Bailey was a key figure in the early Anglican Church in Nova Scotia, as well as one of the first Loyalists to come to Nova Scotia from New England. Along with the first Bishop of Nova Scotia, Charles Inglis, Bailey was a formative influence in the Anglican Church; he was also a poet and a satirist, a supporter of the Crown, and an opponent of the revolutionary influences that spread through the Thirteen Colonies and less successfully in the Maritime provinces.

Much has been written about Bailey – his personal story offers many insights into the Loyalist experience. His manuscripts were widely scattered, thus new Bailey materials still come to light. His surviving writings reveal a strong defender of both the faith and the Crown. Arguably, in the context of eighteenth-century America, the two could not be separated. While the revolution on one level may have seemed to be all about taxation, democracy, and an emerging colonial bourgeois society, it was also about continued ideological conflict in that part of post-Reformation Christendom that had not remained under the authority of Rome. The tensions between the vision of an Established Church headed by the sovereign and the competing Protestant faiths that came to predominate in the Thirteen Colonies were both cause and effect of the clash between classes and interests that resulted in the birth of the United States. At the same time, the exodus of Tory Anglicans that the revolution

caused had a unique influence on the birth of Canada.

This article focuses on manuscripts that Bailey wrote in Nova Scotia rather than his pre-revolutionary writings. These manuscripts comprise various sermons and an unpublished fragment, called "The Journey of Twelve Hours," that is in many ways both whimsical and illuminating. A close examination of Bailey's post-revolutionary writings illustrates contemporary political and economic issues and demonstrates Bailey's influence on the history of Nova Scotia.

Reverend Jacob Bailey, often known as the "Frontier Missionary," was the first Church of England clergyman to settle in the Annapolis area of Nova Scotia. The town of Annapolis Royal, built near Champlain's original Port Royal habitation, was the capital of Nova Scotia until the founding of Halifax in 1749.

Bailey was born in 1731. He was a Harvard graduate who served in Pownalborough, Maine, in the years immediately before the American Revolution. His father, David Bailey, was a farmer in Rowley, Massachusetts,[1] but his son Jacob was destined for an academic future. His family was Congregationalist – local pastor Jebadiah Jewett saw Bailey's academic potential and prepared him for Harvard.[2] After graduation he worked as a schoolmaster in Gloucester, Massachusetts,[3] for several years before marrying one of his students, Sally Weeks, who was from a prestigious New England Family.[4] He later converted to the Church of England and was ordained in London in 1760.[5]

Bailey fled to Nova Scotia after he was labeled a Tory and persecuted in his parish of Pownalborough.[6] He had refused to read the Declaration of Independence at the end of his church services because it conflicted with his allegiance to King George III. A motion by the congregation to erect a "Liberty Pole" in front of the church was defeated; however his relations with the rebels in his congregation continued to deteriorate.[7] He fled with his possibly pregnant wife and his son in 1779. Arriving in Halifax, he made contact with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which was looking for missionaries to expand further into Nova Scotia. He arrived in Annapolis Royal in 1781 after a brief tenure in the adjacent parish of Saint Edward's, Clementsport. He then became the first rector appointed to the parish of Annapolis.[8]

Thus Bailey was a Loyalist perhaps before the term existed and certainly before the greater influx of Loyalist settlement in 1783. In addition to being an active clergyman, he was also a prolific writer: his legacy includes letters, journals, sermons, poetry, and unpublished fiction.

His core values as a monarchist and an anglophile are revealed in his writings. He sent a strong message to colonists regarding the importance of loyalty to the crown, membership in the established Church, and the dangers of republican ideas.

Bailey has long been an object of interest to scholars of colonial history and English literature. Through his letters, sermons, and other written records, he has provided a unique perspective on eighteenth and early-nineteenth century society, and on the historical events surrounding the post-revolutionary society that shaped the history of Canada. An enigmatic character, he has been the subject of several late-nineteenth-century published works, including William Bartlet's *Jacob Bailey: The Frontier Missionary,* several graduate theses, and two more recently published works, and he is frequently referred to in studies of Loyalist literature and history.

His early arrival placed him in a good position to assist the Loyalists who sought refuge in Nova Scotia several years after his posting to Annapolis. The arrival of the Loyalists was a watershed in Nova Scotia history; their settlement helped secure Nova Scotia as a colony. At least 35,000 arrived in Nova Scotia between 1782 and 1784.[9] Planters from New England and Protestant groups from mainland Europe had largely resettled the Annapolis Royal area after it lost its Acadian population following the 1755 expulsion.

The influx of new settlers helped to secure Nova Scotia as a British colony. Following the revolution, the British government was anxious, in the words of Margaret Conrad, to "strengthen the authority of the Crown and to create a rigid class system in the colonies. The Church of England, the established church in Great Britain, was selected to play an important role in achieving these goals."[10] When the first Bishop of Nova Scotia, Charles Inglis, was appointed in 1787, with Bailey and his other clergy, they made a concerted effort to oppose what they identified as "evangelical enthusiasm and 'leveling' tendencies."[11]

As an Anglican missionary in Nova Scotia, Bailey's opposition did not only come from the various more or less godless inhabitants of a garrison town that was also a local trade centre and a seaport. Like Roger Viets in Digby – and Bishop Inglis at the province/colony level – he was competing against other flavours of Christianity. This most notably included the German-influenced faith of the foreign Protestants and the various sects among the Planter population. In the spectrum of Protestant faiths that existed in North America at the time, John Wesley's reformed

version of Anglicanism was considered moderate. Sects such as the Quakers, that supported pacifism, were seen as misguided at best and subversive at worst.

The "New Lights" and Methodists appear to have been among Bailey's strongest competitors. These were the forerunners of today's "charismatic evangelicals," with an ideology based more on individual salvation than on the unbroken tradition of an Established Church, and with rituals such as adult river baptism, outdoor preaching, and a disregard for apostolic tradition and episcopal authority. Bailey was also concerned with marriages solemnized by non-licensed ministers, the words of itinerant preachers, and the rise of so-called "enthusiasm."

These various nonconformist sects were viewed with suspicion in the post-revolutionary political environment. If Anglicanism was a basis for loyalty to the Crown, more radical Protestantism was associated with the dangerous republicanism that had swept through the Thirteen Colonies. Thus it was essential to keep the people loyal through regular attendance at an Established Church, where the importance of hierarchy and social order could be reinforced from the pulpit.

At the other end of the Annapolis Basin, Bailey developed a convivial relationship with Reverend Roger Viets, who was appointed to Trinity Parish, Digby, in 1786.[12] They both enjoyed writing poetry and held similar Loyalist ideologies: "the values which the Loyalist elite had sought to protect . . . [a vision of] the world . . . ordered, stable, hierarchical and conservative. At the very heart of it is the Anglican Church, a symbol of God and the Crown."[13]

In 2001, the Annapolis Heritage Society in Annapolis Royal received an acquisition of a box of Bailey's papers. The donors – George Woodbury and his family, descendants of Bailey – recognized Bailey's Annapolis Royal connection. The bequest included letters, sermons, unpublished literary scripts, and diaries not considered in earlier studies of Bailey. The manuscripts offer insights into the life of a Church of England missionary in a frontier town, divided between newcomers and old settlers. They also offer a glimpse into other aspects of eighteenth-century English and North American society. Bailey's documents include a unique collection of post-revolutionary sermons and other writings, in particular an unfinished manuscript entitled "A Journey of Twelve Hours" that he wrote while in Annapolis Royal. Many studies focus on his pre-revolutionary life, but his contribution to society in post-revolutionary Nova Scotia has perhaps not been as adequately explored.

Based on known accounts it would appear that Bailey enjoyed writing in various formats. His literary and theological work has received mixed reviews. Louie Miner, the author of "Our Rude Forefathers: American Political Verse, 1783-1788," commented that "Bailey's verse is facile . . . although it is not particularly distinctive, he continued to write satirically of Americans and their political affairs after his retirement to N.S."[14] Judith Fingard, in *The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia*, describes him as "an indefatigable dabbler in prose and poetry."[15] A nineteenth-century biographer, Charles Allen, noted that, "I regret I find his sermons . . . very dull when compared with his miscellaneous writings, which are very entertaining, and often sparkle with wit and humour."[16] Bailey's pre-revolutionary critic and colleague, Reverend Samuel Parker of Boston, advised Bailey to lengthen his sermons, stating that it would only take fifteen minutes for him to deliver them when his congregation expected thirty minutes.[17] Gwen Davies, in *Consolation to Distress: Loyalists Literary Activity in the Maritimes,* credits Bailey with being "prolific in output . . . and . . . enduring in reputation."[18]

So why study sermons of the eighteenth century? Laura M. Stevens argued in her article, "Why read Sermons? What Americanists can learn from the Sermons of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel anniversary sermons delivered from 1701 on offer insights into many aspects of colonial society, including aspects of the American Revolution. According to Nancy Rhoden, author of *Revolutionary Anglicanism: the colonial Church of England during the American Revolution*, "as educators and authors, Anglican ministers often acquired respect and social understanding, [and] enjoyed friendships with elites . . . the office of clergyman did confer a degree of respectability."[19]

So why have their exhortations been dismissed by so many historians? Bailey's earliest biographer expressed frustration with interpreting Bailey's sermons – he wrote: "It is difficult to express an opinion respecting them. Besides those which have entirely perished might have been totally different subjects from those which have been preserved."[20] This is a fair point – as we know, the surviving documents alone are not always an absolute indication of anything. However, when new documents are discovered, all the more reason to celebrate and examine them.

Bartlet and Allen had perhaps not realized the influence of Bailey's sermons in the parish of Annapolis. Jeremy Gregory, author of "The social

life of the Book of Common Prayer," argues that eighteenth-century social history "[has been] caught in a secular framework . . . [failing to notice the] importance of sermon culture."[21] Gregory notes that the eighteenth-century parishioner "preferred a service with a sermon."[22]

Bailey's sermons have received very little comment and analysis. We know that he preached to a fairly large congregation in St. Luke's, Annapolis Royal – 190 people on the average on Sunday mornings. It was a number that many Anglican clergy in Atlantic Canada might welcome in their regular Sunday morning congregations today. It also seems probable that this congregation would include key figures from the town and the military garrison.

Ross Hebb, author of *The Church of England in Loyalist New Brunswick, 1783-1825,* suggests that, on "special public occasions" in particular, Church of England clergy were "expected to extol the virtues of the British Constitution."[23] Sermons were therefore "a . . . unique blend of religious duty and political loyalty."[24] Bailey's sermons not only delivered what the bishop and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel wanted him to extol; they also followed the Anglican tradition of relating the sermon to the readings appointed by the Lectionary for the week of the liturgical season, and to the local community's experience. This would have included the recent experience of the Loyalists, which was of course also Bailey's own.

For the weary Loyalists this was likely what Davies describes as a "consolation to their [post-revolutionary] distress." Unfortunately, we cannot date all of the sermons written by Bailey in Annapolis. We have references in letters, a few on microfilm in the Nova Scotia Archives, and a handful that arrived in the "Woodbury Box." Bailey had tried to have the sermons that he had left behind in New England returned to him. Parker wrote to him in 1774: "I opened the chest containing the papers . . . Among the jumbled heap some that look like sermons, but much defaced, torn and abused . . . and I have picked out some that look most entire."[25] Based on correspondence, it would appear that many of his pre-revolutionary sermons had been damaged or lost, perhaps at the hands of the rebels following his hasty departure.

It must have been devastating to him to lose so much work. It would take several years to develop a sermon for every Sunday, based on the selected cycle of appointed readings. According to Hebb: "missionaries regarded their works as reasoned and re-usable."[26] From the content of sermons and surviving manuscript examples that exist, it seems that Bailey

aimed to extol traditional Church of England virtues, as well as to respond to the spiritual needs of the Loyalists.

According to church records, Bailey's efforts were effective. When Bishop Inglis visited for a month in 1791, 123 congregants were confirmed, "among them a man aged 91 and several New Lights and Methodists."[27] This demonstrated an impressive dedication from his congregation. A visit to Digby at around the same time confirmed only 51.[28]

The records available do not completely describe the needs of Bailey's congregation beyond the routine of divine worship, baptisms, confirmations, weddings, and burials. It is also difficult to imagine Bailey's oratorical style in delivering his messages. However, it appears that he was successful, so he must have been doing something on which modern rectors can only speculate.

He reported success in his parish when he wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1787: "the Dissenters are so reconciled to the Church, that they frequently invite me to officiate among them, and to baptize their children. . . . the inhabitants of Annapolis town have cheerfully subscribed to give me twenty pounds per annum."[29] It would appear by all accounts that his message was appealing to those who heard him.

Overcoming suffering was a common theme in his exhortations. For example, in August 1783, he preached about the Biblical Joseph: "a blooming youth just escaped the tender age of childhood was hurried away by his envious and treacherous brethren from the . . . endearments of an affectionate parent to a foreign land!"[30] Later he continued with: "but observe what favours providence has in reserve for the virtues for those they may be envied and hated among their ungenerous Kindred and neighbours and even persecuted and banished with unrelenting malice yet among strangers."[31] No doubt this was an Old Testament story with which the Loyalists would feel some spiritual connection. The theme of parental authority was also a common one – reinforcing the role of hierarchy, and offering a direct allegory to the Crown.

Bailey had aspirations for publishing his sermons. Dr. Peters of London wrote to Bailey in 1782: "I received your eight sermons with pleasure and read them." He advised Bailey of the cost: "printing is two hundred and fifty [pounds] in the size of Sterne."[32] Of course, Laurence Sterne was an Anglican clergyman best known for his novels *Tristam Shandy* and *Sentimental Journal* and for his widely published and circulated sermons. By Church of England standards, Sterne was evidently

a benchmark for Bailey's peers. However, it does not appear that Bailey was able to pay £250 for publication or that any publisher was willing to publish them under other arrangements.

Bailey was influential in teaching the youth of Annapolis Royal. Before entering the ministry he had been a schoolmaster and therefore had some experience in teaching. He is believed to have been instrumental in securing grants from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for a schoolmaster for Annapolis Royal.[33] On Wednesdays he catechized the children to prepare them for confirmation. He also wrote stories to teach them the morals that he believed they should learn.

One of the most interesting manuscripts in the Woodbury collection is Bailey's "A Journey of Twelve Hours" – a surviving fragment of what is claimed to be the first volume of a larger work. The opening chapters describe a river journey, while addressing a number of political and social issues. It is undated, although clearly from his Annapolis Royal years. It is admittedly somewhat rambling compared to his sermons, which might perhaps suggest that it was written later in life. Given Bailey's interest in moral teaching, it is possible that the incomplete "A Journey of Twelve Hours" was intended for eventual publication as a sort of moral story.

Set in Annapolis Royal, the story involves a group of people, named in a typical eighteenth-century satirical fashion – Bailey himself, Miss Kitty Prim, Miss Nancy Giggle, Miss Polly Chatter, Miss Charlotte Decorum, Mr. Samuel Loiter, Mr. Tom Thoughtless, Mr. Jeremiah Prognosticus, and – unnamed – a young officer, a widow of forty-six, and an ancient bachelor. From King's Wharf (on the Annapolis Royal waterfront), this social set embarks on a sail up Allen's River.

For those unfamiliar with the hydrography, this is a tributary of the Annapolis River to the south of the town of Annapolis Royal that meanders through a marsh for about five kilometers before reaching the site of a mill, where the stream rises sharply into the so-called "South Mountain." Not a great expedition, but a modest day sail, although we do not know the type of boat that carried this group of eleven. Neither, unfortunately, do we know whether the first names of the characters are real or imagined, or indeed how much of the story is fiction.

Bailey begins with quite a long introduction explaining the purpose of his work, noting that he intends not to write any prologue or apology. He proclaims early on that he "shall not attempt a servile imitation of Whitfield and Wesley's fame." It is a unique manuscript that reflects Bailey's beliefs and sentiments.

The major themes of the journal include his abhorrence of tax avoidance through the common practice of smuggling; irritating female traits; the problems associated with religious "enthusiasm"; and the philosophies of the Enlightenment. His various characters present and refute opinions in a sort of debate as the boat moves upriver.

With regards to smuggling, one of his characters, "Mr. Thoughtless," rages against that accursed sin of smuggling. There is not a harbour, a creek or inlet but what has been the vile instrument of this pernicious practice. And even this royal wharf erected at a prodigious expense by government, has frequently in a dark and stormy night favoured a wicked confederacy to cheat the king.[34]

Smuggling, of course, was an aspect of the reestablishment of trade relations with the New England states after the revolution. The paying of taxes was one of the sparks that ignited the revolution, and was probably no more appreciated by Nova Scotian merchants. But, in Bailey's view, taxes supported the army, the navy, and the Crown. At the same time, the traffic between Nova Scotia and New England enabled the spread of New Light religion and subversive political doctrines.

With the notions of the Enlightenment, Bailey is even less subtle. He begins in his introduction by stating that the public

> of late have been extremely partial to their favourites, who are generally enthusiasts, democrats and infidels. For instance, had *Common Sense*, *The Rights of Man* and *The Age of Reason* been written by a pious Bishop or learned statesman or sober judge and instead of applauding their performances they would have been regarded with a sneer for contempt. And those who could have patience to pursue them after all of their demonstrations, would doubtless have suspected there might be some truth in the Bible.[35]

Bailey's reference to three of Thomas Paine's contemporary works – *Common Sense*, *The Rights of Man* and *The Age of Reason* – suggests that he was more of a supporter of Thomas Hobbes or of Robert Filmer. When he writes, "Let us no longer disgrace the Christian profession but either only embrace the tenets of Voltaire and Paine,"[36] he seems to suggest that Christianity and the revolutionary doctrines that came out of the Enlightenment are mutually exclusive.

An odd episode in the text involves "Miss Giggle" and the loss overboard of her umbrella. This is taken by "Mr. Jeremiah [clearly a Biblical reference] Prognosticus" as a portent of disaster: "he could not

forbear thinking it an omen of some mischief, which was to happen either to herself or some of the company." Here it is Bailey himself who replies: "I offered that I could not regard this trifling event in so serious a light – I have often let my snuff box and gloves fall into the water, without being able to recover them as you have done with your umbrella."[37] As a result of his intervention

> The clouds of dejection were in a moment dispelled – every countenance began to brighten, and returning joy sparkled in every eye. The face of Miss Giggle recovered all its lustre and she began to smile to laugh and titter, at everything which was spoken whether it proceed from the mouth of wisdom or the lips of folly.[38]

It is not obvious what the moral lesson is here, other than a condemnation of the Puritanism that characterized the New Lights and that is exemplified by "Jeremiah." Indeed, Bailey goes on to ask, rhetorically, "Why should a young lady be insensible to any advantage or perfection which her creator has given her above her companions?"[39]

One can sense that Bailey's concerns regarding "enthusiasm" are expressed through the conversation among the ladies on the trip. He clearly sees them as susceptible to the charms of itinerant preachers. For example "Miss Chatter" states enthusiastically that

> that learned, pious and godly Mr. C-p-r was present to pray. How many wonderful things has this . . . blessed man performed by his powerful prayers . . . the most miraculous affair after all was the conversion of two stubborn hardened old sinners both in less than [a] week . . . When shall we hear of such amazing conversions at church – indeed we may challenge all the ministers of the established church to produce a single convert."[40]

"Mr. C-p-r" (Mr. Cooper?) was presumably one of the itinerant New Light preachers, and Bailey's competition. Fortunately, Bailey has "Miss Charlotte Decorum" respond in the Church's defense:

> These Methodist . . . preachers though not remarkable for their learning, I believe to be very cunning fellows. They never venture to mention smuggling and cheating in their catalogue of sins . . . Infidelity and rebellion is wholly omitted[.] For if these great offences were clearly exposed in all their dreadful consequences, they would

be in danger of losing their hearers."[41]

Unfortunately, Bailey's manuscript ends a few pages later. We have only about three thousand words of what was clearly intended to be a *magnum opus*, addressing a wide range of favourite topics.

So, what of Bailey's historical legacy? His efforts were rewarded with a plaque in the nave of St Luke's Church in Annapolis Royal, dedicated to the memory of "The Frontier Missionary." It is interesting to consider how our perception of "the frontier" has changed since Bailey's day.

Bailey died in 1808. He did not live to see the renewed war for control of North America in which his only son died, at Fort Chippewa in 1815. He died before the defeat of the radical Enlightenment at Waterloo and the more progressive evolution towards constitutional monarchy that followed. He also died before the construction of the current Saint Luke's Church in Annapolis Royal in 1810.

In his own mind, Bailey was a gifted writer and satirist, although the publishing industry did not seem to recognize this. He had influential friends and was well regarded within colonial society. In return, he served as one of colonial society's most ardent supporters.

However, Bailey's legacy goes beyond a plaque on a church wall. While Anglicanism never became the numerically superior religion in Nova Scotia, Anglicans were strongly and perhaps disproportionately represented in its institutions and its political establishment. Like Roger Viets in Digby, Bailey's focus was in the town, while the New Light preachers roamed the countryside. For this reason, Anglicanism flourished among the townsfolk and perhaps stemmed the flow of radical liberalism that infected the merchant classes of Boston and other New England towns. For this reason also, there are clearly more Baptists than Anglicans in southwest Nova Scotia today. Thus Bishop Inglis' vision for Nova Scotia was perhaps only partly realized, but it left a lasting legacy nonetheless.

The insights that we get into aspects of life in Nova Scotia are compelling – the smuggling trade with New England and the spread of radical political and religious views, set against a context of accelerating social change. It is important to realize that the spread of rebellion to the Maritimes was not considered just a remote possibility. Bailey and Inglis' mandate was not just to minister to the needs of the new Loyalist arrivals, but to inoculate the population and to keep them loyal.

Compared to Upper Canada, Nova Scotia was not on the frontline of the War of 1812. The celebrated victory of *HMS Shannon* over the American privateer *Chesapeake* is widely credited with having persuaded the citizens of Halifax that support for Britain was not a lost cause. In 1867, Nova Scotia joined Confederation, but not without a strong anti-Confederation movement. Smuggling with New England enjoyed a highly lucrative revival during Prohibition. Even today, it is as common in Halifax to find multi-generational Boston Bruins fans as it is to find Montreal Canadians fans. Nonetheless, Nova Scotia remains loyal, and some credit for this must go to the Anglican missionaries such as Jacob Bailey.

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"Pretend Catholics" and Stampeders: The Romanization of the Diocese of Arichat/Antigonish, 1851-1910

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On a sunlit Sunday morning in June 1896, Father Alexander MacDonald, the erudite professor of Latin, English, and Philosophy at St. Francis Xavier University, stood at the wooden pulpit of Immaculate Conception parish in rural Heatherton, Antigonish County, Nova Scotia, to read an address composed by his superior, Bishop John Cameron of Antigonish.[1] There was apprehension in the professor's voice as he began to deliver the carefully scripted note. It was the duty, so the bishop's letter read, of every conscientious Catholic to vote for the Conservative party candidate in the impending federal election. No Catholic in the diocese (in good standing) had the right to dispute this edict, be they priest or layman.[2] As MacDonald finished that sentence, the sound of three loud stomps on the wooden floor echoed through the building. At that moment some thirty to forty men, principal members of the Heatherton congregation, walked out of the building in protest.

The "Heatherton Stampede," now merely a footnote in the region's history, was more significant than its immediate context.[3] It was representative of a myriad of disobedient acts orchestrated by Nova Scotian Roman Catholics against their spiritual superiors from 1851 to 1910. Yet, despite the philosophical complexities, historians have explained the episode within the context of the partisan battles of the period.[4] Politics, writes Cameron's biographer, R.A. MacLean, "shook the even tenor of life in Heatherton, provided an exercise in ambulatory democracy and ensured a topic of conversation and gossip for lengthy lamp-lit hours."[5] In fact, he

asserts, the stampeders were "as adamant and partisan as the bishop." D. Hugh Gillis, who pioneered research into Bishop John Cameron's political forays with two papers in the 1940s, rightly argued that Cameron's clergy (certainly not all) were never too "distantly apart from the political fray," and that often priests intervened due to "self-interest or purely secular partisanship."[6] As the esteemed historian P.B. Waite noted, the resentment of those Heatherton farmers in Antigonish was because the area was "intensely local and personal in its politics."

Clearly partisanship played a major role in the "Heatherton Stampede," yet, as this paper will argue, the episode represented much more than a parochial fight over representation in the Canadian parliament. The stampede, and indeed the assortment of painful acts of disobedience and defiance against Bishop Cameron in this period, were a backlash against fifty years of ultramontanism in eastern Nova Scotia. By the 1890s, the Scottish laity of Antigonish could no longer abide the subtle attack on their religious traditions, and the ceaseless denunciations of their prelate's politics, ecclesiastical judgments, and clerical changes (along with the numerous petitions to Rome) illustrated this frustration. The stampede from a sacred space was ostensibly a rejection of ecclesiastical partisanship, but it was also a rebuff of fifty years of Roman-dominated mentality in Catholic eastern Nova Scotia.

The Roman Catholic parish of Heatherton was typical of the communities that comprised eastern Nova Scotia in the nineteenth century. Its population was made up primarily of rural descendants of the Highland Gaels – there were Irish, Mi'Kmaq and Acadians as well – that left Scotland for Nova Scotia after 1746.[7] These émigrés found scant religious organization in their new homes, and, as was the case in Scotland, they were both spiritually and materially impoverished.[8] Like the Catholics of the rugged northwest of Scotland, the Highland migrants in Nova Scotia settled in small, remote pastoral communities with pathetic sanctuaries and infrequent visits from roving clergy.

In Heatherton, like other parishes in the diocese of Arichat, the memory of the rigid sectarianism of Scotland, and the rather indigent state of the early church in Nova Scotia, created a religious docility within the community. As late as 1922, one Nova Scotia priest wrote in the Scottish Catholic Association's publication *Mosgladh*: "symptoms of it still appear among them [Scottish Catholics], and even among their descendants in this country, whose lot is cast among the Protestants. There is a shirking from the mention of holy things before unbelievers."[9] Like the timid "Old

Catholics" of England, who displayed a natural reserve in "expressing their loyalty to the papacy or in their descriptions of continental devotions," the Catholics in eastern Nova Scotia were not overt in the display of their faith.[10] Accurate or not, there was a conviction among the descendants of the Highland émigrés that the survival of Catholicism in the Scottish Highlands had depended primarily upon Protestant largess and a resilient Scottish Catholic aristocracy. "If the strath itself still resounds to the measured troad of a numerous Catholic yeomanry," wrote one émigré to his local newspaper in the 1850s, "it was all thanks to Lord Lovat, a leading papist aristocrat in the Highlands."[11]

Dan MacInnes has recently published an important article illustrating the uniqueness of the priests who migrated to Nova Scotia with their Highland flock. They were, as MacInnes argues, quite different from their Irish or French-speaking colleagues. Besides offering spiritual guidance, the "heather priests" had replaced the old clan chief as a unifier among the Highland peoples, while being "physically equipped for the hard work of the frontier."[12] One man who personified the "heather priest" both in Scotland and Nova Scotia was Father William Fraser. A graduate of the Scots College, Valladoloid, Spain, and rector of the fledgling seminary at Lismore in the Inner Hebrides, Fraser arrived in Nova Scotia during the summer of 1822 and found that his new pastorate reflected the patterns of the old.[13]

As both A. A. Johnston and Dan MacInnes illustrate, there was a "lack of decorum" in the Scottish pioneer church, with chalices made of tin and chapels full of dogs.[14] Highland Catholic communities throughout the Maritime colonies lacked infrastructure and finances. In the small settlements that dotted the eastern portions of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island, Highlanders had to wait for an annual visit from a neighbouring missionary, preferably one that spoke Gaelic. One French priest, frustrated in his attempt to minister to Highland immigrants, wrote to his bishop, "I could not instruct them because very few indeed understand the English language; and, except in Broad Cove [Cape Breton], none would undertake to interpret my instructions."[15] Even Bishop Joseph-Octave Plessis found that many Scots "seemed to be bored by [his] French instructions."[16]

The inability of Quebec missionaries to persuade the Scots in Nova Scotia to take religious instruction in a language other than Gaelic is significant. Language was central to religious life in the Scottish Highlands, and, as one historian illustrates, in the eighteenth century, "children

were taught in Gaelic (although English and Latin were also taught), Gaelic or Irish Catechisms were provided, and priests themselves could converse at ease with the Highland inhabitants."[17] In fact, as Lisa Curry argues, "the priests' readiness to use Gaelic gave the language a dignity at a time when it was coming under a sustained and often vitriolic attack from the Kirk and from successive governments."[18] The language was, however, not of the church in the way that Latin, Italian, and even French was, and it was distinctly non-Roman. It was an old world language that soon became a "new world reality" in Nova Scotia – and Rome simply did not appreciate this fact.[19]

In many ways, Gaelic also served to unify some Catholic Scots with their Presbyterian countrymen who had also migrated to Nova Scotia. Soon after his arrival Father Fraser realized that his ability to preach in Gaelic drew not only Roman Catholic crowds but Presbyterians who had no access to a pastor of their own.[20] He is an excellent preacher and master of the Celtic language, wrote a priest to the Bishop of Quebec, "the people, who had not heard three lines of the gospel read, or explained to them in a language they could understand for above three years prior to his coming, flocked to hear him. Even the Highland Protestants attended, as attentively as our people."[21] It was, of course, common for priests to write liberally of Protestant conversions (it was good for morale), but a common language certainly aided interdenominational cooperation.

If Fraser's Quebec and Roman superiors did not understand Gaelic, they had an even more difficult time tolerating his dress, manner, and customs. The priest rode through his pastorate on horseback, stopping in remote clearings to offer instruction and guidance. He "conducted liturgy in places that were not dedicated houses of worship," was as comfortable working in the fields and fishing in the streams as presiding in the church, and had a conciliatory attitude toward those Presbyterian brethren that crossed his path.[22] In a study of electioneering in Nova Scotia, Brian Cuthbertson has illustrated that in eastern Nova Scotia, the "ties of Scottish nationality proved stronger than the divisions of religion."[23] It was Fraser's opinion, and that of most of his people, that in any scenario whereby a Scottish Catholic could not hold a seat in the provincial assembly, better it be a Presbyterian representative as "brither Scots" could best serve the interests of his flock.[24]

Yet, as the "heather priests" in eastern Nova Scotia conducted their mission with an ethos of old Catholicism and cooperation with Scottish Presbyterians, the Catholic world beyond was turning toward ultramontan-

ism. Often depicted as the victory of conservatives over liberals, ultramontanism was cultivated in broad phases. Undoubtedly it was in conflict with modernity, but also it signaled a rise in the prestige and authority, both temporal and spiritual, of the Holy See, the revival of old religious orders, such as the Society of Jesus, and a general admonishment of the Liberal-Catholic movement. It was, as one historian has argued, "a militant and triumphant resurgence of Catholic piety, Church life and papal power."[25] As power in the Catholic world became bureaucratised and centralized, philosophies, procedures, liturgy, and fashion took on a newfound importance. Most importantly, the curia expected small Catholic communities throughout the world to conform to the practices of Rome.

In the short term European philosophies had little influence on the "heather priests" of the remote settlements on the fringes of empire. In 1825 Father Fraser was elevated to Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia (Rome could not find an Irishman) and made Bishop of Halifax in 1842. For the Scottish pioneers of the colony's hinterland, the elevation of their woodsman bishop was an ecclesiastical honour, but for the more cosmopolitan Irish in the garrison city of Halifax it was humiliating. Working hard to secure an Irish prelate of their own, the Halifax Catholics eventually convinced Dublin and Rome to send Bishop William Walsh to Nova Scotia as Fraser's coadjutor. It was an acrimonious period and, despite the propensity in official reports to blame the quarrelling on parochial matters and ethnic differences, it was the growth of ultramontanism in the Irish Church, transported from the Irish College in Rome to the Halifax parishes, that accounted for much of the discord. The complaints of the more urbane and gentrified Halifax community against Bishop Fraser and the role of Paul Cardinal Cullen[26] in dividing Nova Scotia into two dioceses in 1844 have been well documented.[27]

To argue that Archbishop Walsh disliked Bishop Fraser would be an understatement. According to Walsh, Fraser did not "live like a bishop, nor perform the duties of a bishop." In fact, having visited Antigonish on a number of occasions, Walsh concluded that the bishop's habits were "those of the plainest farmer."[28] When the Scottish prelate died in 1851, the ultramontanes were determined that the Catholic culture of the "heather" be removed from Nova Scotia, and the man they chose for this task was Colin Francis MacKinnon. An Antigonish native and son of Scottish émigrés, MacKinnon was one of the diocese's early graduates of the Urban College of the Propaganda Fide in Rome. Despite his Scottish heritage and his familiarity with Gaelic customs, Archbishop Walsh in

Halifax considered MacKinnon to be "*the* man, the *only* man for the crisis."[29] In a letter to the rector of the Irish College, Walsh wrote that MacKinnon was "an ornament of the Propaganda," who "reflecte[d] much glory on his great alma mater." In short, despite his ethnic and cultural drawbacks, MacKinnon was Roman enough to effect change in Arichat.[30]

Archbishop Walsh consecrated the "worthy and most eminent" MacKinnon at Halifax in 1852, and the Romanization of eastern Nova Scotia began immediately. Returning to Arichat, MacKinnon was "escorted ceremonially" to his old parish "by a long cavalcade" of parishioners. This significant moment was, as the church historian A. A. Johnston illustrated, "the first time within the Diocese the prescribed niceties of ecclesiastical decorum were duly observed."[31] Indeed, as Father P. J. Nicolson, an expert in Celtic customs, showed, MacKinnon's inaugural pastoral letter placed the diocese "under the patronage of the mother of God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, Help of Christians, and Refuge of Sinners."[32]

Bishop MacKinnon was conscious that both Halifax and Rome expected much of him, and he sought to shape Fraser's diocese into a Catholic community worthy of the new ultramontane order.[33] Firstly, he set out to rein in the clergy and institute a programme of discipline. He castigated priests (even family members) who were not living up to the standards of the priesthood. One clergyman wrote that MacKinnon's reprimand was fit "only to be sent to dog."[34] He had a number of roving clergy from Scotland who were unreliable at best. One such priest, MacKinnon's successor at his old parish, was transferred after only eight months due to rather shocking indiscretions, forcing the bishop to admonish the "foolish and imprudent" members of the St. Andrew's flock that came to that priest's defense.[35] In 1854 MacKinnon held a diocesan synod, the first of its kind in the area, and demanded his priests to accept selected canonical decrees.[36]

MacKinnon was convinced that a disciplined clergy would produce a more devotional lifestyle among average Catholics**.** In communities like Pictou, very few Scots made their Easter duties, and the rest were so pitiful that at least one priest wanted to send them "right to the devil."[37] At a confirmation tour in 1853, Catholics well over the age of seventy years came forth to receive a sacrament that had previously been unavailable.[38] No longer would roving priests from Scotland and Quebec be permitted to minister to the flock. As a "mitred schoolmaster," MacKinnon focussed his tremendous energy on education and particularly seminary training. When

two brothers donated a parcel of land near Antigonish in support of the fledging educational institution, they were presented with medals and informed that the Holy Father had ordered their names to be "inscribed upon the tablets of the Propaganda."[39] This new educational endeavour, MacKinnon wrote to Rome, "correspond[ed] with the requirements and progress of the age."[40]

MacKinnon's plan for his local school system was ambitious. He wanted the small educational institutions of the diocese to feed students into the seminary. Religious training extended right through to the teaching professions as teachers were next to the priest in terms of public utility, albeit "at a vast interval from him."[41] By 1856 two of the seminary's "Eleves" had been elevated to the "sacred order of the priesthood," and in 1858 *The Casket* wrote that "the six native born and native trained priests" would endear Bishop MacKinnon "forever to the hearts of his spiritual children."[42] By 1860 the roving Scottish priests, much despised by Halifax and Rome, were gone and local boys could pass through the schoolhouse to ordination all within a few miles of their farms.[43]

Although most aspiring clergy in the diocese remained at home for seminary training or enrolled at one of the Quebec institutions, MacKinnon understood that the real pathway to power in the ultramontane church was through a Roman seminary. The local boys that returned from the Urban Colleges were undisputed ultramontanists. "It would be unpardonable in a letter from Rome the not mentioning the great star [Pius IX]," wrote one student in 1847, "our most glorious pope inspires into the minds of his people, into the minds of all Catholics, the same transports which Plato imagined the visions of *virtue* would inspire."[44] Plucked from towns and villages throughout North America, the young men who studied in Rome were gentrified, urbane, and confident that they would soon be leaders in their local communities. Priests who were denied the luxury of an education at the Propaganda felt somewhat second-class. As one Irish-born priest wrote to New York's Archbishop, John Hughes, in 1859: "I am so disgusted with these Propagandists – seeing the undue influence they have at Rome, that I am forced to be ungenerous towards the American Roman College. If such are the men that Rome produces for this country then, I say, the *fewer* there are the *better*."[45]

As MacKinnon continued to foster a more disciplined priesthood, topped-up by graduates of Italian seminaries, the physical infrastructure of the diocese also required Romanization. Paintings were procured from respectable Italian artists and, in short order, the parishes of Arichat,

Antigonish, and Arisaig had sufficient artwork to accompany the new missals, breviaries, sacred vessels, and sacred vestments. They were said to be worthy of "the capella Sistina in the Vatican at Rome."[46] The altar piece of the Arichat cathedral was "presented to the Church," wrote *The Casket*, by their bishop who, while living in Rome, "cultivated a natural innate born taste for the fine arts from his long sojourn in that city."[47] Pastoral letters dictating custom on everything from doctrine to church music were issued, and the common practice of singing Vespers "on all Sundays and Holy Days" was extended throughout the diocese.[48] Within months of his consecration, MacKinnon organized the first collection, with all "zeal and warmth," for the French Association of the Propagation of the Faith (indulgences were offered for those who attended meetings), knowing that money from that French organization would soon pour into the diocese.[49]

In 1857 the feast of Corpus Christi was celebrated at the Trappist Monastery in Tracadie with music provided by the nuns of La Trappe. The procession, which followed the Mass, was extremely ornate by the standards of the period. A cross bearer, followed by musicians and laity with banners, led a group of children "clad in snow white dresses with wreaths of flowers encircling their brows." Lastly, men carried "under a canopy" the Blessed Sacrament which was continually incensed by two acolytes, while children "strewed the path with flowers."[50] In 1820s the Catholics of eastern Nova Scotia and PEI scarcely saw a priest, let alone received the sacraments, yet just forty years later the Holy Eucharist, paraded for adoration, inspired one local correspondent to quote Pope Urban IV: "O Most excellent sacrament! Sacrament most worthy to be adored, reverenced, glorified, honoured, exalted with most singular praises, recommended by the loudest acclamations."

All of these changes within the Catholic community in eastern Nova Scotia had an effect on the customs of the people. While Catholics obviously had better access to clergy, most recognized that this was a different breed of priest. More learned and gentrified clergymen replaced the "heather priests" of Nova Scotia, so "physically equipped for the hard work of the frontier."[51] The sharp contrast between the hunting rifle of Bishop Fraser and the golden mitre of his successor was a stark reminder of those changes. While Fraser had snared rabbits and skinned deer, MacKinnon had a crozier that was a product of "the most ingenious and elaborate workmanship," and the chalice and patena were "apparently of purest virgin gold."[52] Moreover, organs such as *The Casket* were intent on

illustrating this new modern age of Catholicism. No longer did Catholics have to suffer churches that were "rude in construction and void of all architectural beauty"; in Scottish communities like Mabou and Broad Cove, Cape Breton, the new buildings were "ornaments to the country" and "permanent index[es] to the religious feeling of its pastor[s] and people."[53]

The gentrification of the clergy had a particular impact on the Gaelic language. Although the language remained predominant in most dwellings, it had begun its rapid decline. So central to the Catholicism of the Highlands of Scotland, its importance to the church in eastern Nova Scotia was diminished. Although there is evidence that MacKinnon occasionally sermonized his flock in the old language, his usage was nothing like his predecessor. Italian and Latin was the language of Rome, something the Curia reminded the bishop of when they rejected one of his reports composed in English.[54] Young seminarians that returned to Nova Scotia from Rome and Quebec had forgotten much of their mother tongue and were certainly not about to sermonize in the old language.[55] In 1858, Father Allan MacLean, pastor at Judique, Cape Breton, gave a Gaelic sermon at the chapel in Antigonish. "The beauty of his expressions" noted the local paper, proved "that in point of strength, and elegance of its rhetorical figures, the now almost forgotten language of our forefathers is not surpassed by any in the world."[56] Gaelic remained important to the Catholics of Arichat, but it was no longer the principle language of their faith.

From Bishop MacKinnon's perspective, the Romanization of his diocese was successful. Yet for Archbishop Walsh in Halifax and his Irish ultramontane superiors, MacKinnon was a bitter disappointment. Despite Mackinnon's progress, as early as 1852 Walsh learned that the Arichat bishop was emulating some of his predecessor's intolerable behavior. Like Bishop Fraser, MacKinnon had little interest residing next to his cathedral in inclement Arichat. Rather than live in a settlement of mainly Acadian and Irish Catholics, MacKinnon wanted to reside with his Highland flock in his St. Andrew's parish. In December 1852, Archbishop Walsh wrote his superiors to complain that MacKinnon, like his late predecessor, was living "in a totally rural place where there is not even a village." Once again, argued Walsh, clanship and kinship between the bishop and clergy were the greatest obstacles to progress in Arichat.

It was Walsh's opinion in 1852, as it was in 1845, that the only way to force the bishop of Arichat to reside beside his cathedral was to "divide

the clans" and limit the diocese to the island of Cape Breton.[57] MacKinnon responded to these charges by showing that there were more Catholics in the mainland county of Sydney than in all of Halifax and that "if the more populous place had to be selected, the Episcopal See would have to be located in the town of Antigonish."[58] Bishop MacKinnon's Scottish kin, parishioners, and clergy were aware of the pressure that he was under to conform to the dictates of his ultramontane superiors, and the reluctant transfer from St. Andrew's to Arichat in 1853 was unpopular with the spiritual flock. It was, after all, as MacKinnon illustrated to the curia, "the Scots of [the] region" who built a bishop's residence in Antigonish and it was the Scots who were "now busy with the humanities in [the] schools."

Although MacKinnon remained in Arichat for five years, he returned to Antigonish in 1858 to open a diocesan college in that town. Arichat was "a very nice place," but it was not suitable for a college. There were many "wishing for the change," and a seminary would be a benefit "to [the] poor highlanders." An incensed Archbishop Walsh wrote to Rome charging that MacKinnon was going to "squander" his money on an institution in the "obscure village of Antigonish where Dr. Fraser buried himself for so many years." Besides the cost, argued Walsh, MacKinnon's college would do nothing more than "flood the country with a set of ignorant half-educated priests, and perpetuate a race of men who have been a disgrace to religion for the last thirty years in that unfortunate region."[59]

Clearly, by 1858, MacKinnon was no longer interested in the dictates of his Roman superiors. In fact, by 1860 he had lost much of his enthusiasm for ultramontanism on a local level. Officially he remained supportive of wider aims of the European ultramontane movement, but encyclicals such as the *Syllabus of Errors* (1864) were written for a European and not a Nova Scotian audience, and so he paid scant attention. Also, MacKinnon had given up any hope of cultivating a friendly relationship with his Irish superiors in Halifax. He had participated in Archbishop Walsh's funeral in 1858, but he was downright offensive to the archbishop's successor, Thomas Louis Connolly, and almost restarted the ethnic quarrels that had plagued the province twenty years previously.

Yet, even in far-off Nova Scotia, the 1860s were a time of trial for Catholicism, and MacKinnon could not avoid the reach of ultramontanism for long. This was especially the case during the debate over the dogma of papal infallibility. Even in the burgeoning college town of Antigonish, in which the dogma of Immaculate Conception had been accepted without

question in 1854, papal infallibility proved problematic. Although the Pope's spiritual authority was of little consequence to the local community, it was one further step away from the ethos of the "heather priests" and one step in the direction of Halifax, Ireland, and Rome. Moreover, by 1861 the debate over the dogma pushed Father John Schulte, a German-born, Urban College educated, purser and professor at the Antigonish seminary to quit the Catholic Church altogether. Schulte had dedicated his missionary life to Nova Scotia and he was an important figure within the diocese, but he was also struggling with the new tenets of Rome. "In a word," he wrote years later "I had to distinguish and separate the purely *Roman* from the purely *Catholic*, rejecting the former and adhering to the latter."[60]

Father Schulte eventually resurfaced in Upper Canada as a priest in the Church of England. His later writings solve some of the mystery surrounding his defection, but it is obvious there were other local factors involved. For one thing, despite his relationship with MacKinnon, on matters of diocesan education and general authority, Schulte was very much second fiddle to the young ultramontane, Father John Cameron. Although both priests were alumni of the Propaganda College, philosophically they were quite different. Cameron, a former star pupil at the propaganda (even serving briefly as rector during a vacancy in the office), was a devotee of Paul Cardinal Cullen and a committed ultramontanist.[61] He was connected in Rome and, even as a seminarian, he began to pen letters to MacKinnon writing "officially" on behalf of one cardinal or another.

To priests like Schulte it was obvious that Father John Cameron would soon control the diocese. The young priest may have been a native Gaelic-speaker, but he was a Roman in heart, mind, and deed. Gentrified, bookish, and devotional, Cameron could not have been more different than his "heather priest" predecessors. His letters from the seminary were filled with references to Pius IX (the noblest of nobles), hints at the necessity of infallibility, and chastisement of friends and family back in Nova Scotia. When told that MacKinnon did not want to leave his rural parish for Arichat, Cameron suggested that the bishop should obey as "God called his noble soul to greater things."

Bishop MacKinnon genuinely liked Father Cameron, knew his family, and admired his erudition; yet MacKinnon was canny enough to recognize that Rome was Cameron's country. He understood that the priest not only had a direct line to powerful Roman officials, but also that his

descriptions of the diocese, and indeed the region, would be accepted as canon by the curia. As early as 1853, MacKinnon admitted that Cameron was his "right hand," and, within a decade of his ordination, Cameron assumed the roles of rector of the local college, rector of the cathedral, and vicar-general. Moreover, when it came time for MacKinnon to put forward a name for a possible coadjutor in 1867, Cameron's was the only name proposed.

By identifying Father Cameron as his successor, Bishop MacKinnon unwittingly became snared in a global movement that eventually cost him his position. In an important article, Colin Barr has illustrated that, from 1832, Paul Cardinal Cullen "set out with great success to mould the Roman Catholic Church in the English-speaking world to his vision of Catholicism."[62] Through a vast network of Irish clergy ministering in both Europe and the colonies, Cullen was able to create what Barr has described as a "Hibernio-Roman" Catholic Empire in the New World. Importantly, this "Hiberno-Roman conquest of the English – speaking Churches" was not accidental, but was rather a "systematic, well planned and centrally directed operation."[63]

As Barr has illustrated, Cullen wanted this network of bishops "to be both Irish *and* Roman," but, in Cameron's case, it was sufficient to be both Scottish and Roman. Cameron's devotion to Cardinal Cullen went back to his days at the propaganda, and the Scot later recalled that he owed more to the Irish prelate "than to any other man living or dead."[64] Cameron's devoutness to the prelate who had "worked hard to get [Archbishop Walsh] into the harness" and thereby humiliated Bishop Fraser in 1842, was not lost on the older clergy.[65] On 22 May 1870, while in Rome, Father Cameron was consecrated as coadjutor bishop for Arichat by Cullen, promptly took his seat at the Vatican Council, and "stoutly supported the majority judgement on the question of papal infallibility."[66] From the beginning Cameron was conscious of his authority and stature. "His Grace, Archbishop Connolly has, since his arrival in Halifax, written a very penitent and supplicating letter to Cardinal Cullen," Cameron arrogantly wrote a friend after the council, "to assure the authorities here that he most firmly believed in the dogma of Papal Infallibility."[67]

MacKinnon's days were clearly numbered once Cameron was consecrated coadjutor bishop for Arichat. In his history of Catholicism in eastern Nova Scotia, Father A. A. Johnston argues that MacKinnon's retirement in 1877 was due to poor heath and declining faculties. It was true that MacKinnon was slowing down; however, it was Cameron's brutal

assessments of his superior, constant petitions to Rome, and influence among the curia, that finally did MacKinnon in. Complaints about MacKinnon's behavior, the cost of the new cathedral, and the general state of the diocese were the typical grievances. In fact, with the help of the apostolic delegate, Bishop George Conroy, an intimate friend from the propaganda, the removal was carried out with sharp precision. "I congratulate you on the recent negotiations with Dr. MacKinnon," wrote Conroy from Quebec, "at the same time you cannot rest on your oars until the resignation and change of residence shall have passed from the shadowy reign of promises to the solid world of facts."[68]

Cameron's rough treatment of MacKinnon bothered both priests and laity. In the new prelate's own words he "formally *commanded* to seize the reigns."[69] After MacKinnon's resignation the deposed prelate was not even permitted to reside on the fledgling St. F.X. campus and had to seek residence in a local dwelling. After twenty-six years as bishop, MacKinnon received no support from his superiors. In fact, it was Rome's representative in Canada who essentially forced MacKinnon from his position (and residence), and it was Conroy (through Cardinal Alessandro Franchi) who got the "poor old man" his rather useless honorary appointment as Titular Archbishop of Amida. Most in Arichat, especially MacKinnon's large extended family,[70] knew that Conroy had the archbishop of Halifax travel to Antigonish to force MacKinnon's resignation.[71]

With Cameron's elevation to bishop in 1877, the diocese of Arichat unquestionably grew in stature. "Favorably known at the Vatican,"[72] powerful Roman allies ensured that Cameron was one of Canada's most powerful prelates, and arguably no Canadian bishop "enjoyed more fully the confidence of the Holy See."[73] Through a close personal friendship with the apostolic delegate and various Curia officials, Cameron supplied Rome with information on his regional colleagues and was routinely asked by the Curia to intervene in the affairs of other dioceses (the most well-known was a quarrel between the Archbishop of Halifax and the Sisters of Charity).

Yet Cameron proved a frustration to his Scottish flock. "One of the primary features of the Hiberno-Roman episcopal model," argues Colin Barr, "was an insistence on both lay and clerical obedience."[74] True to form, Cameron shaped his diocese on this model and soon the acrimony was ubiquitous.[75] "You stood as much chance of changing the Gulf Stream," recalled one Antigonish priest, "as his Lordship's mind once he

declared it officially."[76] The Arichat prelate may have been physically like "the old Highlander," as his eulogist recalled, but his heart was "thoroughly Roman."[77] Although he spoke Gaelic (he even published in the language), like his mentor Cardinal Cullen, Cameron had little sympathy for nationalism, cultural or otherwise. Gaelic would not help develop the Church in Canada. "Without meaning any disparagement to my mother tongue or to those who speak it," Cameron wrote in 1879, "I must remark that Gaelic is fast dying out, and giving way to the English, and that, even were not this the case its importance is nowise to be compared to that of the French."[78]

Undoubtedly Bishop Cameron is best known for his forays into local politics on behalf Sir John Thompson. Historians have carefully documented these campaigns and the ensuing acrimony.[79] Obviously, Cameron's use of episcopal power to support the conservative candidate angered those Catholics who supported other political parties. Scottish Catholics in Arichat had long argued that the Pope's influence did not extend into the polling station. When challenged by the Protestant Alliance in the 1850s, *The Casket* responded, "in spiritual matters we submit to his [Pontiff] authority but in all political concerns we do not acknowledge in him any power that might interfere with the laws, rights, or privileges of any nation."[80] Yet, by the 1880s, Cameron was arguing that those who refused to support his candidate were ultimately "pretend Catholics."

Interestingly, by demanding that Catholics vote the episcopal line, Cameron understood that he was interfering with clannish traditions. During the 1885 federal bye-election it was rumored that many families, Chisholms and Grants for example, had supported Thompson's opponent, Dr. Alexander MacIntosh, because they were from Strathglass, Scotland. In 1886 *The Casket* correspondent, John Corbett, in conversation with an Antigonish county merchant, referenced this "Strathglass theory." The merchant argued that many residents only supported the Liberal-independent candidate because of "that damn Strathglass click."[81] "Dr. MacIntosh's influence among the Strathglass people for any other candidate other than himself is simply unworthy of mention," Cameron wrote to Thompson, "and shall he venture to take the field himself to oppose you, he shall fare far worse than in 1885."[82]

Throughout Cameron's immersion in local politics he interpreted opposition based on clan voting as "calculated to foment a spirit of insubordination to ecclesiastical authority."[83] When the *Halifax Morning Chronicle* wrote that "when His Lordship pleases to take an active interest

in a political contest he can exercise an all-powerful influence," there was recognition that ultramontanism now controlled the province's Scottish Catholics.[84] He could speak of his political opponents as "Chickens" and honestly refer to Thompson's political detractors as "pretend Catholics" precisely because of his belief that Catholicism was invested first in the Pope and then in him as the Pontiff's representative.[85] Kinship and traditions of the Scottish Highlanders were best left in the past.

It was not simply politics, however, that made Cameron's episcopate periodically painful. Throughout his tenure the bishop demanded complete obedience from his flock and maintained his authority with threats of excommunication or denial of Christian burial. Disputes with parishioners over parish boundaries, newspaper editorials, graveyards, and clergy assignments were constant. After the "Heatherton Stampede," the pastor, Father Roderick Grant, charged with being "unfit to keep charge," argued that the sad "state of affairs" would exist even if another clergyman were in his place.[86] Grant understood (his own brother had stampeded out) that the discontent in Heatherton went well beyond local politics.

When Bishop Cameron died in 1910 the situation in Antigonish was so acrimonious that Rome took two years to appoint a successor, triggering fears that the Curia might dismember the diocese altogether. After his funeral, *The Sacred Heart Review* editorialized that Cameron was "a typical representative of the Highland pastor – a class of men who not only saved the faith in Scotland but bore so large a part in transplanting its vigorous roots to this continent."[87] Yet the Scots of Antigonish knew that the late prelate was nothing like the "heather priests" of old. Moreover, as the "Heatherton Stampede" illustrates, faced with the recognition that formal protests were futile, many Scots of Antigonish restored to public defiance as the only means of protesting forty years of ultramontanism in eastern Nova Scotia.

Endnotes

1. The Diocese of Antigonish was known as Arichat from 1844 to1886. In reference to events before 1886 in this paper, the diocese will be called Arichat and, after 1886, Antigonish.

2. R.A. Maclean, *Bishop John Cameron*: *Piety & Politics* (Antigonish: The Casket, 1991), 155.

3. A smaller "stampede" occurred in the parish of Mabou, Cape Breton, during the reading of the same instruction.

4. Bishop Cameron aided Sir John Thompson's provincial election campaigns in 1877, 1878, and 1882, and federally in 1885, 1887, and 1891.

5. MacLean, *Piety & Politics*, 156.

6. D. Hugh Gillis, "Sir John Thompson's Elections," *Canadian Historical Review* 37 (1956): 23.

7. See D Campbell and R. A. MacLean, *Beyond the Atlantic Road: A Study of the Nova Scotia Scots* (Toronto: McCellend and Stewart, 1974). For an interesting account of the Scottishness of Antigonish see *Sacred Heart Review* 51, no. 5 (17 January 1914).

8. Lisa G. Curry, *Catholicism and the Clan MacDonnell of GlenGarry: Religion and Politics in the Highlands of Scotland, 1650-1750* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2007), 202.

9. J.W. McIsaac, "Our Scottish Catholic Heritage," *Mosgladh*, no. 1 (1922): 27.

10. J. Derek Holmes, *More Roman than Rome: English Catholicism in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Burns & Oates), 59.

11. *The Casket*, 11 March 1858.

12. Dan MacInnes, "The legacy of Highland "heather" priests in Eastern Canada," in *Keeping the Kirk: Scottish Religion at Home and in the Diaspora*, eds. Daniel MacLeod and Stuart Macdonald (Guelph: Guelph Series in Scottish Studies, 2014), 88-89.

13. A. A. Johnston, *The First Five Bishops of the Diocese of Antigonish* (Antigonish, n.d.), 5.

14. MacInnes, "Heather Priests," 90-91; Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church, II*, 16.

15. Father Remi Gaulin to Bishop Joseph-Octave Plessis, 4 August 1817, I.M, 45, Archdiocese of Quebec Archives (hereafter AQA).

16. Mason Wade, "Relations between the French, Irish and Scottish Clergy in the Maritime Provinces, 1774-1836," *CCHA Study Sessions* 39 (1972): 25.

17. Curry, *Catholicism and the Clan MacDonell*, 205.

18. Curry, *Catholicism and the Clan MacDonell*, 205-6.

19. MacInnes, "Heather Priests," 91.

20. Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church*, *II*, 436; A. A. Johnston, 'The Right Reverend William Fraser Second Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia First Bishop of Halifax and First Bishop of Arichat' *CCHA Report* (1935-36), 24.

21. Bishop Angus B. MacEachen to Bishop Joseph Octave Plessis, 10 August 1822, PEI Fonds, 83, AQA.

22. MacInnes, "Heather Priests," 93.

23. Brian Cuthbertson, *Johnny Bluenose at the Polls: Epic Nova Scotian Election Battles 1758-1848* (Halifax: Formac, 1994), 262.

24. Cuthbertson, *Johnny Bluenose*, 302.

25. Mark McGowan, *The Waning of the Green: Catholics, the Irish, and Identity in Toronto, 1887-1922* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 91.

26. Although Cullen was not given the red hat until 1866, he is known as Cardinal Cullen throughout this essay.

27. Colin Barr, "'Imperium in Imperio': Irish Episcopal Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century," *English Historical Review* 123, no. 502 (2008): 621-24; Brian Hanington, *Every Popish Person: The Story of Roman Catholicism in Nova Scotia and the Church of Halifax, 1604-1984* (Halifax, 1984); Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church, II*, 198-215; and Terrence Murphy, "Trusteeism in Atlantic Canada: The Struggle for Leadership among the Irish Catholics of Halifax, St. John's, and Saint John, 1780-1850," in *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930*, eds. Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).

28. William Walsh to Tobias Kirby, 2 February 1843, Bishop William Walsh Papers, Archdiocese of Halifax Archives.

29. William Walsh to Tiobas Kirby, 2 August 1850, KIR/748, Kirby Collection, Irish College Archives.

30. Walsh to Kirby, 2 August 1850, KIR/748, Irish College Archives.

31. Johnston, *A History of the Roman Catholic Church, II*, 269.

32. P.J. Nicholson, "Marion Devotion in the Diocese of Antigonish, Nova Scotia" *CCHA Report*, 21 (1954): 106.

33. Colin F. MacKinnon to Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, 20 November 1854, Fonds 2, Series 1, Sub-Series 1, Colin F. MacKinnon Papers (hereafter CFMP), Antigonish Diocesan Archives (hereafter ADA).

34. Colin F. Mackinnon to Hugh MacDonald, 19 August 1854, Fonds 2, Series, 1, Sub-Series 1, CFMP, ADA.

35. Colin F. MacKinnon to Mr. Chisholm, 28 December 1853, Fonds 2, Series, 1, Sub-Series 1, CFMP, ADA.

36. Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church II*, 275.

37. Schulte quoted in Colin F. MacKinnon to John Schulte, 30 April 1855, Fonds 2, Series, 1, Sub-Series 1, CFMP, ADA.

38. *The Casket*, 25 August 1853.

39. *The Casket*, 18 November 1858.

40. Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church*, *II*, 294.

41. *The Casket*, 9 October 1856.

42. *The Casket*, 9 October 1856.

43. *The Casket*, 16 September 1858.

44. John Cameron to Lachlan Cameron, 14 June 1847, Fonds 8, Series 4, Sub-Series 1, A. A. Johnston Papers (hereafter AAJP), ADA.

45. Thomas Heyden to John Hughes, n.d. [1859?], Folder 13, Box 3, Archbishop John Hughes Collection, Archives of the Archdiocese of New York.

46. *The Casket*, 25 June 1857.

47. *The Casket*, 25 June 1857.

48. Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church, II*, 290.

49. *The Casket*, 9 December 1852.

50. *The Casket*, 18 June 1857.

51. MacInnes, “Heather Priests,” 104.

52. *The Casket*, 25 June 1857. See also, MacInnes, “Heather Priests,” 104.

53. *The Casket*, 8 July 1858.

54. Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church*, *II*, 286.

55. Maclean, *Piety & Politics*, 20.

56. *The Casket*, 30 September 1858.

57. William Walsh to Paul Cullen, 18 January 1845, CUL/1010, Cullen Collection, Irish College Archives.

58. Unpublished Report on the Founding of St. F.X., MG45/2/320-333, William X. Edwards Papers, St. Francis Xavier University Archives.

59. William Walsh to Tiobas Kirby, 28 January 1858, KIR/1359, Kirby Collection, Irish College Archives.

60. John Schulte, *Roman Catholicism Old and New from the Standpoint of the Infallibility Doctrine* (Toronto: Belford Brothers, 1876), 9. For information on Schulte see H. M. MacDonald, *The Rector: A Biography of Reverend John Schulte, D.D., Ph.D. First President of St. Francis Xavier University* (Antigonish: The Casket, 1976).

61. Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church, II*, 297.

62. Barr, "'Imperium in Imperio,'" 650.

63. Barr, "'Imperium in Imperio,'" 645.

64. *Silver Jubilee Booklet of the Consecration of His Lordship Bishop Cameron* (Antigonish, 1895), 36.

65. Barr, "'Imperium in Imperio,'" 622.

66. Johnston, *A History of Catholicism, II*, 416.

67. John Cameron to Patrick Power, 27 August 1870, Fonds 3, Series 1, Subseries 1, Bishop John Cameron Papers (hereafter BJCP), ADA.

68. George Conroy to John Cameron, 4 August 1877, Fonds 2, Series 1, Subseries 1, CFMP, ADA.

69. John Cameron to William Miller, 19 February 1877, Fonds 3, Series 1, Subseries 1, BJCP, ADA.

70. Hugh Gillis to John Cameron, 8 August 1877, Fonds 2, Series 1, Sub-Series 1, CFMP, ADA.

71. George Conroy to John Cameron, 20 June 1877, Fonds 2, Series 1, Sub-series 1, CFMP, ADA. Also, Michael Hannan to John Cameron, 8 July 1877, Fonds 2, Series 1, Sub-Series 1, CFMP, ADA.

72. John Cameron to John Thompson, 30 August 1890, Letter #12942, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC).

73. "Brief Sketch of the Life of Most Reverend John Cameron D. D. Founder of Sisters of St Martha," January 1951, Fonds 3, Series 1, Sub-series 1, BJCP, ADA.

74. Barr, "'Imperium in Imperio,'" 646.

75. Barr, "'Imperium in Imperio,'" 646.

76. J. L. MacDougall, "Cameron Remembered," 28 April 1910, Fonds 3, Series 1, Sub-Series 1, BJCP, ADA.

77. "Brief Sketch of the Life of Most Reverend John Cameron D.D. Founder of Sisters of St Martha," January 1951, Fonds 3, Series 1, Sub-series 1, BJCP, ADA.

78. John Cameron to Thompson, 3 March 1879, Letter #636, LAC.

79. D. Hugh Gillis, "Sir John Thompson and Bishop Cameron," *CCHA Report* 22 (1955): 87-97; Gillis, "Sir John Thompson's Elections," 23-45; P.B. Waite, "Annie and the Bishop: John S.D. Thompson goes to Ottawa, 1885," *Dalhousie Review* 57 (Winter 1977-8): 605-18; and P. B. Waite, *The Man from Halifax: Sir John Thompson Prime Minister* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

80. *The Casket*, 3 June 1858.

81. R. A MacLean, *The Casket 1852-1992: From Gutenberg to the Internet* (Antigonish: The Casket Publishing, 1996), 53.

82. John Cameron to John Thompson, 4 December 1886, Letter #3648, LAC.

83. MacLean, *The Casket 1852-1992*, 60.

84. *Halifax Morning Chronicle*, 5 December 1877.

85. John Cameron to John Thompson, 1 March 1886, Letter #3684, LAC.

86. Roderick Grant to John Cameron, June 1897, Fonds 3, Series 3, Sub-series 1, BJCP, ADA.

87. *The Sacred Heart Review* 43, no. 17 (16 April 1910).

What Happened to Methodism in Canada during the First World War

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Near the beginning of the First World War, the Rev. S.D. Chown, Superintendent of the Methodist Church, declared that "khaki has become a sacred colour" and, by war's end, he had concluded in a repentant fashion that the Methodist Church could never again be caught "painting roses on the lid of hell."[1] Suggesting a much broader and deeper process of disillusionment, Chown also suggested that in "many minds the war shook with the violence of a moral and intellectual earthquake the foundations of Christian faith. It shattered many structures of belief which devout people found refuge from the storms of life . . . In deep perplexity, many silently drifted into a sheer atheism which denied the very existence of the Almighty."[2] In my recent chapter on the Methodist Church and World War I in Gordon Heath's edited volume *Canadian Churches and the First World War*, I suggested that Chown's typically dramatic rhetoric, although certainly capturing some realities of the Methodist experience, may have been too sweeping in its declaration of disillusionment.[3] This narrative of militant idealism followed by ever deepening disillusionment – although certainly valid – masks a great deal of the complexity of the Methodist experience during World War I.[4] It may have overlooked a far more complex and nuanced picture of the war's impact. Within Methodism, there was a range of experiences and perspectives and, in many cases, religious beliefs and practices that changed or were fluid depending on the particular circumstances being faced in the chaos of the war. Some Methodists questioned the existence of a loving and merciful God as a

result of the terrible carnage of the war, and some wondered about the presence of Jesus Christ, the savior, as so many endured painful suffering through the terror of the fighting or the grief of facing the death of a loved one.[5] On the one hand, S. D. Chown's agonizing postwar musings were critical of the Methodist Church's identification with the cause of the war. On the other, the Christian notion of salvation through sacrifice as a way to understand the terrible toll of the war offered a powerful note of consolation. For many, the powerful image of the crucified Christ, as a symbol of sacrifice and life-everlasting, was one way to endure the unthinkable suffering and cope with the loss of loved ones at the front.[6]

My argument is that there was neither a sweeping religious revival within Canadian Methodism during the war nor a mass exodus from the church at war's end. As one Methodist chaplain pointed out to the Methodist Church's Army and Navy Board, he did not "find any great outpouring of deep religious desire such as it was said the war was producing," but he did not witness any outright rejection of belief in Christianity.[7] The impact of the war on the Methodist Church of Canada was neither revival nor a shattering loss of faith, but a drift away from the church. This drift was not accompanied by a wholesale condemnation of the church and its chaplains. It was rooted in moral questions as opposed to matters of faith. The Methodist Church was gravely concerned about the moral impact of the war upon the soldiers. In joining the Canadian Expeditionary Force, Methodist recruits were torn away from the uplifting surroundings of home, family, and church. Military life and the brutalities of warfare seemed to undermine the morality of the young men. For many Methodists, a decline in moral standards was a sign of a deeper loss of faith. This equation of morality with piety was still very strong. For the battle-hardened soldier, moral transgressions such as swearing, drinking and gambling, or even sexual promiscuity did not indicate that they had abandoned their faith in Christianity or rejected God. Soldiers' disillusionment was often a result of their resentment toward the Methodist Church's insistence that they submit to a strict moral code. The soldiers' rejection of the Methodist Church's insistence on upholding a traditional moral code was a more common problem than any wholesale loss of faith.[8] In this essay, an afterthought to my comments before a joint session of the Canadian Historical Association and the Canadian Society of Church History in May 2014, I explore this theme of drift away from the Church more closely and with particular emphasis on the end of the war.

The Methodist Church was determined to do everything possible to

protect the moral standards of the young men that it so enthusiastically encouraged to volunteer. In reporting moral conditions in the camps, chaplains were intent on making it clear that they were not simply shocked at being thrust into a rugged male culture after years in the pristine surroundings of the local parish. For instance, in reporting the "deplorable moral conditions" overseas, H. E. Thomas of the New Brunswick Conference felt the need to explain that his dismay about his "daily contact with immortality" was not the result of some naïve or innocent notions of the human condition. "I feel that I have seen enough of life not to expect military affairs to be conducted as is a Methodist Sunday School, and I have known enough about the prevalence of social vice, everywhere, not to be startled at the ordinary signs of its presence; but I have to confess that moral conditions on the whole, and especially as they obtain in England, have given greater depression of spirits to me and concerned me more than anything that has taken place in France or Belgium. This war will save England from many things, but to imagine that by it the Empire will be saved with an intelligent Christian salvation, with a salvation that gives purity of heart and life, is utter folly."[9] The incidence of alcohol and sexual promiscuity leading to cases of venereal disease, Thomas confessed, were "making an Evangelist of me where I never was one before." He revealed that "every night I read my Bible and I pray" even though there is always "plenty of cursing around."[10] Although there was little dispute about the existence of the problems relating to drink and venereal disease, there was debate among the chaplains about how serious these moral conditions were.[11]

A. D. Robb was particularly concerned about the furor in Methodist circles in Canada concerning the discovery of playing cards in parcels sent overseas. For Robb, this outburst of moral panic was misplaced. He, of course, witnessed the card-playing and the more scandalous gambling at poker. "I am the last man to deprive the lonely lads of Canada of their cards," he wrote to the Methodist Church. "Civilian life and soldier life are in two separate categories. The ethics of the Army are perhaps too broad. I fear the ethics of the Civilian is sometimes too narrow." This incident was of concern to Robb because he thought that it reflected an underlying source of serious misunderstanding between the home front and the soldier. If the church insisted on judging the men overseas by such moral transgressions as card playing, Robb feared, then that puritanical and condemnatory stance would only invite ridicule of the Church among the officers and the men. "I do greatly fear that this sort of thing will find

many men alienated from our beloved Methodism. The church must be big enough to contain these soldiers else we will lose them from our fold." Worried about how his more liberal position would be interpreted back home, Robb quickly added a note of personal explanation. "Don't put me down for a heretic or a degenerate or a backslider or a disloyal member – I am not – I think of one of Christ's dictums 'He that is without sin let him cast the first stone.'"[12]

With these concerns in mind, the Methodist Church's Army and Navy Board charged S. D. Chown with investigating moral conditions overseas. He visited numerous camps and hospitals in England and was also taken by military officials to Vimy Ridge, the Somme, and Ypres during his eight-week tour in the summer of 1917. In his report to the Methodist Church, Chown had to balance his criticisms of the problems at the front with reassurances that the morality of the men was not being seriously compromised. Echoing many of the chaplains, he suggested that there were understandable reasons for some of the troubling behavior that concerned Methodists. His interviews with soldiers helped him understand their horrendously difficult situation. He suggested that the soldiers' sexual behavior was likely the result of the frightening battlefront conditions they faced as opposed to any flaw in their moral character. "One might suppose," he wrote, that "the Tommy, by reason of his exposure to danger and daily living in apprehension that each day might be his last . . . would, thereby, be hardened, but this is not the case." Instead, "he is full of a gushing human feeling. He loves everybody, particularly women. He loves them indiscriminately." While on leave, they were desperately lonely, and homesickness came over them. Chown was hinting at something akin to psychological break-down in his analysis. They could not be considered to be living in their normal state, he argued. "Some are shattered in nerves, some in body and others experience weakness of will in the presence of the abounding temptations to which they are exposed."[13] His report was, more than anything else, a defense of the character of the Canadian soldier. Many of the charges about the lax behavior and immoral character were "slanderous" in his view, "and showed absolutely no understanding of the challenges the men faced."[14] His explanation of whatever moral transgressions took place among the soldiers was, in essence, a plea for greater understanding and compassion for the soldier. Chown clearly appreciated what the soldiers faced and understood that in such conditions one had to reserve judgment and not resort to a facile application of the Methodist Code of Discipline and

condemn the soldier and military life as a result.

For many of the chaplains, the best defense against the problem of moral decline rested in evangelism. During the Christmas season of 1915, H. W. Burnett from the Montreal Conference, who was attached to the 102nd battalion at Bramshott Camp, attempted "to get the men . . . to take a definite stand for Christ." But he found that sustained evangelistic effort was difficult to carry out. He visited the men in their recreation huts in the evening and, when he managed to get some of them together for an impromptu service, he discovered that it was impossible to hold it for a suitably long duration "as the movements of the troops are very uncertain, perhaps when you have made arrangements you will find that the men had received an unexpected order to go up to the trenches as a working party, to repair trenches destroyed by a sudden bombardment; so that you have to take the men whenever you can get them, that of course makes the work more difficult." There was growing concern among the chaplains that this sporadic worship would have a negative impact on the habit of attending regular worship when the men returned home. On the other hand, these informal services were far more effective than the formal services of the Church Parade to which the men strenuously objected.[15]

Despite the challenges of holding worship and prayer at the front, H. W. Burnett often managed to organize informal gatherings characterized by "the inspiring singing of the old hymns, in which all heartily joined, the fervent prayers of the men, and the remarkable spiritual influence pervading the services, made them seasons of great spiritual uplift, usually I closed each service with the Lord's Supper, simply and spiritually conducted, in which the larger number of the men present most earnestly participated."[16] Indeed Burnett's accounts of his activities at the front sound very much like of those of saddle-bag Methodist itinerant preachers in the backwoods of Canada.

> Perhaps it would be of interest to give you an account of my work last Sunday, the 23rd inst. I was situated in a camp about two miles back from the trenches and held my first service in the camp. At my suggestion the service was made voluntary and not a parade and yet the large reception hut where it was held was full. I used as a platform an old box and conducted an Easter Musical Service into which the men entered very heartily. As I spoke on "immortality" every eye was upon me; for the proximity of death to many of them at least made the subject very vital to them. I offered special prayer for the folks at home, and especially the families that had been bereft of loved ones

during our last trip to the trenches.

Then, "gathering up my hymn books, which I put in my haversack on my back, I started across the country for a two mile walk up to my next service. When I arrived I found 700 or 800 men gathered in a large barn, with an improvised platform. Having distributed my hymn books, we commenced what proved to be a very inspiring service." After "a hurried lunch with the officers," Burnett was "off again for a few miles across country to a battery where I gathered the men together in a hut, and entered upon a service full of enthusiasm and interest. The singing was very hearty, and the men listened very intently as we again pleaded with them for personal decision for Christ. A hearty shake of hands with the men and we started for another battery."[17]

Throughout these services Burnett's "constant theme . . . was the great importance of definite decision for Christ." Over five hundred men decided for Christ during evangelistic efforts extending from December 10th to New Year's Eve. Burnett's calculations were based on the number of men who sealed their decision by Communion. Burnett also engaged in a vigorous letter writing campaign informing ministers at home that a particular soldier had made a decision for Christ. This letter writing campaign was designed, in part, to help consolidate the soldier's commitment to the Church, but it was also designed to assure congregations at home that the faith and morality of the soldier was certainly intact, if not stronger. Nevertheless, such responses to Burnett's revival-like services suggest that under certain circumstances the war was a catalyst for localized revivals. But these revivals did not necessarily spread beyond a certain place and time and they did not necessarily translate to sustained church life on the part of those who were converted at the Front.[18]

Accounts of wartime religiosity suggest that it was just before and after battle, in particular, that the soldiers seemed to become the most observant. During the Battle of the Somme, Major Fallis recalled being approached by a soldier asking if he would administer Holy Communion, "as we may never come out alive."[19] When administered before battle, communion was regarded as preparation to petition for God to provide guidance and protection during the fighting. After battle, it was regarded as an opportunity for thanksgiving. But the appeal of communion services seemed to fade as the war dragged on. Other chaplains noted that as the war continued fewer men partook in the Lord's Supper as some became superstitious, worrying that communion was a preparation for death, while

others rejected the idea of approaching the Lord's table for they felt too unworthy.[20]

As the men continued to witness an ever growing number of their fellow combatants killed or maimed, they began to doubt whether their prayers were being heard. Even though the appeal of formal church services and the draw of communion seemed to trail off as the war dragged on, the idea that the soldier was making a Christ-like sacrifice did not diminish. As A. D. Robb explained from his dugout in June 1918, Christ was with the fallen soldiers. "I have seen these boys die; I have seen them bleed; I have seen them suffer and they have given me a view of Calvary. I believe my Christ looks after these men in the field and the unnamed graves."[21] And from the pen of a Methodist soldier, Private George Turpin of British Columbia, a similar understanding of life-everlasting gained through their sacrifice during battle was expressed. "By the way of the cross men marched to duty and danger and some found in the trenches the gateway of eternal life open for them, with Christ waiting to welcome them."[22]

Attitudes to death and the afterlife were undergoing a transformation both at the front and at home in Canada. In many people's estimation the fact that the soldier had made the supreme sacrifice in battle was sufficient for them to be guaranteed salvation and life everlasting. Robert Milliken, a well known social gospel preacher and president of Regina College from 1913 to 1915, wrote one of the more reflective expositions of the changing attitudes toward death in the Methodist Church in a fictionalized account of a discussion about the fate of the soldiers.[23] In discussing the "terrible price to be paid before victory comes," two clergymen pondered the question of "the salvation of the men killed suddenly in battle – one might say, cut off with scarcely a moment's reflection or warning." They had been taken with no time for a final reckoning with God. The ministers agreed that the prospect of life everlasting was not an issue for those who had grown up in the church and had openly proclaimed their faith. But they were not confident about the fate of those many lads who "never seemed to reach the point of directly declaring himself, of definitely and publicly attaching himself to a Christian life."[24] They acknowledged that the problem was not nearly as straightforward as it seemed. As one recognized, "our soldier lads . . . were not nearly so indifferent, or careless, or irreligious as their language, actions and general demeanor would seem to indicate."[25]

Another chaplain explained what Milliken was trying to convey in

his story in much greater detail and, in doing so, A. C. Farrell offered one of the more balanced and sober assessments of the religion of the men at the Front. Soldiers' religious faith – a different matter from their attitude toward religious institution and formalized worship – was a very complex matter, he thought. To demonstrate the difficulty in understanding the religion of the soldier he recounted an experience that illustrated the dilemma facing the Methodist Church in its attempts to reach the battle-torn soldiers.[26] Upon overhearing a member of his battalion talking to a friend while they were waiting for the order to go up to the line, Farrell recalled being "stunned and revolted by their loud, filthy profane language."[27] His first instinct was to turn away and leave, but instead he talked to the men. Very soon the soldier who had moments ago been indulging in the use of profane language was showing Farrell a picture of his wife and children and telling him that he had been overseas for a long time and had many close calls and narrow escapes with death, including one where three of his friends were hit and killed by an exploding shell that narrowly missed him. Then, Farrell recalled, this soldier confessed that, "I knew the power that saved me and was watching over me and I did not forget to thank Him either." Farrell emphasized that this soldier, who had faith in a higher benevolent spirit, was the man who had been "so offensively profane" only a few moments earlier. To Farrell this incongruity was perplexing. He admitted that he did not fully understand and was not able fully to explain the apparent contradiction he discovered in many soldiers who indulged in what the Church regarded as clearly immoral behavior, but who also espoused a clear faith in God. The most important distinction that Farrell made was to point out that while the soldier's religiosity, although somehow hardened by the war, was intact, he seemed not to have much regard for the Church.

Nevertheless, in Milliken's story of changing wartime theology, the ministers agreed that "evangelical Protestantism, with its insistence on correctness of creedal belief, on church connection, and on conscious Christian experience has made the way so straight and narrow that it seems to leave comparatively little room for mercy and hope." The yoke of such orthodoxy was a cause for "much strain," Milliken thought; as a result, Methodism was suffering loss for it was failing to console many families who were experiencing the terrible loneliness of grief.[28] The story was designed to counsel a more open-minded attitude regarding the prospect of salvation within Methodism. The two clergymen discussed a sermon, entitled "the Salvation of the Slain," in which the preacher acknowledged

that the sins of the soldier "were mostly on the surface and not by any means destructive or deadly." The church needed to stop "attacking and holding up for reprobation these sins of the flesh, while the sins of the spirit were passed over comparatively easy." Salvation was not a matter of church connection or subscription to creed, but rather a "general attitude and spirit of acknowledgment, of reverence, of obedience and desire toward God, toward righteousness, toward the higher things of life, as revealed in our hearts and experiences." If these qualities were present – even in embryonic form – then there was always the possibility of salvation. More importantly, the preacher suggested that such reverence was clearly present in the soldiers, who, in "their own way," acknowledged and bowed before God. It seemed clear that the soldier would experience salvation because "the life in the trenches facing death constantly brings with it thoughtfulness, a sense of responsibility, a power of concentration that is not possible under ordinary conditions and experiences." The experience of soldiering, facing death, and making the supreme sacrifice was evidence or assurance enough that soldiers would enjoy life everlasting.

For many, assurance of a spiritual afterlife was not sufficient consolation. They also wondered about a physical or bodily resurrection. The circumstances of many soldiers' deaths – being mutilated or torn apart beyond recognition or simply being lost in action in the carnage and chaos of battle – led many at the battlefront and at home to wonder if the war-torn bodies would be restored in the afterlife.[29] In order to deal with the horrifying thoughts of how a soldier died, there needed to be some assurance that no matter how violent, bloody, or degrading the circumstances of being killed, at the very moment of dying the soldier experienced no pain and did not suffer. It was necessary to believe, therefore, that the soldier's body was restored so that the dead soldier would be able to experience the afterlife without any kind of torment. This belief that the soldier's body was restored and preserved in its full vigour and beauty provided the religious or theological foundation for the flourishing of spiritualism during and immediately after the war.[30] In the pages of the *Christian Guardian*, one minister, Byron Stauffer, called for an end to the morbid gloominess of so much mourning and suggested the conviction that "our loved ones to be alive, now" should be openly proclaimed. Suggesting that a meeting with the bodily spirit of a soldier might be imminent, he counseled readers of the *Guardian* to "speak of your expectations of the coming meeting. Do it fearlessly. Do not fear being

called a spiritualist."[31] Indeed the appeal of spiritualism easily infiltrated the Methodist Church. The *Christian Guardian* printed an editorial at war's end announcing "our great new thought of death," in which it concurred with recent spiritualist thinkers about soldiers' confident accounts of the after-life, in which the bodily spirit enjoyed "a future life of achievement and development and opportunity."[32]

By war's end, many chaplains were advancing an assessment of what they had learned from their experiences with the men at the front. They concurred that the reality of modern warfare had profoundly changed anyone who had served at the battlefront. A. E. Lavell admitted that he did not realize until he had returned to Canada that "over here and over there are two different worlds." Lavell did not claim to speak for all returned soldiers or even chaplains, but in a series of articles in the *Christian Guardian*, he suggested that there were some things that he felt certain were widely shared with respect to religion. The men had returned to Canada with a much clearer and more basic understanding of what were the essentials of Christianity. According to Lavell, the experiences soldiers encountered at the battlefront shook any confident dogmatism they might have held. "Reality is stripped . . . the treasured convictions and custom; the pomp, precedents and traditions; the burdensome clothing which has hid ghastly wrong . . . have been rent into shreds and whirled away by the hurricane of the shells and storm of this most frightful war." Many old doctrines "seem to us neither vital nor real. They seem hollow and vain, or having nothing whatever to do with the salvation of man and the establishment of the Kingdom of our Lord." Lavell continued that "the religion of Jesus is not at all well stated in most of the current accepted creeds, theologies, ecclesiastical institutions and practices." He explained: "When you live in the presence of immediate danger and death; when you are called to continuous and strenuous action; and take sacrifice for granted as once you did comfort and ease you learn the difference between religion and its frills and accretions. Your creed becomes very simple. The Apostle's Creed itself has irrelevant matter. 'I believe in Jesus' will do for most of us."[33]

By 1918, enough men had returned home permanently that the veterans had clearly emerged as an identifiable group in Canadian society.[34] The early commentators on the returned soldier were from the veteran ranks themselves and it took them little time to articulate their experiences and expectations. One anonymous Private, in an open letter in the *Christian Guardian*, criticized the Methodist Church and its

chaplains for poor spiritual advice and inadequate counseling with respect to the soldiers' bitter feelings concerning their actions in battle.[35] To indicate how serious the disillusionment was, this correspondent suggested that some probationers did not expect to return to the work of the ministry after they were demobilized. T. A. Wilson raised similar concerns, informing the Army and Navy Board that there prevailed "an idea that many of our probationers will not want to return to the ministry."[36]

The Methodist Church actively tried to re-integrate its veterans into congregational life and regular worship. Overseas in the camps, a "Citizenship Campaign," under the motto "a clean life for a clean country," was initiated by Methodist chaplains to help the soldier re-acquaint himself with civilian life. But in a fashion remarkably like a nineteenth century temperance meeting, the men attending the meetings were asked to sign "pledge cards" indicating that they would dedicate their lives to clean living and abandon battlefront habits, such as swearing, drinking, gambling at cards, and other games of chance once they returned to Canada.[37] In Canada, trainloads of returning men were met by Methodist chaplains who forwarded letters to local ministers so that the soldier could quickly become re-established in his local church. The Methodist chaplains also held information sessions to inform the returned soldier of the upcoming referenda to continue Prohibition that were being held in many provinces. These programs seemed to indicate to the men that the Methodist Church was neither changing its ways nor listening to the soldiers' demands for a religious faith unencumbered with complicated theological or demanding moral codes. The old reliance on morality, in particular, remained prominent in Methodist teaching and activities.

The most damning critique of the Methodist Church's wartime activities came from Private C. T. Watterson of the Canadian Army Medical Corps. Watterson attended Wesley College, Winnipeg, between 1913 and 1916 and, when his studies were completed, he enlisted in the C.E.F. and was attached to the 11th Field Ambulance. He saw action at Ypres, the Somme, Vimy Ridge, Lens, Passchendale, and Amiens. On 30 December 1918, he wrote to T. A. Moore of the Army and Navy Board advising that the Methodist Church's focus on and criticism of the morality of the soldier was the source of great misunderstanding between the men and the Church. He advised that the Methodist Church would have to meet the problem of the "lax morals of the returning soldiers" with more than harkening back to the "Thou shall nots" of the old Methodist Discipline. Indeed the Church had to take some responsibility for the

moral condition of the soldier, and simply calling for "Prohibition" would be greeted with disdain. "We as a Church advised our youth to join the army. In that organization their spiritual and moral ideals have suffered a great change"; but Watterson charged that the Church was unable to deal with the moral dilemmas faced by the soldiers. Speaking as a soldier, he explained: "we can never be morally or spiritually the same as we once were. Our experiences have fashioned us so that many platitudes have forever lost their appeal. Old methods must be scrapped."[38] In trying to shake up Methodism's traditional morality, he suggested that the men who were most often venerated at the front were the "rough, hard swearing lads," for they were the ones who "did great things because they had a fearlessness of consequences, an indifference to responsibility and the gamblers' recklessness." He was suggesting that these men, whose rough character was not associated with piety in Methodist circles, were indeed representative of the new activist spirit of sacrifice that the church had to embrace. "I grieve," Watterson lamented, "at the deplorable attempt our Church . . . has made at outlining a message of sufficient vitality and courage to grip the spiritual nature of our troops overseas."

Watterson was also sharply critical of the Methodist Church's recent history of being "on the side of authority." He had particular disdain for those chaplains who preached for the Union Government and the cause of conscription. Many editorials in the *Christian Guardian*, he pointed out, were "political propaganda." He also criticized Chown's report after his overseas visit; he thought that Chown had not fully grasped moral conditions among the soldiers because he never got sufficiently close to them. Instead he was surrounded by military and church officials who "never mix[ed] with the men in their unrestrained moments of actual army life."[39] He concluded, in a fashion similar to many other chaplains and Methodist soldiers, that the majority of men in the ranks "will openly state that they have done with the church."[40] Perhaps, but W. B. Creighton had identified a number of problems with religious faith and the church prior to the war and, in some respects, they were only persisting. Maybe what S. D. Chown discerned was not so much a sharp break from the past, but rather a continuation of the drift away from the Church that many Methodist clergy had long been worried about, especially among young men. No doubt the reasons for this drift were now also rooted in wartime disillusionment. The war did not strike a shattering blow to the Methodist Church from which it never recovered. There was no precipitous decline in attendance at worship, weekly financial offerings, mission activity, or

participation in the rites of passage. The prewar initiative of church union was picked up after the war, but with greater urgency and new rationale based on wartime experiences at the Front.[41] And, as Robert Wright so capably demonstrates, there was not so much a crisis in Christian missions within the Methodist Church after the war as a re-consideration.[42]

The key word in Chown's sermon on postwar religious conditions was "drift."[43] In particular, there was drift away from the Church by demobilized men. Despite the vigorous efforts of the Methodist Church to link the returning men to their churches at home and to engage them in the upcoming temperance referenda, it was clear that many veterans were not seeking to re-establish contact with the local church of their youth.[44] The most stunning indication of this was the high number of probationers and ministers who had served in the C.E.F. who simply allowed their contact with the Church to slip away. They did not make any dramatic declarations of their opposition or rejection of the Methodist Church. Instead they simply did not seek a new pastorate or decided against resuming their studies at theological college.[45] Recruiting young men for the ministry proved to be one of the more difficult challenges facing the Methodist Church after the war.[46] As we have seen, some of this disillusionment rested in the difficulties of maintaining faith in a loving and caring God. In the terrible toll of the war, both soldiers at the front and people at home sought some consolation through evidence of a God who intervened to ease pain and suffering. But, as the war dragged on and on, they struggled to discover such a God. As we have seen from what many of the chaplains wrote and the returned soldiers indicated to the Church, the drift away from the Church was more evidently a revolt against authority of the Methodist Church. Many were revolting against obedience to Methodist authority, whether in the form of regular attendance at church for Sunday worship or to the moral standards of the Methodist Discipline.[47] Echoing many others, but perhaps stating it more succinctly and forcefully, was S. R. Laycock, who had been trained as a Methodist minister, writing from a dugout in France in July 1918. "The church will have big problems after the war and she must make a mighty effort to adapt herself to changed conditions. The returned man will have considerable respect for religion but not always much for the church. The church will need to be virile & lay emphasis on brotherhood & fellowship rather than creed & ritual."[48]

The war changed things for the Methodist Church, but the drift away from the Church was not a deep rejection of the Christian faith. As Private George Turpin, who was a probationer in British Columbia Conference

and did not abandon his studies, suggested after the war, "the religion of Jesus will not be confined within the walls of a church, nor the pages of a family Bible, but it will be alive in the hearts of men" who would carry out their commitment to Christianity as they did during the war by their devotion to others and willingness to make sacrifices for the hungry, needy, lonely, and abandoned in society.[49] Similarly, A. D. Robb wrote to the Reverend T. A. Moore of the Army and Navy Board: "Our experiences over here are epochal and have done for us what no Conference, no College, no Congregation could ever do for us." He explained that, as a chaplain, he had spent over two years in close proximity to the soldiers and "they have taught me a deeper religion, a bigger brotherhood, a broader charity, than I ever knew before." He believed that the men represented a new spirit of bravery and brotherhood that would have to be embraced by a renewed and more tolerant church. If the Methodist Church continued to preach a narrow morality that was also bereft of a broader compassion and understanding it would fail to hold the men, Robb warned.[50]

As a result of the First World War, the Methodist Church of Canada faced the disruption of its moral authority, which cast many adrift without any strong institutional foundation for their faith. Many returned Methodist soldiers were religious, but they did not have a strong connection to the teachings, discipline, or authority of the Church. The chaplains were clearly suggesting that the soldiers maintained their faith, but it was a faith that was largely rooted in their experiences at the front as opposed to the creeds and doctrines of Methodism. The denominational affiliation to the Methodist Church was weakening. This loosening of ties to the Church did not translate into full-scale abandonment. Instead it created a more fluid religious landscape. Some may have engaged in spiritualist activity or experimented with the numerous fundamentalist or Pentecostal religious movements, including faith healing, that were strengthened by the war.[51] Perhaps most drifted away from regular church attendance and any meaningful involvement in worship services without totally abandoning their denominational affiliation with Methodism. The First World War inaugurated the embryonic stages of what we now recognize as a society of people who are spiritual or Christian, but who have no direct religious affiliation with a church. This trend disrupted the dominance of the historic mainstream churches, such as the Methodist Church, in Canadian society. This change in the religious landscape, however, was something that took a long time to become apparent.[52]

Endnotes

1. "War Sermon" 1915, file 486 and "The Abolition of War," n.d. [circa 1919-21], File 616, S.D. Chown Papers, United Church Archives, Toronto [hereafter UCA].

2. "The Need of Advancing Religion in a Progressive World," n.d., File 1276, S.D. Chown Papers UCA.

3. David B. Marshall, "'Khaki has become a sacred colour': The Methodist Church and the sanctification of World War I," in *Canadian Churches and the First World War*, ed. Gordon Heath (Hamilton, ON: McMaster Divinity College Press, 2014), 102-32.

4. For a good synthesis of the contrasting viewpoints, see Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 395-415.

5. See, for example, Captain J. W. Magwood, "The Kingdom of Heaven is at Hand" *Christian Guardian* [hereafter, *CG*], 16 October 1917.

6. See Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997), 35-72; and Duff Crerar, *Padres in No Man's Land: Canadian Chaplains and the Great War* (Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 161-93.

7. A. C. Farrell to Moore, 28 December 1916, Box 8, File 219, Army and Navy Board Papers [hereafter ANB], UCA.

8. A similar argument is made by Michael Snape, *God and the British Soldier: Religion and the British Army in the First and Second World War* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 187, 196-9.

9. H. E. Thomas to Moore, 5 January 1916, Box 4, File 91, ANB, UCA.

10. H. E. Thomas to Moore, n.d., received 22 March 1916, Box 4, File 91, ANB, UCA.

11. Fallis to Moore, File 15 -7 – 2, 17 May 1917, Chaplaincy Service Papers, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

12. A. D. Robb to Doctor Moore, 20 November 1917, Box 6, File 165, ANB, UCA.

13. Report of S. D. Chown on the Overseas Commission, "Report to Lt. Col. John Almond, D.C.S. Canadian Overseas Forces," 2 August 1917, Box 2, File 41, 27-28, ANB, UCA.

14. Report of S. D. Chown on the Overseas Commission, "Report to Lt. Col. John Almond, D.C.S. Canadian Overseas Forces,"23-26.

15. Chambers to Moore, "Report of Work in Segregation Camp Seaforth, July August 1918," 8 August 1918, Box 7, File 191, ANB, UCA.

16. H. W. Burnett to T. A. Moore, 2 January 1916, Box 4, File 95, ANB, UCA.

17. H. W. Burnett to T. A. Moore, 27 April 1916, Box 4, File 95, ANB, UCA.

18. See Neil Allison, "Free Church Revivalism and the British Army During the First World War," in *Clergy in Khaki: New Perspectives on British Army Chaplaincy in the First World War*, eds. Michael Snape and Edward Madigan (London: Ashgate Publishing, 2013), 54.

19. Fallis, "Diary 11 Oct. 1915," *CG*, 26 April 1916.

20. "A Message from the Chaplains of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada to the Churches at Home," ANB, UCA.

21. A. D. Robb to Moore 25 June 1918, Box 10, file 256-7, ANB, UCA.

22. Private George Turpin, "By Way of the Cross," *CG*, 17 July 1918.

23. On Milliken see Phyllis Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 139-40; and James Pitsula, *For All We Have and Are: Regina and the Experience of the Great War* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008), 13-14, 230, 282.

24. Robert Milliken, "The Salvation of the Slain," *CG*, 6 June 1917.

25. Milliken, "The Salvation of the Slain."

26. A. C. Farrell to Moore, 28 December 1916, Box 8, File 219, ANB, UCA.

27. On slang and profanity at the front, see Tim Cook, "Fighting Words: Canadian Soldiers' Slang and Swearing in the Great War," *War in History* 20, no. 3 (2013): 323-44.

28. On pre-war attitudes to death and the importance of consolation, see David Marshall, "Death Abolished: Changing Attitudes to Death and the Afterlife in Nineteenth Century Protestant Canada," in *Transitions: Canadian Social History, 1800-1900,* ed., Norman Knowles (Toronto: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1997), 370-87.

29. See Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain, and the Great War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 233-4.

30. See David Cannadine, "War, Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain," in *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, ed. Joachim Whaley (London: Europa Publications, 1981). For spiritualism in Canada, see Ramsay Cook, "Spiritualism, Science and the Earthly Paradise," *Canadian Historical Review* 65, no. 1 (March 1984): 4-27; Stan McMullin, *Anatomy of a Séance: A History of Spirit Communication in Central Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004); and Gillian McGinn, *Vanguards of the New Age: The Toronto Theosophical Society, 1891-1945* (Montreal and Kington: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012).

31. Byron Stauffer, "Regarding Our Departed As Living," *CG*, 3 May 1916.

32. "Our Great new Thought on Death," *CG*, 4 December 1918.

33. A. E. Lavell, "The Returning Soldier and the Church: Part II He May Be Right," *CG*, 24 April 1918. See also C. Wellesley Whitaker, "When the Boys Return," *CG*, 6 February 1918.

34. For a full discussion of the First World War veteran in Canadian society, see Desmond Morton and Glenn Wright, *Winning the Second Battle: Canadian Veterans and the Return to Civilian Life, 1915-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

35. *CG*, 17 July 1918.

36. T. A. Wilson to Moore, 4 October 1918, Box 8, File 229, ANB, UCA.

37. Chambers to Moore, November 1918, Box 7, File 191, ANB, UCA.

38. C.T. Watterson to T. A. Moore, 30 December 1918, Box 23, File 459, ANB, UCA.

39. C.T. Watterson to T. A. Moore, 30 December 1918, Box 23, File 459, ANB, UCA.

40. See also Lieutenant Frank Crighton, "The Returning Soldier," *CG*, 12 March 1919.

41. On the prewar roots of church union see Mary Vipond, "Canadian National Consciousness and the Formation of the United Church of Canada," reprinted in *Prophets, Priests and Prodigals: Readings in Canadian Religious History*, eds., Mark McGowan and David Marshall (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1992).

42. See, in particular, E. W. Wallace's comments quoted in Robert Wright, *A World Mission: Canadian Protestantism and the Quest for a New International Order* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1991), 166-8.

43. There is some statistical evidence to suggest this drift. See Phyllis Airhart, *A Church with the Soul of a Nation: Making and Remaking the United Church of Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 10.

44. For example see the reports to the Army and Navy Board from H.W. Burnett throughout the first six months of 1919: Box 4, File 95, ANB, UCA.

45. David B. Marshall, "Methodism Embattled: A Reconsideration of the Methodist Church and World War I," *Canadian Historical Review* 46, no. 1 (March 1985): 59.

46. David B. Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 184-5. The columns of the *Christian Guardian* were full of correspondence from Methodist clergy and probationers who had served in the C.E.F. outlining their difficulties with the Church.

47. See also Callum Brown, *Religion and Society in Twentieth-Century Britain* (London: Pearson Longman, 2006), 112; and Jonathan Ebel, "The Great War, Religious Authority, and the American Fighting Man," *Church History* 78 (March 2009): 99-133. Both authors argue that a major source of the soldiers' rebellion against Church authority rested in its strict moralism.

48. S. R. Laycock to Arthur Barner, 27 July 1918, and then forwarded to A.B. Moore, 2 January 1919, ANB, UCA. For Laycock's postwar career as an educator and child psychologist, see Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999). Laycock thought that he could serve God better in improving the lot of humanity by serving outside the Church (39).

49. George Turpin, "After the War," *CG*, 29 August 1917.

50. A. D. Robb to Moore, 25 June 1918, Box 10, File 256, ANB, UCA.

51. Links between the war and numerous forms of evangelical Protestantism are suggested by Robert Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land: Conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, 1917-1981* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995); and James Opp, *The Lord for the Body: Religion, Medicine & Protestant Faith Healing in Canada, 1880-1930* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

52. See the concluding remarks in Philip Jenkins, *The Great War and the Holy War: How World War I Became a Religious Crusade* (New York: HarperCollins, 2014), 377.

Boundaries in Gender and Race in Canadian Personhood

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We gather on lands long occupied by Mohawk and other First Nations peoples. In the words of the Trappist monk Thomas Merton, "Neither the ancient wisdoms nor the modern sciences are complete in themselves. They do not stand alone. They call for one another . . . Our task now is to learn that if we can voyage to the ends of the earth and there find ourselves in the aborigine who most differs from ourselves, we will have made a fruitful pilgrimage. Mere sitting at home and meditating on the divine presence is not enough for our time."[1]

I chose the theme for this paper at the Dundas, Ontario public library. Tucked in a book was a card, "New Order: Building a Better World for Future Aryan Generation." Having a mother with Jewish background, and having recently visited family in Israel, I was alarmed by this expression of hate activity in Canada. I showed it to staff, who later reported having surveyed the area without finding another copy. In terms of the conference theme, "Borders without Boundaries," the flier spoke to me of issues of exclusion and embrace in Canada.

An anthology edited by William Kilbourn, *Canada: A Guide to the Peaceable Kingdom*,[2] recalls an iconic painting by Edward Hicks, a nineteenth-century American folk painter and itinerant Quaker minister who sought to illustrate the messianic prophecy of Isaiah 11:6-8 (NRSV): "The wolf shall live with the lamb, the leopard shall lie down with the kid, the calf and the lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them. The cow and the bear shall graze . . . and the weaned child shall put

its hand on the adder's den." Sometimes Hicks included scenes of William Penn signing a treaty with the Indians. A copy of this version has long had a prominent place in my home. It offers a hopeful vision of a diverse community. Eden? Certainly not. Yet an alternative to the insanity of our war-weary, war-worried and war-wounded world.

Hicks depicted a partial fulfillment of a biblical prophecy that influenced the Children of Peace led by David Willson (1778-1866).[3] During the War of 1812, the group broke away from Yonge Street Monthly Meeting and established a farm in what is now Newmarket, Ontario. The Children of Peace reflected their values in building, notably the Sharon Temple. The last members of the community held their final service there over a hundred years ago. Their vision finds contemporary expression in community-supported farms such as Whole Village in the Caledon Hills north of Toronto. Its goal is to be socially, economically, and ecologically sustainable.[4]

Willson's community and Hick's painting challenged me at a time when I became a Canadian citizen (1985). In a paper read in 1987 at this society's annual meeting, I asked, "Is Canada the Peaceable Kingdom?"[5] Thinking of Canada as a peaceable realm, I was aware Lester Pearson (1897-1972) received the 1957 Nobel Peace Prize for his role in mediating the Suez crisis. In "The Four Faces of Peace," he articulated his vision of a society based on the values of peace, equality, and social justice. (I do not render the text gender-inclusive.) He referred to "the dislocations of this terrible twentieth century" and observed that a gulf had been opened between man's material advance and his social and moral progress, a gulf in which he may one day be lost if it is not closed or narrowed. Man has conquered outer space. He has not conquered himself. If he had, we would not be worrying today as much as we are about the destructive possibilities of scientific achievements. In short, moral sense and physical power are out of proportion.[6]

Canadian diplomacy has generally followed Pearson's lead in working for the greater common good, helping resolve disputes outside our region, and leading in environmental justice through drafting the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer (1987) and the Biological and Toxins Weapons Convention (2006). Nonetheless, forty-four years after the publication of Kilbourn's collection, the notion of Canada as a peaceable kingdom seems quixotic. What transformed Canada into a warrior nation rather than a peace-keeper?

Notably, 11 September 2001, "the day the world came to Gander

[Newfoundland]."[7] Events that day propelled Canada into a military role in Afghanistan, which has ended in stages, beginning in 2011 when Canada began to withdraw its troops. The final Canadians departed on 12 March 2014. Many Canadians supported Canada's intervention in Afghanistan. In 2006, a grassroots phenomenon known as the Highway of Heroes started. Hundreds of local residents have assembled along bridges to salute the remains of soldiers conveyed between CFB Trenton and the Coroner's office in Toronto.

Historians have generated alternative heroes, for example Merna Foster's *100 Canadian Heroines* and *100 More Canadian Heroines*.[8] On 22 May 2014, CBC Radio's "Rewind" featured a 1998 interview by Peter Gzowski of Beverley McLachlin, who has served as a justice on the Supreme Court of Canada since 1989.[9] For our daily devotions this year, my wife and I are reading *Blessed Peacemakers, 365 Extraordinary People Who Changed the World.*[10] The book includes several Canadians: Catharine Doherty, Ursula Franklin, Kalle Lasn, David Suzuki, Jean Vanier, and Charles Yale Harrison, who fought with Canadian forces during World War I. Wounded in France, he recovered. His *Generals Die in Bed*, published in 1930, remains one of the most powerful anti-war novels ever written.[11]

In my 1987 talk, in which I asked if Canada warrants the designation "peaceable kingdom," I argued that Canada had not achieved its goal of ensuring the full personhood of everyone. I called for historians to focus less on prelates and more on grass-roots people and social movements not widely cited in textbooks then available to introduce the Canadian churches.

Readers might think of other candidates for designation as Canadian heroes. Mine include Frederick Banting, medical scientist, doctor, painter, and Nobel laureate regarded as the first person to use insulin on humans; Dekanawida, who established the "great peace" of the Five (now Six) Nations Confederacy in what is now Ontario; Tommy Douglas, architect of our health care system; Mildred Fahrni, who mediated Gandhian ideas through her Vancouver-based social activism; Basil Johnston, interpreter of the supernatural world of the Ojibwe; Laura Secord, heroine of the War of 1812; Moses Coady and Jimmy Tompkins, co-founders of the Antigonish Movement; Paul Côtè, Bronze Medal winner during the 1972 Olympics and a founder of Greenpeace; as well as leaders of the 2000 "Jubilee" campaign, the 2005 make poverty history movement, and the Ontario "colour of poverty" campaign that is now under way.[12]

Canada's social services net has long been a source of pride for Canadians. It is now frayed. Our elderly, youth, Aboriginal people, and people of colour are disproportionately poor. We now rank seventh overall in poverty among the G-8 nations. One in ten Canadian children is poor. Our child poverty rate of 15 percent is three times as high as the rates of Sweden, Norway, or Finland. Every month, 770,000 people in Canada use food banks. Forty percent of those relying on food banks are children.[13] These demographics of poverty are scandalous.

In a recent talk at McMaster University, Ela R. Bhatt, an Indian Gandhian and 1984 recipient of the Right Livelihood Award, underscored the point. She observed, "Poverty is not God-given; it is most definitely man-made. No one is born poor; society makes one poor . . . When a woman does back breaking work hours a day but cannot feed her family with her earnings, society has scorned her . . . Our silence is violent. Our looking the other way is a form of consent. It is our moral failure that we still tolerate poverty."[14]

Our current economic system has widened the divide between rich and poor. I see poverty as a consequence of systemic racism. Though overt acts of racial violence are rare, they take place. In December 2013, Thea Morris, a Jamaican-born businesswoman, closed her restaurant in Morris, Manitoba, and left the community, explaining that she had received a note that had the Ku Klux Klan insignia on it. The restaurant was previously run by a same-sex couple who said they had to close the business and leave town due to homophobia.[15]

What can we do to overcome such violence? In 1985, a poster advertising David Suzuki's series "A Planet for the Taking" warned, "We have long thought of ourselves as masters of the natural world, but now that drive to dominate and control is having dangerous consequences. Can we change the way we see our relationship with the other life forms on Earth?"[16]

Last winter, Canadians participated in sixteen days of activism against gender violence, from 25 November (International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women) through 10 December (International Human Rights Day). Many Canadians have supported the efforts of Stephen Lewis, our former Ambassador to the United Nations, in his campaign to overcome scourges like HIV-AIDS and gender-based violence against women and girls. Many of us have also supported the Idle No More movement that has sought, among other goals, to rally attention to the efforts of the present Federal government to compromise democratic

integrity and environmental safety and to increase military spending.[17] Intellectuals such as Margaret Atwood, Pierre Berton, Joseph Boyden, Cathy Campbell, Lawrence Hill, Linda McQuaig, Bruce Sanguin, Joanna Santa Barbara, John Ralston Saul, and Gretta Vosper have enlarged our understanding of personhood. Church historians have contributed to the securing of the rights of everyone through our myriad involvements, including research, writing, teaching, and advocacy. We have, for example, documented the role that women played, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in offering a vision of Canada that contrasted with violence that permeated the country. Many women championed values of peace, equality, and social justice, yet women could not run for a seat in Parliament until 1919. As recently as 1927, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that women were not "persons" under the law, a decision reversed two years later.

In many areas, women advanced slowly. While the (Baptist) Amherstburg Association ordained a black woman, Jennie Johnson (1868-1967) as early as 1909, it was not until 1936 that the Saskatchewan conference of the United Church of Canada ordained Lydia Gruchy (1894-1992). Other single women followed into the ministry. A married woman was not deemed eligible until 1957 when Elinor Leard was ordained over the objections of the moderator. The General Council was asked to clarify "the relationship of an ordained woman minister to her work following her marriage." After further study, the way opened for Lois Wilson's ordination in 1964. Roy Wilson, her husband and a lay person, joined in the laying on of hands. From 1980 to 1982, Dr. Lois Wilson served as Moderator of the United Church of Canada.[18]

The Anglican Church of Canada, particularly the General Synods of 1973 (Act 31) and 1975 (Act 64), advanced the cause of ordaining women to the priesthood. In December 1974, the House of Bishops ruled "the approval in principle could well be a matter of Faith and Order of the Church and should be ratified by a second vote at General Synod under Section 11, paragraph 2 of Declaration of Principles and that this opinion be directed to the Organization Committee." After General Synod adopted enabling legislation a second time, in June 1975, the ordinations of six women priests took place on 30 November 1976 in four dioceses across Canada. My Baptist congregation at the time shifted the hour of our worship to enable those who wished (myself included) to listen to coverage of the first ordinations. But the denomination has been slow to honour gifts of women presenting themselves for ordained ministry.

In education, women also were slow in attaining full participation. For example, I went through university, seminary, and graduate school without having a single woman as a teacher except in language courses. In 1976, when I began teaching at McMaster Divinity College, I had no female colleague. By the mid-1970s, women had moved from the peripheries to positions of importance in most areas of Canadian life.[19] They lagged behind in the church. Subsequently, there has been progress in most areas of church leadership. Yet in the Catholic and Orthodox traditions, women have not yet advanced to the priesthood or episcopacy. In terms of race, Robin W. Winks' *The Blacks in Canada: A History* remains the only comprehensive history.[20] Despite the role of Atlantic Canada in receiving black loyalists in the eighteenth century, and of Ontario as a terminus of the underground railway, Canadian blacks have struggled for full recognition of their personhood. For example, in 1911, hundreds of Oklahoma blacks moved to the Canadian prairies, where they met the same wariness and discrimination that had prompted them to flee the United States.[21]

In 1963, Leonard Braithwaite, elected as the Liberal member for Etobicoke, was the first African-Canadian elected to a Canadian Parliament in any provincial legislature. In 1964, the year blacks in Australia attained recognition as persons and United States Congress passed the Civil Rights Act, Africville, a poor, largely black area of Halifax, was expropriated. Despite resistance, residents were relocated and the area razed.

In 1965, the year United States Congress passed a Voting Rights Act, KKK activity ran high in Amherstburg. A Black Baptist Church was defaced and a town sign spray-painted "Amherstburg Home of the KKK." Racial incidents, including a cross-burning, took place.

Racism persists. Jody Nyasha Warner tells the story of Viola Desmond, a black woman from Halifax who was sold a ticket at a New Glasgow theatre good only for the balcony. She offered to pay the difference in price but was refused: "You people have to sit in the upstairs section." Viola refused to move. She was hauled off to jail, but her actions gave strength and encouragement to Canada's black community.[22]

In 1991, two racially-motivated incidents took place in Nova Scotia. One broke out at Cole Harbour District High School, a fight that escalated into a brawl involving fifty youths of both races. These events mobilized provincial black activists around the issue of unequal educational opportunities. This led to the passage of educational reforms and, in 1995,

the creation of a fund to improve education and support anti-racist initiatives.

In Toronto, on 4 May 1992, a daytime demonstration against the acquittal of police officers in the Rodney King case in Los Angeles descended into a nighttime riot on Yonge Street. Ignoring the historical context, the media decried United States style violence of the young black men. The events prompted many Canadians to address the root causes of racism. Such incidents are not anomalies. The media regularly reveal how far we have yet to go to create a society that recognizes the full humanity of every person.

Some persons of colour have attained positions of prominence. Lincoln Alexander (1922-2012) was a Canadian politician and statesman. Member of Parliament in the House of Commons in my riding when I moved to Hamilton in the 1970s, he was born of West Indian immigrants. From 1985 to 1991, he served as Lieutenant Governor of Ontario. A few years later, Prime Minister Paul Martin named Michaëlle Jean as the first black Governor General of Canada. She served from 2005 to 2010.

Around the world, discrimination and violence against women and girls are serious, pervasive violations of basic human rights. Among voices calling for change is that of former United States President Jimmy Carter. In an interview with Anna Maria Tremonti on CBC Radio, 28 March 2014, Carter called for action, by reporting the suffering inflicted upon women by a false interpretation of carefully selected religious texts and by reversing a current trend towards tolerance of violence against women.[23] Carter's appeal resonates at a time when Pope Francis has fueled hopes for a new spirit of aggiornamento within the Roman Catholic Church. He has updated themes from Vatican II: priority of labour, preferential option to the poor, and the creation of base communities. As church leaders, we must not perpetuate a fantasy that every Canadian has attained full personhood. In words of Adah Price, daughter of a missionary in *Poisonwood Bible,* "Illusions mistaken for truth are the pavement under our feet. They are what we call civilization."[24] We must do better.

Endnotes

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4. See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mbdG2_Dj4sY

5. Paul R. Dekar, "Is Canada the Peaceable Kingdom?" *Proceedings of the Canadian Society of Church History*, 1987.

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13. https://www.broadbentinstitute.ca/sites/default/files/documents/towards_a_more_equal_canada.pdf

14. http://www.humanities.mcmaster.ca/gandhi/lectures/documents/2013%20GPF_Gandhi%20Lecture%20by%20Ela%20Bhatt.pdf

15. Evelyn Myrie, "Systemic Racism Is Alive and Well," *Hamilton Spectator*, 20 March 2014, A11.

16. Helen Forsey citation, *Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives Monitor* 20, no. 8 (February 2014): 1.

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19. Widely available resources have advanced more inclusive language, worship, and theology. See, for example, books by an Anglican priest Gertrude Lebans: *Out of the Fire. Worship and Theology of Liberation* (Dundas: Artemis, 1992); *Things Too Wonderful: A Manual for the Study and Use of Inclusive Language* (Dundas: Artemis, 1990); *In All Things Goodness: A Christian Vision for the 21st Century* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 2003). In addition to recordings, Miriam Therese Winter, a Catholic Medical Mission Sister trained at a McMaster Divinity College in the 1970s, wrote *Preparing the Way of the Lord* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1978) and *Women Prayer Woman Song: Resources for Ritual* (Oak Park: Meyer Stone Books, 1987). Women in other traditions produced similar books, for example, Rabbi Lynn Gottlieb, *She Who Dwells: A Feminist Vision of Renewed Judaism* (San Francisco: Harper, 1995).

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Preaching Premiers: The Political and Religious Errands of William Aberhart and Ernest Manning[1]

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In July 1932 William Aberhart, principal of Crescent View High School in Calgary, arrived in Edmonton, as he did every July, to mark exams. At these annual grading sessions Aberhart regularly met with a chemistry teacher, Charles Morton Scarborough, of Edmonton. Scarborough was an avid reader of Major C.H. Douglas' social credit theories and, while grading exams, would extol the virtues of social credit, attempting in vain to attract Aberhart to his view. However, 1932 was different from other summers. That July Aberhart arrived in Edmonton in an unusually sullen mood as the economic depression and severe drought were seriously grinding on the Albertan economy. He watched helplessly as the graduates of his school could not find work. One graduating student even committed suicide that spring.[2]

Aberhart, like many others, saw his income slashed as the Canadian jobless rate hit 20% and Albertan incomes declined overall by 62% from 1928 to 1932, second only to Saskatchewan at 72%. Private Albertan debt climbed to the highest level in Canada.[3] Even military enlistment was affected as Albertan young men were allegedly rejected at an exaggerated rate on account of rickets caused by malnourishment.[4] Alberta was at the time a rural society, and as mortgage rates on farms and equipment rose, many could not make the interest payments. The cities were no better as 15% of Edmontonians and 13% of Calgarians lived on the relief rolls. Relief numbers would be higher but single men were not counted, being sent to work camps, and many central Europeans if not deported were

simply cut from the rolls.[5]

Aberhart was also very busy. In addition to being principal, he taught mathematics and grammar at Crescent View – Calgary's newest and largest high school at the time. He also ran the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute (CPBI) and he was a well-known radio preacher with his "Back to the Bible" weekly broadcasts. The ravages of the economic disaster cut deeply not only into his own income but into donations for CPBI and his radio ministry. His listeners, too, were overwhelmed by their own economic distress – though not too distracted to listen. There, at St. Stephan's College at the University of Alberta, Aberhart converted to social credit, giving Scarborough what he wanted: a well-known, articulate, dynamic speaker with a radio audience. And Aberhart received what he wanted: a simple formula for all economic problems that he could easily understand and explain. A month after his conversion Aberhart began the work of establishing a social credit presence in Calgary and started to lay the foundation for a movement that would become a political dynamo running Alberta from 1935 to 1972.[6] Aberhart himself would be premier and minister of education until his death in 1943.

Though his politics were termed Social Credit, his religion was premillennial dispensationalist Christianity. At its most basic, dispensationalism is a view of scripture and history that divides all time into seven dispensatations. Each dispensation of time (of varying lengths) has its own covenant with God and portions of divine promises and curses peculiar to it. The sixth dispensation is the Age of the Church, which is Aberhart's (and our) present. It will end with the rapture (a dispensationalist innovation) when faithful Christians are taken from earth into the air to be with Christ. Then seven years of tribulation ensue when the Holy Spirit and the brake it provides on evil is removed. This period will see the rise of the Antichrist, the mark of the beast, and other manifestations of evil. After the seven years the battle of Armageddon takes place in which Christ defeats Satan, ushering in a millennium of peace, the seventh dispensation. Following the seventh dispensation comes the judgment of all the living and dead, the final resurrection, and the creation of a new heaven and earth. Premillennialism argues for a rapture before the tribulation, preceding the final millennium of peace. By contrast, post-millennialists argue for the return of Christ after a millennium of a Christianized society built upon Christian ethics.[7]

Having its roots in the Plymouth Brethren of Ireland, dispensationalism came to North America through the preaching of John Nelson Darby.

In America such evangelical luminaries as C.I. Scofield and Dwight L. Moody further spread dispensationalism though the creation of correspondence courses and Bible schools. As a young man Aberhart took such a course from Scofield and drank deeply from the dispensational well.[8] Later, much of Aberhart's material, both on the radio and at CPBI, was prophetic. David R. Elliot describes the religion of "Bible Bill" as "highly sectarian, separatist, apolitical, other-worldly, and eschatologically oriented." The eschatology Aberhart espoused was dispensationalism, which, according to Elliott, was a "pessimistic cyclical philosophy of history" that viewed "history to be on a downward course" and, as such, "efforts at ameliorating social conditions were seen as futile and, thus, dipsensationalists had a reputation for lack of social concern."[9] The contradiction seemed obvious to many: how could a religious belief in the imminent return of Jesus, a highly supernatural and pessimistic view of society, meld with the here-and-now of depression-era politics?

William Aberhart

William Aberhart was born and raised in Huron County, Ontario, near Seaforth where he graduated high school. He completed Normal College in Hamilton and for two years taught near Wingham at Brantford Central School. In 1910 he moved to Calgary, Alberta, as a principal, eventually working at Crescent Heights. While growing up in southern Ontario, he attended the Bible Class at Knox Presbyterian Church where he became interested in a correspondence course taught by C.I. Scofield. Aberhart began preaching in 1905, as a layman, and in 1918 he began the Calgary Prophetic Bible Conference for intensive Bible study, "formed by a number of earnest men of different denominations" to contemplate the return of Jesus.[10] His conference lectures were very popular and in 1925 he began airing them on radio under a broadcast contract with the W.W. Grant Company. At its peak, Aberhart's radio audience numbered up to 350,000 listeners. He emphasized a literal reading of the Bible, the second coming of Jesus, and eventually brought social credit theory into the mix. At the same time, he raised $60,000 to build the CPBI building, which was completed in 1927.[11]

As an educator Aberhart had an exceptional reputation and emphasized to his students the importance of hard work, vigor, and determination. Though the mixture of politics and religion in his broadcasts may have seemed idiosyncratic, his status as a respected educator

gave him much currency with his audience. As Gerald Friesen explained, "if he saw a way out of the economic morass and could associate this plan with biblical prophecy, then he offered hope to thousands who had little else left."[12]

The Conference originally met at the public library, and then when they outgrew that they moved to Westbourne Baptist Church. In 1919, they met at the Paget Hall to study the Book of Revelation, and the numbers grew. The following year, 1920, he moved his ministry into the Grand Theatre, then again in 1923 to the larger Palace Theatre.[13]

Through CPBI Aberhart also ran a correspondence Bible study course that boasted 2400 students of childhood age by 1930, resulting in approximately 21,700 correspondence lessons mailed that season alone. Prizes were given to students who averaged 75% or more on nine or more lessons; they included copies of *Pilgrim's Progress*, *Traveller's Guides*, and *Illustrated Bible Story Books*. Students without a Bible in their home would also receive a free copy from CPBI. In 1930, 256 children made a commitment to Christ, while dozens others received personal correspondence "regarding their soul's salvation."[14]

Significant, in addition to the correspondence to so many children, and by extension their parents, was the geographical extent of his mail ministry. All provinces from BC to Quebec had families involved, with the vast majority from Alberta and Saskatchewan. However, in the United States, there were correspondents from seven states – the Dakotas, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and California – with the majority from Washington and Montana.[15] Less than two years away from the start of his political career, Aberhart was broadcasting throughout western Canada, the upper mid-west and northern and western states, engaging families through his correspondence course, and developing a Bible institute.

The nerve centre of Aberhart's religious operation was CPBI. He nicknamed it "The Great Prairie Monument to the Faith" and based it on fundamentalist principles. The doctrinal statement of CPBI not only summarized their belief, but also positioned them in the cultural battles of the day. The "Divine Verbal Inspiration" and "their absolute supremacy, infallibility and efficiency in all matters of faith and practice" led the dozen statements. Others included "the Immaculate Conception of the Lord Jesus Christ," the creation of humanity "by the direct act of God, and not by an evolutionary process," and the final resurrection at the conclusion of the coming millennium.[16]

The aims of CPBI were also grounded in the socio-religious conflicts of the day. While their primary purpose was to hold services for "winning souls for the Lord Jesus Christ," it was also "to use every legitimate, Christian means of combating and resisting Modernism, Higher Criticism, Skepticism and Secretarianism in all its forms," and ultimately to blunt the influence that the "Modernists, Evolutionists, and skeptics of every kind" had on the next generation.[17]

Aberhart's correspondence course, "Systematic Theology," had a strong dispensational component to it, modeled clearly on the example of Scofield with the course tag, borrowing from Scofield's claim, of "rightly dividing the word." Aberhart wrote of "dispensational distinctions," "dividing the Word dispensationally," and of people possessing "dispensational knowledge" in an effort to show how the Bible does not contain contradictions, but rather differences for different eras, explaining, for example, dietary injunctions from the vegetarian state of Eden to the fully-stocked meat-filled final banquet on the day of judgment.[18]

If premillennialism was a fundamentalist utopianism, Social Credit was a clear expression of political utopianism in western Canada.[19] It promised prosperity and ease in the near future, if it only were followed. It was a technocratic philosophy premised upon two pillars: technology would rescue humanity from toil and drudgery; and experts would solve society's problems in a technocratic bureaucracy. Prosperity would be perpetual.[20] It was even the essence of democracy:

> The form of society, which is designed to enable its individual members to gain what they desire from their association, is termed "democracy" . . . You will observe that because individuals are induced to association most effectively by the belief that thereby they can get what they want, and because democracy is a form of social organization designed to enable them to realize this belief, therefore democracy is the natural form of society. Again, the basis of democracy must be "social credit" or the inherent belief that its individual members in association can get what they want.[21]

In its basic form, social credit was the brainchild of English engineer Major C. H. Douglas. Aberhart took Douglas' ideas and recast them for Alberta. He proposed that without interfering with the structures of private enterprise, ownership, and responsibility, adjustments could be made to monetary policy that would necessitate the distribution of a society's "cultural heritage" to ensure a baseline of purchasing power. Cultural

heritage was the value of the society and its resources and, due to rapacious bankers and a corrupt financial sector based in eastern Canada, Albertans were missing out on their share of abundance. There was even a most effective rallying cry, "Poverty amongst Plenty," that explained it. Douglas developed the "A + B Theorem," readily adopted by Aberhart to explain the solution.[22]

The theorem is explained this way: "A" is the costs paid to individuals (wages, etc.) and "B" is the cost paid to organizations (raw materials, fees, service charges, etc.). Thus, A + B is the cost of goods and it guarantees that individuals will never reach their purchasing potential for cost will always be greater than "A." The solution is to find a way for individuals to have purchasing power higher than A + B. For Aberhart, the solution was a $25 per month (approximately $450 in 2014 dollars) dividend paid in Albertan issued script to every bona fide adult citizen of Alberta – coming from the province's "cultural heritage" or its "social credit." This was to place every Albertan's spending power above A + B and, as costs went up, the dividend produced by the value of Alberta's resources would increase, thus everyone would have greater purchasing power than the cost of goods – ensuring perpetual prosperity. In effect, the government would subsidize citizens' purchasing power with government controlled credit (not currency, but cheques as he said in numerous sermons) so stockpiled goods could be bought up and economic recovery would result. Within this framework maximum incomes would be instituted and "just prices" established for the regulation of profits. The program had everything for Aberhart: it was moral in creating a just society, it weakened the eastern financial grip on Alberta, it shared the inherent wealth of the province with its citizens, and it was easily expressed in Christian terms.[23]

Social Credit rallies took on the trappings of evangelical revival meetings. Often opening with the hymn "Our God in Ages Past," these "monster meetings" had singing, speakers, and enthusiasm. Combined with Sunday picnics, these rallies were complemented by a growing network of study groups that gathered weekly throughout the province, numbering over 1400, reading and discussing social credit material. Attempts by Aberhart to enact parts of the Social Credit platform (though famously never the $25 dividend program) to reform the banking industry, assert monetary policy for Alberta, and oversee newspaper coverage of Social Credit government were all struck down by Ottawa – either by parliament or the courts. Significantly, most of his policy rebukes were the

result of being completely outside the BNA Act. These defeats did little to dim people's view of Aberhart as it played into the same political message as the campaign: big eastern powers are against Alberta, be they courts, government, or banks.[24]

Significantly, as early Social Credit held anti-large-scale economic views, a central feature of dispensationalism is the belief that big finance, big banks, and centralized state power are the bedrock of a satanic system. That Aberhart sought redemption for Alberta through an economic system that guaranteed social justice and prosperity – without recourse to big corrupt banks and financiers – melded seamlessly with his theology. Though his style was often described at dictatorial, even totalitarian, and the power of the provincial government was to be extended throughout the economy, he continually asserted that he was only out to create the base of egalitarianism predicated upon the individual living in association with others, assuring the principle of private property and enterprise. This helped deflect criticism that his social-democracy was promoting socialism.[25]

Aberhart typically explained his social credit vision as a binary between the people and the rapacious "50 big shots who are exploiting the country."[26] In his broadcasts, after addressing questions from listeners about Social Credit, he typically went into a sermon, which was rarely far from politics. As was the case on 24 March 1935, when he preached "What would you think of a man who would praise and defend and support one guilty of fornication or graft . . . and at the same time could criticize and find fault with an effort to help Society and your fellow men to live decently and respectably."[27] Then tying this to the question "Why did Christ die?" he described the story of Moses who was met with tricksters in Pharaoh's court, "agents of the devil," who reproached him for his "plan" as they did not want him liberating people, "just as these men [his opponents] of corrupt mind did . . . Talk about blood money! This is worse – to accept money to work for a system that is destroying the youth of our land; putting them into camps where they have no chance to live as they should."[28]

Even Easter was a Social Credit message. Aberhart expounded on the resurrection of Jesus: "I think the movement which we represent is in perfect accord with the spirit of Easter." After asserting that the conditions in 1935 Alberta were as "distorted, dull, discouraging, and hopeless" as in early first century Judea, he proclaimed, "The Easter message is a message of hope. There is deliverance. There is salvation. God can, and will work

even a miracle to bring his people into the place of joy and prosperity. Is that not a message for all believers in Social Credit?"[29] Later in the same address, he answered a question about the nature of Social Credit philosophy: "It is so fair and just; so civilized and Christian; it is based wholly and solely on the Golden Rule; it teaches us to live and let live; it drives off the vultures that feast on humanity through its economic helplessness."[30] Those vultures for Aberhart were always "big interests," for they "will ever strive to prevent the emancipation of the common people. International finance that ever lives on the blood of the unfortunate men, helpless women and hungry undernourished children is determined to maintain its group."[31]

Early on, in 1936, economist and lawyer H.F. Angus saw in the Social Credit victory of 1935 a warning to be heeded. Describing Aberhart's radio program and Bible institute as "propaganda," Angus went further, noting that Aberhart's enthusiastic, prayerfully emotional followers easily dismissed the critics of Social Credit as "the economic devil." Ultimately the lesson of the Alberta election of 1935 for Canada was the ease with which someone could master radio for propaganda's sake. Canada was lucky this time for "Aberhart cannot be exported." This was an "infection" in society that, due to its religious nature, no amount of education could eradicate.[32] Recently, too, some historians see in Aberhart little more than egoism, unguarded ambition, and easily dismissed religious convictions in face of political hunger and social reality.[33] In contrast, other scholars, such as Thomas Flanagan, argue that the millennialism of Aberhart's Christianity merged seamlessly with the chiliastic qualities of Social Credit – where both religious and political systems pursued "cosmic renewal."[34]

Thus, it appears, as Elliott concedes, "From a wide survey of literature on dispensationalism . . . that Aberhart may have been its first active adherent to have fostered a political movement with a positive social character."[35]

Aberhart was an exceptionally strong personality – even dictatorial to some – as a teacher and principal in the public school system, at his own CPBI, and as party leader. Within two years of winning a commanding victory in 1935, for example, he endured a significant backbench revolt in his party, escaped recall through retroactive legislation, and had his agricultural minister resign and leave the province. A man sure of his convictions, known to have his bald-head, atop his large heavy body, turn crimson in the face of disagreement, Aberhart possessed an eclectic

Christianity informed strongly by premillennial dispensationalism, Pentecostalism, and elements of the occult towards the end of his life, notably an interest in palmistry and horoscopes. He preached a mixed gospel of dispensationalism and social credit and he explained these tensions away as, according to dispensationalism, there is a seventh dispensation coming – the millennium ruled by Christ, prior to the final judgment. Therefore, there was still at least a thousand years to go. Thus, he never abandoned his dispensationalism and it did not contradict his political work.[36]

Ernest Manning

Ernest Manning came to Calgary from Saskatchewan to attend CPBI. Listening to Aberhart's sermons on the family radio, he decided to learn from him personally and enrolled as the first student at CPBI. Eventually he became Aberhart's right hand man in both the religious and political arenas – taking over both upon Aberhart's death in 1943. Manning toned down the prophecy, but nonetheless it was part of his cosmology.

Manning wrote for the monthly magazine, *The Prophetic Voice*, published by CPBI, that usually highlighted his broadcasts. Most of his sermons were exegetical lessons on prophetic biblical texts, with political commentary at times. Christians, he argued:

> are to stay the corrupting tendencies and exercise a purifying and preserving influence in all contacts of life. They have an obligation to seek the application of Christian principles in community and national life . . . How far short we have fallen!! . . . We wrack our brains to provide more formidable laws to curb crime and crookedness and we strain our purses to provide more police to enforce the laws. We tax our energies and our resources to create outer restraints upon humanity but we are not willing to exert ourselves to bring our fellow man to Jesus Christ, the only One Who can provide him with the inner restraint necessary to help him overcome evil with good . . . [then] we be able to check the sinking of the moral foundations of our nation.[37]

Where Aberhart had unbridled corporate capitalism and big eastern finance as his villains, Manning had communism or totalitarianism. As he preached, "The totalitarian nations openly renounce all allegiance to the

God of Heaven, and are pursuing with a vengeance their avowed intention of obliterating Christianity from earth. But hear me; the Christian democratic nations are turning their backs upon God in just as positive a manner." On this point Manning implored his listeners to stop calling Canada a "Christian nation," for Canada had long rejected Christ as its sovereign – it was no Christian nation. Finally, he called Canada to return to its heritage "under God," as Abraham Lincoln had called upon Americans to do the previous century.[38] In so doing, Manning preached a "born again" gospel where Aberhart had been more preoccupied with details of prophecy.

According to Manning, early on in Social Credit's history, in the fall of 1932, it was simply an educational exploration to understand better the Great Depression, "to see what possible application Douglas' Social Credit theories would have to the situation, and the method that we followed was to organize study groups," which Manning and Aberhart visited throughout the province during holiday breaks from school. Their message was simple: "Now look, there are things that can be done, and the thing for you, as the people, to do is bring pressure to bear on your elected representatives."[39]

Manning acknowledged that monetary reform was never a real possibility for constitutional reasons. However, there was more to Social Credit: "as I say, all this other business of trying to establish a free and open society where you encourage private initiative and enterprise and create an atmosphere where people can see their own enterprise and initiative get the results they want in their society, well, this is a bigger part of the Social Credit philosophy that we embrace as the monetary reform part."[40] He added, "The end was to create a free society in which people would be able to get the results they individually wanted from their affairs."[41]

Manning also worked at modernizing Social Credit in the 1940s. He publicly denounced anti-Semitism and purged Social Credit of the "little faction of Douglasities" after his Albertan Human Rights Bill failed in court. The Rights Bill was the final attempt to create a genuine Social Credit society in Alberta. Manning promised to provide the necessities of life – food, clothing, education, for example – for those under nineteen and a retirement pension for those over sixty. Albertans between nineteen and sixty were provided with work opportunities and all of this was to be financed through reforms to the monetary system along Social Credit lines. Manning submitted it to court for testing and the entire bill died – easily

lampooned by opponents who mocked his going to court before taking it to the people. He continued to advocate for monetary reform at the federal level, but provincially he changed course.[42]

At the provincial level Manning ran a conservative party, jettisoning Aberhart's social democratic legacy, emphasizing the individual, rejecting redistribution, supporting with lavish spending social programs that promoted egalitarianism – education, health, transportation. He had welfare means tested and healthcare co-pays instituted. As Thomas Flanagan and Martha Lee argue, by the end of the 1940s Manning had "de-eschatologized [social credit] into social conservatism," where social conservatism meant that humanitarian concerns of an "awakened" conscience were combined with freedom of the individual and "enlightened" private enterprise.[43] It was to be individualism-based humanitarianism that was neither noninterventionist nor noncollectivist on the part of the government.[44]

As Aberhart threaded the needle between religious belief and responsibilities as premier, Manning also had to manage the expectations of his radio listeners. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, as Alberta's liquor laws were being liberalized to expand licenses for liquor stores and drinking establishments, to end gender segregation laws, and to amend the separation of food and drink in hotels/restaurants, his audience was perplexed. Though he preached against intoxicants and agreed that alcoholism was a serious issue, he wrote a longer than usual response to Mrs. Harriet Lane of Spring Coulee, a fan of his radio ministry. Manning wrote that it was a concern of his that no solution had yet been discovered for alcoholism: "I am convinced it is useless to try to legislate people into a state of temperance. No law, however well meaning, is possible of enforcement unless it carries the endorsation of at least a majority of the people affected by it and certainly this is not the case in respect to laws frequently proposed for the curbing of the manufacture or sale of liquor."[45]

Manning explained that the government received more demands for easing laws than tightening them on alcohol: "I cannot quite agree that the fact the Government does control the distribution of beer and liquor has given the liquor business a status of decency that it otherwise would not enjoy. Certainly so called 'social' drinking is equally as prevalent in those countries and states where the Governments do not exercise such control." He disagreed that the province should create special alcoholic hospitals; instead he considered education a better vehicle for preventing alcoholism and he had the Department of Education work on temperance education.[46]

Of special concern to Lane was how Manning justified his actions as premier as an evangelical Christian. Manning replied:

> Perhaps I might be permitted to refer particularly to your comments regarding my efforts to lead people into the Christian way of life being, in your opinion, inconsistent with the Government not imposing even greater restrictions on the sale and distribution of liquor. My concept of democratic government is government that carries out the expressed will of the people whom it serves rather than imposing on them its own viewpoint no matter how idealistic that viewpoint might be. Furthermore, the reason I give every minute of time that I can to the promulgation of Christianity is because I am convinced that there is no other solution to the liquor problem or any other problem that stems from the debased appetites of men other than the transformation of life that is brought about through the spiritual regeneration of the individual.[47]

Going further, he continued:

> If I thought for one moment that the evils of the liquor business could be eliminated or even curbed by preaching temperance sermons, I would preach one every Sunday but I am convinced while such a course would be popular with some people it would not be effective in solving the problem with which we are faced. On the other had, if men and women are led to embrace true Christianity and experience genuine personal regeneration there is no more liquor problem as far as they are concerned.[48]

Conclusions

Premillennial dispensationalism is considered by many to be pessimistic and socially apathetic. That people like Aberhart and Manning chose political careers and were spectacularly successful at them, while holding to a premillennial cosmology seems contradictory.[49] While the temper, language, charts, diagrams, and otherworldliness of dispensationalism strikes many outsiders as conspiratorial and bizarrely subjective in its biblical interpretations and readings of history, it is important to understand that dispensationalism was considered by its adherents to be both supernatural and scientific. These two seeming

opposites worked together for the dispensationalist scholar who, believing the scriptures to be the inerrant word of God protected by the Holy Spirit, set about ascertaining the solid facts contained within to understand the world, cosmos, and future. Leading dispensationalists, such as C.I. Scofield, from whom Aberhart took correspondence courses, understood their method of reading the Bible as scientific and stated it as such, as "rightly dividing the word." It was common sense, some equating their method with the inductive reasoning of Bacon's scientific method.[50]

Scofield was also connected to Keswick holiness, which emphasized practical holiness and Christian service, illustrating that premillennialists needed not be so otherworldly to forget they lived on Earth. The practical side of Christianity, or social concern, while secondary to saving souls, nonetheless was essential.[51] Later in life, Manning would say that Aberhart did have a concern for others predicated on the biblical injunction to be "thy brother's keeper."[52]

Aberhart, while a premillennialist, was also a religious entrepreneur. He was at the forefront of religious radio broadcasting in Canada, a teacher, principal, self-educated in religious terms, of Presbyterian background – which, coming from a non-religious home, he came to on his own. Thus it is reasonable that, within Aberhart, was an amalgam of entrepreneurialism, concern for youth/society born of both religious training and his educational career, and premillennial urgency conjoined with the "scientific" dispensationalism that would likely appeal to his mathematical, grammatical, and fundamentalist mind. Premillennial apocalypticsm certainly trades in utopianism, and Social Credit provided a scientific, common sense explanation for the disaster of the 1930s with a readymade devil – big banks and big finance located in eastern Canada – and a simple solution that would produce perpetual abundance and prosperity. Aberhart continuously explained his view of the end of days as at a minimum a thousand years in the future. Thus, while adhering to premillennial discourse, Aberhart saw no barrier to saving society from the Great Depression. It provided motivation and resources for him to believe in the rescue of the individual and society from decrepitude.[53]

This exploration of Aberhart and Manning's religo-political cosmologies, focused on prophecy and social issues such as temperance, illustrates that more than dissonance, contradictions, and egos were at work. Sidestepping these particular religiosities, or concluding that their religion and politics were simply contradictory or merely expedient, misses an important aspect of the evolving nature of social reform in

1930s and 1940s western Canada that became a precursor for modern Canadian conservatism.

In 1974, forty-seven years after the CPBI building was constructed, and a quarter-century after the institute closed its doors having merged with another Bible institute, the building that had headquartered the Social Credit Party until 1966, when it sat empty, except for a brief time when it served as a dance hall, demolition equipment brought the structure down. Making room for commercial development in downtown Calgary, what was arguably the birthplace of the Social Credit movement in Alberta and centre of premillennial radio broadcasting in Canada, ceased to exist. Two years later a historical plaque was affixed to the new building reminding pedestrians and shoppers that hymnals and Bibles once rested where shoes and handbags now gleam.[54]

Endnotes

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5. Alvin Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 14-17.

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9. David R. Elliott, "Antithetical Elements in William Aberhart's Theology and Political Ideology," *Canadian Historical Review* 59, no. 1 (1978): 39-40.

10. "William Aberhart, B.A., Our President, Dean and Lecturer," *Radio News* (Calgary: Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute, [1930]), 4, Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute fonds, M1357 File 7: Radio Sunday School. - ca. 1930-1969, Glenbow Library and Archives, Calgary, Alberta (GLA). Quote from "The Building of the Institute," *Bulletin of the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute*, 7, Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute fonds M1357 File: 1 CPBI, GLA.

11. "William Aberhart, B.A., Our President, Dean and Lecturer," 4; "The Building of the Institute," *Bulletin of the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute*, 7, Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute fonds, M1357 File: 1 CPBI, GLA; Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 411-12; and Laycock, *Populism and Democratic Thought in the Canadian Prairies,* 216.

12. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 412.

13. "The Building of the Institute," 7.

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17. "The Aims and Purposes of the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute," 9, *Bulletin of the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute*, 7, Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute fonds, M1357 File: 1 CPBI, GLA.

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20. Laycock, *Populism and Democratic Thought in the Canadian Prairies,* 218, 224, 252-53, 265-66; and Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 412.

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24. Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies*, 414; and Laycock, *Populism and Democratic Thought in the Canadian Prairies,* 205-6, 208-9, 216-17.

25. Laycock, *Populism and Democratic Thought in the Canadian Prairies,* 262.

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27. "Radio Broadcast by Wm. Aberhart, Sunday March 24 [1935], over CFCM, Calgary," 4.

28. "Radio Broadcast by Wm. Aberhart, Sunday March 24 [1935], over CFCM, Calgary," 5-6.

29. "Under the Auspices of the Alberta Social Credit League Broadcast by William Aberhart, April 19th [1935], at 8:30," 1, J. McKinley Cameron fonds, M6840 File 941: William Aberhart radio broadcasts. – March-July 1935, GLA.

30. "Under the Auspices of the Alberta Social Credit League Broadcast by William Aberhart, April 19th [1935], at 8:30," 2.

31. "Broadcast Under the Auspices of the Alberta Social Credit League by Mr. William Aberhart, B.A., over CFCN, Calgary, May 3rd, 1935," 3, J. McKinley Cameron fonds, M6840 File 941: William Aberhart radio broadcasts. – March-July 1935, GLA.

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45. Ernest Manning to Mrs. Harriet Lane, 6 February 1951, correspondence, 69.289 Premier's Papers (Ernest C. Manning) 1921-1959, Microfilm Roll 169, File 1788A, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, AB.

46. Ernest Manning to Mrs. Harriet Lane, 6 February 1951.

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48. Ernest Manning to Mrs. Harriet Lane, 6 February 1951.

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CSCH President's Address 2014

"The Pest:" The Rev. James Settee and the Church Missionary Society in Nineteenth-Century Rupert's Land – A Case Study of the Native Church Policy and the Indigenous Missionary

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Ordained in 1853, James Settee was the second native to take holy orders through the auspices of the Church Missionary Society in the North West of British North America. While much has been written about Henry Budd, the first native ordained by the CMS, relatively little attention has been paid to Settee.[1] This oversight has much to do with the fact that, unlike Budd, Settee retained much of his native identity and lifestyle. The contrasting perception of the two men is evident in the biographies written by Archdeacon John Alexander Mackay in Bertal Heeney's *Leaders of the Canadian Church*, published in 1920. Budd, Mackay observed, possessed "qualities that were remarkable in a native." He was "a man of fine appearance," "a good English Scholar," and "methodical and thrifty." His mission stations were always a "model of neatness" and "no European missionary kept things in better order."[2] Settee, in contrast, was described as "a typical native" who preferred itinerating. "This nomadic kind of life," MacKay remarked, "seemed to suit him better than steady settled work." Mackay concluded that, unlike Budd, Settee "could not be credited with much foresight or good management in temporal matters." Because Settee "always looked upon the bright side of things" and was "always

ready to believe the best and not the worst of others," Mackay concluded that he sometimes condoned "what deserved disapproval."[3] Although Mackay did not doubt Settee's commitment and faithfulness, he clearly viewed Settee in a much different light than Budd. Whereas Budd was upheld as a model missionary, Settee remained too much the native to receive the same unqualified praise. The contrast that Archdeacon Mackay drew between Henry Budd and James Settee reveals a great deal about the standards and expectations that Anglo-Canadian missionaries used to judge native missionaries and their work. The more Europeanized the native missionary, the more highly he was regarded by the CMS, its British agents, and the early chroniclers of the church's growth and development in Canada's North West. The contrasting assessments of the careers of Henry Budd and James Settee reveal, however, that the native agents of the CMS were not all the same.[4] The purpose of this essay is to explore the life-world, motivations, and actions of James Settee and how these informed his relations with his fellow natives and his British co-workers in the mission field. It is argued that tensions that arose between the objectives and assumptions of the CMS and its British missionaries, and Settee's empathy for the natives among whom he worked, and his differing approach to evangelization greatly hindered the effectiveness of the CMS's mission in the Canadian North West and the implementation of its Native Church policy.

The Church Missionary Society was founded on 12 April 1799. Most of the founders were members of the Clapham Sect, a group of activist Church of England evangelicals who were committed to the abolition of the slave trade, social reform at home, and world evangelisation. Convinced that "it is the duty highly incumbent upon every Christian to endeavour to propagate the knowledge of the Gospel among the Heathen," the Society overcame opposition from the church hierarchy and dispatched its first missionaries to West Africa in 1804.[5] The CMS began work in Canada's North West in 1822 when Rev. John West was invited to Rupert's Land to serve as a chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company. Responding to criticism in England that the Company had done little to Christianize the indigenous population, and seeking to encourage industry, repress vice, and inculcate morality among its workers, the Hudson's Bay Company agreed to pay the salary of a missionary to the settlement at Red River. West's plans, however, soon exceeded the limited objectives of the Company. Rather than remain at Red River and minister to the Company's employees, West travelled widely and developed a plan to induce natives

to embrace not only Christianity, but also a settled way of life. The key to this plan was the establishment of schools for native children who West believed were more malleable than adults. "The children," West wrote in his journal, "may be educated and trained to industry upon the soil," "recovered from their savage habits and customs," and "enjoy the blessings of civilization and Christianization."[6] Critical of the moral standards and materialism of the fur trade, and preoccupied with the conversion and "civilization" of the indigenous peoples of Red River, West soon alienated leaders of the Hudson's Bay Company who viewed his agenda as serious threats to their interests. While on furlough in England in 1824, West was notified that the Hudson's Bay Company no longer required his services. His successor, Rev. David Thomas Jones, shared West's commitment to work among the indigenous peoples, however, and continued to recruit native youth for the Red River School, including James Settee. Jones hoped that Settee and the other native pupils attending the school would grow up to spread Christianity among their own people.[7]

Settee was born sometime between 1809 and 1812 near Split Lake in what is now north central Manitoba. His parents were of mixed Swampy Cree and English descent. After attending the Red River School for four years, Settee was baptized by David Jones in 1827 and became a protégé of another CMS missionary, Rev. William Henry Cockran. When Settee completed his education, he began to work alongside Cockran as a native catechist and school teacher at St. Peter's, Dynevor, and Netley Creek. He married Sarah (Sally) Cook in 1835. In 1841 Settee was sent out to minister among a band of Plains Cree and Assiniboine in the Beaver Creek and Moose Mountain region of Saskatchewan. The mission was not a success; as a northern Swampy Cree, Settee lacked both bonds of kinship and proficiency in the local dialect. The Settees then taught school at The Pas before relocating to Lac la Ronge in 1846. The mission appeared to flourish under Settee; one hundred native children and adults were baptized in July 1847. Impressed by the gains made at Lac la Ronge, Settee was dispatched to Potato Lake where he laid the foundations for Stanley Mission. He was superseded at Stanley Mission by Rev. Robert Hunt and relegated to a secondary role. Settee's position began to change after the appointment of David Anderson as the first bishop of the newly established diocese of Rupert's Land in 1849. Anderson's appointment coincided with the CMS's adoption of the Native Church policy. According to this policy, developed by CMS Secretary Henry Venn, the

objective of the society was to build up a self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating Native Church. Leadership within this Native Church was to pass on as quickly as possible to locally raised native clergy, freeing British missionaries to move on to other fields.[8] Bishop Anderson believed that the use of ordained and lay native agents was essential to the successful evangelization of the indigenous peoples in his vast diocese. Shortly after his appointment, Anderson wrote CMS authorities that "a native agency" that included "individuals belonging to different tribes and speaking different languages" was required to "meet the inquiring spirit which exists among the widely-scattered population that wanders over the immense territories of the Hudson's Bay Company."[9] Anderson and CMS officials were convinced that native agents would be more readily accepted than British missionaries by indigenous peoples because of their racial affinity and kinship with them, their ability to speak native languages, and their superior knowledge of their "habits" and "character."[10] They also believed that native agents were more suited than missionaries from Britain to the demanding physical and psychological challenges of life in the Canadian wilderness. "The character of the work is so different" from that in England, the Diocese of Rupert's Land synod resolved, that, "there is much doubt and anxiety in appointing English clergymen for our new settlements."[11] Suitably trained native agents could assist British missionaries in the important work of translating the Bible and prayer book into native languages.[12] It was in light of the Native Church policy that Settee was identified as a suitable candidate for ordination and was enrolled at St. John's College to study theology in 1853 and was ordained to the diaconate in 1855. After his ordination, Settee recalled "the early part my life" in his journal when he was "first taught to remember my Creator" and "to worship him through Jesus Christ our Saviour." He recorded his thanks that he had now been called "to bear witness to the death and resurrection of Christ and to preach salvation to my Indian brethren through faith in the name of the Lord Jesus."[13] In 1855 Settee was sent to work under Rev. William Stagg at the Fairford mission in the Swan River District. Priested by Bishop Anderson on 1 January 1856, Settee began work among the Plains Cree of Qu'appelle. Due to his Swampy Cree background, Settee was not well received and was forced "by the hostile feelings of the Plains tribes" to leave the region in 1858. Despite this rebuff, he returned to the area in 1861 and 1865. In the following years, Settee carried out an itinerant ministry and served missions at Scanterbury, Mapleton, Netley Creek, Nelson River, and

Prince Albert. He returned to The Pas in 1883 and managed to restore the Anglican flock there after some natives had followed Rev. Joseph Reader to the Plymouth Brethren. Reflecting on his ministry later in life, Settee gave thanks to the God for the "expansion of our Native Church" and for the opportunity to have been called to "preach Jesus the Lord and to point to every sinner the way of life."[14] Although he was released from the CMS in 1884 due to age and ill health, Settee continued an active ministry among his native brethren until his death in 1902.

Although the CMS was officially committed to the establishment of a self-governing, self-sustaining, and self-propagating Native church, this policy was not successfully implemented in the Canadian North West. The failure of the Native Church policy in the Canadian mission field was largely due to the unwillingness of the CMS to adjust its agenda to suit the social and cultural realities encountered in Rupert's Land and the inability of its British agents to overcome the racial and social assumptions and attitudes they carried with them. The purpose of the CMS was to bring salvation to the non-Christian peoples of the world whom they believed were doomed to damnation unless they accepted Christ as their saviour. Hand in hand with the acceptance of Christianity, however, the CMS sought to bring the blessings of civilization to the primitive peoples of the world. For the CMS, Christianization and 'civilization' were inseparable, and true conversion required not only an acceptance of Christianity, but also changes in the everyday life patterns of indigenous peoples. This agenda was evident in a letter written by James Settee's mentor as a youth, Rev. William Cockran, to the Secretaries of the CMS in 1836. "I thought of making the red men Christians," Cockran observed, but the notion of "Christian & Englishmen were so closely united in my imagination, they appeared as one." "Consequently," Cockran continued, "I expected that when the red man became a Christian, I should see all the active virtues of English Christians immediately developed in his character." Cockran thus strove "to make the red man not only a Christian but an Englishman" and "pressed the necessity of industry, cleanliness, taste, good order & all the other moral virtues, which make the Christian shine among a perverse generation."[15] Judged by British standards, however, the native peoples of the Canadian North West were invariably found wanting. According to William Cockran, the Cree and Ojibwa peoples among whom he evangelized lived in "a barbarous state" and were trapped in "the mire of poverty, ignorance and vice."[16] British missionaries attributed the natives' destitution to a lack of foresight and self-control. "If they possessed the

virtue of economy to the same degree as the Europeans," William Cockran observed, "many of them might make their stock last the whole winter." According to Cockran, natives lived for the moment and squandered their resources. "As long as he has anything remaining," Cockran lamented, "he must make a feast for all his friends, & send gifts to all his cousins."[17] Cockran interpreted this apparent lack of concern for the future and the ease with which natives gave away the fruits of their labour as a sign of "carnality" that offended God and required correction.[18] British missionaries, such as Cockran, saw private property as an essential foundation of civilization. The failure of the native to accumulate personal possessions was thus interpreted as evidence of backwardness and indolence. Cockran insisted that the natives' "waste of time and property is grievous to all who have imbibed Christian principles" and that only a concerted effort by the missionary to instil values of industry and discipline could overcome such "evils."[19] "The miserable heathen of Rupert's Land," Cockran concluded, "have not only to learn to serve God in spirit and in truth; but they have every other habit to learn which is conducive to the welfare of man."[20] Despite the long apprenticeship he served under William Cockran, there is little evidence in Settee's subsequent career as a catechist, teacher, and clergyman that he accepted his mentor's low assessment of his fellow natives or his conviction that conversion to Christianity required the total abandonment of one's native identity and reconstruction as a model Englishman.

British missionaries like Cockran took for granted that the supposed superiority of their civilization would be self-evident to Aboriginal people. Convinced that all human beings were inherently rational, it followed that the natives of the Canadian North West would want to "better" themselves. Initially, British missionaries believed that all that was needed to achieve the conversion and civilization of indigenous peoples was to hold up a mirror in which they could compare their own institutions and beliefs to those of Christianity and a civilized way of life. Since natives simply lacked knowledge of the ways of higher civilization, all that was needed to secure their transformation was proper guidance through preaching, catechesis, schooling, and instruction in such practical arts as farming, spinning, and weaving. The British agents of the CMS were genuinely surprised when natives did not recognize their superiority, immediately embrace their message, and abandon their traditional beliefs and way of life. In a letter to the Secretaries of the CMS, William Cockran warned prospective missionaries to the Canadian North West: "The missionary in

entering his work has too high notions of the human character: he supposes them to be misled by ignorance. To his utter astonishment he finds them wedded to their old customs, and ready to oppose those who propose innovation. This is his daily experience."[21] The frustration that accompanied such resistance simply reinforced the British missionaries' negative views of native society and culture and strengthened their conviction that the natives were doomed to extinction unless they embraced the blessings of Christianity and civilization. British missionaries failed to recognize that natives found their assertions of superiority, expectations of deference, and demands for change simply incompatible with their view of the world.

The resistance encountered by the CMS's British missionaries in Canada's North West added urgency to the efforts to deploy native agents in the field. The attitudes and assumptions that shaped the responses of British workers to native peoples generally also informed their response to, and relationships with, the CMS's native agents, however. British missionaries tended to view native agents as of inferior status and less able to perform the duties and responsibilities required of a worker in the mission field effectively. In 1850, Rev. John Smithurst advised Henry Venn that the prospects of calling forth a cohort of capable and independent native agents in Rupert's Land were not bright. "A native," Smithurst wrote Venn, "does well enough under the guidance of a European but when left to himself sinks into an indolent bitterness and does next to nothing." Smithurst ascribed such behaviour to the "generally unstable" nature of the "Native Character" and warned the CMS that "trusting" a "Congregation to a Native minister must be done with great caution."[22] Such perceptions often led to tensions between British and native agents in the field. Native missionaries often complained that British missionaries and CMS authorities did not treat them with proper consideration or respect. For example, James Settee accepted that his duties often required him to perform manual labour, but he resented British missionaries who treated him like a "common labourer."[23] While serving as a catechist under Rev. Robert Hunter, he complained that he spent much of his time fishing or cutting wood simply to survive "the scarcity of provisions." Because he was expected to "answer for all purposes, teacher, farming, fisherman according to the circumstances of the times," Settee was kept away from what he regarded as his principal duty as a CMS agent – instructing "our Heathen brethren" in "the word of God."[24] Such treatment also affected the standing of indigenous missionaries among their fellow natives. Native

society revered its elders and holy men and treated them with respect. The paternalism and disrespect shown by British missionaries towards native workers in the field raised doubts about their spiritual authority and knowledge and thereby limited their influence among their own people.[25] This was often misinterpreted by the CMS as a sign that natives preferred to be ministered to by British missionaries. Such was the experience of James Settee when he was posted as a teacher at Fort Ellice in the early 1840s. The CMS established the mission in response to a request from the local natives for spiritual guidance. John Smithurst believed that Settee was "well suited to the undertaking" because he was a Cree and would have "many opportunities of saying to them a great deal on the subject of religion."[26] By 1844, however, there were only three native children attending the mission school. William Cockran attributed the failure of the school to the "prejudice" the natives held against Settee. "They suppose," Cockran wrote to the Secretaries of the CMS, "that as Mr. Settee is an Indian it is impossible that he can be so well informed to teach them." "If we are desirous that they should know the white man's religion," Cockran advised the CMS, "we ought to send a white man amongst them, who could teach them it more perfectly."[27] Cockran's assessment of the situation reflects his own high regard for the abilities of British missionaries and his low estimation of the potential of native agents. A more likely explanation for the native's 'prejudice' against Settee and the failure of the school is to be found in the fact that the natives of Fort Ellice were Plains Cree. As a Swampy Cree, Settee spoke a different dialect and did not share ties of ethnic affinity or kinship with the local natives. As well, his humiliating subservience to Smithurst, the menial labour he was constantly called upon to perform, and the CMS's refusal to provide gifts diminished Settee's status among Plains Cree of Fort Ellice.

The different status given to native workers was starkly evident in the discrepancy between the compensation they received compared to that given to the CMS's British missionaries. The CMS provided British catechists in the Canadian North West with an annual base salary of £120, while British clergy received £200. In addition, British agents of the society received paid furloughs, pensions, extra supplements if they were married and had children, and access to free education for their children at the CMS school in England. Generally speaking, the CMS's native agents received a "usual" stipend that was half that to its British personnel; they were rarely provided with paid leaves, pensions, or extra allowances to support children or assist with their education.[28] The CMS

argued that these differences in stipends and benefits were justified on the grounds that once a mission was "euthanized" and became a Native church, its personnel must be compensated at a level that local members could sustain; it was further reasoned that native agents should not be remunerated as much as its British missionaries because it would place them too far above the natives among whom they ministered and create a barrier to effective evangelization.[29] James Settee often complained about such injustice and expressed frustration with the "scarcity" of supplies provided to support his family and work in the mission field.[30] Settee observed that teachers sent out from England would not "content themselves on those terms." Dispirited by such treatment, Settee and several other native catechists notified the CMS in 1846 that they were ready "to give notices."[31] Settee also resented the close supervision and control that CMS officials and British missionaries exercised over his work. Notions of superiority and continuing doubts about the abilities of its native agents ensured that the CMS always placed workers such as Settee under the authority of a British missionary. Even though men from Britain were often less experienced and ill suited to work in the Canadian North West, it was unthinkable to the CMS that they should be placed under the direction of a more capable (but less formally educated) native already in the field.[32] Settee's exasperation with such paternalism explains, in part at least, his preference for the freedom that came with itinerant work.

James Settee considered all native peoples as "bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh," and he brought a degree of empathy and understanding that was rarely evident among his British counterparts in the CMS.[33] While Settee had no doubt that the native peoples of the North West needed to be provided with the saving message of Christianity and rescued from their "dark ways," his attitude towards them and his approach to evangelization differed significantly from the British missionaries he served alongside in the mission field.[34] Settee brought to his work an understanding and appreciation of native culture and society that greatly facilitated his work. Unlike the British missionaries with whom he worked, he did not reject all aspects of native society and culture, nor did he uncritically extol the virtues of European civilization. Indeed, Settee was often critical of what he witnessed among European traders and settlers. He lamented their greed and selfishness, denounced their immorality and use of alcohol, and chastised their lack of consideration for others.[35] For Settee, traders and settlers were often poor examples of Christians, a fact that was readily

pointed out by the natives among whom Settee evangelized. Always patient, slow to judge, and tenaciously persistent, Settee had a capacity to develop lasting relationships, even among those who opposed his message – a matter of some concern to his CMS superiors and British co-workers. While Settee accepted that the Cree and Ojibwa among whom he worked needed to adapt to the forces that were transforming the North West, he insisted that such change must be gradual and selective. For Settee, accepting Christianity and adopting aspects of European lifestyles that were conducive to native well-being did not mean that one had to reject one's native identity entirely. Settee sought to create an independent Native Church that would not only help indigenous peoples to adjust to change, but would also serve to maintain their language, distinctiveness, and interests in the face of European settlement and development.[36] The end result, Settee hoped, would be a new indigeneity that was Christian centred. Settee's empathy and advocacy allowed him to find acceptance and to make inroads where his British counterparts found mostly rejection and frustration.

Convinced of the superiority of western civilization, British missionaries assumed that all they would have to do in order to Christianize and 'civilize' native peoples would be to point out to them the inferiority of their traditional practices and beliefs and then provide the required instruction for their transformation. The most efficient means to achieve this end, the CMS's British agents believed, was to target native leaders who would then direct their subjects to follow their example. Given their assumptions about their own status and position, British missionaries expected that they would be well received by native chiefs who would then direct their people to follow their instructions. Such an approach reflected an ignorance of native concepts of leadership and authority and the relatively egalitarian structure of native society. The authority of chiefs was non-coercive and persuasive and did not include the hierarchical chains of command and obedience to which Europeans were accustomed.[37] Without the support of the group, the chief had little if any power.[38] Unlike his British counterparts, James Settee understood the nature of leadership within native society. He appreciated that his standing among the natives was predicated upon his ability to earn their trust and respect and to persuade them of the truth of his message rather than any claims to superiority based on the presumed status or authority of his position. For Settee, the most important part of his work was to establish relationships. Whenever Settee visited his fellow natives, he

entered their realm as an equal and did not make any claims to special authority or demands for special treatment. Upon visiting a village or camp for the first time, he honoured native traditions of hospitality and respect and sat down with the local chief and elders around the fire, offered them a gift of tobacco, explained who he was and why he was there, and requested permission to call upon members of the community. Among his own people, the Swampy Cree, Settee usually received a hospitable reception. While the chief and elders sometimes raised objections to the 'white man's religion' and asserted the validity of their own beliefs and practices, they usually acknowledged Settee's right to visit and be heard and the freedom of others to make their own decisions.

Typical was a visit Settee made to Beren's River in June 1856. When he arrived at the fort, Settee went "from tent to tent, speaking with every heathen on the truth of the Christian religion." That evening he "sent the calumet and tobacco" to the native camp he intended to visit and word that he had "a message to deliver from the King of kings and Lord of Lords."[39] When Settee arrived at the camp the next day, he met with the chief and elders and shared a meal with them before addressing the people "on the plan of salvation for nearly two hours." Settee recorded in his journal that the people listened intently and "every eye was directed to me." When he finished speaking, Settee "called upon the old men to say what they had to say." Settee appreciated that within Cree culture it was important to allow others, especially elders, to respond and to be heard. Such an approach confounded British missionaries who believed their role was simply to bring natives the saving Word of God and that the role of native proselytes was simply to receive God's Word. The first speaker expressed his approval of Settee's message and promised to become a "praying man." Settee noted in his journal that, "the rest of the old men consented to become Christians and give their children for instruction" if "our society sends a teacher to Beren's River."[40] During this visit, Settee also met with a disciple of a prophet who claimed that "god spoke to him from heaven, and told him the changes that would take place among the Indian family." The prophet had claimed that "god would rain down heaven cloth, cotton, lead and iron, tea, gold and silver and make the Indians richer than the white man" and that "the white man will beg his bread from the Indian." Settee proceeded to correct the disciple by explaining that God would not send down cloth and iron and food from heaven, but that "God would send down his Holy Spirit to us and enlighten our dark minds that we might see the exceeding value and true in Christian

religion." According to Settee, the disciple confessed before the others that, "he had gone wrong as he had no one to guide him the right way." The key to Settee's effectiveness was his understanding of native rules of hospitality, his appreciation of the egalitarian nature of native society, and his recognition of the importance of the powers of persuasion.

Not all visits were as "satisfactory" as this one to Beren's River, of course.[41] Settee often faced opposition from Cree spiritual leaders and medicine men and from those attached to traditional beliefs.[42] That such professional rivalry should develop between missionaries and natives who both claimed access to the sacred and performed similar functions is hardly surprising. Rather than simply belittle and dismiss such figures as ignorant and superstitious, however, Settee made a point of meeting with them and trying to persuade them of the truth of Christianity. On a subsequent visit to Beren's River, for example, he heard that a medicine man was teaching the effects of different roots. He immediately went to his tent and "spoke to him of the Great Physician of souls telling him that he was the greatest Physician the world ever knew."[43] Later that year he "visited a notorious conjurer" and attempted to convince him "to forsake his dreams" and to convince him that they were "lies" and that "they all came from the Father of lies the devil."[44] Settee's British counterparts tended to write off native spiritual leaders and healers as beyond redemption, avoided direct contact with them, and made every effort to ridicule and discredit them among their band and kinsfolk. While Settee certainly insisted upon the truth of Christianity, rejected the efficacy of traditional native religion, and warned of its evil roots, he operated within native norms of hospitality and recognized that he had to make his case directly through persuasive argument rather than authoritative declarations and dismissive attacks. Settee's approach earned him grudging admiration and respect from some traditional spiritual leaders and healers, a few of whom eventually embraced Christianity. Settee developed a friendship with Spread Wings, for example, an old Cree chief and conjuror at Swan River. The two men met often. Each time Settee tried to convince the old man of the merits of Christianity; each time Spread Wings would listen politely, challenge Settee's assertions, and then promise to go away to think the matter over further. Despite Spread Wings' prevarication and his fondness for alcohol, Settee always made time for him, treating Spread Wings and his family with kindness.[45] Occasionally Settee's persistence paid off. On 23 November 1855, he baptized Sahwayas, "the greatest conjuror in this quarter," and his whole family. After numerous encounters, Settee

recorded in his journal that "the power of the gospel" had finally "reached his heart." "He could no longer resist it," Settee observed, "and he came forward and boldly confessed his faith in the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ."[46]

Settee had a more difficult time among the Ojibwa or Saulteaux with whom he did not share the same linguistic and ethnic affinity. He often complained that the "prejudice of the Saulteaux to the Christian religion is a great hindrance" and that they delighted to argue and to disrupt his addresses whenever they could.[47] Even among the Saulteaux, however, once Settee had made contact with particular individuals and families he made it a habit to call on them frequently, always bringing a gift, usually of tobacco or game, sitting down with them to smoke, drink tea, and gossip before sharing the Gospel message.[48] These visits were never rushed and he always took the time to answer questions and listen to objections. Through such perseverance and reciprocity Settee established a network of lasting relationships, some of which eventually led to an acceptance of Christianity. Because of Settee's indefatigable patience and persistence, he was often referred to as "the pest" or "the man who talks too much" by the natives among whom he laboured.[49] There is every indication that these were names of affection more than derision and that many natives admired his commitment.

Settee's acceptance by the natives among whom he ministered owed a great deal to his appreciation of the system of generosity and reciprocity that governed personal and communal relations in native society. While Europeans stressed the individual accumulation of property, status was gained in native society by sharing and providing mutual assistance. The giving of gifts was an essential feature of social relations in native society. Natives expected the same sharing and reciprocity of the missionaries as they did of any ally, trading partner, or member of their extended family. Just as one should provide for one's children, share with one's family, and support one's needy relations, missionaries were expected to provide gifts as a sign of affinity with and attachment to the people they wished to evangelize. Not to do so would be regarded as highly anti-social and an act of bad faith.[50] British missionaries interpreted the native's expectation of gifts as 'begging' and dismissed it as an unseemly part of aboriginal nature.[51] Much to consternation of CMS authorities, Settee was always ready to share what he had with the Christian and non-Christian natives whom he encountered and to come to the aid of those in need. This was not a one-way process. Settee was often the recipient of gifts of food,

labour and transportation from his fellow natives, a sure sign that he had successfully integrated himself within a network of traditional relationships.[52]

By honouring the norms and expectations of his native culture, Settee often found himself "embarrassed with debts" and forced to appeal to his superiors for more resources.[53] These appeals were usually refused. Even worse, his requests seemed to confirm already existing assumptions about inherent weaknesses within the native character and doubts that native agents possessed the basic abilities required to carry out their "spiritual and temporal" work successfully.[54] Because native missionaries were often regarded as improvident by CMS and Diocesan authorities, the Diocese of Rupert's Land resolved in 1860 that "it not receive any order for supplies from a native labourer, unless countersigned by the European missy. in charge of the District."[55] Such regulations seriously hampered the missionary efforts of the society's native agents. Unable to purchase necessary supplies as needed and forced to submit requests to British superiors for approval, native missionaries like Settee suffered not only from a loss of status and authority, but also found their ability to respond to particular situations and to take initiative greatly hindered. Such policies reflected a profound ignorance of the importance of gift giving and exchange in establishing and maintaining relationships with indigenous society and thus greatly hampered the work of native missionaries.

The most important relationship among aboriginal peoples was the extended family. All members of the extended family had important roles to play to ensure the survival of the group. These roles were grounded in the conviction that kin should provide for one another.[56] In times of need or crisis, persons unrelated by blood or marriage would be incorporated into the family. The effectiveness of missions thus depended to a considerable degree on the ability of a missionary to be accepted as part of the extended family. James Settee's familiarity with aboriginal notions of family served him well in the mission field. While serving as a catechist at Fort Ellice in October 1842, for instance, Settee travelled to the Cree living at Beaver Creek and announced to the chief his intention to share "the knowledge of the True God" with his people. The chief welcomed Settee but cautioned him that: "My children shall be taught to read and write but not baptized, when they have learned to read and to understand this new religion they will know how to act for themselves." Settee readily accepted these terms and proceeded to tell the chief that he had gone to school with a local Cree boy, Joseph Harbidge, who had died while at the

CMS school at Red River. "I come to you," Settee stated, "in his stead, to be the son of the person, who lost his child." Harbidge's father was present and immediately adopted Settee. "You are one of us," the chief exclaimed, "and you shall go and winter with us, and when you return to your praying father, he shall not be ashamed of you, for you shall have a good horse to ride upon."[57] To be made a member of the extended family, one had to demonstrate that one could contribute to its well-being and would not be a burden. Because Settee knew how to survive on the land and was willing to share his resources, many bands welcomed Settee into their extended family. Few British missionaries could claim the same level of acceptance.

Settee made effective use of his native background and familiarity with aboriginal languages, cultures, and worldview to present Christianity in ways that were accessible and applicable to the indigenous peoples he served. British missionaries often struggled to make Christian concepts and ideas comprehensible and relevant. Convinced that God's Word would act on their souls, British missionaries felt little need to explain Biblical passages or engage natives in conversation about the meaning of Christian beliefs and doctrines.[58] Many British missionaries believed that the most effective means of evangelizing natives who had never heard the Word of God before was to stick entirely to the Bible and to read passages of scripture to them verbatim and without comment. James Settee questioned the efficacy of such an approach, given that native proselytes and converts were not familiar with the people, places, and events of the Bible, let alone basic Christian concepts. When meeting with individuals or groups, Settee preferred to give a simple talk about a particular text or theological concept using terms, ideas, and analogies with which natives were familiar and then engage his listeners in conversation. On 8 August 1861, for example, Settee recorded in his journal that he had a long conversation with Young Thunder and some other natives at Fort Perry about the story of flood in the Bible. He noted that "the Indian has a long tradition of this flood and it is remarkable that in many points it agrees with the sacred word of the bible." After reading the account of the flood in Genesis, Settee used his knowledge of the Cree story to point out similarities and differences and to teach the natives about the "the coming Judgment which will be far more awful and terrible than those before mentioned and that all unbelievers and those that hate God shall be confounded and tremble with great fear. But all good Christian Indians and white men shall rejoice of the coming of their saviour and God." After this explanation, Settee observed that Young Thunder and the others "said that they believed what

they had heard from the Word of God."[59]

The CMS regarded the education of native children as essential to the type of transformation they sought to affect in the Canadian North West. Native children were widely regarded by British missionaries as wayward, undisciplined, and in desperate need of direction and instruction in the values of both Christianity and "civilization." By educating native children, the CMS also hoped to reach their parents and to accelerate the emergence of a new order in the North West. The curriculum offered at mission schools included not only instruction in the Gospel, but also skills which would benefit them in "civilized" society. Boys were to be instructed in farming and husbandry and girls in the domestic arts. James Settee believed in the importance of educating native children; he largely rejected, however, the model of education adopted by British missionaries and its emphasis on corporal punishment, order, regularity, and discipline. Such practices were foreign to him as a native. Within native society, education did not take place within a formal setting in specific blocks of time, but rather it occurred within the extended family on a continual basis. The games children played were modelled after the life, customs, and values of the community. The stories told by elders were an integral part of the educational process and taught moral behaviour and spiritual values. Children often learned by imitating the activities carried out by adults. Rather than resorting to physical punishment, native children were shamed into proper behaviour, but without breaking the child's spirit in the process.[60] The aboriginal approach to education frustrated British missionaries. William Cockran complained that, "Indian customs and habits are all at variance with the injunction 'bring up a child in the way he should go.'" As a result, he found the native children he was supposed to teach were "of a roving disposition," averse "to close application, either in study or work," and "impatient of restraint."[61] Given the different attitudes toward children and approaches to education, it is not surprising that many natives proved hesitant to surrender their children to CMS missionaries. In an 1838 report on the state of education in the Canadian North West, David Jones and William Cockran lamented that, "We have not found, among the people generally, that avidity to avail themselves of the means of instruction of their children which we could have wished."[62] Natives appeared more willing to send their children to mission schools with native teachers. James Settee's approach to education was more flexible than that of the British missionaries. He eschewed rigid routine and repetition and varied the school day depending on the weather, the

availability of game, and the movements of the band. He appreciated the importance of traditional knowledge and incorporated hunting and fishing skills into the instruction he provided. He adopted the techniques of native storytelling to teach stories from the Bible. He stressed co-operation rather than competition in the classroom and never resorted to corporal punishment to discipline students. Settee's patience and kindness earned him the admiration of his students and their bands, if not the number of converts he desired.

Settee showed a similar pragmatism in his attitude towards agriculture. The CMS believed that natives needed to be taught agriculture as soon as possible so that they could abandon their nomadic lifestyle and be fixed upon a private plot of land which they would work to provide for their individual family needs. While the CMS regarded the expeditious introduction of agriculture as essential to establishing industry, private property, western conceptions of time, individualism, and proper gender relations among native peoples, Settee recognized a number of serious shortcomings in the plan. Not only were many areas not suitable to farming, but the importance Europeans attached to private ownership and residence upon an enclosed piece of property that one worked to sustain oneself also conflicted with native notions of freedom, the collective title to and use of the commons, and the sharing of the fruits of one's labour with one's band. Such sweeping changes could not be introduced overnight without destroying the very foundations of native society. Settee thus introduced agricultural selectively and gradually, believing that, in time, farming could contribute to the revitalization of native society. When he felt it appropriate, he suggested that natives plant a few potatoes or other crops to supplement their traditional diet and compensate for the decline of game or the fishery. While Settee always planted a garden at whatever mission station or school he served, he preferred the freedom that came with an itinerant ministry and took great satisfaction from fishing and hunting and living off the land. Settee's attachment to the land is evident in the many passages found in his journals that speak eloquently of the beauty and sacredness of nature. In one such passage, Settee wrote: "The sun rose beautiful; the birds began to sing sweet and harmonious notes; the waves murmured gently on the sand beach . . . and all nature appeared happy."[63] Unlike most of the British missionaries with whom he worked, however, Settee showed a remarkable openness to and understanding of the culture, traditions, and life ways of the people among whom he ministered.

While the CMS deliberately recruited and trained native agents because of their familiarity with the culture and life-ways of indigenous peoples, this very knowledge was often a source of suspicion and discord. Rev. Abraham Cowley, for example, complained that native missionaries were too comfortable in "the Indian mode of speaking" and too tolerant of habits that violated Victorian notions of propriety.[64] In 1851, Rev. Robert Hunt informed the Secretaries of the CMS that he had "uncovered a stink of moral pollution" at the Stanley mission school where James Settee and his wife, Sally, served as teachers and catechists.[65] Hunt claimed that the students at the school were engaged in a variety of sexual "abominations" that arose "from the indiscriminate manner in which both sexes, married and single, old & young have been accustomed to live together in crowded tents"[66] Hunt blamed the Settees for the moral impropriety he found rampant among the students at the school. "Constant residence among the Indians and familiarity with heathen practices," Hunt concluded, "had slanted the moral feelings of Mr. and Mrs. Settee."[67] Hunt charged that the Settees had done little to "introduce a new state of things" because they were either resigned to such behaviour or unwilling to cause offense by making it an issue.[68] Prior to his ordination, Hunt cautioned the CMS that Settee "has not the moral sense, or moral courage necessary for the oversight of persons or property, or to raise the moral tone of a community of Indians by firmly and constantly as well as kindly opposing moral wrong or pecuniary injury done to the Society."[69] The Settees, however, charged that Hunt failed to understand native culture and customs and that the actions that caused him such concern needed to be handled in a way that was sensitive to native feelings and practice. Hunt's solution was to expel offenders from the school, supervise and control students more "efficiently," separate the sexes, and chastise native parents and elders. The Settees appreciated that in Cree society, sexual experimentation among youth before marriage was common. Only patient and persistent instruction, example, and the use of the traditional Cree disciplinary practices, such as shame, could change such behaviour, rather than the harsh measures advocated by Hunt. Appalled by his lack of tact and sensitivity, Sally Settee confronted Hunt, denied his "authority in this matter" and advised native women "not to attend Mrs. Hunt's class for spiritual instruction."[70] Despite Hunt's warnings, Bishop David Anderson proceeded with James Settee's ordination. He explained to Henry Venn that he found Settee to be "active," "zealous," "earnest," and "a favourite with his countrymen."[71]

It is significant that Robert Hunt did not attribute what he perceived to be the immorality of the students at the Stanley Mission School to James Settee alone, but also blamed his wife, Sally. Hunt's criticism of the Settees was based on the Protestant ideal of the godly family. For British missionaries like Hunt, the godly family was based on specific gender relations. In the godly family, the husband had complete authority over his wife and children. The ideal wife was unselfish, modest, industrious, even-tempered, and submissive.[72] To CMS authorities, Sally Settee did not possess the qualities associated with the ideal wife. She was often described as obstinate, domineering, and intemperate and thus incapable of fulfilling her duties as a missionary wife and the keeper of a godly home.[73] In a letter to the CMS in 1863, Rev. William Stagg observed that, "Poor Mr. Settee is a good Christian man . . . but his family are a great hindrance to him in his work. His wife is not in subjection and his sons are not steady."[74] Archdeacon J.A. Mackay concurred and suggested that Settee's "deficiency in the ability to rule his own house" rendered his work for the CMS "a total failure."[75] The Bishop of Rupert's Land, David Anderson, became so frustrated with Sally Settee's tendency to "deny" the "authority" of the CMS and the diocese that he considered suspending James Settee unless he divorced his "quarrelsome" and "worthless" wife.[76] The understanding of family and gender relations conveyed by British missionaries was very different from the understanding native peoples had of themselves and their relationships with their spouses.[77] As a Swampy Cree, James Settee appreciated the important contributions that women made within the native subsistence economy as gatherers, small game hunters, and finishers of furs. He acknowledged the traditional autonomy that native women enjoyed, particularly within the family where many decisions effecting daily life and the future were made. He regarded his wife as someone to be consulted with and not dictated too. James Settee's status as a man, moreover, did not depend on European notions of patriarchal authority, but rather derived from his ability to support his family, share generously with others, and persuade through example.[78]

CMS authorities doubted the ability of native wives, such as Sally Settee, to make a significant contribution to work of evangelization. Derek Strong Whitehouse has concluded that attitudes about gender and race placed Native women "in doubly subordinate positions" and constrained the roles and activities that were open to them in the proselytization of Christianity.[79] James Settee, however, regarded his wife as a partner who made an essential contribution to both the welfare of his family and the

work of the mission. Sally Settee assumed an active role in teaching at mission schools alongside her husband, led Sunday school classes, catechized native girls and women, conducted mother's meetings, cared for the sick, and frequently managed the mission while her husband was away. James Settee often acknowledged her many contributions to the work of the mission in his journals, noting especially her influence among Native women who were "very fond of talking with one who speaks their language."[80] The negative attitudes voiced by British missionaries toward the indigenous wives of its native agents seriously undermined the success of the CMS's Native Church policy. Not only did it threaten to disrupt the family lives of its native missionaries, but it also undermined the Society's efforts to find acceptance within a culture defined by a very different set of gender norms and family relations.

Although the Native Church policy committed the CMS to establishing indigenous Churches that were self-governing, self-sufficient, and self-propagating, its treatment of its native agents in Canada's North West ensured that this objective was never achieved. Placed under the supervision of British missionaries who questioned their skills and suitability, native workers such as Settee were constrained in their ability to exercise autonomy or leadership in the mission field. The poor treatment of Settee and other native agents by the CMS, moreover, did not commend mission work to many Christian converts, precluding the creation of self-propagating Native church. The inroads that the CMS hoped to make among the indigenous peoples of northwest British North America by the use of native catechists, teachers, and clergy were seriously impeded by the social and racial assumptions that informed the objectives of the CMS and the worldview of its British agents. Convinced of their own superiority and the righteousness of their cause, the representatives of the CMS refused to adjust their policies and tactics to better reflect local conditions or to defer to the superior knowledge of indigenous culture and society possessed by native workers in the mission field. Such attitudes undermined the effectiveness of workers like Settee and limited the prospects of creating a native church. By the 1870s, as the number of settlers arriving in Rupert's Land grew and the pace of change transforming the North West increased, CMS officials and local church authorities essentially abandoned the Native Church policy.[81] Natives were now to be subsumed within a settler-dominated church. The natives affiliated with that church, however, were largely a result of the efforts of native workers such as Settee to whom they remained closely attached. When Chief

Henry Press and the Council of St. Peter's Reserve learned of plans to remove Settee from the mission at Netley Creek in 1877, they wrote to Archdeacon Abraham Cowley to voice their "regret" at losing his "services." The Chief and Council insisted that "we cannot spare to lose him" and it would be "impossible" to find anyone who has "laboured" more faithfully "among our race."[82] While men such as Settee enjoyed a measure of success, opposition to Anglo-Canadian missionaries remained high. In 1871, James Settee reported to the CMS that, "the Indian tribes in general were always under the impression that the foreign were usurpers and destroyers of their race and Country." "Your committee," Settee continued, "knew that this spirit by the Indians would stand against their Missionaries, & such has been the case." Settee acknowledged that he had "had heaps of these reproaches made to me by my countrymen" over the years.[83] By retaining much of his native identity,[84] demonstrating a sensitivity to indigenous society and a willingness to accommodate indigenous ways, Settee contributed to the establishment of a community of native Anglican Christians in north western British North America – a community that is now largely served by its own priests and bishops and only recently has come to resemble the self-governing, self-sustaining, and self-propagating native church originally envisioned by the CMS.

Endnotes

1. There is not a single study of the life and career of James Settee. There are, however, several studies of Henry Budd. See Tolly Bradford, *Prophetic Identities: Indigenous Missionaries on British Colonial Frontiers, 1850*-75 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2012); Frank Peake, "Henry Budd and his Colleagues," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical* Society 33, no. 1 (April 1991): 23-39; Katherine Pettipas, *The Diary of the Reverend Henry Budd, 1870-1875* (Winnipeg: Hignell, 1974); Katherine Pettipas, '"The Praying Chief': Reverend Henry Budd," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 33, no. 1 (April 1991): 41-50; and George van der Goes Ladd, "'Going-up-the-Hill: The Journey of Henry Budd," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 33, no. 1 (April 1991): 7-22.

2. Canon Bertal Heeney, ed., *Leaders of the Canadian Church* (Toronto: Musson, 1920), 2:69-70.

3. Heeney, *Leaders of the Canadian Church*, 2:75, 2:77-78.

4. Historians have examined the lives and work of several other native and country-born agents of the CMS in the Canadian North West. See John S. Long, "Archdeacon Thomas Vincent of Moosenee and the Handicap of 'Metis' Racial Status," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 3, no. 1 (1983): 95-116; Frank Peake, "Robert Macdonald (1892-1913): The Great Unknown Missionary of the Northwest," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 2, no. 3 (September 1975): 54-70; Winona Wheeler, "The Journals and Voices of a Church of England Native Catechist: Askenootow (Charles Pratt), 1851-1884," in *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*, ed. Jennifer SH. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2003), 237-62. Most recently, Derek Whitehouse-Strong has provided a fine analysis of the CMS's native agents in his doctoral dissertation, "'Because I Happen to Be a Native Clergyman': The Impact of Race, Ethnicity, Status and Gender on Native Agents of the Church Missionary Society in the Nineteenth Century Canadian North-West" (Ph.D. diss., University of Manitoba, 2004).

5. Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), 1:68.

6. John West, *The Substance of a Journal During a Residence at the Red River Colony* (London: n.p., 1824), 117-8.

7. Settee's original Cree name is not known. He was named James Settee after one of the English clerical friends of David Jones, who baptized him.

8. On Henry Venn's Native Church policy see Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), 1:482-3; Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 153-68; and C. Peter Williams, *The Ideal of a the Self-Governing Church: A Study in Victorian Missionary Strategy* (Leiden: Brill, 1990), chapter 1.

9. *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, 22 August 1849, Church Missionary Society Archives, University of Birmingham (hereafter CMSA).

10. Bishop of Rupert's Land to Henry Venn, 13 June 1853 (A79), C.1/M.5, CMSA.

11. Report of the Synod of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, 2 May 1883, Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land Archives, Winnipeg (hereafter EPRL).

12. William Cockran to CMS Secretaries, 6 August 1840 (A78), C.1/M.2, CMSA.

13. Journal of James Settee, 17 July 1854, CMSA.

14. James Settee Journal, 15 March 1875, C1/O, CMSA.

15. William Cockran to CMS Secretaries, 8 July 1836, A77, CMSA.
16. Journal of William Cockran, 5 August 1861, A85, CMSA.
17. William Cockran to Henry Venn, 12 December 1851, A79, CMSA.
18. William Cockran to CMS Secretaries, 5 October 1835, A77, CMSA.
19. William Cockran to CMS Secretaries, 24 July 1834, A77, CMSA.
20. William Cockran to CMS Secretaries, 4 August 1838, A78, CMSA.
21. William Cockran to Secretaries of the CMS, 7 August 1839, A78, CMSA.
22. John Smithurst to Henry Venn, 6 August 1850, (A76) C.1/M.4, CMSA.
23. William Cockran to R. Davies, 5 August 1846, C.1/M.4, CMSA.
24. James Settee to James Cook, 4 June 1846, C.1/M.4, CMSA.
25. Bishop of Rupert's Land to Henry Venn, 22 November 1849 (A79), C.1/M.4, CMSA.
26. John Smithurst, Report on Fort Ellice, 1 August 1843 (A78) C.1/M.3, CMSA.
27. William Cockran to Secretaries of the CMS, 30 July 1844 (A78) C.1/M.3, CMSA.
28. Whitehouse-Strong, "The Impact of Race, Ethnicity, Status and Gender on Native Agents of the Church Missionary Society in the Nineteenth Century Canadian North-West," 179-80.
29. Whitehouse-Strong, "The Impact of Race, Ethnicity, Status and Gender on Native Agents of the Church Missionary Society in the Nineteenth Century Canadian North-West," 181-2.
30. James Settee to James Cook, 4 June 1846 (A78) C.1/M.4, CMSA.
31. James Settee to James Cook, 4 June 1846 (A78) C.1/M.4, CMSA.
32. Frits Pannekoek, *A Snug Little Flock: The Social Origins of the Riel Resistance, 1869-70* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1991), 122.
33. James Settee Journal, 15 March 1875, A101 C.1/O, CMSA.
34. James Settee Journal, 18 July 1854, CMSA.
35. See, for example, James Settee Journal, 26 December 1854; 25 January 1855, CMSA.

36. During the treaty-making process of the 1870s, Settee frequently advocated for the native communities among whom he lived. See, for example, Chief Henry Prince and his Council to the Venerable Archdeacon Cowley, 4 August 1877, (A102) C.1/O, CMSA.

37. On Cree notions of leadership and authority see Victor P. Lytwyn, *Muskekowuck Athinuwick: Original People of the Great Swampy Land* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2002), chapter 1.

38. Rupert Ross, *Dancing with a Ghost: Exploring Indian Reality* (Markham: Reed Books, 1992), 57-58.

39. James Settee Journal, 13 June 1856, CMSA.

40. James Settee Journal, 14 June 1856, CMSA.

41. James Settee Journal, 14 June 1856, CMSA.

42. See, for example, James Settee Journal, 9 September 1855, CMSA.

43. James Settee Journal, 31 August 1856, CMSA.

44. James Settee Journal, 17 December 1856, CMSA.

45. James Settee Journal, 18 August 1855, 20-22 August 1855; 26 August 1855; 26 September 1855; 7 May 1856, CMSA.

46. James Settee Journal, 23 November 1855, CMSA.

47. See, for example, James Settee Journal, 13 April, 1855; 25 May 1855, CMSA.

48. See, for example, James Settee Journal, 13 June 1855; 10 July 1855; 30 July 1855; 12 September 1855, CMSA.

49. James Settee Journal, 22 June 1861, CMSA.

50. On the meaning and significance of gift giving among the Cree and Ojibwa of the Canadian northwest see Lytwyn, *Muskekowuck Athinuwick*, chapter 1; Jennifer S.H. Brown and Robert Brightman, *The Orders of the Dreamed: George Nelson on Cree and Northern Ojibwa Religion and Myth, 1823* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1988), 195-6; and Laura Peers, *The Ojibwa of Western Canada, 1780 to 1870* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1994), 34-42.

51. William Cockran to the Secretaries of the CMS, 24 July 1834, A77, CMSA.

52. See, for example, James Settee Journal, 24 July 1852; 25 July 1852; 7 August 1852, CMSA.

53. James Settee to C. C. Fenn, 8 February 1877, (A102) C.1/O, CMSA.

54. John Smithurst to Henry Venn, 6 August 1850, C.1/M.4, CMSA.

55. Minutes of a Meeting of the Corresponding Committee of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, 10 January 1860, C.1/M6, CMSA

56. Lytwyn, *Muskekowuck Athinuwick*, chapter 1.

57. William Cockran to the Secretaries of the CMS, 7 January 1843, C.1/M.5, CMSA.

58. Journal of C. Hillyer, 30 September 1853, C.1/O, CMSA.

59. Journal of James Settee, 8 August 1861, CMSA.

60. On education in native society see J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 15-48.

61. William Cockran Journal, 16 March 1838, A78, CMSA.

62. Report of the State of Religion, Morality and Education at the Red River Settlement and Grand Rapids, 1835, by the Revs. Jones and Cockran, A77, CMSA.

63. James Settee Journal, 18 July 1854, CMSA.

64. Abraham Cowley to C.C. Fenn, 28 April 1885, C.1/O.2, CMSA.

65. Robert Hunt to the Secretaries of the CMS, 5 June 1851, C1/O, CMSA.

66. Journal of Robert Hunt, 16 January 1851, C.1/O, CMSA.

67. Robert Hunt to the Secretaries of the CMS, 5 June 1851, C.1/O, CMSA.

68. Robert Hunt to Joseph Ridgeman, November 1851, C.1/O, CMSA.

69. Robert Hunt to Major H. Straight, 23 November 1852, C.1/M.5, CMSA.

70. Robert Hunt to the Secretaries of the CMS, 5 June 1851, C.1/O, CMSA.

71. David Anderson to Henry Venn, 28 December 1853. C1/M.5, CMSA.

72. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 114-8.

73. See, for example, Robert Hunt Diary, 31 December 1850, EPRL.

74. W. Stagg to the CMS Secretary, 24 October 1863, (A102), C.1/O, CMSA.

75. J. A. Mackay to the CMS Secretary, 25 June 1877, (A102), C.1/O, CMSA.

76. Bishop of Rupert's Land to C. C. Fenn, 17 December 1870, (A80) C.1/M8, CMSA.

77. Sarah Carter, "Categories and Terrains of Exclusion: Constructing the 'Indian Woman' in the Early Settlement Era in Western Canada," in *Gender and History in Canada*, eds. Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1996), 30-45,

78. See Elizabeth Vibert, "Real Men Hunt Buffalo: Masculinity, Race and Class in British Fur Traders' Narratives" in *Gender and History in Canada*, 50-62.

79. Strong-Whitehouse, "The Impact of Race, Ethnicity, Status and Gender on Native Agents of the Church Missionary Society in the Nineteenth Century Canadian North-West," 269.

80. Journal of the Rev. James Settee, 20 October 1861, (A95) C.1/O, CMSA.

81. On the failure of the CMS's Native Church policy see Ian A. L. Getty, "The Failure of the Native Church Policy of the CMS in the North-West," in *Canadian Plains Studies 3: Religion and Society in the Prairie West*, ed. Richard Allen (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1974), 19-34.

82. Chief Henry Prince and his Council to Venerable Archdeacon Cowley, 4 August 1877, (A102) C.1/O, CMSA.

83. Annual Letter of Rev. James Settee, 24 November 1871, (A102) C.1/O, CMSA.

84. Evidence of the persistence of Settee's Cree identity is to be found in a manuscript prepared towards the end of his life that vividly describes a feast held in his youth. See Jennifer S. H. Brown, "James Settee and his Cree Tradition: An Indian Camp at the Mouth of Nelson River Hudson Bay," Actes du 8e Congrès des Algonquinistes (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1977), 36-39.