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Ideology, Identity, and a New Role in World War Two: A Case Study of the Canadian Missionary Dr. Richard Brown in China, 1938-1939[1]

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Canadian churches began to send their organized, large-scale, and financially supported missionaries to China in the late 1880s.[2] Even though that was later than most Western countries, from the peak time in 1920s to the great retreat in late 1940s the number of Canadian missionaries in China was ranked only next to the ones of America and British origins.[3] The missionaries' activities reached almost all of China. They accomplished some major projects, such as the creation of Christian universities, middle schools, hospitals, and churches.[4] In missionary fields such as Taiwan, Henan, and Sichuan, the recognizable identity of Canada as a nation and the identities of denominational churches and famous missionaries gave the various Canadian missionary groups a role in influencing Canadian-Chinese relations.[5]

Before official diplomatic relations were established in 1942 between the Republic of China and Canada, missionaries were the main Canadian residential population in China and the main envoys among peoples and the two nations. Generally speaking, for a changing world system in the modern age of overseas expansion, missionaries played roles as "advance agents" of imperialism or the "brokers of a global cultural exchange" by contributing to the modernization process of host countries.[6] Then "Christianization" became Western countries' ideology and the motivation of their foreign policy-makers and missionaries for overseas expansion. Christian progressivism and pacifism, in some degree, stimulated Western soldiers, missionaries, diplomats, and traders in

foreign policy making and international relations as a "civilizing mandate."[7] As a result, the crusade of modern imperialism used both war and Christian mission as instruments for international expansion and power politics. However, the complicated situation of the Second World War changed some missionaries' ideology and actions when they redefined their identity and assumed a new role thanks to their awareness of God's real call. They accordingly changed their mission practice and caused conflicts with their churches. How did the war change the missionaries? How did the missionaries play their new role in China's Second World War? In the Canadian case, did the missionaries sent to China expect to do one thing, but end up doing something quite different because of the changing nature of the war in their new country? Did the war create a situation that revolutionized how missionaries viewed their calling and even their understanding of China as a "mission field"? What did the missionaries contribute to the international war and to the relations between the Chinese people and the Japanese invaders?

This essay explores how the Canadian missionaries were influenced by the military crisis of 1938-39, before the large-scale international support appeared for China's resistance to the Japanese invasion, which happened only after the attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941. By concentrating on the case of the Anglican missionary doctor Richard Brown (1898-1963), the so-called "unsung Canadian hero" of the Chinese battlefield,[8] this paper analyzes how one minister changed his approach to mission as a result of the war in his mission field. It examines how Brown developed an understanding of Christian mission as a response to "people's need" and how he acted as a Canadian missionary doctor in the frontline of the North China battlefield. It also looks at how Brown's church reflected a changing notion of mission from 1938 to1939, how he redefined his multiple identities as a Canadian, a missionary, and a doctor in wartime China, and how he influenced Chinese life in a variety of ways. I will first describe the story of Dr. Brown's three-month service in the Border Regions from April to July 1938. Then I will deal with his continuous work to establish the Southeast Shanxi International Peace Hospital in Liaozhou from August 1938 to January 1939. Finally, I will analyze how the circumstances of war changed this Canadian missionary doctor's approach to mission and suggest how his modified understanding of mission enabled him to acquire influence in multiple spheres of Chinese life.

The War Crisis and Brown's Change of Mission Ideology

Kuomintang's Nanking decade, from 1927 to 1937, ended with the start of the Second Sino-Japanese War. After the Kwantung Army manufactured the Mukden Accident on 18 September 1931, the Japanese military created the puppet empire Manchukuo (1932-1945) in northeast China. The Kuomintang Northeastern Army retreated to Xi'an, the capital city of Shaanxi province in the northwestern territory, under the command of Chiang Kai-shek, the president of the Republic of China. Foreign missionaries were compelled by the violence of the Japanese occupation to evacuate to other areas. On 12 December 1936 in Xi'an, Chiang Kai-shek was arrested by the soldiers of Marshall Zhang Xueliang, the former warlord of Manchuria and commander of the Northeastern Army who strongly disagreed with Chiang's policy of withdrawal. A peaceful resolution made the Second United Front between Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) possible in early spring 1937. Later, on 7 July 1937, the Marco Polo Bridge (Lugouqiao) Incident in Beijing signaled the beginning of a full-scale Japanese attack against China's major cities and railways. The Japanese captured the capital city of China, Nanking, on 13 December 1937. Within six weeks the Japanese Army murdered more than 300,000 Chinese civilians and disarmed combatants, raping more than 20,000 women in Nanking and its vicinity.[9] The infamous Nanking Massacre caused international shock and anger.

In April 1937, before the Nanking Massacre, Dr. Richard Brown's wife, Elsa Helen Musiol, a graduate of the Kiel Seminar and a missionary of the German Lutheran Church, and their three children, Rachel, John, and Peter, had moved to the coastal city Qingdao (Tsing Tao), Shandong province, on account of John's "serious prolonged illness." As the British consul "had advised women and children to stay out of the interior China," they settled down there in the hope that a large community of Westerners would provide them with the conveniences of life and that the Japanese military would respect the treaty port's privilege of extraterritoriality after the army's occupation of Qingdao, which happened on 10 January 1938.[10]

In early 1938 the fires of war moved closer to Guide (Kweiteh), Henan, in Central China, where Brown had served as a missionary doctor in an Anglican Hospital, St. Paul's, since 1930. After his graduation from the University of Toronto with a Bachelor of Medicine in 1928, as a new missionary Brown participated in the training program in the Chinese language in Beijing and in the ophthalmic practitioner practice in the

Peking Union Medical College from 1929 to 1930. He received a M.D. degree from the University of Toronto in 1931. In early 1938, as the war dragged on and the enemy came closer, Brown and his colleagues "used to see fires in the fields at night" and "the young men started to leave their farms to join the guerrilla forces fire."[11] The young farmers often came to Brown at the hospital to ask him how they should protect themselves and their families from the hazards of war. He was also informed that, to escape capture by the Japanese, the locally influential Chang family "had finally decided to burn the home of their ancestors and their crops" to avoid them falling into the hand of the Japanese.[12] In this situation, Brown began to reexamine his role as a missionary doctor. Should he remain in Guide after its capture by the Japanese army or should he exert efforts to help the Chinese victims of invasion? He had not decided yet.

In mid-February 1938, to seek an answer, Brown went to Hankou (Hankow), Hubei, to see a dentist, renew his British passport, and transact hospital matters.[13] From Logan H. Roots, the energetic American Episcopalian Bishop of Hankou, and Agnes Smedley, the persuasive Publicity Officer of the Chinese Red Cross who had convinced several foreign correspondents and missionaries to support the Chinese mission fighting the Japanese in northwestern China, Brown was notified that the Eighth Route Army (Balujun) guerrilla forces were fighting the Japanese in an area where qualified doctors and nurses were urgently needed. He also learned that two medical Canadians, Dr. Norman Bethune (Bai Qiuen) and Nurse Jean Ewen (You En), had just passed through Hankou on their way to Yan'an, the administrative center of the CCP. "Influenced by the electrifying atmosphere of Hankow and being in the prime of his life, Brown felt a definite urge to take up the challenge."[14] From Hankou, on 19 February 1938, he wrote to Bishop William Charles White in Toronto to ask for a three-month paid session "as a Christian doctor" working in the "Red Triangle" north of the Yellow River:[15]

> We have had as many as 96 soldiers in hospital, besides many out patients. Kweiteh station and airfield has been bombed and machine gunned, but the cruelest and most horrible one of all was in Cheng-chow [Zhengzhou] just eighteen hours before I arrived. The damage was appalling and estimated at 800-1000 causalities . . .
>
> I have thought a good deal about this and through the Hankow agencies whom I got in touch with have offered my services for three months to render help to the sick and wounded . . .
>
> Mission work under the J[apanese] is finished. I feel the hospital in

> Kweiteh comes under this category and in view of China's great need I do not wish to vegetate in Tsing Tao. I shall try to go on West after Kweiteh falls . . . My point is that if all goes well I shall leave as a Christian doctor working among the sick of the so-called Red Triangle . . .
>
> The need is so great and I hope by my example to influence other Mission doctors to do the same. Poor war wrecked China! If ever she needs friends it is now.
>
> I am not doing this lightly. I feel a definite urge. The Red Cross Society will help me with drugs and equipment.[16]

After mail ballot voting by the members of the Mission Conference of the Diocese of Henan, Reverend Philip Lindel Tsen, the Bishop of Henan who had succeeded Bishop William White in 1934, officially granted Dr. Brown's request.

Once he "received a very urgent call to come to Sian [Xi'an],"[17] on 6 April 1938 Brown left St. Paul's Hospital in Guide for Xi'an. On 8 April Brown informed his wife that "This is a venture of faith as I have only been promised two meals a day, meat twice a week and $2.00 per month. I am the first mission doctor to do this . . . I am sure there are many who envy me my opportunity."[18] Arriving at Xi'an on 10 April 1938, Brown wrote that "everyone envies me my opportunity and even my heart is bubbling with joy and gratitude."[19] He picked up equipment and medicine from the Red Cross Society.

On 13 April 1938 Brown arrived at Yan'an in a League of Nations truck with Dr. Robert B. McClure, another Canadian missionary doctor from the UCC, now the Field Director for the International Red Cross (IRC) in Central and North China. Like Brown, McClure was a graduate of the University of Toronto, spoke fluent Chinese, and was a surgeon. He had been working at the James Menzies Memorial Hospital and operating the Rural Medical System in Huaiqing County, Henan, for the UCC. Now he accepted the IRC job from Dr. James L. Maxwell, the Secretary of the Christian Medical Association in China and the head of a newly established International Red Cross Committee for China Relief. He immediately "recruited Dr. Richard F. Brown as a travelling companion and headed up into Shensi [Shaanxi] province, into Communist territory."[20] In Yan'an, the wartime administrative headquarters of the CCP and the Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Region in northwest China, "they introduced themselves as Canadian missionary doctors come on behalf of the IRC to discuss the problems of getting medical supplies to guerrilla fighters and

to the population in general."[21] They met Chinese Communist leaders and talked to soldiers and students.

Later, while McClure returned to Xi'an, Brown joined Norman Bethune as one of three members of the "Canada-American Medical Unit" to prepare for a trip to the war zones. During their time in Yan'an, one festive occasion allowed Bethune and Brown to get together. When the propaganda department of the communist party sent open-air movie tickets to them and Jean Ewen, they joined the soldiers and peasants on wooden benches in the courthouse grounds. After the show of the Soviet film *Chapiev*, the CCP head Mao Zedong gave a brief speech and announced that two doctors and one nurse had come to help the wounded. The crowd thumped the benches and clapped. One child soldier called out that the doctors should sing a song. Bethune stood up and sang "The Ballad of Joe Hill" while Brown translated the words into Chinese and explained their meaning.[22]

On Monday, 2 May 1938, ten metal containers of medical supplies were loaded onto an Eight Route Army truck. With an escort of twelve fully armed soldiers, Brown and Bethune set out for the frontline in the Jin-Cha-Ji Border Region. As one of two designated Border Regions, Jin-Cha-Ji was an area made up of parts of three provinces: Shanxi, Chahar, and Hebei. As the Eighth Route Army's base area for resisting the Japanese, it was strategically important because its northern boundary was located only fifty kilometers south of Beijing. In order to present a common front against the invading Japanese, the communists were given jurisdiction in the region by the Second United Front agreement approved by the rival CCP and Kuomintang factions in August 1937 after the Xi'an Incident. The size of the Border Region was 130,000 square kilometers with a population of 13,000,000. There were 15,000 troops in the region when the two Canadian doctors arrived.[23]

Born at Gravenhurst, Ontario, in 1890, the son of a Presbyterian minister, Norman Bethune studied medicine at King's College, University of Toronto. He became one of the top specialists in thoracic surgery in the world and "lived his life driven by the journey," "like Ulysses,"[24] to help in fighting the Japanese. In early 1938, thanks to his involvement with the China Aid Council in New York, an international agency providing medical aid to the Chinese soldiers, Bethune traveled to China with the American Dr. Charles Parsons and the Canadian nurse Jean Ewen as part of the Canada-American Medical Unit.

After staying in some hospitals of the Eighth Route Army in Suide,

Mizhi, and Hejiachuan in the Shaan-Gan-Ning Border Region, and taking part in a one-month march, Brown and Bethune arrived at Lanxian (Luan-hsien) in northwestern Shanxi, the headquarters of the 120th Division commanded by General He Long.[25] In early June 1938, the two Canadian doctors met with He Long, took pictures, and developed a friendship. In a letter to Dr. J.L. Maxwell, Brown recorded the medical needs they encountered and their working lives on the journey:

> North-western Shensi [Shanxi], in that territory occupied by the 120 Division of the 8th Route Army, I found 1,400 wounded men in one town alone, and the place absolutely without any medical supplies or surgical equipment. Dr. Norman Bethune, with whom I travelled, and I, equipped the first operating room in that town, but we could afford to leave there only very little of our own inadequate equipment. In northeastern Shansi [Shaanxi], base of another 8th Route Army force and of great partisan armies, there are seven hospital areas. In these areas, many towns and villages were filled with the wounded, altogether over 4,000 both of the 8th Route Army and of their partisans . . . Medical supplies are pitifully small and in some places non-existent. Dr. Bethune and I examined and operated on many wounded.[26]

In a letter written in Lanxian to Agnes Smedley, dated on 6 June 1938, Brown expressed his shock at the poor medical services available on the battlefield and his willingness to do what he could to help:

> We are on the hop from morning to night. Our longest stay in one place is two weeks, but we average 3-4 days.
>
> The whole way is one procession of misery and appalling conditions. Many of the wounded have had no attention at all, and some have been on their dirty beds for months. In one place many soldiers were absolutely naked, verminous all of them, half starved and slowly dying of sepsis. The other day we came across a poor wretch with half of his face shot away, also 2/3rds of his tongue. He cannot swallow and is slowly dying of starvation. What a trial of misery it has been. Routine blood tests on all sick show an average of blood haemoglobin of 70%. It will take over 100 good doctors a full year to help these people; it will take a good deal of money, too. Several soldiers have lost limbs and fingers from frost bites which went on to gangrene. *Something* must be done at once to provide them with clothes and bedding, also to alleviate the distress of the peasants. In one mountain

> 'hospital' were 175 wounded, and not a chicken or even an egg could be purchased within 30 *li*.[27]
>
> The need is great. *Money and doctors*. We leave on our final stage for Wutaishan early tomorrow morning. I plan if possible to return to Hankow and appeal for help, if at all possible to do so, also to Shanghai and Hong Kong . . . the whole road has been a procession of sick and wounded. Already we have done many operations, records are being kept. It is trying to awake every morning with the sick and wounded pulling at your bed clothes, but one gets used to it.
>
> Please, please do all you can to help these poor people, especially the wounded . . .
>
> We have also treated Japanese prisoners of war; in fact we make no discrimination between soldiers of both sides and civilians.[28]

On 7 June 1938, Brown and Bethune headed to the Wutai Mountains area. On 17 June, they arrived at Jin'gangku village, the headquarters of the Jin-Cha-Ji Military Region, where they met the commander, General Nie Rongzhen. Nie invited Bethune to serve as a medical advisor for the Jin-Cha-Ji Military Region. Bethune happily accepted the title, but he asked to work immediately in the frontline. On 18 June 1938, accompanied by Dr. Ye Qingshan, the two Canadian doctors marched to the Jin-Cha-Ji Military Region Base Hospital, which was located at Songyankou village, thirty kilometers away from Jin'gangku. This hospital was better managed than the four in which the two Canadian doctors had previously worked. The 350 wounded and sick persons were housed in Songyankou and its neighboring villages, Hexicun and Hebeicun, less than five kilometers distant.[29] Many soldiers had been wounded ten months before at the Battle of Pingxingguan Pass in late September 1937.[30] Brown and Bethune performed physical examinations on all the patients, ranked cases according to the severity of their wounds, and carried out 110 operations by the time Brown left twenty-five days later.[31] As his three months leave was up, Brown left Songyankou for Xi'an on 13 July. On the day before he left, he did "nine operations, apart from many calls. The operations consisted of the extraction of bullets, shrapnel, and dead bones."[32]

During the three months from 13 April in Yan'an to 13 July at Songyankou in the Border Regions, Brown performed a total of "365 operations."[33] After Brown left, Bethune worked continuously in the mountainous Jin-Cha-Ji Border Region until his death by blood poisoning in a countryside hut hospital on 12 November 1939. He was well known for his high hospital management standards and for his invention of a

mobile medical unit designed specifically to perform blood transfusions on the battlefield and to reduce by about 70% the chances of death facing wounded soldiers on the front. It was said that Bethune could perform surgery anywhere, even in the most dangerous conditions of a war zone, because he created a multifunctional tool box that could be turned into a temporary operating table in addition to its primary use as a storage unit for medical equipment and tools. We do not know how many of Bethune's medical innovations were made thanks to his common experiences and cooperation with Brown during their three months' work together. We do know that Brown had been Bethune's translator and also an independent colleague. We also know that the two Canadian doctors "had lengthy talks particularly at night."[34] Dr. Robert McClure, a close peer, remarked that Brown "did more work than Bethune."[35]

Church Crisis and Brown's Change of Role and Identity

During the war against Japan, four International Peace Hospitals were founded in China by foreign doctors. Canadian doctors Norman Bethune and Richard Brown established two of them in 1938 and 1939.[36] It was during his three months of service with Bethune on the frontline and during a forty-two-day trip from Songyankou to Xi'an with Haldore Hanson, a young American correspondent for the Association Press, that Brown witnessed the miserable situation and poor medical conditions in the Border Regions.[37] He decided he had to raise money and open a new hospital for soldiers and civilians. On 27 August 1938, he sent a letter to Dr. James. L. Maxwell, the Secretary of the IRC Committee of Central China:

> Dr. Bethune is in Wutaishan now, the only qualified doctor in the area . . . From the Wutaishan area I crossed the Chengtai Railway allegedly "controlled" by the Japanese, and connected with the General Headquarters of the 8th Route Army, where I also talked with Generals Chu Teh [Zhu De] and Peng Teh Hwai [Peng Dehuai], Commander and Vice-commander of the 8th Route Army and many Central Government Division[s] in the region south of the Chengtai and east of the Tungpu railways. My journey southward was a long procession of sick and wounded, all of them housed in the homes of the people, who care for them as best they can. Chu Teh informed me that he had had 18,000 casualties in the 8th Route Army since April, in that one region alone. Apart from this, the Japanese burned out

> many towns, including Wusiang, Liao-chow [Liaozhou], Kaoping, Sinchow, etc. inflicting great suffering on the people who are homeless and face a harsh winter.
>
> In view of these facts, I would ask the International Red Cross Committee in Hankow to do all it can to supply drugs, surgical supplies, and money to enable me to open a large hospital for the wounded of the armed forces, the partisans (armed civilians), and also to establish temporary living quarters for the civilians, particularly women and children and the aged. I recommend that a centre be established at Liaochow, in the buildings of the Brethren Mission Hospital, which is now abandoned . . .
>
> I am trying to raise at least $100,000 for immediate relief, and I appeal to the International Red Cross to supply me with at least half of this. I hope to raise the rest outside.[38]

In late August 1938, Brown returned to Kaifeng, the headquarters of the Diocese of Henan, Church of England in Canada, "under the very nose of the Japanese," who occupied much of Henan.[39] He was informed that the North Henan mission had evacuated its territory, its personnel remained at the resort of Jigong Mountains, and few medical facilities remained within the occupied areas.[40] Brown then "found that he had become an outcast." "Still worse," he "was branded as a Communist." He remembered that, "he had been critical of the operations of his hospital at Kweiteh, and had said in a memo that the mission was more concerned with rank and prestige than in ministering to the people." Now "the hostility toward him for working with Bethune meant that there was no other course than to 'part company.'"[41]

As his detailed proposal was soon approved by the IRC in Hankou, in September 1938, Brown's friend John Foster, who was working for IRC as a manager, was asked to use the $50,000 Chinese dollars granted by IRC to purchase equipment and supplies.[42] Brown went to Shanghai and Hong Kong to raise the remaining money in September and October. His friends, American Freda Utley in Shanghai; Ronald Owen Hall, the Anglican Bishop of Hong Kong; and other friends of the China Defence League, also helped his fundraising. Brown reached Chongqing by air from Hong Kong as Hankou had fallen to the Japanese on 25 October. On the morning of 9 November, Brown arrived at Chengdu from Chongqing by air. As a houseguest of the UCC missionary doctors Leslie and Janet Kilborn, Brown played tennis with other Canadian missionaries.[43] On 22 November, Brown informed his wife that he would leave Xi'an for

Southeastern Shanxi within three days.[44] It was about this time or before that Brown also received the MSCC Executive Sub-Committee's decision from Toronto, dated 17 May 1938:

> The Committee further instructs the Secretary to state to the Secretary of the Honan [Henan] Mission the great relief with which the Executive has learned "that Dr. Brown has no official connection with the 8th Route Army or any other Army" and to emphasize the principle that the Mission and Missionaries must be kept absolutely clear from and independent of, military action of any kind whatsoever.[45]

The conflict between the Church's expectations and Brown's Christian commitment concerning the relief of the sufferings of the Chinese people thus led him to leave his missionary doctor post at the St. Paul's Hospital in Guide, Henan, for his goal of setting up an urgently needed hospital in Liaozhou, Shanxi, for wounded soldiers and civilian refugees, even though he planned that "he would let the Chinese themselves run it . . . once it got going."[46] As a result, on 24 November 1938, in Xi'an, Brown wrote a letter of resignation to the missionary society:

> Yet the subcommittee look[s] with "misgivings" etc., but . . . I am firmly of the opinion that this is of a very definite Christian character and is infinitely more preferable to acting as caretaker to a group of buildings which so many missionaries are doing at present . . . After a great deal of thought and study I have been led to make the decision to throw in my lot with my Chinese brothers and sisters. I have been asked and have consented to lead a relief unit again into Shansi and am leaving today. The work is full of hardships and bitter sufferings. I am the only foreigner, and as in the past, I shall eat, live and sleep and share my lot with the Chinese. I go, not as a Communist, to the contrary, very anti-Communist, but definitely as a Christian Doctor armed with the Christian doctrine.[47]

Concerning the criticism of his association with communists, he wrote, "May I remind the sub-committee that China is at war, her very entrails ripped and gushing blood and that this is the time for professing Christians to show a little love to her."[48] "I am leaving today for the Yellow River crossing," he stated, "It is bitterly cold and for the last three days Sian has been incessantly and brutally bombed."[49]

With medical equipment and supplies provided by the IRC manager John Foster, Brown arrived at Liaozhou in late December 1938.[50] By early January 1939, the Southeast Shansi International Peace Hospital was established in some brick buildings in the abandoned Brethren Mission Hospital.[51] The hospital's supplies were brought forward in good order and the patients were carried into the wards. Unfortunately, "only 19 days after it was opened, Japanese captured the town" again and, in their second invasion, the entire hospital was destroyed at the end of January. However, "medicine and equipment were salvaged by Dr. Brown and his staff and with these, mobile medical work was continued in areas not far away."[52] Chinese guerrillas later retook Liaozhou and the hospital was reestablished in scattered units in a number of neighboring villages, with its beds housed in brick and mud huts. Because of its proximity to Japanese garrison zones, the beds in this hospital were "never empty," the few mobile medical and surgical units seldom rested, and the Outpatient Department was "continuously overflowing with civilians and soldiers."[53] Surviving under Japanese mopping-up operations, by 1943 the hospital "had 920 medical personnel forming 12 mobile units" scattered widely in the region of Southeast Shanxi and Western Hebei.[54] Another international friend, Dr. Hans Muller, a Jewish German anti-Fascist, who took his medical degree at Zurich and had worked in the guerrilla regions since 1939, continued Brown's work and headed one unit.

The Controversial Ideology, Role, and Identity of a Missionary

"Dr. Brown did not return" to either the Southeast Shanxi International Peace Hospital at Liaozhou or to his church hospital, the St. Paul's Hospital in Guide, Henan, after January 1939.[55] In Brown's case, the bitterness and conflicting ideologies engendered by the experience of war in multiple communities deeply influenced the course of his career, especially after 7 July 1937 when the Japanese army launched a full-scale invasion of China. Before 6 April 1938, he concentrated on St. Paul's Hospital, which was in the area that Kuomintang controlled. From 6 April 1938 to the end of January 1939, he operated mainly in CCP-controlled areas. During this entire time, local, international, and church politics taught him lessons. As a deeply immersed Canadian missionary doctor he tried to build up a record of goodwill and positive service to the Chinese people. He acted as an effective civil ambassador of the Anglican Church, Canada, and his medical professional, but he acted more decisively as a

dedicated Christian striving to achieve international goals.

Historian Min-sun Chen notes that, "had Brown remained in the general area of Liao-chou, he would have a fair chance of becoming a 'Second Bethune.'"[56] He declared Brown to be "China's unsung Canadian hero." He remarked that:

> Dr. Brown's lack of recognition could be traced to: (1) timely encouragement was not given to Dr. Brown in 1938 by the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (MSCC), and (2) Dr. Brown's subsequent decision to resign from MSCC and to engage in private practice in Tsingtao in the spring 1939. As to the lack of co-operation among the Canadian doctors in China, much could be attributed to the wartime circumstances.[57]

Another historian, Alvyn J. Austin, was the first to write several paragraphs on Brown's story in the Red Triangle. He commented that, "it was one of the minor tragedies of history" that these three medical graduates of the University of Toronto, Robert McClure, Richard Brown, and Norman Bethune, "who met in a common cause in war-torn China, should be blinded to co-operation by their personality differences." He observed that, "they were, for example, the only three men for hundreds of kilometers who could have built a hospital system." He also pointed out that, "it is tragic, too, that the missionary doctors could never see that Bethune's character became purified by the fires of China – just as their own had been . . . If for no other reason than, Dr. Bethune was Canada's greatest missionary."[58]

In my observation, Brown, Robert McClure, and Norman Bethune made their own way to support China and the Chinese people in their hour of greatest need. They co-operated with each other from their own perspectives as Canadians usually did. That they could not co-operate more was not their own fault and not just personality differences, but a more complicated historical context – for instance, ideological conflicts, family considerations, and relations with specific religious or international organizations – but their awareness of their own identities and their new roles in war should be accounted as key factors on their personal paths. In the case of Brown, he could not agree with his church because, while the Diocese of Henan had permitted his three-month leave with stipend to serve the wounded soldiers and civilians in the Red Triangle, the MSCC's "misgiving" gave him conflicting directions by reaffirming the church's mission policy and its resolution related to him on 8 April 1938:

> it is the duty of all agents of MSCC to devote all their energies to the relief of suffering in the place or posts to which they have been appointed; and further that this Sub-Executive is unable at this time and on the information now before it, to approve either of Dr. Brown's absence from St. Paul's Hospital, Kweiteh, or of the related resolution of the Mission Conference.[59]

Furthermore, Brown could not agree with his church community whose members believed that he had become a "red" and "branded" "Communist" after his three months in the Border Regions.[60] By contrast, he was very conscious that he was a Christian and missionary doctor. He kept his own Christian holiness by understanding the urgent needs of his "Chinese brothers and sisters."[61] After the completion of his three-month service in the Red Triangle and to the Eighth Route Army for the International Peace Hospital project in Liaozhou, he returned to his Qingdao family in mid-February 1939 and began a new journey as a private Christian doctor serving multinational civilians and refugees. In 1941 he joined the British Royal Medical Corps. Because of his devotion to the anti-Japanese cause and Japan's declaration of war on America, the Japanese army detained and interned his three children and his missionary wife in Manila until February 1945.

Ideological labels, church politics, and international relations hurt Brown and his family. As a Christian missionary and a doctor he had a specific ideology. It was one based on his multiple identities: Canadian, missionary, and doctor. Acknowledging that complex sense of self makes any explanation of his actions in the Border Regions in 1938-39 more reasonable. For example, as a Canadian missionary in Yan'an on Good Friday, 15 April 1938, only two days after his arrival, Brown conducted a Christian service in the Chinese language in response to a request made by Mao Zedong on 13 April. After setting up loudspeakers, Brown asked for a Canadian flag and it was raised.[62] Brown gave a sermon to more than 2,000 Christian soldiers, students, and other listeners, based on the parable of the Good Samaritan.[63] Drawing on that story, he urged his hearers not to oppress their peasant brothers and sisters. On the way south from Wutai Mountains to Xi'an, Brown and Haldore Hanson stopped at the headquarters of the Eighth Route Army in southeastern Shanxi and met with the Commander-in-Chief, Zhu De, and the Vice-Commander-in-Chief, Peng Dehuai. Zhu De pointed out that he needed the same kinds of facilities that Brown and Bethune had begun in Songyankou. Brown also persuaded Zhu De to issue a statement from the Eighth Route Army to all foreign

missionaries, which he later showed at fundraising activities in Shanghai, Hong Kong, and elsewhere for his International Peace Hospital project and at the Mission Leaders' Conference in Xi'an that the Eighth Route Army held at the end of October 1938. Zhu De's letter signaled his appreciation of the missionaries and it was spread widely:

> The Eighth Route Army expresses its thanks and gratitude for the kindness and help rendered to China by foreign missionaries during her war of resistance against Japanese invasion, especially to those doctors and nurses who worked under great difficulties and dangers. Their work in China not only means a great deal to the Chinese Army, but also renders tremendous service to Chinese refugees and people. I hope that our International friends will continue to support China's war against aggression, and that those foreign doctors and nurses in the war zone will remain there to work. Furthermore, we welcome our foreign friends to extend a more broad and concrete movement in aiding China, especially help to take care of the sick and wounded in the war zone. The 8th Route Army has no prejudices against missionaries. On the contrary, we welcome them and wish to co-operate with them, for our war of resistance not only fights for the independence and freedom of the Chinese nation, but also for the maintenance of world peace. On this respect our goal is just the same.[64]

Roderick and Sharon Stewart note that, "influenced by Kuomintang propaganda, most missionaries were strongly anti-communist. To many, Zhu De's conciliatory statement was no more than a ruse designed to achieve temporary gains."[65] Robert McClure stated that:

> This move to change its attitude toward the mission work is largely the result of [Richard] Dick Brown's efforts and influence and I think it is what he went up there to do. He has done it and done it more than successfully than we could ever have imagined. I think he ought to be given full marks for this Christian influence and particularly I do not think that his own mission board realize[s] the tremendous work that he has been able to do. I think it is just naturally the result of a man who takes time from his routine mission work to get his nose off the grindstone occasionally and look about him and to give some thought to the big issues about where missions are going.[66]

In conclusion, Dr. Richard Brown was an unsung hero for his efforts to build an international identity for Canada, for missionaries, and for

modern medical services. During the early stages of the Second World War, in 1938-39, as a devoted internationalist, Brown, along with other Canadians, helped to build a positive image of Canada as an independent actor in the world. Even though Brown held a British passport, a symbol of nationality identity,[67] the Chinese national leader Madame Sun Yat-sen (Soong Ching-ling), Chair of the China Defence League, still clearly recognized that "With the assistance of Dr. Richard Brown, a Canadian missionary-surgeon, the Southeast Shanxi branch was established in 1939."[68] As a missionary, Brown and many other missionaries' professional projects built a Christian identity for their missionary societies and other religious communities; even though Brown was an Anglican missionary and had serious conflicts with his own church, the national leaders of the CCP and the Eighth Route Army still trusted him and appreciated his, and all other missionaries,' humane services for Chinese soldiers and civilian refugees. As surgeons Brown, McClure, and Bethune healed countless wounded and dying people. They practiced humanitarianism and internationalism through a deep, kind, and real love of Jesus Christ. Their performance on the frontline of the Jin-Cha-Ji Border Region built a global memory for all doctors and modern medical services. Richard Brown tried his best to do his duty and fulfill his promise as a Canadian, a missionary, and a doctor. His story is worth knowing, providing, as it does, an image and memory that tie together Canada, China, and their international contexts in a space beyond ideology, identity, and specific social systems.

Endnotes

1. I would like to thank Professor Phyllis D. Airhart and Professor Mark G. Toulouse, both of Emmanuel College, University of Toronto, for their excellent guidance. For the paper presentation I would like to thank the Emmanuel College principal and office staff, the 2015 executive members of the Canadian Society of Church History (CSCH), and the CSCH annual conference attendees (at the University of Ottawa from 30 May to 1 June 2015) for their support, help, and comments.

2. Alvyn Austin, *Saving China: Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom, 1888-1959* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 3-10, 12, 15, 19, 20, and 89. Austin mentions the British missionary James Hudson Taylor and "the first Canadian party" of the China Inland Mission. During his 1888 journey to North America Taylor gave speeches in many cities including Toronto. Also see Song Jiaheng and Li Wei, eds., *Jianada chuanjiaoshi zai Zhongguo*

Canadian Missionaries in China (Beijing: Dongfang chubanshe, 1995), 2-3.

3. For example, in mainland China there were still 850 Canadian missionaries at the beginning of 1948, after most of missionaries north of the Yangtze River had retreated, including great retreat of the United Church of Canada's Henan mission in the middle of 1947. See Pan Xingming, *Ershi shiji Jia Zhong guanxi China-Canada Relations in the 20th Century* (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 2007), 154-55.

4. Song and Li, *Canadian Missionaries in China*, 1. Canadian missionaries mainly participated in the foundation and management of two Christian universities in China: the West China Union University and the Cheeloo University. The related works include establishing of churches, modern hospitals, and schools, academic studies (Bishop William Charles White and Dr. James R. Menzies, etc.), and other cultural brokering efforts.

5. There were several main missions in China: the Formosa mission (Presbyterian, later United) in Taiwan; the North Henan mission (Presbyterian, later United), and the Diocese of Henan mission (Anglican) all in Henan; the West China mission (Methodist, later United) in Sichuan; the South China mission (Presbyterian, later United); and the Roman Catholic mission (Quebec Jesuits in Suzhou) in Jiangsu. The idea of the "identity of Canada" or "national identity" in this paper is borrowed from historian Sidney Mead who once described America with the apt phrase, "a nation with the soul of a church," which was coined by G.K. Chesterton in answer to his question, "What Is America?" – the title of the autobiographical essay in which he relates how he came to appreciate what the United States was all about. See Sidney E. Mead, *The Nation with the Soul of a Church* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975).

6. Andrew Preston, *Sword of the Spirit, Shield of Faith: Religion in American War and Diplomacy* (Toronto: Vintage Canada, 2013), 191-92.

7. Preston, *Sword of the Spirit*, 224.

8. Min-sun Chen, "China's Unsung Canadian Hero: Dr. Richard F. Brown in North China, 1938-1939," in *East Asia Inquiry: Selected Articles from Annual Conferences of the Canadian Asian Studies Association 1988-1990*, ed. Larry N. Shyu, et al (Montreal: Canadian Asian Studies Association, 1991), 109-37. Chen's paper was the only English work to focus on Brown until December 2014.

9. Joshua A. Fogel, ed., *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2000), 6. On the same page, Fogel admitted that there was an argument about the numbers, but he and the other contributors of the volume "are all of a mind that a great massacre occurred, and whether 200,000 people were killed or 240,000 does not alter the

dimensions of horror."

10. The information in this paragraph comes from Mrs. Brown to Friends [of the Women's Auxliary of MSCC.-Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada], 2 July 1938, Brown Family Papers, Toronto. Min-sun Chen holds photocopies of Brown's rare personal papers, having received them from John and Betty Brown. See Chen, "China's Unsung Canadian Hero," 113.

11. The transcript of CBC "Our Special Speaker" program by Major Richard Brown, M.D., Sunday, 4 February 1945, 8:45 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. See Chen, "China's Unsung Canadian Hero," 114.

12. Chen, "China's Unsung Canadian Hero," 114.

13. This information is from Richard Brown to Bishop William White, 19 February 1938, Richard Brown Documents, MSCC Series 3-3, Leonard A. Dixon files, China-Active files, GS 75-103, Box 77, GSA-Anglican Church of Canada General Synod Archives, Toronto. Hereafter I will use "Richard Brown Documents."

14. Chen, "China's Unsung Canadian Hero," 116. This is Chen's interpretation.

15. The so-called "Red Triangle" was the Jin-Cha-Ji Border Religion (*bianqu*) in the northwest, from Xi'an up to Wutai Mountains governed by the CCP and the Eighth Route Army under the leadership of Mao Zedong and Zhu De.

16. Richard Brown to Bishop William White, 19 February 1938, Richard Brown Documents.

17. Chen, "China's Unsung Canadian Hero," 115. Chen also suggestes that the call was "most likely from Dr. McClure who was with the International Red Cross."

18. Richard Brown to Mrs. Brown, 8 April 1938, Brown Family Papers, cited in Chen, "China's Unsung Canadian Hero," 115.

19. Richard Brown to Mrs. Brown, 16 April 1938, Brown Family Papers. See Chen, "China's Unsung Canadian Hero," 116.

20. Munroe Scott, *McClure: The China Years of Dr. Bob McClure, A Biography* (Toronto: Canec Publishing and Supply House, 1977), 219.

21. Scott, *McClure*, 220.

22. Roderick Stewart and Sharon Stewart, *Phoenix: The Life of Norman Bethune* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 284, 437n41. Joe Hill was a Swedish-American labor activist.

23. Norman Bethune to Elsie Siff, 19 July 1938. See Stewart and Stewart, *Phoenix*, 296, 293. The Border Region contained more than 100,000 soldiers of the Eight Route Army and partisans.

24. Adrienne Clarkson, *Norman Bethune* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2009), 4.

25. Freda Utley, *China at War* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1939), 137.

26. Richard Brown to J. L. Maxwell, 27 August 1938, Richard Brown Documents.

27. The "li" is a Chinese measurement of distance that equals to a half of kilometer.

28. Richard Brown to Agnes Smedley, 6 June 1938. See Utley, *China at War*, 137-38.

29. Stewart and Stewart, *Phoenix*, 293.

30. Stewart and Stewart, *Phoenix*, 438n79.

31. Norman Bethune to Elsie Siff, 19 July 1938. See Stewart and Stewart, *Phoenix*, 293, 438n80.

32. Richard Brown to J. L. Maxwell, 27 August 1938, Richard Brown Documents.

33. Peter Stursberg, *The Golden Hope: Christians in China* (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1987), 180. Brown, on a CBC program in 1946, said that when he was with Bethune, "I did 365 operations in three months."

34. Interview with Richard Brown by Peter Stursberg. See Stursberg, *The Golden Hope*, 178.

35. Stursberg, *The Golden Hope*, 180.

36. The Bethune International Peace Hospital was founded on 15 September 1938 at Songyankou village in the Wutai Mountains area, where Brown worked with Bethune twenty-five days from 17 June to 13 July 1938. It was the first of the hospitals to be founded by Bethune. Brown established the Southeast Shanxi International Peace Hospital in January 1939. See Mme. Sun Yat-sen, *In Guerrilla China: Report of China Defense League* (Chungking, Sichuan: China Defense League, 1943), 9-25.

37. Haldore Hanson, *Humane Endeavour: the Story of the China War* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1939), 253-61, 264-69, 273-75, 291.

38. Richard Brown to Dr. J. L. Maxwell, 27 August 1938, Richard Brown Documents.

39. Austin, *Saving China*, 250.

40. Scott, *McClure*, 221.

41. Stursberg, *The Golden Hope*, 180.

42. Chen, "China's Unsung Canadian Hero," 120.

43. Before Brown's official resignation from his church on 24 November 1938, this visit was important for his recognition as a Canadian missionary doctor in wartime. My research has yet to find the evidence about why he went to Chengdu, but he might have gone to seek support from other Canadian missionary doctors, including money, for his new hospital, beyond the obvious reason that Hankou had been occupied by the Japanese.

44. Chen, "China's Unsung Canadian Hero," 121.

45. Field Secretary to the Right Rev. P. Lindel Tsen, D.D., of the Canadian Church Mission, Kaifeng, Henan, 24 January 1939, Richard Brown Documents.

46. Chen, "China's Unsung Canadian Hero," 121.

47. Richard Brown to Reverend Canon S. Gould, secretary-treasurer of MSCC, 24 November 1938, Richard Brown Documents.

48. Richard Brown to Reverend Canon S. Gould, secretary-treasurer of MSCC, 24 November 1938, Richard Brown Documents.

49. Richard Brown to Reverend Canon S. Gould, secretary-treasurer of MSCC, 24 November 1938, Richard Brown Documents.

50. Ernest M. Wampler, *China Suffers or My Six Years of Work during the Incident* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Publishing House, 1945), 68.

51. Mme. Sun Yat-sen, *In Guerrilla China*, 24. The Liaozhou Brethren Mission Hospital was called the Hiel Hamilton Memorial Hospital. It was originally erected in 1917-18 by the missionaries of the American Church of Brethren Mission (CBM).

52. Chen, "China's Unsung Canadian Hero," 122.

53. Mme. Sun Yat-sen, *In Guerrilla China*, 24, including two citations in this sentence.

54. Chen, "China's Unsung Canadian Hero," 122.

55. Wampler, *China Suffers*, 72. No Red Cross workers returned.

56. Chen, "China's Unsung Canadian Hero," 122.

57. Chen, "China's Unsung Canadian Hero," 122.

58. Austin, *Saving China*, 254, including this paragraph's other two citations. Austin did not explain what the phrase "personality differences" meant; however, this was not just a personality issue. This was a complex issue of ideology, identity, and interpretation by the three Canadian doctors, their families, their organizations, and their communities.

59. Field Secretary to the Right Rev. P. Lindel Tsen, D.D., of the Canadian Church Mission, Kaifeng, Henan, 24 January 1939, Richard Brown Documents. This letter repeated the decision of Sub-Executive on 8 April 1938 and its subsequent letters to Brown and Rev. Tsen dated 11 April 1938.

60. Stursberg, *The Golden Hope*, 180.

61. Richard Brown to Reverend Canon S. Gould, 24 November 1938, Richard Brown Documents.

62. Brown's interview with the National Film Board of Canada in 1963. The Canadian flag in 1938 was the Red Ensign. See Stewart and Stewart, *Phoenix*, 284, 436n37, 437n38, 437n39.

63. Stewart and Stewart, *Phoenix*, 284, 436n37.

64. R.B. McClure to Madras, 21 November 1938, Richard Brown Documents.

65. Stewart and Stewart, *Phoenix*, 439n94.

66. R.B. McClure to Madras, 21 November 1938, Richard Brown Documents.

67. Did the doctor belong to Canada or Britain? This was a confusing question of nationality in China.

68. Mme. Sun Yat-sen, *In Guerrilla China*, 24.

"Popery and Tyranny": King George III as a Late Stuart

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The Glorious Revolution cast a long shadow. Throughout the eighteenth century, English subjects found in it evidence of a commitment to long-standing constitutional principles: parliamentary supremacy, due process of the law, protection of civil and property rights, and Protestant rule. This understanding of liberty had a life of its own in the colonies as American insurgents cited the same principles in the course of their own revolution. Theirs, after all, was a case built on precedent, and few precedents were then as significant as the expulsion of the Catholic Stuarts. For two crucial years, from the Quebec Act of 1774 to the summer of 1776, the issue of Protestant rule in particular played a key part in the march towards independence. "Popery," in language inherited from the wars of religion, remained the foremost threat to the rights and well-being of Englishmen. Accordingly, the constitutional and religious discourses of the early revolutionary period were entwined. As one of the central planks of the British Constitution, religion was never wholly depoliticized. This paper details how anti-Catholic discourse evolved through the revolutionary period and, through the invasion of the Province of Quebec, presents Catholicism as a political problem that insurgents could in turn utilize as a political lever.

American colonists found, in 1774, a failure to protect their rights on the part of British authorities and expected that despotism in politics and in religion would ensue. Central to that debate were the role of executive power in the British system of governance, as well as the place

to which Catholicism ought to be relegated in public matters. From the moment that word of the Quebec Act reached American shores, through the invasion of Quebec, to the fateful summer of 1776, responses arose which successively indicted different institutions for their pro-Catholic sentiments. New Englanders in particular, true to their Puritan mythology, were troubled by the establishment of Catholicism on their borders. While revolt failed to materialize in that neighbouring province, anti-monarchical rhetoric developed in full in the Thirteen Colonies. By then, however, the Quebec Act was overshadowed by the more urgent issue of military defence.

This essay begins to answer historian George A. Rawlyk's call for better integration of Canadian and American events during the revolutionary period, which, several generations later, remains insufficiently explored. This also represents an effort to "de-centre" Maryland in the story of colonial Catholicism. For most colonists in British North America, Catholicism was as powerful a threat as it was generally unseen. Its incarnations in the popular mind were not drawn from Maryland, but from conflict in Europe and from encounters with France and Spain in the New World. To colonists of the revolutionary period, the threat was external, likely not to grow from their midst, but rather to come from the metropole or from a neighbouring colony, Quebec. In this sense, this paper adds to the recent work of Robert Emmett Curran, who, though attentive to colonial wars and to the constitutional issue, offers little consideration of British-led Canada after 1760 and only briefly surveys the events of 1774-78.[1]

Enlightenment, Empire, and the British Monarchy

Often identified as anti-popery or anti-papistry in its political manifestations, anti-Catholicism was, in the eighteenth century, part and parcel of the English identity. This was more than a purely religious identity: "enlightened" Protestantism, in contrast to the despotic Church of Rome, informed British political culture as a central tenet of the British Constitution. In consequence of the Glorious Revolution, Crown and Parliament would be jointly responsible for the maintenance of Britain's Protestant character. Drawing on memories of the Gunpowder Plot and the Stuarts' attempts to reclaim the throne, the English came to imagine their polity as one engaged in a perpetual struggle with the forces of religious despotism. Catholicism was "a consistently hostile, foreign, and anti-

national threat." The connection between Protestantism and one's condition as a free Briton persisted in British America, where fears of Catholic power were fuelled by imperial rivalries. Religious bigotry had lost little of its edge in this supposedly enlightened age, on either side of the Atlantic.[2]

The chief concern regarding Catholicism, however, was not its foreignness, but rather the connection of priests with secular authority, which seemed to invite both religious and political tyranny. The tolerant spirit among Protestants had its limits on this very point. Dissenters were quick to depict Anglicanism as a vestige of Catholicism partly for its ties to civil authority. The language of anti-popery targeted the Church of Rome but also became code for British and American opposition to episcopal authority and to the "Anglo-Catholic 'high flyers' of the Church of England." Nonconformists feared that Anglican bishops and the Crown might combine to undermine their denominations and their autonomy. Too easily could priests suppress religious freedom and become the agents of a despotic prince.[3]

Continued hostility to foreign, despotic Catholicism reveals the practical and intellectual limits of the Enlightenment. In the English world, religious toleration generally had a caveat: all individuals were to have their freedom of conscience and worship protected – all except Catholics. In a single breath, Thomas Paine could both defend "the free exercise of religion" and arouse his readers' anti-Catholic views. In denouncing political abuses, Paine wrote, "the phrase Parent or Mother Country hath been jesuitically adopted by the King and his parasites, with a low papistical design of gaining an unfair bias on the credulous weakness of our minds." In his "utterly conventional Enlightenment sentiments," Thomas Jefferson could, similarly, defend toleration and despise Catholicism. Samuel Adams argued that no state should tolerate this subversive religious system that threatened "life, liberty, and property" and foreshadowed "the worst anarchy and confusion, civil discord, war, and bloodshed." The Enlightenment, after all, not only valued religious freedom and equality, but also sought to destroy the evils flowing from despotism and entrenched dogma. Among colonists, there was no inconsistency in toleration and continued anti-Catholicism. Paine, in fact, would go on to pen *The Age of Reason*, denouncing all that smelled of superstition and authoritarianism in religion. In the meantime, American subjects, like those in England, were concerned with the political manifestations of Catholicism.[4]

Whenever Catholics were politically disarmed, their place in majority British societies involved numerous inconsistencies. More immediately threatened and theologically justified than subjects in Britain, New England's Puritans also harboured far stronger anti-Catholic feelings than other colonists. Congregationalist ministers identified the Catholic Church as the Antichrist as the French and Indian War began and as New England troops prepared to take Acadia, where bigotry legitimized various depredations. The ultimate outcome, expulsion, was practicable in those territories. As British forces won the surrender of New France in 1760, however, colonial authorities had to contend with, and adjust to, a population overwhelmingly French and Catholic which would not be displaced – only, perhaps and over time, assimilated. In a series of small precedents to the Quebec Act, Governor James Murray expanded traditional British liberties to gain the support of the clergy and ensure Canadian loyalty. Though they suffered some civil and religious disabilities, the French of the St. Lawrence valley were spared the Acadians' fate.[5]

According to Jefferson, the Quebec Act of 1774 replaced the open and fair English legal system set forth in Britain's Constitution with an arbitrary administration. In what appeared to be the British Ministry's designs for the entire continent, Quebec was now in the hands of a governor, unchecked by an elected assembly, and the Catholic Church. The recognition of the latter was the main problem for opponents. The Act stipulated that Canadians might now freely practice "the Religion of the Church of Rome" and that their clergy could "enjoy their accustomed Dues and Rights," so long as this did not prove injurious to Protestants. The re-establishment of French civil law further threatened the Thirteen Colonies' interests with the extension of Quebec's boundaries into territories claimed by Pennsylvania and Virginia.[6]

The Quebec Act was more than an act of statesmanship and much less than the reflection of Enlightenment feelings in Britain. The Act was the product of lobbying in London by Governor Guy Carleton, Murray's successor. Murray had distanced himself from Quebec's "British Party," marked by zealous anti-French and anti-Catholic feelings. Seeking to strengthen colonial power, Carleton went further. Late in 1773, he could argue that a quick resolution to the challenges of governance in Canada would enable the men of Westminster to devote greater attention to the crisis in the Thirteen Colonies. And, to echo the cynical view of Michel Brunet, the ambitious Carleton would emerge aggrandized from the reaffirmation and the geographical expansion of his authority. This meant

alienating the British of Quebec, who deplored the absence of representative institutions, the endorsement of "papistry," and the formation of an aristocratic pact sealed by Carleton and Canadian allies against their mercantile interests.[7]

American colonists, for their part, felt besieged. A single stroke of the King's pen seemed to negate their struggles through the French and Indian War. With the return of "ecclesiastical and civil tyranny," Congregationalists altered their language: the Antichrist was not merely Rome, but any power that violated Christian freedom and compacts between subjects and their government. More secular figures no less saw the imminent introduction of despotic rule. To Alexander Hamilton, the Act established a "Nation of Papists and Slaves"; truly it was an "instrument" for "the subjugation of the colonies, and afterward that of Great Britain itself." Yet, if anger greeted the news of the Act in the Thirteen Colonies, George III was not ascribed conspiratorial designs. The language of the Continental Congress, which assembled shortly thereafter, was quite moderate. In its first session, Congress did not question the King's authority or character. This is consistent with Brendan McConville's depiction of a "royal America," a fiercely proud bastion of Anglo-Saxon Protestantism whose colonists "expressed an intense admiration for the monarchy." The King came to be the sole connection between metropole and colonies, to whose benevolence provincials might always return. It is in this context of political dispute and intense royalism that the sovereign's image underwent a major transformation.[8]

The American press tied the Act to Tory ideas and challenged the "forwardness of the present Ministry." To one observer, the Quebec Act was "of the same stamp, as if [the minister] had advised his Majesty to introduce an army of foreign soldiers into the nation, in order to tyrannize over and enslave his people." "The Bill is indeed," a Boston outlet noted, "High Treason against the Constitution of England; and if the Minister be not impeached . . . there can be no spirit or virtue in the nation." It further appeared that "the friends of the abdicated Family now hold the reins of power." The upper house, too, was indicted, as a Philadelphia sheet asked, "[w]here were my Lords the Bishops?" In other words, far from the King being part of a popish plot, the assault on the Protestant establishment had Carleton, Prime Minister Lord North, and a corrupt Parliament as its architects. Through 1774, George III remained a father to his American people. Redress, if unlikely through Parliament, was still possible through him.[9]

Congress's expressions of hope contained internal contradictions destined to collapse. In their condemnations of Parliament and North, the colonists ignored their ruler's position as king-in-Parliament, at whose pleasure the government served. George III was the apex of both the legislative and executive branches who, when signing the bill, declared that the bill would resolve problems of governance in Quebec and, "I doubt not, have the best effects in quieting the minds and promoting the happiness of my Canadian subjects." In London, people gathered to the cry of "No Popery, no French government." The sovereign had compromised himself as head of the Church of England and defender of the Protestant faith. The colonists, still, continued to lament the influence of "designing and dangerous men" over the King, appealing to him directly as in times past. As no redress came, the contradiction was exploded: the King had facilitated this breach of the Constitution and should suffer the consequences, if only in the colonies.[10]

From Redress to Revolution

The seeds of the King's later image as a friend of popery were thus sown in 1774, and some immediate responses foreshadowed subsequent attacks. In eastern Massachusetts, subjects evoked the memory of "our fugitive parents" who had been "persecuted, scourged, and exiled." The Quebec Act recalled persecution under the Stuarts, the implication being clear. Traditional associations between Catholicism and despotism, as well as the King's twin authorities (political and religious), meant that once branded with tyranny in either sphere of his power, George III would soon see the other unravel, as it had been with the last Stuart. And as the contradiction collapsed, all accusations until then reserved for Lord North and Parliament would be refocused. In the Thirteen Colonies, the press was far ahead of Congress in developing that case.[11]

American publications from the early months of 1775 were sufficiently ambiguous as to leave open the possibility of reconciliation with the King. Colonists' grievances still lay with North's Tories, who were labelled the "corrupt, Frenchified party in the nation." One radical tract blamed "a vindictive, arbitrary, and rapacious Minister and his Adherents," as well as "the most venal and corrupt Parliament that ever yet disgraced the British Annals." In April, New Englander Isaac Backus, a Baptist minister, preached from the pulpit "that George the third violated his coronation-oath which he had solemnly taken before God and his

people in establishing popery in Canada." This strong indictment did not preclude a restoration of Protestant ascendency through the King, for the source of corruption was not the Crown itself, but the group of men who advised it and who dominated Parliament. Indeed, it was the House of Commons, not the monarch, which had refused to receive an American petition during the winter.[12]

In the spring of 1775, Congress departed from its appeals to prepare for more urgent concerns. Whatever North and Carleton's objectives might be, it was of foremost importance to protect the colonies against aggression, likely to come from Quebec. The American radical press, however, continued to mobilize the Protestant-constitutional myth in the interest of both financial gain and revolution. One "Simon," pushing the lines of debate, spared his readers Congress's dance around the King's position. "Pray," he wrote, "what was it that justified the [Glorious] Revolution and the expulsion of the Stuart family? Was it not an attempt to introduce Popery and arbitrary power into the Kings [sic] dominions? If so, I hope, as the homely proverb says, what was sauce for the goose will be sauce for the gander, upon a like occasion."[13]

Historians have debated the decline of "royal America" between 1770, when the rise of the North Ministry signalled the declining influence of the American lobby, and 1775, when self-styled Patriots began terrorizing Crown sympathizers. Persuasively, Brendan McConville sees in the imperial crisis, in the decade leading up to the Quebec Act, "a flight to the king's love and justice." By 1773, only "faith in the king" subsisted; with the Act his position in America quickly diminished. Through the transitory years of 1774-76, colonial leaders laid blame elsewhere for the imagined ascent of Catholicism. Surely the Protestant monarch, through "that compact, which elevated the illustrious house of Brunswick to the imperial dignity it now possesses," would intervene on behalf of the British Americans. The delegates reaffirmed their allegiance.[14]

When Americans did step into the realm of treason, it was, paradoxically, by abiding by the Protestant Constitution that the King had violated. Beginning in 1775, pushed by the press, Congress's language underwent a transformation that would later serve its anti-monarchical rhetoric. In an address to British subjects in Quebec, it warned that "a wicked or a careless king" might "concur with a wicked ministry in extracting the treasure and strength of your country." Within a year Congress would turn that language explicitly against the sovereign. The Quebec Act, drawing on British traditions, would be used to whip reluctant

Patriots into revolutionary (and Protestant) service. Certainly, the most radical of Protestants in the Province of Quebec, who were more immediately threatened by the Act, matched the great men in Philadelphia in challenging the King's intents. Many merchants had come to Canada directly from the American colonies and, accordingly, shared well-entrenched prejudices. These members of the "British Party," Thomas Ainslie wrote, "have on all occasions taken infinite pains to inflame the minds of the Canadians against Government . . . Some of these Grumbletonians are friends to the Constitution but are highly incensed against the Quebec bill." Their attempts at redress, like those of Congress, failed, and the Act came into effect, as planned, on 1 May 1775. On the morning of that fateful day, the people of Montreal awoke to find the King's bust, in the city centre, blackened with paint. The vandals had placed around its neck "a rosary made of potatoes" and given the figure a cross that identified the King as "Canada's Pope and England's fool."[15]

That such a reaction would occur in a colony so dependent on the economic support and good will of the metropole reflects an attachment to traditional liberties among all subjects of British descent. Donald Creighton has argued that the men who had come to Canada since 1760 were "merchants before they were Britons, Protestants, or political theorists" and on that account took the path of loyalty. The Montreal merchants would have placed themselves at a disadvantage by committing themselves to the American policy of non-importation. But there was more to their identity, as seen in the bust incident and avowed support for American forces, in 1775-6, in some quarters. The subjects who migrated from the metropole or other colonies to the Province of Quebec saw the British constitutional system as a whole whose constituent parts were mutually supportive. The return of French civil law and the Catholic faith appeared to weaken the imperial edifice and give further evidence, after the tax controversies, of a decline in traditional liberties. Those British subjects who remained loyal still continued to lobby against the Act until 1791, though public manifestations of discontent receded.[16]

The limitations of the Quebec Act as a weapon in the revolutionary arsenal were not apparent immediately. In the spring of 1775, as congressional delegates prepared for a second session, Samuel Adams and Joseph Warren recommended John Brown, of Boston's Committee of Correspondence, to the Protestants of Canada, hopeful that their colleague would capitalize on local opposition to the Quebec Act. In Montreal, Brown made contact with rebel sympathizer Thomas Walker. Himself formerly

of Boston, Walker was, like many others, incensed by the Act. But it would not suffice to appeal to the two thousand settlers of British descent in Canada. The invasion of Quebec, later that year, forced a change in approach and in rhetoric.[17]

Patriots and Canadians: Religious Encounters

The invasion was in keeping with recent events outside of the colony, from Lexington and Concord through the capture of Fort Ticonderoga – clearing the Lake Champlain axis – to the Battle of Bunker Hill, all in the spring of 1775. The Continental Congress sought to protect the Thirteen Colonies from armies that would serve as the heavy arm of despotism. While the rebels might, by seizing Quebec, deprive the British of a point of entry and "liberate" Canadians, they would also capitalize on the merchants' dissatisfaction with the recent implementation of the Quebec Act. The invasion would reveal anti-Catholicism to be a political or more precisely a constitutional concern, rather than a social one.

As Congress courted Canadians – and as Colonel Benedict Arnold advanced against Quebec – General George Washington, the commander-in-chief, forbade the celebration of Guy Fawkes Day within the ranks. The decision was made explicitly so that Catholics would not be so alienated as to turn against Congress's efforts. In John Tracy Ellis's view, the prime concerns of security and independence lessened public and often well-entrenched manifestations of an anti-Catholic spirit. It is doubtful that the feelings of Protestant colonists towards Catholicism changed over such a short period. Yet it was all to the colonies' advantage to alter the terms of the debate. Religious rhetoric was either reformulated to elicit sympathy for the Patriot cause or silenced (as with the long-standing 5 November ritual) according to the immediate, strategic imperatives of the Revolution.[18]

There is little in the diaries and memoirs of American soldiers who served in Quebec that would indicate profound sectarianism. Certainly, there was no immediate hostility; numerous soldiers commented on the kindness and material support of Canadians in the late months of 1775. About 160 locals took up arms for the Patriot cause under Colonel James Livingston, an insurgent from the Montreal area. Colonel Arnold and several others were quick to depict French Canadians as gentle savages: ignorant by virtue of religion, and slaves to British power, but not, in their hearts, enemies to "the cause of liberty." In a letter to the commander of

Quebec, Arnold lamented British efforts "to make innocent Canadians instruments of their cruelty, by instigating them against the Colonies, and oppressing them on their refusing to enforce every oppressive mandate." The *habitants* were pawns of British authority and in this, for Arnold, the Quebec Act had likely appeased Canadians and brought together the levers of political and religious oppression. Yet in most parishes there were Canadians who provided aid or expressed support for the American force, showing that the British ploy would not triumph over liberty.[19]

American soldiers discovered French-Canadian culture, as well as a form of Catholicism that was very different from the dark, diabolical designs presented to them during the French and Indian War. In some slight way, the minds of the soldiers were opened. At Pointe-aux-Trembles, John Joseph Henry found "a spacious chapel, where the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic religion were performed with a pomp not seen in our churches, but by a fervency and zeal apparently very pious, which became a severe and additional stroke at early prejudices." One James Melvin wrote a terse diary, preoccupied with little more than weather, but still stopped to describe the last rites given to a Canadian and, six months later, with evident curiosity, a priest's ceremonious visit to a dying person. Caleb Haskell of Rhode Island was sincerely religious and, no doubt intrigued, chose to attend Catholic Mass in Beauport on St. Patrick's Day, 1776. Private Simon Fobes would recollect, many years after the fact, working as a prisoner on a British store ship. He remembered the boatswain losing patience with a Catholic priest leading the burial of crewman on shore, cursing at the "Papist friar" and telling the man "he would hear no more of his *'Paternoster'*." Fobes himself displayed little hostility in his writings.[20]

For his part, Arnold's surveyor, John Pierce, when ill, was taken into a Canadian home. "I Slept between two Frenchmen," he wrote, "it was very odd to hear them at their Devotion." He recognized the strong religious feelings of the local population and seems to have delighted in exploring this new culture. In Sainte-Marie, Pierce was "very well entertained" by a French priest; farther down the Chaudière River, he met another clergyman, through whom he witnessed a Catholic baptism. His remarks made Canadians to be gentle and childlike in their secular and religious celebrations. Struck by the ubiquity of crucifixes, Pierce found that "[t]he French . . . Appear to be very ignorant Worshiping their images," he explained. "In the [aisles] of their mass houses Chapples and Temples they have their Saints Placed as big as the Life which they Bow

down to and worship as they Pass them when about their worldly Business." Following the failed assault at Quebec, Pierce's language shifted slightly. He considered the "mischief" caused by priests who organized the Canadians against the invaders and worked as British spies.[21]

Throughout, Pierce was representative of his peers in expressing no enmity towards the Catholic population, as opposed to Catholic institutions. Perhaps because they saw in Canadians a yearning for liberty, a people oppressed, or yet because they did not find zealots seeking to destroy American Protestantism, New England's soldiers did not echo the militant anti-Catholic rhetoric that had surrounded colonial wars and the Quebec Act. They were further cognizant of the need to rally the local population to their cause, much as the Patriots would discard the most virulent religious discourse as an alliance with France was struck in 1778. Motivated by military necessity, Arnold had sworn to protect Catholic clergy and to leave houses of worship undisturbed as he approached the colony's capital. No doubt, nevertheless, that these soldiers easily associated Catholic power with British tyranny, together stifling the winds of freedom.[22]

In 1776, in lieu of reinforcements, Congress sent three of its own and a Jesuit priest to mollify Canadians. Through Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll, Congress promised freedom of religion and no interference in clergy's "possession and enjoyment of all their estates," an unlikely scenario if Canadians were to judge by Boston publications. Carroll, his cousin Father John Carroll, and the printer who followed them to Montreal, Fleury Mesplet, were all French-speakers who might appeal to clergymen and *seigneurs*. To his wife Abigail, John Adams wrote of Charles Carroll as a Catholic, "yet a warm, a firm, a zealous Supporter of the Rights of America, in whose Cause he has hazarded his all." "Your Prudence," Adams added, "will direct you to communicate the Circumstances of the Priest, the Jesuit and the Romish Religion only to such Persons as can judge of the Measure upon large and generous Principles, and will not indiscreetly divulge it." Secrecy was necessary to prevent a backlash at home. In the end, it was a moot point: the commissioners' efforts failed, in the spring of 1776, as the military situation deteriorated. Lacking reinforcements and fearing the mass arrival of British troops in New York City, American forces retreated from the St. Lawrence valley.[23]

From these forces' time in the Province in Quebec, it is apparent that Catholicism and anti-Catholicism remained political issues more than

cultural ones: there were few Catholics in the Thirteen Colonies, precluding in most areas difficult questions about pluralism and the rights of non-Protestants. If Catholicism were to be a threat, it would come imposed by hostile political forces from above or beyond, making slaves of Americans, much as Catholic power in New France had turned its faithful there into ignorant creatures ready to be manipulated into gross outrages. Catholicism was primarily a constitutional problem, or one of public policy. American revolutionaries preoccupied with civil and economic liberties expressed concern over complicity between Anglican or Catholic authority and the Crown, seen in the reign of James II. Thus there was ultimately little contradiction between anger over the Quebec Act and the limited attention given to the culture of Catholicism in a neighbouring province. In any event, from political liberty, religious "enlightenment" might follow in Canada.[24]

Independence and the Exigencies of War

Beyond 1776, it became more difficult for disgruntled colonists to sustain the rhetoric of anti-Catholicism in their claims for emancipation. The reaction to the Act of 1774 found an uneasy place in the context of war, especially as Congress sought to woo Catholic Quebec and Catholic France. But centuries of anti-popery were not suddenly swept away: the mistrust of all things Catholic was rechanneled or silenced in the interest of victory, especially in the upper organs of the revolutionary movement. Among loyalists, that anti-Catholicism was re-appropriated thanks to the alliance with France and the possible restoration of Canada to France. Tories turned the tables on their opponents and tarred them with the broad brush of papist sentiments. New York's *Royal Gazette* noted, "Congress are very willing to make us the instruments of weakening the best friends, and of strengthening the most powerful and ambitious enemies of the reformation." The *Gazette* held out the prospect of a new "Saint Barthelmi [sic] massacre." Americans ought to seek the protection of the Glorious Revolution's royal heir. The *Gazette* then asked: "Is America unacquainted with the tenets of Popery? Is there a Popish country in the world, where the Protestant religion is tolerated?" Its editors remarked on the hypocrisy in Congress's about-face. Evidently, religious discourse was malleable and varied according to the flow of circumstance, as did the images of the British monarchy and the traditional enemy, France. Loyal subjects on both sides of the Atlantic could now legitimately appeal to the

memory of 1689.[25]

In Britain, subjects did so when the King assented to the Catholic Relief Bill, the very year of the French alliance. The measure, which removed some legal impediments on Catholics, was introduced to draw the Irish into the army, presumably for service in America. Protest was immediately organized in Britain and the circumstances of the Quebec Act recurred. When Lord North refused a petition for repeal of the Relief Act, Lord George Gordon appealed directly to the sovereign. Expressing interest in toleration, the King would not commit to the petition. As prorogation again loomed, Londoners rioted. On 18 June 1780, American-born Edmund Jenings, now in England, related to his friend John Adams the tumults over the Relief Act. The King, it seems, hoped to use Catholics for his "Arbitrary purposes." "James, the second, who did from Principle and Conscience was a better Man," Jenings wrote. "If George is actuated by the same Motives . . . He is unfit for the Throne of England. He is either a bad protestant, or bad King." Public religion, the source of frustration in Britain and its colonies over the course of six years, does not alone explain the break with the Crown, then. Among the merchants of Montreal and radicals in London, outrage over the place of Catholicism in the public realm matched that of American insurgents. Yet, in Quebec and at home, George III "could still be king." Anti-Catholic rhetoric, ever flexible, served as a valuable arm of revolutionary mobilization, but receded when the constitutional conversation was expanded to include other interests.[26]

Conclusion

In depicting revolutionary anti-Catholicism as constitutional, continental, and contingent, this study seeks to broaden the conversation about American independence beyond its conventional bounds. It also brings much-needed nuance to recent works on the emergence of a tolerant spirit in the revolutionary period. Neither the defeat of New France nor the Enlightenment struck a definitive blow to anti-Catholic sentiments. Responses to the Quebec Act are clear evidence of this and further highlight the importance of the religious factor in the early days of the American Revolution. George III was warned that he might meet the Stuarts' fate on account not of taxation, but of religious policy. The Act radicalized colonial Protestants. Paradoxically, it also led them to appeal to a Hanoverian king as they had in times past. In this, the Glorious Revolution offered colonists both the prospect of redress and grounds for

protest. When appeals failed, subjects again resorted to revolution. Of course, colonists could construct a case for separation from the Crown on purely secular grounds, and ultimately did. In Quebec, loyal Protestant subjects continued to object to the dispositions of the Act of 1774, but separated this grievance from the larger struggle at hand. Among those who remained after the retreat of the American force, there was little question as to their loyalty once the Franco-American alliance was concluded and the menace of a French takeover became reality.[27]

Consideration of the invasion of Quebec – rather than exclusive focus on the Thirteen Colonies – likewise adds nuance to standard narratives of eighteenth-century anti-Catholicism and revolutionary strategy alike. Religious discourse pertaining to Catholicism was generally framed in political or constitutional terms. The band of New England Patriot soldiers who marched against Quebec did not abuse the local population on religious grounds. They saw the local population to be very much like them, aspiring in their hearts to liberty, but held back by the double arm of ecclesiastical and political tyranny. The institution of Catholicism was at fault; certainly the profound piety of Canadians was not the issue. These views, likely quite sincere, were reinforced at the top of the chain of command as Arnold and General Richard Montgomery sought to conciliate the population. In Quebec and at the time of the French alliance, the rhetoric of anti-popery would be rechanneled so that political and military objectives might be met.[28]

That this rhetoric was, at best, temporarily hushed, is seen in the subsequent history of the Anglo-American world. While a new myth supplanted the Glorious Revolution as a reference point in the interconnectedness of religion, public institutions, and liberty, Catholics' relationship to the Protestant mainstream would change little under Americans' new constitution. And, as some American states placed restrictions on Catholic office-holding following independence, the era of the Test Act continued in Britain. Only with the Emancipation Act of 1829 would Catholic office-holding become possible in Britain and in the colonies that are now Atlantic Canada. As for the Canadians, where the Quebec Act came as a political necessity, they too would in time face intransigence on the part of colonial authorities and Westminster, though not on religious grounds. The themes of the American Revolution would return as radicalized French-Canadian reformers, the *Patriotes*, sought to democratize structures against the aristocratic and mercantile interests of "Tories." Again, the upper Catholic clergy, fearful of American ideals, would

support the British establishment. And though those ideals would be loudly echoed by the *Patriotes*, there would be no Montgomery, no Arnold to fly to Montreal and Quebec City as rebellion erupted. Americans had had their revolution and would now leave it to the Catholics on their northern border to fight for their own rights and their own political emancipation from Britain.[29]

Endnotes

1. George A. Rawlyk, *Revolution Rejected 1775-1776* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1968), 9-10; Robert Emmett Curran, *Papist Devils: Catholics in British America, 1574-1783* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2014). The present paper echoes in many respects Charles H. Metzger's classic survey, but substitutes for Metzger's attention to the Middle Colonies the bastion of North American Catholicism that was Quebec. See Metzger *Catholics and the American Revolution: A Study in Religious Climate* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962).

2. Joseph J. Casino, "Anti-Popery in Colonial Pennsylvania," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 105, no. 3 (1981): 279. This paper rejoins Francis D. Cogliano on New England's "anti-papal persuasion." See Francis D. Cogliano, *No King, No Popery: Anti-Catholicism in Revolutionary New England* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1995).

3. Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1992), 95, 97-99; and Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America* (New York City: Oxford University Press, 2003), 191, 199. See also, on the Anglican bishop controversy, Ned Landsman, "The Episcopate, the British Union, and the Failure of Religious Settlement in Colonial British America," in *The First Prejudice: Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in Early America*, eds. Chris Beneke and Christopher S. Grenda (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 75-97.

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5. John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme: The Tragic Story of the Expulsion of the French Acadians from Their American Homeland* (New York City: W.W. Norton and Co., 2005), 225, 286, 300-301, 352, 437-38, 445-46.

6. Sir Reginald Coupland, *The Quebec Act: A Study in Statesmanship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 208-17; General Congress of the United States of America, Declaration of Independence (1776), in *Essential Documents*.

7. Michel Brunet, *Les Canadiens après la Conquête: De la Révolution canadienne à la Révolution américaine* (Montreal: Fides, 1969), 142-43, 211-12, 223-26, 251-53, 261-63, 268, 291. See also Paul David Nelson, *General Sir Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester: Soldier-Statesman of Early British Canada* (Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 2000).

8. Nathan O. Hatch, *The Sacred Cause of Liberty: Republican Thought and the Millennium in Revolutionary New England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 17, 38-44, 52, 73, 86-87; Bonomi, *Cope of Heaven*, 216; George F.G. Stanley, *Canada Invaded 1775-1776* (Toronto: A.M. Hakkert, 1973), 16; Brendan McConville, *The King's Three Faces: The Rise and Fall of Royal America, 1688-1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 7-8, 49-80, 251, 290. See also Eric Nelson, *The Royalist Revolution: Monarchy and the American Founding* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2014).

9. *Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet* 3, no. 149 (29 August 1774): 2; "Epigram," *The Essex Gazette* 7, no. 320 (6 September 1774): 1; *Boston Post Boy*, no. 890 (5 September 1774): 2, all in Archive of Americana, America's Historical Newspapers (Series 1-3).

10. "London," *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, no. 71 (25 August1774): 2, in Historical Newspapers; "Petition of Congress to the King's Most Excellent Majesty [26 October 1774]," *Journals of the Continental Congress 1774-1789: Vol. I. 1774*, ed. Worthington Chauncey Ford (New York City: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1968), 118.

11. "Resolution [17 September 1774]," in *Journals – Vol. I. 1774*, 32.

12. Bailyn, *Ideological Origins*, 123; Philaleuthos, "No Placemen, Pensioners, Ministerial Hirelings, Popery, nor Arbitrary Power" (1775), Archive of Americana, America's Historical Imprints (Series 1, No. 14399); J.C.D. Clark, *The Language of Liberty, 1660-1832: Political Discourse and Social Dynamics in the Anglo-American World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 376-77; William Bollan *et al.*, letter inserted on 11 May 1775, in Ford, ed., *Journals – Vol. II. 1775* (1968), 22-23.

13. "Resolution [18 May 1775]," *Journals – Vol. II. 1775*, 55-56; Simon, untitled letter, *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, no. 20 (10 June 1775): 1. See, as an instance of similar radicalism from the British press, "The Crisis, no. 1," *The New England Chronicle: or, the Essex Gazette* 7, no. 356 (18 May 1775): 4-7, in Historical Newspapers. See, further, Neil York, "George III, Tyrant: The Crisis as Critic of Empire, 1775-1776," *History* 94, no. 316 (2009): 434, 447-49, 457.

14. Mary Ann Fenton, "Petitions, Protests, and Policy: The Influence of the American Colonies on Quebec, 1760-1776" (Ph.D. diss., University of New Hampshire, 1993), 251; McConville, *King's Three Faces*, 9-10, 249-51; "Address to the People of Great Britain [21 October 1774]," "Address to the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec [26 October 1774]," and "Petition of Congress [26 October 1774]," in *Journals – Vol. I. 1774*, 83, 122, 118. See also *Journals – Vol. I. 1774*, 33, 119-21.

15. See, on expressions of loyalty, "Resolution [12 June 1775]" and "Petition to the King [8 July 1775]," in *Journals – Vol. II. 1775*, 87, 158-62. See also "Letter to the oppressed Inhabitants of Canada [29 May 1775]," in *Journals – Vol. II. 1775*, 68-70; James R. Gaines, *For Liberty and Glory: Washington, Lafayette, and Their Revolutions* (New York City: W.W. Norton and Co., 2007), 43; Sheldon S. Cohen, ed., *Canada Preserved: The Journal of Captain Thomas Ainslie* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1968), 19; Stanley, *Canada Invaded*, 12.

16. Fenton, "Petitions, Protests, and Policy," 290, 312, 320-21; Stanley, *Canada Invaded*, 19-20; Brunet, *Canadiens après la Conquête*, 274.

17. Stanley, *Canada Invaded*, 19-20; Lewis H. Thomas, "Walker, Thomas (d. 1788)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* 4 (On-line: University of Toronto/Université Laval, 1979-2015); Fenton, "Petitions, Protests, and Policy," 313.

18. John Tracy Ellis, *Catholics in Colonial America* (Baltimore: Helicon, 1965), 395-96.

19. "Col. Arnold's Letters," diaries and memoirs of Henry Dearborn, Return Jonathan Meigs, Isaac Senter, John Joseph Henry, George Morison, and Abner Stocking, all in Kenneth Roberts, ed., *March to Quebec: Journals of the Members of Arnold's Expedition* (New York City: Doubleday, Doran, 1940), 77-84, 89-90, 110, 118, 140, 143, 186, 189, 220-21, 348, 536, 557. See also Gayle K. Brown, "The Impact of the Colonial AntiCatholic Tradition on the Canadian Campaign, 1776-1776," *Journal of Church and State* 35, no. 3 (1993): 559-75; Michael P. Gabriel, ed., *Quebec During the American Invasion, 1775-1776: The Journal of François Baby, Gabriel Taschereau, and*

Jenkin Williams (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2005).

20. Henry, James Melvin, Caleb Haskell, and Simon Fobes, in *March to Quebec*, 361, 443-44, 452-53, 492, 599-600.

21. . Numerous priests refused absolution to Canadians who collaborated with the invaders and later provided information on treasonous activities to a commission of enquiry in 1776. See John Pierce in *March to Quebec*, 670-75, 677-79, 709-10; Cohen, *Canada Preserved*, 73-74, 89; Gabriel, *Quebec During the American Invasion*; Brunet, *Canadiens après la Conquête*, 240-44; on the part played by the Church and individual clergymen, Gustave Lanctot, *Canada and the American Revolution, 1774-1783* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 120-23.

22. Among the important exceptions is David Wooster, the Puritan general who interfered with Catholic worship in Montreal. See Gabriel, *Quebec During the American Invasion*, xxxix; Fobes, in *March to Quebec*, 584; Brown, "Colonial AntiCatholic Tradition," 567.

23. Communications with France and Silas Deane's sending of French officers to America also remained closely-guarded secrets. See Brantz Mayer, ed., *Journal of Charles Carroll, 1776* (New York City: New York Times – Arno Press, 1876), 27; and Lanctot, *Canada and the American Revolution*, 127-36; Thomas, "Walker, Thomas (d. 1788)"; John Adams to Abigail Adams, 18 February 1776, in Adams Family Correspondence, Vol. 1, *Founding Families: Digital Editions of the Papers of the Winthrops and the Adamses*, ed. C. James Taylor (On-line: Massachusetts Historical Society); Gaines, *For Liberty and Glory*, 45, 65-66.

24. John Tracy Ellis estimates their number to be twenty thousand out of 2.5 million subjects in the Thirteen Colonies. See Ellis, *Catholics in Colonial America*, 395.

25. Ellis, *Catholics in Colonial America*, 408-9; Stanley, *Canada Invaded*, 145-46. See also *The Royal Gazette*, no. 178 (13 June 1778): 3; *The Royal Gazette*, no. 213 (14 October 1778): 2; "A New York Exile," "To Mr. Rivington," *The Royal Gazette*, no. 237 (6 January 1779): 2, all in Historical Newspapers.

26. Christopher Hibbert, *King Mob: The Story of Lord George Gordon and the London Riots of 1780* (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1958), 34-7, 47, 50, 72; Edmund Jenings to John Adams, 18 June 1780, in Taylor, *Adams Family Correspondence*, Vol. 9; Jenings to Adams, 5 March 1780, *Adams Family Correspondence*, Vol. 9; York, "George III, Tyrant," 460.

27. See, on the alternative claims about tolerance, Michael Meyerson, *Endowed by Our Creator: The Birth of Religious Freedom in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 43-93; and Chris Beneke, "The 'Catholic Spirit Prevailing in Our Country': America's Moderate Religious Revolution," in Beneke and Grenda, *The First Prejudice*, 265-85.

28. This undoubted influence of religion in eighteenth-century constitutional struggles provides grounds for a reinterpretation of the age of revolution first presented by Robert R. Palmer and Jacques Godechot and recently re-conceptualized with attention to Canada in Michel Ducharme, *The Idea of Liberty in Canada During the Age of Atlantic Revolutions, 1776-1838* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014).

29. Faragher, *Great and Noble Scheme*, 454.

Rev. Harvey G. Forster and the All Peoples' Mission in Welland, Ontario

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The *Welland Tribune* on Sunday, 5 October 2014, reported the closing of All People's United Church. "A church that was once the hub of Welland's labour movement, that nearly sent Peter Kormos into the clergy instead of politics and that started many charitable efforts, still in operation," declared the reporter, Dan Dakin. This closing marked the end of a one-hundred-year history of the church in solidarity with, and service to, the poor, working class, and immigrant populations of the industrializing-Welland area.

Background

In 1914, Central Methodist Church (now Central United) "was instrumental in organizing the Welland Industrial Mission which ministered to the community of Maple Leaf Park from a Methodist Chapel on Chaffey St."[1] Part of a circuit, it served Europeans who had moved into the area to work on the Welland canal and in the industries attracted to the area by the canal, proximity to the United States, and access to railways and electricity. In 1917, the Mizpah Mission of the Methodist Church was built on the present-day corner of Lincoln and King streets in order to provide Italian language services to the Italian community. At the time of Union, in 1925, the Mizpah Mission became the Italian United Church under the auspices of the All Peoples' Mission.

In the 10 June 1925 issue of *The New Outlook,* published to coincide

with the creation of the United Church of Canada at the Mutual Street Arena in Toronto, D.M. Ramsay wrote about the "Home Mission Enterprise of the United Church of Canada." Speaking of the church's work among New Canadians, he reported that there were ninety Mission centres serving nearly seventy nationalities and a large variety of religions. "In several cities we possess 'All Peoples' Missions."[2] Harvey G. Forster served one of these in the Niagara Presbytery from 1923 to 1961.

The breadth of Forster's ministry as Superintendent of the All People's Mission in Welland is reflected in the Mission's files at the United Church Archives. Within this wonderful source of primary materials related to Rev. Harvey G. Forster, one discovers in the same file the 1942 Official Rules for Baseball, Bora Laskin's 1941 "Collective Bargaining in Canada in Peace and War," and *Highlights of Holy Week* by Howard J. Chidley.

Biography

Harvey G. Forster was born in Caledonia, Ontario, on 8 October 1892. He studied Philosophy at University College, University of Toronto, and graduated in 1913.[3] He had been received on probation in the Hamilton Conference of the Methodist Church in 1912 and travelled in the Stromness Circuit in 1913. In 1914-15 he attended Union Theological Seminary and Columbia University in New York but resigned from the Hamilton Conference to join the Canadian Artillery in 1915. He was wounded in Belgium in 1916 and discharged as a sergeant in April 1919.

After the war he returned to New York to complete his MA from Columbia and BD from Union, graduating in 1920.[4] His undated MA thesis for Columbia University was titled: "Statistics of the Negro Population in Manhattan: A Statistical Analysis of the 1915 State Census." His professors at Union included Harry F. Ward, Harry Emerson Fosdick, and George A. Coe. James Mutchmor, Secretary of the United Church's Board of Evangelism and Social Service from 1938 to 1963, was one of his Canadian classmates, along with "Mac" Freeman, John McNab, William Fingland, and George Dewey.

Following graduation, Forster worked with young men and boys at West Park Presbyterian Church in New York. A letter from Salem Bland, written on 14 January 1920, no doubt encouraged his return to Canada:

> The churches are the key to the situation in America. And they can be

> won . . . Don't in short lose faith in the churches and don't let them think you have . . . I think myself we are on the eve of a great religious movement. Somewhere, somehow a new organization is going to emerge – a simple, practical, brotherly, democratic, truly Catholic form of Christianity.[5]

Or perhaps it was the prospect of marriage to Olive Dickinson, from Port Hope, in 1921. This was also the year of his re-admittance into candidacy for the ministry in the Methodist Church and his ordination in the Hamilton Conference.

The Early Years

Forster approached his development of the ministries of the All Peoples' Mission with a remarkable sensitivity and respect for the lived experiences of those he served. Reverend Robert Wright, who joined the Mission staff in 1959, remembered Dr. Forster observing that, "the language of religion is the language of our youth." Consequently, Forster supported the ministries of language-specific colleagues serving the Waldensian Italian community, the Reformed Hungarian community, and the Orthodox Ukrainian community. Some of the knowledge gained from his exposure to the liturgies, prayers, and spiritual practices of other denominations was shared in his 1941 book, *Holy Days: A Lectionary of the Christian Year.* His interest in understanding the context of the immigrants he served is reflected in the fact that his 1929 ThD thesis at United Theological College, McGill, was on "The Effect of the Reformation and Nationalism on the Church in Hungary."[6]

Reverend Fern Sayles came to join Harvey Forster at the All Peoples' Mission in Welland in the spring of 1926.[7] Ordained by the Hamilton Conference of the Methodist Church, Sayles had served on the Six Nations reserve near Brantford and then the Port Robinson-Cook's Mills-Lion's Creek circuit. His focus was to be boys and girls work – and sport was one of his tools. The Maple Leaf Mission had just been equipped with a new hall and gymnasium and it became the centre of church basketball in the city of Welland.[8] Fern Sayles served the congregations of Welland and Maple Leaf. Other staff of the Mission included Miss Tait, from the Woman's Missionary Society (WMS), Reverend Babiuk, Reverend Farkas, and Reverend Sauro, ministering with the Ukrainians, Hungarians, and Italians.

The Depression Years

Forster was the superintendent and put his networking and "church politics" skills to good use in helping the Mission to grow and expand in these early years. However, the communities served by the Mission were hard-hit by the Depression, and both Forster and Sayles were active in the underfunded local relief efforts. In the 1931 report of the All Peoples' Mission, Forster stated that 90% were out of work and 60% were dependent on relief. Reverend Robert Wright recalled one experience that helped Sayles see the inadequacy of the relief received by the unemployed and their families: When Mrs. Kowal threw a pound of butter at Sayles and marched away in frustration at his assumption that she could feed her family for two weeks with two bags of groceries, she found him and the groceries waiting for her when she arrived home. He listened to her story and brought the inadequacies to the attention of the town council and also supported the Relief Strikers in their effort to get the support increased. As Wright observed, in offering these remembrances for the ninety-fifth anniversary celebrations at All Peoples' United in 2009, "The Rev. Sayles and Dr. Forster had an understanding of a basic teaching of our Judaeo-Christian heritage . . . that what we call pastoral care and prophetic witness are integrally related to one another."[9]

The 1935 Relief Strike erupted when unemployed workers protested the inadequate levels and form of support they were receiving and the fact that single workers received no support. Recipients felt that the requirement of "work for relief" was punitive and impinged on the hours available to pick up other odd jobs for pay. They downed tools on the sewer work they were doing on 2 April 1935. When the effort to bring their concerns and demands to the attention of Council were met with teargas, the conflict escalated until Ontario's Premier Mitch Hepburn intervened and broke the strike. Leaders were charged and imprisoned, but, in the end, the food allowances were increased, working-hours adjusted, and single men given relief.

In a 2015 interview, Robert Wright reported Forster saying words to this effect at the time: "When Mr. Sayles and I were thought of as kind Missionaries to those people down at the old Crowland end of town, we were saints and heroes, giving them help in difficult times. But when we began helping them to help themselves – organizing the relief strike or helping them build their unions – we were no longer saintly Missionaries. We became dangerous radicals."[10]

Forster and Sayles visited people in prison, attended juvenile court, visited the sick, and, on five occasions, Forster accompanied members of the community to the gallows. In the case of Mr. and Mrs. Popovich, in his view wrongfully convicted of the murder of Louis Nato, Forster did all in his power to protest and prevent their hanging, but he also did not shrink from accompanying them and their family through the ordeal.

The All Peoples' Mission archives include documents and much correspondence between Forster and "the powers that be" whether concerning immigration, workers' compensation, old age pensions, or the Department of Soldier's Dependents. One case where he was assisting the efforts of a Polish couple to bring their daughter to Canada involves correspondence from Forster stretching from 1937 to 1948. In the files there are many examples where the bureaucracy's dismissal of his request or his argument eventually became acquiescence and Forster achieved the justice he sought on behalf of so many. The persistent widow comes to mind. The breadth of this community-ministry approach meant the church was of service to all in need. Yet the reports of the All Peoples' Mission also record regular congregational information, such as the number of baptisms, funerals, weddings, and new members. Along with his work with children and youth, Fern Sayles also developed a highly successful community evangelism visiting program that sent church elders out to families for an intensive one-week round of evening visits, inviting parents and families to come to church and to sign a commitment card before the end of the visit.

The Labour Work

It was Forster and Sayles's work with the trade unions and workers of their community that produced the most notoriety outside the church and loyalty within the community. Welland workers, like many across the country, benefited from World War Two because of the opportunities to push for improved working conditions and wages.[11] The United Electrical Workers Union had successfully organized in Welland in the early 1940s, but not all employers, including Atlas Steel, were willing to bargain with them. Harvey Forster had accompanied a one-hundred-strong delegation from Welland in March 1943 to Queen's Park, demanding legislation to guarantee labour's right to organize, make collective bargaining compulsory, and outlaw company unions. This legislation was indeed passed by the Federal government in 1944.[12] Its benefits were felt widely among

unionized workers. The 1946 thirteen-week Electro Metals strike in Welland lifted the wage-pattern in the whole region,[13] according to Fern Sayles in his posthumously published 1963 book, *Welland Workers Make History*.

The United Electrical Workers and the International Union of Mine Mill and Smelter Workers, which some considered under the influence of Communist Party members, were a strong trade union presence in the factories and communities served by the All Peoples' Mission. These unions were both members of the newer CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations) rather than the more conservative AFL (American Federation of Labor), in the days when there was much rivalry between the two, until 1955 when they eventually joined forces. The Cold War efforts to red-bait[14] unions and their leaders were rife in the area. The United Steel Workers of America (USWA), with the participation of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF),[15] tried to raid the Mine Mill Union at Inco in Port Colborne. In defence of his support of these "communist-influenced" unions, Forster always emphasized the right of workers to form unions of their own choosing.

The banning of the Communist Party in 1940, the imprisonment of its leaders, the banning of the Ukrainian Farm Labour Temple Association (ULTFA), and the seizing of their Temple in Thorold and others across the country, created another opportunity for the All Peoples' Mission to express their solidarity with organizations in their community. The ULTFA had been a strong supporter of the unemployed workers during the 1935 Relief Strike, opening their Hall for meetings, providing food, and even inviting children to stay with Ukrainian families in Toronto where they were well fed and clothed before being returned home. But the ULTFA, with its 167 branches across Canada, was associated with the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party of Canada, which, unlike the Ukrainian nationalists, supported the Soviet Union and their non-aggression pact with the Nazis in the early years of the Second World War.

When the government confiscated the Hall, the Mission invited the ULTFA to meet at the All Peoples' Mission. When the Mission's attempts to buy the Ukrainian Hall from the government were denied, they rented it for $15 a month from the Department of the Secretary of State, Custodian of Enemy Property. Sayles opened it up for Ukrainian cultural activities with the children and youth. In January 1944 the All Peoples' Mission received a letter from the government reporting that a 14 October 1943 Order in Council had deleted the ULFTA from the list of illegal

organizations. The Ukrainian Labour Temple was returned to the ULTFA and still stands, now under the auspices of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians.

Despite critics and efforts to remove them, reflected in correspondence in 1948, 1949, and 1961, Forster always seemed to prevail in his reasoned explanations, and Robert Wright believed he was the bulwark for Sayles, who was able to work more closely with the radical members of the community and unions, under Forster's protection. In the end, after each investigation or inquiry, Forster and the All Peoples' Mission had the support of the key church leaders and structures, specifically the Board of Home Missions and the Niagara Presbytery.

Forster was an astute communicator. He distributed the annual reports of the All Peoples' Mission very widely among business people, local community people, and the church near and far. He had a large and wide-ranging correspondence and did not hesitate to challenge, but also thank folks in all walks of life from management to labour, local civic leaders, and his church colleagues. He wrote regularly for *The Observer* and was in high demand as an anniversary preacher, church, labour, or community group speaker. He was the 1943 James Robertson Memorial Lecturer and spoke at theological schools across the country.

After the unions were established, he served often as a union representative on Conciliation and Arbitration Boards. A letter from the Joseph Stokes Rubber Co. during the war includes a copy of the Collective Agreement and thanks for "his splendid services as a member of the Conciliation Board in this connection."[16] Similar thanks were conveyed in a letter from the Ontario Minister of Labour, Charles Daley, and the UEW President, A. Hamilton, in 1950.[17]

Beyond the All People's Mission

Forster also served the wider church during his thirty-eight years as Superintendent of the All Peoples' Mission in Welland. He was elected as Chair of Presbytery in 1929 and President of the Hamilton Conference in 1943, in the period when he was actively supporting the unionizing efforts of the workers in the All Peoples' Mission communities. Jesse Arnup, from the Board of Foreign Missions, observed in a congratulatory letter that it is "a tribute to your personality and service that a man in charge of our non-English work in the Conference should be elected as head of the whole."[18]

The United Church *Observer* remarked that "his sympathies are undoubtedly with the common people, their economic and moral rights. The common labourer and Canadian born and foreign born workers, find in him a friend."[19] Additional recognition was afforded Forster in May 1950 when he was awarded an honorary Doctor of Divinity by Victoria University, along with Reverend J.R. Harris, Reverend W.P. Woodger, and Reverend Mitsu Kame Kawabe. In June of that year he was invited to give the dedication at the opening of the UE Centre – Local 523 in Welland.

Forster was an alternate delegate for the United Church at the first Assembly of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in Amsterdam in 1948 and used the opportunity to ask for an unpaid three-month leave-of-absence in order to visit the churches in Eastern Europe. This was not easily arranged, and he was informed there were no tourist visas to the Soviet Union, but, with the help of the embassies and several Friendship societies, he obtained visas to Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. He was very impressed with the ministers he met and, along with Robert Tobias of the WCC, was building relationships in order to offer support in the post-war rebuilding of the whole country, but the churches in particular.

However, Forster had not been back in Canada for very long, before those churches and their leaders came under suspicion and ministers were detained and imprisoned. He protested to no avail and it is not completely clear from the correspondence how these developments affected his generally favourable view of the socialist governments in the countries that he had visited. After Reverend Ziapkoff, a minister with whom Forster had met and whose family he had visited, was given life imprisonment for being a spy, he remained in correspondence with Ziapkoff's wife and family through her sister, who eventually ended up in England, and attempted to supply some material support to Ziapkoff's family who were in dire straits.

Forster was a member of the Board of Publications for the United Church for over twenty years and contributed to a number of publications, including *The Church in the City Streets*, published by the Committee on Missionary Education and the Woman's Missionary Society. He solicited information and reports from folks engaged in urban ministry from across the country in compiling this book. In 1948, an excerpt from his 1934 book, *Calling All Canada*, was included in the Public School's Grade Six Reader, *My World and I*.[20] Forster also served on the Board of Evangelism and Social Service for many years and brought reports on the situation of labour to inform their work.

While Wright credits Forster with knowing how to work through church politics, his colleagues and supervisors in the Board of Home Missions and elsewhere no doubt found him a trying colleague at times. Judging from the correspondence, he could be challenging and unrepentant in overlooking processes and "working the system." Transparent accountability regarding the finances of the Mission was also a point of tension. While succeeding Secretaries of the Home Mission Board periodically chided him, the quality of respect, open debate, and honest communication was evident on both sides.

On a number of occasions, the Board of Home Missions wanted to move him or Fern Sayles to another Mission or second one of their foreign language ministers for a needy situation in another All Peoples' Mission. Forster appears to have withstood every proposed reassignment, and the All Peoples' Mission staff was very stable until 1958 when Fern Sayles became ill and needed to retire.

It is not clear how well Forster got on with other bodies such as the Woman's Missionary Society (WMS) whose workers were part of the All Peoples' Mission in the early years. Some 1926 correspondence between the WMS and the Board of Home Mission made it very clear that their proposed worker would not be under Forster. There was also correspondence reflecting some turf wars with the Presbyterians in terms of work with immigrant communities. Again Forster responded to all allegations with utmost reason and succeeded in deflecting any criticism.

Transition Years

As Forster approached his own retirement and especially with the death of his longtime colleague, Fern Sayles, in March 1959, Robert Wright reports that Forster was discouraged and anticipated that the Mission might be closed. Most of his "ethnic ministry" colleagues, Reverends A. Babiuk, C. Farkas, and D. Gualtieri, were also ready to retire. However, Forster's search for a successor for Sayles and Robert Wright's search for a place to begin ministry happily converged when, at Al Forrest's suggestion, Wright wrote a letter to Forster on 10 February 1959, introducing himself and describing his hopes for ministry:

> My special interests lie in the area of Church and Industrialized society . . . but my interest is specially focused in the various movements of renewal within the church which place great stress

> upon the revitalized congregation; the essential role of the laity; evangelical methods appropriate to the 20th century "industrial" man's hearing of the Gospel; the depressed areas of our cities, the out-casts of society, etc. etc.[21]

Robert Wright was also a graduate of Union Theological Seminary. An Albertan, and active in the Student Christian Movement (SCM), he had attended SCM industrial work camps and lived at Howland House, the SCM's co-op in Toronto, whose residents were engaged in industrial Mission. With the encouragement of Bob Miller, SCM Study Secretary at the time and a Union graduate as well as a founder and resident of Howland House, Wright applied to Union Theological Seminary and was accepted. He did his fieldwork in the East Harlem Protestant Parish for all three years he was at Union. He also participated in Canadian SCM industrial work camps each summer.[22] His thesis for Doctors Lee and Bennett was on "Automation and the Christian Doctrine of Work and Vocation."

Graduating from Union in 1958, almost forty years after Forster, Wright was ordained by the Alberta Conference and granted a one-year leave to do an intern year at Church of the Redeemer, part of the East Harlem Protestant Parish.[23] Forster was planning to be in New York for meetings at Union a few weeks after receiving Wright's letter, and they agreed to meet. The encounter was positive on both sides and, with his typical speed and determination, Forster got all the approvals lined up so that the Home Mission Board could ask the Alberta Settlement Committee for Wright's transfer to the Hamilton Conference to begin work at the Mission on 1 July 1959.

Robert Wright moved into a small upstairs apartment on Clifford Avenue with his wife, Nancy, and their first daughter, beginning their twenty-six years of ministry in Welland. Harvey Forster's efforts to find a replacement for Fern Sayles were also successful as Reverend Keith Dixon, an Emmanuel-educated ordinand from the Saskatchewan Conference, was appointed in 1960 and took up responsibilities for the church in South Thorold and other surrounding communities. In his final report to the Home Mission Board in 1960, Forster states that, "the year 1960 has been probably the most rewarding year in the history of the All Peoples Missions since their inauguration in 1923."[24]

Wright and Dixon brought new energies to the work of the Mission that was reorganized by the Presbytery in 1961 as an English-speaking

pastoral charge, with a mandate to carry out a pilot project in industrial evangelism. The "ethnic ministers" and their congregations were to continue under direct accountability to the Home Missions Committee of Presbytery and the Board of Home Missions, with close cooperation encouraged with the newly created pastoral charge.

Forster's Legacy

Dr. H.G. Forster retired in June 1961 and the more-than-two-hundred who gathered to honour him at a Testimonial Dinner in St. Stephen's Hall included "representatives of the church, his congregations, civic leaders, labour and other groups with whom he had been associated during his forty years in the ministry." [25] In presenting Dr. Forster with an honorary membership, Earle Harris, President of Local 523 of the United Electrical Workers, stated that if it were not for Dr. Forster and the late F.A. Sayles, they would not have the union they had and that Dr. Forster had served the union well in arbitration and conciliation boards.[26]

Greetings were brought from the Board of Education on which he served for seventeen years, including three terms as Chair, as well as the Welland Basketball Association, begun by Forster and Sayles. Very Reverend Doctor George Dorey, former Moderator of the United Church and for many years Secretary of the Home Mission Board, and Doctor M.C. MacDonald, current Secretary of the Home Mission Board, were among those representing the church. Ellis Morningstar, MPP, and Mayor Michael Perenack remembered Forster's early years in ministry when they were boys. Warden Melvin Swart, Reeve of Thorold Township, said, "Dr. Forster had aligned himself with the forces of progress and spent his life fighting for the under-man to give him a better life." [27]

In retirement, Forster continued to be active in the wider courts and boards of the Church and wrote *The Industrial Worker, his quest for meaning*. He remained in Welland, but, as he aged, he began to lose his mental faculties. Yet when he was able to attend services at All Peoples' he was remembered and embraced by those who had known him from their childhood.

In closing the eulogy at Forster's 1974 funeral, Robert Wright quoted from Forster's unpublished autobiography – *Brothers and Comrades*:

> Out of my twenty-five years of experience, I have found little error or

> fault in the aspirations of the common people. They have the knowledge, which comes through suffering, through poverty and disease, through being the dispossessed ones of the earth, knowledge which is infinitely wiser than all the writings of wise men in the ages o'er; and with a sense of my own unworthiness, I cast my lot with them, not in any quixotic adventure in personal renunciation but in a joyful appreciation that I am allowed to help in some small way to make true the dreams which inspire their struggles and the hopes which sustain their weary days. God is in that struggle, for he has made this earth to be his table and desires that all his children shall partake thereof.[28]

As Salem Bland advised, Forster stayed in the Church. He created space in the church for people like Fern Sayles and himself to work on the margins and push the boundaries, during a highly formative period following church union and into the height of the United Church's growth and establishment in the 1960s. He encouraged others doing similar work in urban, industrial, and resource towns across the country. Forster modeled and mentored, for a radicalized post-war generation of ministers and lay people, the ways in which the United Church could be, to quote Salem Bland, "a simple, practical, brotherly, democratic, truly Catholic form of Christianity."[29]

Forster, along with his colleague of thirty-four years, Fern Sayles, was part of an impressive cadre of United Church ministers whose call to ministry with immigrants, the poor, and the working class is a proud thread through the history of the United Church and its founding denominations. Tracing Forster's forty-year ministry in the Niagara Presbytery provides an intriguing window into the motivations for this unusual and sometimes costly vocation and its impact both in the church and the wider community.

In the history of the All Peoples' Mission in Welland, the United Church has a proud story to tell of ministers and church engaged with the issues of daily life. It is the tale of a risk-taking public ministry with church leaders in positions of service in the community, willing to stand behind the justice-seeking activities of their members. In some cases, it shaped and made local and national history, but it also offered support, values, and formation to those who would be church, labour, and civic leaders.

This history deserves attention and the local and labour histories being written about this area and time would be amplified by the inter-

weaving of the church story of the All Peoples' Mission in its one hundred years of service to the working people and immigrant communities of the Niagara Presbytery. This particular and yet not unique story of ministers as public figures engaged in public theology, where both words and action preach the good news of the Gospel, deserves to be known more widely and can challenge and inspire the public witness of the Canadian church in its present context.

Endnotes

1. "All Peoples celebrates 95 years in Welland," *Welland Tribune*, 16 October 2009.
2. Robert Wright pointed out in a May 2015 interview that the Methodist Church had All Peoples' Missions and the Presbyterian Church did similar work through entities called Church of All Nations.
3. His classmates included Arthur Phelps, Frederick Kingston, John Line, Lloyd Smith and Jim Mutchmor, with whom he ventured off to Union Seminary in New York.
4. *Alumni catalogue of the Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York, 1836-1936* (New York: 1937). Electronic reproduction. New York; Columbia University Libraries, 2007. JPEG use copy available via the World Wide Web. Master copy stored locally on 5 DVDs#ldpd_5998059_000 01 to 05. Columbia University Libraries Electronic Books. 2006.
5. Salem Bland to Harvey G. Forster, 14 January 1920, Box 1, File 1, United Church Archives of Canada (UCA).
6. M.B. Pengelly, *The United Church Observer*, August 1958.
7. F.A. Sayles, *Welland Workers Make History* (Welland: Winnifred Sayles, 1963), 12.
8. Sayles, *Welland Workers*, 12.
9. Remembrances from Robert Wright, prepared for Donna Totten on the occasion of the 95th Anniversary Celebrations of All Peoples' United Church, 18 October 2009.
10. Wright, 18 October 2009.
11. Membership in labour unions increased from 360,000 in 1939 to about 750,000 in 1945. (*United Church Observer*, 15 August 1946, 13).

12. Privy Council Order 1003, known as P.C. 1003, proclaimed in February 1944, finally created the machinery necessary to enforce a worker's right to choose a union, to impose collective bargaining and a grievance procedure, and to curb unfair practices by unions and management. (Canadian Labour History, Canadian Labour Congress, action.web.ca/home/clcedu/attach/ labour-history.pdf), accessed 12 March 2011.

13. Sayles, *Welland Workers*, 164.

14. Accusing them of being members or sympathizers of the Canadian Communist Party, called the Labour Progressive Party from 1943 to 1959, in an effort to delegitimize their influence.

15. Precursor to the New Democratic Party.

16. Box 1, File 14, UCA.

17. Box 1, File 25, UCA.

18. Arnup to Forster, 12 June 1943, Box 1, File 12, UCA.

19. *United Church Observer*, 1 July, 1943.

20. George Tait to H.G. Forster, 21 February 1948, Box 1, File 19, UCA.

21. Robert Wright to Harvey Forster, 10 February 1959, Box 2, File 37, UCA.

22. Wright participated in the Howland House work camp in Toronto in 1956 and co-directed the Montreal Work Camp in Point Ste. Charles with Guy Mercer in 1957.

23. The East Harlem Protestant Parish was established in 1948 by Union alumni Bill Webber, Don Benedict, and J. Archie Hargraves. By 1953 the East Harlem Protestant Parish had set up four storefront churches and offered practical and spiritual help to people of all ages. By 1962, over 500 students did field work in East Harlem and twenty committed to long-term ministry there. Bill Webber was simultaneously Dean of Students at Union from 1950 to 1957. Source: www.utsnyc.edu, accessed 21 March, 2015.

24. Harvey G. Forster, All Peoples' Missions Report, Niagara, 1960, Box 3, File 57, UCA.

25. Source not given, but likely *Welland Tribune*, biographical file for H.G. Forster, UCA.

26. H.G. Forster biographical file, UCA.

27. H.G. Forster biographical file, UCA.

28. Robert Wright "Eulogy in Tribute to the late Rev. Dr. H.G. Forster," Central United Church Archives, Welland.

29. Salem Bland to H.G. Forster, 14 January 1920, Forster Personal Papers, Box 1, File 1, UCA.

Pentecostal Predominance in French Evangelicalism in Quebec, 1921-1963

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During the period of the 1920s through to the early 1960s there was a marked change regarding which denominations were predominant in French evangelicalism in Quebec. New groups such as the Pentecostals, Christian Brethren, and Fellowship Baptists became predominant in terms of measures like numbers of churches due to the decline of all the major pre-existing French evangelical groups and to the continuous if limited growth of these new groups.

The experience of the Pentecostals illustrates well the factors involved in the change among French Protestant groups in Quebec regarding which groups were predominant.[1] In the context of the decline of the older groups, Pentecostals experienced a continuous if very limited growth. This growth was rooted in a theological anti-Catholicism, a conviction that many French Catholics in Quebec were in need of salvation. This theological conviction motivated a strong commitment to evangelism and church planting, and the establishment of a French Bible school to facilitate such work, all of which provided the motor of Pentecostal growth. This theological anti-Catholicism motivating church planting was also shared by the Brethren and Fellowship Baptists and similarly led to continuous if limited growth. Together these three groups established over fifty new French churches in fifteen of the seventeen present administrative regions of Quebec in the period 1921-63, with each having roughly the same number of churches. This period was the beginning of the trend of the predominance of the Pentecostals and these

other two groups in French evangelicalism in Quebec, which became more pronounced after the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s.

The growth of the Pentecostals is best studied in the larger Canadian church context, which proved significant at several key points in the history of this growth, such as the birth of the first French Pentecostal church and the establishment of a French Bible school. The local Quebec context of Catholic anti-Protestantism is also important in understanding the limited nature of Pentecostal growth. Catholic social control in Quebec and the resulting pressure on French converts to Protestantism in such areas as education, limited the growth of the Pentecostals and of the other new groups and had contributed to the decline of the older groups through emigration of members.[2] Whereas Protestant theological anti-Catholicism fuelled Protestant growth, Catholic anti-Protestantism helped limit this same growth.

A final important point about the Pentecostals was their leadership among the new groups in different aspects of growth. They were the most successful in this period in developing indigenous leadership, establishing the first French Bible school, and they had the largest churches and by far the largest overall attendance. In addition, until the early 1950s, they had the most churches. Their growth was assisted by an emphasis on healing as part of their evangelistic method. Pentecostalism thus played an important role in French evangelicalism in Quebec in the twentieth century prior to (and after) the Quiet Revolution. Yet it is relatively neglected in the historical literature.

A document issued by the Missions Department of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC) in 1947 clearly articulates an official Pentecostal position that many French Catholics were in need of salvation. It describes Catholic Quebec as a "Mission Field at our door" and states that the "evangelization of the lost is the primary objective of the Church."[3] The author describes a "darkness" caused by the Catholic religious system that is contrasted with the "light of glorious Salvation." Clearly, then, the Catholic religion may not lead to salvation, and many Catholics are lost, which is why they are a mission field. According to the Missions Department, the Catholic sacramental system exacted a price "before any hope of absolution or pardon could be enjoyed."[4] Thus French Catholics were seen by Pentecostals generally to be in need of salvation because their system undermined the gospel of salvation through the free grace of God. Another document from the PAOC Missions Department from around the late 1950s maintains that a Quebec missionary's joy over

the conversion of a French Canadian is just as great as his African counterpart's joy over heathens in Africa converting from idol worship and witchcraft since the "transition from darkness to light is just as great," as is the opposition.[5]

This Pentecostal theological anti-Catholicism motivated the strong commitment to evangelism and church planting that led to Pentecostal growth, which contributed in turn to Pentecostal predominance in French evangelicalism. The Pentecostals established their first French church, La Première Église de Pentecôte Française, in 1921 in Montreal. This was the first instance of Pentecostal leadership among the new groups in that they were the first to establish a French church in Quebec. La Première Église initially consisted of French Canadians converted in a three-week evangelistic and healing crusade conducted by Aimee Semple McPherson in Montreal in 1920. It also consisted of members of a group of Francophones who had attended a service for Francophone members of Evangel Pentecostal church in Montreal. Charles Baker, a Pentecostal minister from Ottawa, founded this English church in 1916.[6] It was Baker who invited McPherson to Montreal.

During McPherson's crusade, Mrs. Dutaud, the wife of Grande Ligne Baptist pastor Louis Roussy Dutaud, was healed of tuberculosis, a cancerous rib, and infection in her limbs. Her father was healed of a crippled arm as McPherson preached. A reporter from the *Montreal Gazette* observed and reported a great number of healings.[7] After the crusade, the Dutauds joined the fledgling Pentecostal movement. It was pastor Dutaud who led out the French group in Baker's church to start the first French Pentecostal church in Quebec.[8]

The influence of the Canadian church context was crucial in this birthing of the French Pentecostal movement in Quebec. The nucleus of La Première Église was formed in an Anglophone church founded by a leader sent from Ontario and grew due to the invitation Baker gave to McPherson to come to Montreal. The role of healing in the birth of this church is also important to note. McPherson preached the "fourfold gospel" – Jesus as Saviour, Spirit Baptizer, Healer, and soon coming King. This "full gospel," as John Christopher Thomas argues, is the theological heart of Pentecostalism.[9] Charles Baker preached this fourfold gospel, and early Pentecostal sources in Quebec, both French and English, frequently mention people being saved, healed, and baptized in the Spirit.[10] According to Candy Gunther Brown, healing "is the single most important category – more significant than glossolalia or prosperity – for understand-

ing the global expansion of Pentecostal Christianity."[11]

La Première Église continued to be the only French Pentecostal church in Quebec into the 1930s. The primary focus in this first phase of Pentecostalism in French Quebec was the development of one large urban church that would provide a solid base for future expansion throughout the province. The focal points for the Canadian Pentecostal movement in general were cities.[12] The key factor in the growth of the church was the conversion of French Roman Catholics. Pentecostal theological anti-Catholicism drove evangelism and led to many conversions. For example, Pastor Dutaud wrote of a revival in 1931 in which about thirty people abjured or formally renounced the Catholic Church, of which twenty-two were admitted to the church and baptized.[13] In 1935 the French Protestant newspaper *L'Aurore* recorded fifty-five abjurations of the Catholic Church by people who then joined La Première Église. According to Ron Rust, by 1940 the church had an attendance of over 300 people.[14] Even if inflated, this figure is significant, for no church planted by the Brethren or Fellowship Baptists in this period exceeded 100 people. Thus a second aspect of Pentecostal leadership in this period was that they developed the largest French churches among the new groups. Many of the families that would affect French Pentecostalism in Quebec attended this first church.[15]

La Première Église started a church in St. Hyacinthe in the Montérégie region in 1939 through one of its key workers, Arthur Samson, a converted French-Canadian.[16] This second Pentecostal church began with the conversion of twelve members of the Desmarais family. The mother, a devout Catholic, initially expelled one of her children from the house when he converted, so as to remove his influence on his siblings. After Samson visited her home, the priest convinced her that her family should have no further contact with him.[17] According to Samson, about 150 people converted from 1939 to 1963. In the late 1960s, attendance at the church was over 100.[18] The St. Hyacinthe church is significant in part in that it started the Pentecostal pattern of church multiplication through indigenous workers – Dutaud was French Canadian but was a seasoned worker initially from another group.

After the establishment of the Montreal and St. Hyacinthe churches by 1940, the French Pentecostal movement entered a second phase beginning in 1941, one in which it expanded into many new regions of the province through the work of indigenous church planters trained at a French Bible school in Quebec. This second phase was due to the establishment that year of a second Pentecostal church in Montreal, Église

de Pentecôte Centrale, and of a Pentecostal Bible school, Institut Biblique de Bérée (IBB), both headed by Walter Bouchard. Bouchard was of French-Canadian origin, but he lived in Providence, Rhode Island. [19] He moved to Montreal in 1941 and started the new church and the Bible school. The latter began with fourteen resident students and a staff of five, including Bouchard as Principal.[20] IBB represents another example of French Pentecostal leadership in Quebec, since the Pentecostals were the first among the predominant three new groups to form a French Bible school. Église de Pentecôte Centrale drew away many members from La Première Église and soon had an attendance of 250 to 300.[21] Others joined after experiencing conversion. The church was aggressively involved in evangelism and recorded fifty-eight baptisms by the end of 1942.[22]

Many of the initial students at IBB came from Centrale. In this way one large church in Montreal provided the indigenous workers for a church-planting movement in Quebec after 1941.[23] These two institutions working together partly explain why the French Pentecostal movement in Quebec indigenized more thoroughly than did the Brethren or Fellowship Baptist movements. They had a larger pool of potential indigenous leaders to work with, and they trained them. The French Conference was formed in 1949 and elected its own leadership, the first one being Bouchard.[24] The greater level of indigenization with respect to workers was a fourth and central aspect of Pentecostal leadership in this period.

The Canadian influence on IBB is shown by the facts that the curriculum was modelled after that used by the English Canadian Pentecostal Bible schools and that program material was initially obtained by translating material from English.[25] In addition, in 1942, three graduates from Ontario Bible schools joined IBB to serve as teachers.[26] That Bouchard, the teachers from Ontario, and another French-speaking American worker, Emile Lassègues,[27] were all products of the North American Bible school movement highlights the fact that IBB was an extension of a North American phenomenon.

IBB graduates had a very large impact on this second phase of Pentecostal church growth, reflecting the similar major influence of Bible schools in the growth of Canadian evangelicalism.[28] Of the fourteen new Pentecostal churches planted between 1942 and 1963 (one was a previously existing, but new, work), at least eleven of them were started with the help of, or pastored at some point by, IBB graduates.[29] With the three churches already mentioned, this brought the total number of Pentecostal churches to seventeen. In 1959, Ethel Logan, one of the teachers at IBB

from Ontario, wrote that IBB had "graduated 54 students, of whom 56% are in full time Christian work. Most of the fourteen French Pentecostal churches were pioneered and are being pastored by graduates of this school."[30] The new churches were in Senneterre (Abitibi region), Valleyfield (Montérégie), Longueuil (Montérégie), Chomedey (Laval), Rouyn (Abitibi), St. Raymond (Quebec City region), Granby (Estrie), Sherbrooke (Estrie), St. Calixte (Lanaudière), Gaspé (Gaspé), Val d'Or (Abitibi), Quebec City, Pointe St. Charles in Montreal (a pre-existing, but new, church that joined the Pentecostals), and St. Jean (Montérégie).[31] Thus, by 1963, the Pentecostals had expanded greatly beyond Montreal and were present in about half of the administrative regions of Quebec (eight of the current seventeen regions).

Attendance figures were found in different sources for eleven of these seventeen churches, which provide the basis of an estimate of 800 to 870 French Pentecostals in Quebec in the early 1960s.[32] Ron Rust and Michael di Giacomo estimate that there were about 1000 French Pentecostals in Quebec in the 1960s.[33] Even the lower estimate of 870 is about double the attendance in the early 1960s of the next largest of the new groups, the Brethren.[34] The Pentecostals, then, had both the largest churches and the greatest overall attendance of the three groups.

Thus the Pentecostals experienced continuous growth in attendance and numbers of churches from 1921 to 1963. Yet this growth was obviously very limited. This was due in part to Catholic anti-Protestantism, which proved effective in limiting the growth of all three new evangelical groups. The previously mentioned document, "Miracles of Grace," noted the "very real difficulties in the way of evangelization" due to the power the Catholic Church exercised in Quebec society. Because of this "one after another sincere groups have commenced the establishing of Gospel work among the needy French, only to find themselves checkmated and stalemated until progress seemed impossible."[35] These comments by a contemporary Pentecostal observer make a clear link between the social and political dominance of the Catholic Church in Quebec and a perceived lack of progress in "Gospel work" by evangelicals. Pentecostal pastor Bernard Sigouin made the same connection in a public response in the 1970s to accusations of a lack of productivity among French Pentecostals prior to the full onset of the Quiet Revolution. According to Sigouin, Pentecostals then had worked "under a leaden sky." One could not "submit articles freely to newspapers" or rent "a hall on a street corner" since owners would not rent for "fear of the parish priest."

Some Pentecostals moved out of Quebec after being "treated as low persons" and "called Communists and agitators."[36]An aggressive Catholic anti-Protestantism that made full use of its social dominance in French Quebec was an important cause, according to Sigouin, of the modest scale of French Pentecostal growth during our period. At least some French evangelicals were still leaving the province due to this opposition.

Other Pentecostal testimonies from the period highlight both the social and economic pressure on French converts as elements of Catholic anti-Protestantism. Arthur Samson, the pastor of the St. Hyacinthe church, wrote that "the priests tried to stop those who were newly saved. They even went to the factory where they worked, and tried to have them dismissed from their jobs." When the church rented a hall, "again the priests tried to step in and close the hall."[37]

French Pentecostals in other towns experienced similar pressure from Catholic priests. In Valleyfield "several young ladies lost jobs because the priest forbade the people to have them in their home." In 1950, according to the same source, a church radio broadcast in Montreal was "abruptly cut off with no other explanation than that it was objectionable to the Roman hierarchy."[38] Radio broadcasting was an important plank in the evangelistic strategy of the new French evangelical groups, so the successful opposition of the Catholic Church in this case certainly impeded evangelism. Catholic opposition also curtailed the broadcasting of the other new French evangelical groups.

Perhaps the element of the social dominance of the Catholic Church in Quebec that most concerned the new French evangelicals was Catholic control of education, the result of which was an educational system split between English-speaking Protestants and French-speaking Catholics. The French-speaking Protestant was thus driven toward the English school system, which led to Anglicization and the consequent weakening of the French church. Anglicization had been a major factor in the decline of the older denominations.

René Robert, principal of the Pentecostal school for children, l'Académie Chrétienne de Montréal, discussed the issue of education under the title "Our Movement and the Problem of Education" in an article written in 1955. He noted that "(there) are no French public schools in Quebec. With practically no exception, government subsidized instruction in French is only to be found in schools under the Roman Catholic School Commission." This situation created great difficulty for Francophone evangelicals parents, who, according to Robert, found it necessary to

withdraw their children from school. It was through pressure exerted by these parents that l'Académie was founded in 1943 so that their children could receive an education in French that also taught Christian principles.[39] The relationship between the two elements in Robert's title was stated in stark terms: no education in French for the children, no future for the French Pentecostal movement in Quebec. Sending French children to English Protestant schools in the past had led to the children joining English churches, thus depriving French churches of much-needed workers[40] and always making them vulnerable to being first generation churches. Claude de Mestral, a United Church pastor, commenting in 1947 on the educational system in Quebec and its implications for Francophone converts to Protestantism, wrote that Quebec "is the only place in the world where converts are more or less forced to turn their backs on their mother tongue and culture."[41]

In conclusion, the experience of the Pentecostals illustrates well the argument that the new French evangelical groups became predominant in Quebec because of a theological anti-Catholicism that motivated a strong commitment to evangelism and church planting among French Catholics. Pentecostal growth occurred in the context of the decline of the older French evangelical groups, which also facilitated the change with regard to which groups were predominant among the Protestants. It also occurred in the context of significant help at key junctures from the Canadian church and in a local Quebec context marked by a powerful Catholic anti-Protestantism. The former aided Pentecostal church growth; the latter restrained it. Finally, the Pentecostals exercised leadership with regard to growth in a number of ways among the new groups, such that they were an important denomination in French evangelicalism in this period.

Endnotes

1. The historical literature on French evangelicalism in Quebec often refers to French Protestantism because of Quebec's Catholic context. Though evangelicalism is a later development within Protestantism, the two terms are used interchangeably here.

2. For the effect of the Catholic anti-Protestantism on the older groups, see Dominique Vogt-Raguy, "Les Communautés Protestantes Francophones au Québec, 1834-1925" (Ph.D diss., Université Michel-de-Montaigne, Bordeaux III, 1996), Tome IV, 926-27.

3. "Miracles of Grace in French Canada,"1947, Missions Department, 11, Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada Archives, Mississauga, ON (hereafter PAOCA).

4. "Miracles of Grace," 3, PAOCA.

5. E.L. Lassegues and Salome Cressman, "Pentecost in Quebec," n.d., PAOCA. Other examples of the Pentecostal view of Quebec as a mission field are cited in Michael di Giacomo, "Les Pentecôtistes Québécois, 1966-1995: Histoire d'un Réveil" (Ph.D diss., Laval University, 1999), 48-49.

6. Michael Di Giacomo, "Aimee Semple McPherson: 'Shot in the Arm' for French-Canadian Protestantism," in *Winds from the North: Canadian Contributions to the Pentecostal Movement*, ed. Michael Wilkinson and Peter Althouse (Leiden: Brill 2010), 158-59, 163; Ronald Rust, "Les Premières Églises Pentecôtistes Françaises à Montréal," (Unpublished paper, Faculté de Théologie Évangelique, 1998), 11-13.

7. Di Giacomo, "Aimee Semple McPherson," 162, 160; Florence Dutaud, "Des pentecôtistes à Montréal!" in *Chroniques des Ouevres du Saint-Esprit au Québec*, ed. Claude Tremblay (Magog: Les Éditions Jaspe, 2010), 27.

8. Di Giacomo, "Aimee Semple McPherson," 163.

9. John Christopher Thomas, "Health and Healing: A Pentecostal Contribution," *Ex Auditu* 21 (2005): 88. Another variant, mentioned by Thomas, is the fivefold gospel that includes Jesus as Sanctifier.

10. For example, Mary Nahern, "Evangel Memories," 14 November 1986, 2, PAOCA; Dutaud, "Des pentecôtistes à Montréal," 31.

11. Candy Gunther Brown, "Introduction: Pentecostalism and the Globalization of Illness and Healing," in *Global Pentecostal and Charismatic Healing*, ed. Candy Gunther Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 14.

12. Bruce L. Guenther, "Pentecostal Theological Education: A Case Study of Western Bible College, 1925-50," in *Canadian Pentecostalism: Transition and Transformation*, ed. Michael Wilkinson (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 101, 118n8.

13. L.R. Dutaud, "Église Pentecôte Française," *L'Aurore*, 16 Janvier 1931, 6, cited in Rust, "Les Premières Églises," 14; Rust, "Les Premières Églises," 12n45, 16.

14. Rust, "Les Premières Églises," 16n62, 15. The attendance figures are based on an interview between Rust and a later pastor of the church, Marcel Vachon, in 1998. For attendance, see also Di Giacomo, "Aimee Semple McPherson,"

163, who cites Rust.

15. Thomas Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada* (Mississauga: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1994), 164.

16. Gerald Samson, "Le prix de victoire," in *Chroniques des Ouevres du Saint-Esprit au Québec*, 135; "Quebec Echoes, 1962-63," Home Missions Department, 8, PAOCA.

17. Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 164; Tabitha Lemaire, "Ultime génération," in *Chroniques des Ouevres du Saint-Esprit au Québec*, 243-45.

18. "Quebec Echoes," 8; PAOCA; Salome Cressman, "Le Mouvement de Pentecote au Quebec," n.d., 12, PAOCA. This latter document is based on Salome Cressman, "A Half Century of Pentecost in Quebec," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (September 1964), so most of the material dates from 1964. It was updated and translated by Gilles Gagnon; Cressman, "Mouvement de Pentecote," 1, PAOCA.

19. "Miracles of Grace," 4, PAOCA.

20. "Miracles of Grace," 4, PAOCA; W.L. Bouchard, "The Founding of Berea French Bible Institute," *The Pentecostal Testimony* 26, no. 13 (July 1 1945): 4. "Miracles of Grace" states that there were sixteen students the first year. Perhaps there were two non-resident students. "Miracles of Grace," 4, PAOCA.

21. Rust, "Les Premières Églises," 20-21. These figures are again based on the interview with Pastor Marcel Vachon, who had been a member of La Première Église from 1930 to 1941 and who joined Centrale in 1941.

22. Rust, "Les Premières Églises," 21.

23. Rust, "Les Premières Églises," 26. Guenther notes the similarly important role of Calvary Temple in Winnipeg for another Canadian Pentecostal Bible school, Western Bible College: Guenther, "Pentecostal Theological Education," 101-2.

24. Rust, "Les Premières Églises," 28.

25. Bouchard, "Founding of Berea," 4, PAOCA; Guenther, "Pentecostal Theological Education," 117.

26. Rust, "Les Premières Églises," 24-25.

27. "Rev. E.L. Lassegues Finishes His Course," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February 1970): 9.

28. Bruce L. Guenther, "The Origin of the Bible School Movement in Western Canada: Towards an Ethnic Interpretation," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1993), 135.

29. Jerry Thomas, "The Predominance of Pentecostals, Brethren, and Fellowship Baptists in French Evangelicalism in Quebec, 1921-1963" (Master's thesis, Briercrest Seminary, 2015), 62-65.

30. *Le Béréen* XII (1958-1959): 13, PAOCA.

31. Thomas, "French Evangelicalism in Quebec," 62-65.

32. Thomas, "French Evangelicalism in Quebec," 66.

33. Ron Rust and Michael Di Giacomo, "Quebec: Mission Not Impossible," 2000, 4, POACA.

34. Thomas, "French Evangelicalism in Quebec," 89-90.

35. "Miracles of Grace," 2-3, PAOCA.

36. Cited in Michael Di Giacomo, "FLITE: Religious Entrepreneurship in Quebec in the 1970s and 1980s," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 46 (2004): 77-78. The Padlock Law passed in Quebec in 1937 gave the provincial government "wide powers with reference to any group or meetings suspected of communism." The French Baptist Grande Ligne mission noted that year how Catholic priests on many of its mission fields were describing French Protestants as Communists in public statements. W. Nelson Thomson, "Witness in French Canada," in *Baptists in Canada: Search for Identity Amidst Diversity*, ed. Jarold Zeman (Burlington: G.R. Welch Company, 1980), 56.

37. "Quebec Echoes," 8, PAOCA. The efforts in both cases were ultimately unsuccessful.

38. "Pentecost in Quebec," PAOCA.

39. René Robert, "Our Movement and the Problem of Education," *Le Béréen* 10 (1955): 18-19, PAOCA.

40. Robert, "Problem of Education,"18-19.

41. Claude de Mestral, "Protestantism in Quebec," *The Christian Century*, 23 April 1947, 524.

The College and Missions: Jane Drummond Redpath[1]

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"REDPATH – On January 30, 1907, at Terrace Bank, Jane Drummond, widow of the late John Redpath, aged 91. Funeral private."[2] Jane Drummond Redpath's death notice stands in stark contrast to the flowery obituary at John Redpath's passing thirty-eight years earlier. His described the large, elaborate funeral celebration and his "long career of usefulness."[3] Her death notice gives no hint of her remarkable life and zeal for the cause of missions.

In an era of extravagant obituaries, why can we find few words about this woman who played such a significant role in the cause of education and missions both in Montreal and beyond? Was she a recluse, as her obituary suggests, only the "widow of the late John Redpath," or was she, perhaps, actually a woman of stature and substance whose voice is worth uncovering?

Among historians of women circulates the adage "anonymous is a woman." Rarely were the journals or letters of the few women who wrote preserved. It requires much research to learn about a well-known matron like Jane Redpath and her influence on the course of the nineteenth-century evangelical culture.[4] Historians have found that "persistent curiosity" is required "to uncover" what often turns out to be worthwhile "significant roles" that women have played.[5] Hints in studies referencing Jane Redpath suggest the importance of recalling her voice.[6]

Jane Drummond Redpath made essential contributions to Montreal's evangelical culture in her role as mistress of the Redpath home and to the mission of the Presbyterian College, Montreal, through her leadership in

the French Canadian Missionary Society and later the Presbyterian Church in Canada Ladies' French Evangelization Society. Although it was nearly a century before women were given the opportunity to pursue theological education at Presbyterian College, history shows that Jane Redpath shared in the early vision of women's education. She gave direction to the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association established in 1871 with strong support by Presbyterian academics, including McGill Principal William Dawson and Presbyterian College Principal D.H. MacVicar.

Born in 1815 in Edinburgh to Margaret Pringle and George Drummond, Jane was raised with several siblings in a Presbyterian home of influence.[7] George Drummond, expert in stone masonry and the founder of a successful contracting building business, was a political presence on Edinburgh City Council.[8] Among his apprentices were his brother Robert and John Redpath.

When Jane was still an infant, the Drummond household gained a permanent link with Britain's North American colonies. It was a time of great unrest in the British Isles with tens of thousands of soldiers returning to seek employment after the Napoleonic Wars. George's brother, Robert, and John Redpath, both skilled and qualified stone masons, set forth on the journey to the Canadas, with Robert settling in Kingston and John in Montreal.[9]

In summer 1834, John Redpath's wife, Janet McPhee Redpath, and his friend Robert Drummond both died from the dread cholera that took 7,500 lives in the Canadas. This fate reconnected the Kingston Drummonds and the Montreal Redpaths.[10]

Two years earlier, sixteen-year old Jane had come out from Edinburgh on an extended visit with her uncle Robert and his wife Margaret.[11] Not surprisingly, even in a time of mourning, the beautiful young Jane captured the heart of John Redpath, a thirty-nine-year-old widower and father of six, for he needed a spouse who would re-establish and manage his household.[12] He had gained a reputation for his work on the Rideau Canal, for his successful contracting business as a stonemason and engineer, and as a gentleman of social status and community influence. During his time of mourning, he recognized Jane Drummond's capacity for helping him to raise his family and her potential for support in building his career. He saw the companion he would need if he were further to establish his place as a solid Presbyterian in the mercantile culture shaping Montreal.[13]

Jane Drummond would have been schooled for marriage.

Nineteenth-century women and men expected to live in distinct worlds and were apprenticed for their respective roles. Just as her father had taught John stonemasonry, Jane would have learned what it meant to be a woman from her mother and other relatives. She would have learned the "intimacy and relational meaning" that women of the era shared "with their women friends and in their mothering,"[14] and she would have been schooled properly in household management. She would have learned the skills essential to wed a man of stature.

Why did Jane Drummond agree to marry John Redpath, a man nearly twice her age? We can only speculate. We know that, for women of that era, marriage was "a rite of passage," and that although women generally had the right of choice, parents held sway. Equal to the importance of affection was the status that marriage gave women in their roles of wife and mother. "Marriage robbed a woman of personal power," but it gained her a strong role where there was plenty of scope for leadership in the household and in moulding the minds and souls of children.[15] As John Redpath's wife, Jane gained the status to be a force for good in the community. Jane would enjoy the status of matron of a ready-made family, the financial ability to sustain an elite lifestyle, and the ability to manage her own household. Jane Drummond chose the potential for adventure and for mission in a city considered a tinderbox of religious and racial tension.

An 1836 portrait by Antoine Plamondon soon after their marriage gives a glimpse of the young Jane: cultured, in the elaborate apparel of the day, and be-jewelled, but appropriately dressed in black. Her visage shows strength of character and suggests the virtues valued in the good woman: "kindness, simplicity of manners, Christian commitment, intelligence, industry, frugality, goodness, and generosity."[16] John's letter to a friend soon after their marriage suggests that life with Jane had proven to be good and hints that he had found in her a "tender wife," an "affectionate parent," and, most important, potentially a "steady and sincere friend," attributes greatly valued in nineteenth-century colonies.[17]

By the arrival of their first child, Margaret Pringle, born 26 October 1836, John Redpath's distinction as merchant of Montreal marked his acceptance in Montreal society.[18] Redpath's position was confirmed with the family's move to the 235-acre property of Terrace Bank, located high on Mount Royal. Mountain property was purchased by the wealthy because it was above the smoke, the pollution, and the smells of squalidness typical of an industrial Victorian city. Their new three-storey house

was one that bespoke stature with its grand hallway, drawing room, parlour, and library. The dozen bedrooms, three inside toilets, and central heating were important symbols of the Redpaths' affluence.[19] As mistress of Terrace Bank mansion, Jane "had to hire staff, a cook, a maid, a governess, and perhaps a butler, determine the work, and ensure that it was performed to her satisfaction."[20]

There were plenty of responsibilities for women of the era, but motherhood was their most important role. Servants did the cooking and cleaning, but, as mother, Jane was to bear, to nurse, and to ensure that her large and rapidly growing blended family was fed and clothed. Through giving birth to ten children, Jane learned the physical and emotional challenges implicit in motherhood.[21] To show the complexity of her situation, it should be noted that the span of twenty-two years of childbearing were punctuated by weddings and births in John's first family. The year after the birth of her eldest, she became a mother-in-law. Perhaps this was the most challenging event. Peter's marriage to Grace Woods, a woman Jane's own age, posed what must have been, at times, formidable challenges in being mother-in-law to a peer.[22]

The family's first loss was the death of ten-month old Williamina in summer 1842. This may well have taught Jane the lesson of "complete self-surrender" that advice writers of the time defined as the meaning of motherhood. Perhaps through this death and the subsequent deaths of Isabella, Charles, and Harriet, Jane was learning the "calm endurance of trials and pain and constant suffering without complaint" that "were . . . essential characteristics of good mothering." It would seem that she found an outlet in mission.[23] Jane's contributions to the French Canadian Missionary Society (FCMS) must have given her solace and meaning. This involvement set Jane on a path she would follow for the next forty years. Her innate strength and deep spirituality played a significant part in helping shape the evangelical culture of Montreal. These resulted in theological education and eventually gave women access to higher education.

In spring 1839, James Thompson of the Montreal Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society assembled a group of like-minded Protestant ministers and laymen to discuss how best to evangelize French-speaking Catholics. The patriot rebellions of 1837–38 led to an opening for change.[24] In their wake, Lord Durham recommended assimilation, but Protestant leaders believed the answer was conversion. Only by rejecting Catholicism and embracing the evangelical faith could French Canadians

be liberated to the peace and prosperity of the colonial life envisioned by evangelicals.[25] John Redpath and his fellow congregants of Côté Street Free Church, founded in 1844, proved to be its strongest and most generous backers.[26]

There were suggestions that John was following the lead of his wife. Indeed, scholars speculate that men "deferred to women in matters of religion, morality, and child rearing."[27] John's naming of Drummond Street when he ceded the property to the city in May 1842 confirms his respect for her and hints at her close association in his work.[28] And the 1844 report of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the FCMS, founded in 1841, shows the sense of mission that allowed Jane to exert strong influence in women's rights and education.[29] We hear her voice in their own affirmation of their work: it "almost renders it superfluous for your Committee to say that this Auxiliary is one of the main pillars upon which your society rests."[30]

In the spirit of nineteenth-century upper class women, Jane seized the opportunity to engage in missions that held the hope of transforming Montreal and the whole of Lower Canada.[31] As a woman she could not preach the Gospel message, but she could join with other women in supporting mission to French Canadians, confident in the Society's belief that "the improvement and conversion of the French Canadians . . . a work equally interesting and imperative," would redeem their world.[32]

Jane and John Redpath assumed leadership roles in the FCMS: he as vice-president, then president, until his death in 1869; and she as committee member and president of the ladies' work, until her resignation in 1873. Jane's donations continued until the mission was incorporated into the French ministries of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Her annual gift of $30, the cost of educating a child for a year, stood large among the more common contributions of $2.[33]

Central to Presbyterianism is the belief that the pulpit is the primary source of religious instruction. It was mandatory to educate good missionary preachers.[34] In January 1864, John and Jane Redpath gathered Côté Street friends, including McGill's Principal William Dawson and Dr. D.H. MacVicar, for what came to be called "that little meeting at Terrace Bank."[35] Their home was therefore the birthplace of the Presbyterian College – a seminary in connection with McGill – with the mission to train converts to carry the Gospel to the people of Quebec in French.

It was a vision that Jane Redpath shared as much as anyone in her home that night. The year John died, 1869, classes were being held in the

basement of Erskine Church. Viability, visibility, proper faculty, and curriculum had barely begun. No one doubted that this was a cause that John Redpath had determined would succeed.

On 8 March 1869, Jane Redpath received hundreds of mourners who paid their respects to her late husband John. Although Jane was not mentioned in Principal D.H. MacVicar's eulogy, her encouragement for the fledgling Presbyterian College, whose head was her minister and friend, continued unabated. Jane soon established the John Redpath scholarship and the John Redpath chair at the Presbyterian College.[36] Numerous references point to bursaries for needy and deserving students marked "Mrs. Redpath of Terrace Bank."

Her resignation from the executive of the women's branch of the FCMS was not an end, but the beginning of an even wider leadership of Montreal women in the new Presbyterian Church in Canada formed in 1875 and its French work, including the Maritimes and the ever-expanding North West Territories. There was great pride that the founding president of the Presbyterian Ladies' French Evangelization Society of Montreal – which was later to evolve into the Woman's Missionary Society – was Jane Redpath. Not many years later, the Women's Missionary Society reported to the General Assembly both the extensive activities of its French department and its care for new immigrants, its hospitals, missions, and the schools in the West, all staffed and administered by women.

In the same year Jane Redpath presided over the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association, established in 1871 by McGill Principal William Dawson. Her leadership pushed the latter until women were admitted to McGill in 1885. It could be said that her life was her sermon. Reports from the three organizations that benefited most from Jane Redpath – the Ladies' Auxiliary of the French Canadian Missionary Society, the Ladies' French Evangelization Society, and the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association – underscore her strong leadership in mission and women's education. They allow readers to hear her voice in the concerns highlighted. A French speaker herself, and a woman of means and influence, she invested in educational efforts that she and others in the French Canadian Missionary Society believed would benefit the French Catholic population and, by extension, themselves.[37] This ministry set the stage for her leadership role in denominational ministry to French Canadians and for higher education for elite and middle-class women.

By the time women were accepted into McGill University in 1885, Jane Redpath was seventy years old. Her decade plus as president of the

society culminated a life-time of educational mission. As a woman of her time, the responsibility would have fallen to her to educate her children and step-children in spiritual and moral values. In this responsibility, she heard a call to mission to the world in which she lived for over seventy years of her long life, serving faithfully by taking leadership in the shaping of an evangelical Protestant culture of Montreal. One can hear Jane Drummond Redpath, perhaps without a pulpit, but with the enthusiasm, intelligence, and vision that would allow her voice to continue to be heard by the generations of women who have benefitted from higher education. The idea of the need for French evangelization and Presbyterian College's ministry to French Protestants faded over time. Still, Jane Drummond Redpath's commitment to her chosen city and significant role in creating the evangelical culture that included education for women makes the "persistent curiosity" required "to uncover" the significant role that she played well worthwhile.

Endnotes

1. An expanded version of this article appears in *Still Voice – Still Heard: Sermons, Addresses, Letters, and Reports, The Presbyterian College, Montreal, 1865-2015*, eds. J.S.S. Armour, et al. (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2015).

2. "Jane Drumond Redpath – notice of death," *The Montreal Daily Star,* 2 February 1907. Her burial at Mount Royal Cemetery, Montreal, is documented. No obituary or biography is included on the site (http://www.findagrave.com)

3. *Montreal Witness,* 5 March 1869, cited in Richard Feltoe, *A Gentleman of Substance: The Life and Legacy of John Redpath(1796-1869)* (Toronto: Redpath Sugars, 2004), 112. See also D.H. MacVicar, *In memoriam: a sermon, preached in the Canada Presbyterian Church, Côté Street, Montreal, on Sabbath, March 14th, 1869, on the occasion of the death of John Redpath, esq., Terrace Bank* (Montreal, 1869), CIHM/ICMH microfiche series, no. 09626.

4. See Great Unsolved Mysteries in Canadian History (GUMICH) project for hints to the mystery that still surrounds Jane Redpath's family. We know that, at the time of her death, Jane had outlived all her stepchildren and all but three of her own children. See Feltoe's family genealogy, in *Gentleman of Substance*, 124-28. He noted that, "the home had been maintained for Jane by the executors of the estate" (210). Census records confirm that she lived at Terrace Bank with only several servants helping to maintain the vast home.

See Jane Redpath, "1871 Census of Canada" and "1901 Census of Canada," *Ancestry.com*; George Drummond, "1851 Scotland Census," *Ancestry .com*

5. See for instance Marlene Epp, *Mennonite Women in Canada: A History* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008), 3-4.

6. Feltoe does a wonderful service in weaving together John Redpath's business and philanthropic enterprises with his complicated family life. On Jane Drummond Redpath, see *Gentleman of Substance,* especially 69, 118. For glimpses of Jane Redpath's contributions to Montreal benevolent work, see Lois Klempa and Rosemary Doran, *Certain Women Amazed Us: The Women's Missionary Society, Their Story, 1864-2002* (Toronto: Women's Missionary Society, 2002); Margaret Gillett, *We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women at McGill* (Montreal: Eden Press Women's Publications, 2005), 52, 61; and J.S.S. Armour*, Saints, Sinners, and Scots: A History of the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, Montreal, 1803-2003* (St. Andrew and St. Paul, 2003), 125.

7. With women's lives having been largely confined to the domestic sphere, historians of women have proposed a life cycle approach. See Veronica Strong-Boag, *The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1988).

8. See Jane Redpath, "1871 Census of Canada" and "1901 Census of Canada," *Ancestry.com*; George Drummond, "1851 Scotland Census," *Ancestry .com*.

9. Feltoe, *Gentleman of Substance*, 11-12.

10. Feltoe, *Gentleman of Substance*, 36-41, 125.

11. Jane Errington, *Wives and Mothers, School Mistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 6; and Feltoe, *Gentleman of Substance*, 39.

12. Feltoe insists that they respected the obligatory year of mourning, dictated by nineteenth-century society. See *Gentleman of Substance*, 40-43.

13. Feltoe, *Gentleman of Substance* 37; and Errington, *Wives and Mothers*, 82.

14. Nancy M. Theriot, *Mothers and Daughters in Nineteenth-century America: The Biosocial Construction of Femininity* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1996), 37; see also 32, 63 and S.J. Kleinberg, *Women in the United States: 1830-1945* (Houndmills: Macmillan Press, 1999), 14.

15. Theriot, *Mothers and Daughters*, 24, 34. See also Errington, *Wives and Mothers,* 7, 28-29, 31. Errington asserts that scholars estimate that ninety per cent of women in Upper Canada married.

16. Antoine Plamondon, *Jane Drummond 2nd wife of John Redpath 1815-1907,* 1836, M994.35.2 McCord Museum, Montreal, QC; and Errington, *Wives and Mothers,* xii.

17. Errington, *Wives and Mothers,* xii; Feltoe, *Gentleman of Substance,* 50. See also Theriot, *Mothers and daughters,* 35, on the important role that the home took for men such as John Redpath.

18. St. Paul's Church Registers, 1994.4012.7.5, Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, Montreal Church Archives cited in Feltoe, *Gentleman of Substance,* 48-49.

19. Feltoe, *Gentleman of Substance,* 49, 51, 55, 126-27.

20. Errington, *Wives and Mothers*, 134. Two years after John's passing, with only four children still at home, Jane had a laundrywoman, a cook, and a parlour maid. Jane Redpath, 1871 Census of Canada. See also Errington, *Wives and Mothers*, 141.

21. Errington, *Wives and Mothers*, 20-21.

22. Feltoe, *Gentleman of Substance,* 69, 120, 127-28.

23. Theriot, *Mothers and Daughters,* 4-5, 22; Errington, *Wives and Mothers*, 72.

24. Glen Scorgie, "French-Canadian Missionary Society," in *French-Speaking Protestants in Canada: Historical Essays,* ed. Jason Zuidema (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 84, 89-90, 97.

25. Scorgie, "French-Canadian Missionary Society," 86, 94, 98; Richard Lougheed, "Clashes in Worldview: French Protestants and Roman Catholics in the 19th Century," in *French-Speaking Protestants in Canada,* 101-2.

26. Feltoe, *Gentleman of Substance* 70-72; John S. Moir, *Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Burlington: Eagle Press Printers, 2004), 103, 105; and Gerald Tulchinsky, "REDPATH, JOHN," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003-, accessed June 16, 2014, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/redpath_john_9E.html

27. Theriot, *Mothers and Daughters,* 35; and Kleinberg, *Women in the United States*, 60.

28. Feltoe, *Gentleman of Substance,* 68-69.

29. Feltoe, *Gentleman of Substance,* 118.

30. French Canadian Missionary Society (hereafter FCMS) Annual Report I (1844), 22.

31. Kleinberg, *Women in the United States,* 35; Errington, *Wives and Mothers,* 21, 170, 161; Lougheed, "Clashes in World View," 101-102; and Feltoe, *Gentleman of Substance,* 69.

32. Ladies' FCMS (1841), 28. See also Scorgie, "French-Canadian Missionary Society," 79, 85, 95.

33. FCMS Annual Reports (1844–1869).

34. Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 32.

35. Robert Campbell, *A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church* (Montreal: W. Drysdale and Co. Publishers, 1887) https://archive.org/details/cihm_00397, 394; Keith Markell, *History of the Presbyterian College, Montreal, 1865-1986* (Montreal: Presbyterian College, 1987), 8-9; and Lalonde, "French Protestant Missionary Activity," 165.

36. *Presbyterian College Journal,* November 1881, 14; Markell, History of The Presbyterian College, 10-11; and Campbell, *History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church*, 394.

37. Jane Redpath, "1901 Census of Canada."

Action Research on the Possibilities of Tangential Research: An Opportunity to Explore Prospectively in that Uncatalogued Box

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Action research is a process whereby the researcher becomes the subject within their own study. This essay is a reflection on the opportunity I recently had to work with a number of historians on a book entitled *Canadian Baptist Women*. Although this paper is specific to my current work, the resulting reflection on this work has allowed me to propose a research model that I hope will form a useful model for future works.

In reflecting on both the process that had the Canadian Baptist Historical Society initiate the work and the writers that either stepped forward to write or stepped back from the process, I sought to reflect on a model that might explain the book's development that would be useful for future historical endeavours. At this point, I am in no way able to analyze whether my perceptions of the process truly reflected those of my co-writer colleagues, but that does not really matter. What I am proposing within this paper is that, although the action research process was instrumental in my developing a model, it was this product, a historical research model, that seems most useful.

Over several years I attended with great interest the annual meetings of both the Canadian Baptist Historical Society and the Canadian Society of Church History. I noticed that questions were often posed to presenters that were at the periphery or tangential to their research. Often it seemed that the questioners had some interest either because of their own research focus, or a tangent that the speaker struck within their presentation, or with

a memory of a "box of uncatalogued" research that was left closed. When I presented my papers on several occasions I noted that I had been asked about the women in my very male-focussed research, and I noted the same had happened with other speakers.

When the Canadian Baptist Historical Society executive were seeking book topics, I very innocently suggested that they try to answer the questions they kept raising about women and produce a third volume in their series of historical research. Little did I know that I would be asked to edit that volume, for my own research focus on Protestant conscience with nineteenth-century male subjects did not quite match the task. I did, however, decide to accept.

I have to acknowledge that I was selective in sending out initial invitations to those who, at prior meetings, raised questions about Baptist women for any number of reasons. I also used these meeting participants' suggestions as to others that might be invited to contribute. Invitations were extended to those historians interested in researching well-known or little-known Canadian Baptist women from across the country and across a wide time span.

Chapters were received exploring a broad number of issues and aspects of local church, home, and international mission and family life. The influence of Baptist faith was visible within each chapter in some manner that allowed for the exploration of topics that incorporated original research and provided a synthesis of research that might further inform our readers' understanding of aspects of Canadian Baptist women's lives.

The book includes a number of works by historians from across Canada:

Marguerite Van Die Queens University	**Foreword**
	Eastern Canada
Hannah M. Lane Mount Allison	"Brethren and Sisters": Gender, Family, and Baptist Churches in Mid-Nineteenth Century New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Maine
Patricia Townsend Archivist, Acadia	Maritime Women's Long Road to Ordination

Sharon Leighton Acadia	"A Scotch Terrier Worrying an Elephant": Miriam Ross in the Congo
	Quebec
Sharon Bowler CBHS	Madame Lore, A Baptist Beginning
	Ontario
Wendy Porter McMaster	A Women's Quartet and an Anonymous Gospel Choir: The Remarkable Lives and Ministry of Black Baptist Women in Late-Nineteenth-Century
Marilyn Whiteley Independent Historian	Isabel Crawford: Missionary to Native Americans
	Western Canada
Callum Jones Pastor, Penticton, BC	"[O]ur women have wrought loyally": Baptist Women, Their Roles, Their Organization, and Their Contribution in Western Canada Between 1907 and 1940
Paul R. Dekar Memphis Theol. Seminary Mary Flemming	Lois Althea Tupper, Pioneer Theological Educator

It was interesting to note that many of our writers indicated that their chapter focus inspired them to commit to continued research on their topic, and it is anticipated that several new books and papers will be published in the near future. With this outcome noted, I can truly say that, even prior to publishing, this book has already been a very successful endeavour.

The title of this paper, "Action Research on the Possibilities of Tangential Research: An Opportunity to Prospectively Explore in that Uncatalogued Box," highlights four areas of personal questioning. First, how do I explain what it means to have "An Opportunity to Explore"? Second, why do I define our research as "Tangential"? Third, why do I look upon our work from the perspective of an "Uncatalogued Box"? And fourth, how have these three aspects guided me towards using a prospective analysis methodology?

An Opportunity to Explore

In this section, I am building on some of the information that I have shared in this paper's introduction. The need to explore the book's beginnings is useful. Without analyzing the manner in which this book came to be and the history of each chapter, it may seem strange to say that a book has provided an opportunity to explore. For the most part, the research that has taken place for each chapter has come about because of a direct invitation that justified or gave permission to tackle a history that has been untold. This fact is quite striking and requires some research to explore why academic-based Baptist women's histories have been lacking.

In listening to fellow historians presenting both informally or formally with regard to their research focus, there were times when questions about women were asked and subsequent stories shared with regard to materials that were and still remain sitting in personal files, archives, or unpublished manuscripts.

Most writers who accepted the challenge to change direction from their primary research focus did so because they had some prior connection to the book's topic. Some writers had research that lay uncovered by choice, for a number of differing reasons including a lack of interest by others in the past. Some writers understood the need to pursue the topic and made significant changes personally and professionally to commit to the book. Some writers had wonderful intentions, ideas, and access to materials, but, for a number of reasons, found that they could not proceed with their work. It is hoped that, with the publishing of the book, these unfinished research beginnings will once again be picked up and used in a future volume on the same topic.

The exploration of the array of power struggles and the powerful leadership that Baptist women have experienced in following their call to serve the Lord becomes very evident in many of the chapters. This same range of hegemony exists in Baptist history itself. Specifically, the history of Baptist women historiography deserves analysis. Hegemony within historiography in general and then within faith groups has affected the history of religion and faith. The process of working on this book provided a necessary opportunity to begin to research beyond the barriers at both the micro and macro levels and, at the same time, hopefully will inspire other research that may have been impeded in the past.

Tangential Research

Historical research involves designing and/or using a process to target and analyze a specific knowledge base. Tangential research allows for the meaningful straying from process and/or product and honours the altering or drifting inquiry that all researchers experience from time to time. Tangential research provides the opportunity to stray beyond goal and methodology and fills an important void in either historical research process or product.

I wish to provide a specific example from my own research focus that illustrates the tangential path that I took in writing a chapter for this book. I believe it is one that many of you would be able to relate to and one that many of our chapter writers have explored to various extents. My work using a microhistorical perspective with the goal of uncovering the varied aspects and depth of Protestant conscience relied on my focus on one nineteenth-century doctor who trained during the cholera epidemic in Quebec. At the periphery of my research were a number of Baptist men and women whom I could not explore for a number of reasons, including time, research focus, and methodology, and the seemingly digressive and superficial nature of widening the study.

When I was asked to become the editor for the text, naturally I wanted to submit a chapter. I purposefully examined my prior work and took a calculated, well-planned tangent into the peripheral dimension in both method and focus and began researching the life of a Baptist woman who cared for the sick during the cholera epidemic.

The experience of writer and editor also placed me in a unique position of becoming an action researcher and had me questioning and analyzing both my own experience and the experience of my fellow researchers. Purposely allowing myself to take my own invitation gave me the permission and inspiration I needed to follow along a research tangent. Altering both methodology and focus resulted in an opportunity to explore meaningful and insightful data about Baptist women and, at the same time, allowed me a unique opportunity to analyze the process that led myself and the other writers into and through this process.

An Uncatalogued Box

In order to broaden historical research, specifically in the area of Canadian Baptist women, I am suggesting that it requires a calculated tangential research methodology and focus. While many of us have acquired information from that uncatalogued box or catalogued but long

forgotten box, might I suggest that there is nothing serendipitous in our finding, nor our use, of that box. No one can deny that no matter how powerful data might be, skill is required to analyze it. Even accidental discoveries require a competent discoverer to recognize the merits of a new possibility.

My focus on the uncatalogued box is not from the perspective of the chance finding of material, but on the tangential nature of the wealth of information about religion and faith that has gone purposefully unvalued and unrecognized. Our work on the book *Canadian Baptist Women* has provided us with firsthand action research based examples of how difficult it is in some cases to acquire information and how some information sources are generally not used or even sought after. If data that has been archived or tucked away is undervalued, potential research on specific topics will remain unexplored. Canadian Baptist women have remained a neglected area of research and, if our work inspires others to tangentially seek out those uncatalogued boxes, then our effort has been a success.

Impacts on Research Methodology

The last three subsections – exploration, tangential research, and uncatalogued boxes – have highlighted some of the action research type focus that I continue to engage in throughout the book process. There is more, however, to the research methodology employed in the writing of this book that needs to be acknowledged. Chapter contributors were encouraged to share ideas with one another and some did take the opportunity to do so. Their work then became extensions of each others' endeavours. Also, contributing historians were given an open historical period and focus for their research and this resulted in a book that touches on a variety of topics and themes.

The book explores a selection of voices and work that have had an impact on faith and beyond in Canadian Baptist women's answers to God's call in their lives. In order more fully to understand the research methodology employed I need to revisit the words used in my invitation letter to potential researchers:

> This book will seek to document the broad experience of Canadian Baptist women whose Baptist faith has played a significant role in helping them to respond in varied ways to the personal and professional exigencies of life with a sense of hope, support, and direction that has mobilized the improvement of individuals and society in

> varied aspects of public, corporate, private and spiritual life. This is a much needed volume which aims to provide an authoritative source of inspiration, celebration, and insight into a variety of Baptist women's issues throughout Canadian history.

Basically, at the outset of this endeavour I set for myself as editor the goal of systematically synthesizing the contributed chapters into a whole. In meeting this goal, I have relied on my past research experience using a research methodology that I have labelled prospective focused historical analysis. To place this into context for you, I have tried to glean from historical research some form of guidance in a very action-research-based manner. The following example might help illustrate how my research methodology employed as a historian is indeed altered by my own research. In considering the words of Reverend R.W. Evans written in the *Kingston Chronicle and Gazette* on 20 March 1841, I actually sought to find a research methodology that could honour his ideas. His challenge to me was as follows:

> The study of antiquity, if pursued in the proper spirit, cannot but be a most profitable study. The mere collection indeed of dead facts and of obsolete fragments, is as useless as it is foolish, but when it is accomplished by a spirit which, by means of these materials, can cement the present times to the past, and draw reasonable omens respecting the future, it is both useful and wise.

I have employed these words as the philosophical framework underpinning all of my research, including this work on Canadian Baptist women. In analyzing each of the submitted chapters, I employ a coding system to identify themes and outcomes with the purpose of studying the experiences of the past for the purpose of learning in the present and future. I base this method on the challenges Neil Postman has left to educators and historians. Postman, in advocating for his use of historical analysis, in his book *Building a Bridge to the Eighteenth Century*, has inspired me to look on this history of Canadian Baptist women from Postman-like perspective:

> If looking ahead means anything, it must mean finding in our past useful and humane ideas with which to fill the future . . . What else is history for if not to remind us about our better dreams? . . . They are not strange ideas. They are still close to us. They are not all that

> difficult to remember. I suggest we try to reclaim some of them, with this provision . . . only that we use it for what it is worth and for all it is worth . . . in order that we may better understand what suits us. Let us look there for instruction rather than models. Let us adopt the principles rather than the details.

If I truly believe the words that I included in my invitation to researchers – that "this is a much needed volume which aims to provide an authoritative source of inspiration, celebration, and insight into a variety of Baptist women's issues throughout Canadian history" – then my call is to employ or at least inspire in our readers a Postman-like method of historical analysis that I label as prospective focused historical analysis.

If our study of Canadian Baptist women's history is to mean anything in relation to future endeavours in answering God's call, it must mean that our past should be searched and analyzed in a manner that informs our present and future. God's call should not be strange to us, nor should the call received by others past or present be one to which we have trouble relating. With this book I place a challenge to seek out past experiences for purposes of instruction in order to understand the principles, challenges, and solutions that we need to consider as we seek and follow God's call in our lives.

In analyzing the book as a whole, readers should be given the opportunity to be directed toward religious and faith issues in order that Christian workers might be better able to fill both the present and future with workable ideas and goals, and find something meaningful in connecting to both the loss and celebrations experienced in times past. The history of Canadian Baptist women provides us with an opportunity to examine a rich wealth of knowledge and experience that can profitably inform all whose path seeks to answer God's call both in the present and future.

Living by Faith: Family Life and Ministry in the Diary of a Pentecostal Woman Preacher, 1940-1960

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While Agnes McAlister and her husband Harvey worked as itinerant preachers after their marriage in 1936 and then co-pastored four different churches in rural and small-town Alberta and British Columbia from 1941 to 1959, she kept a diary. As Pentecostals, the McAlisters often lived "by faith," meaning that when their income from church work and other part-time employment was inadequate to cover the cost of raising their young family, they looked to God and their neighbours for help to make ends meet. The McAlister diary is full of references to the ways in which Agnes McAlister's work in ministry intersected with her family life. Beyond economic issues, because she partnered with her husband in the work of the ministry, Agnes McAlister was often too busy with her preaching and church meetings to fulfill the role of homemaker and hostess singlehandedly. On many occasions her diary reported that family members, church folk, and neighbours came to her aid with gifts of food and food preparation. This paper uses the diary of a female Pentecostal minister in rural and small-town western Canada to trace the connections between lived religion and family life in the mid-twentieth century. Agnes McAlister's diary reveals that as a Pentecostal minister, family life was entwined with the other work she and her husband performed. As the McAlisters supplemented their income with paid work outside the church and raised their family, Agnes was much more than merely a "full-time pastor's wife" as she once described herself. Indeed due to the demands of travel, health, and the needs of the extended family, Agnes McAlister sometimes

performed a greater share of work than her husband, both in the realm of ministry and the family.

The Diary

In October 2012 I received a copy of the McAlister diary from Michael Wilkinson, a sociologist and leading scholar in Canadian Pentecostal studies from Trinity Western University.[1] Michael had acquired it from a member of the McAlister family and he recognized that because of my work in the gender history of Canadian Pentecostalism, I would be interested analyzing this document as a potential source for uncovering the experiences of a woman in ministry. Moreover, Agnes McAlister is not as well known as some of the others I have written about to-date, such as Aimee Semple McPherson, Zelma Argue, Beulah Argue Smith, Susie and Carro Davis, and Alice Belle Garrigus, and therefore her story represents a more grassroots picture. Although the family name "McAlister" was prominent in the bureaucracy and hierarchy of Canadian Pentecostal circles, Agnes and her husband Harvey's ministry work did not include any appointments to the national governing body of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, unlike their more well-known McAlister relatives from Ontario.[2]

The diary I received was a typewritten, edited version of the original; Agnes herself had put it together in the 1990s. In it, she makes several retrospective comments, often prefaced with the phrase "My diary tells me . . ." Indeed, on numerous occasions Agnes confided to her readers, "My diary reminds me of many things that I do not remember."[3] She also attempts to explain the gaps between entries in the original diary. For example, about the month of October 1944 she wrote, "There is nothing written in my diary for the next two weeks, but I know we had services every night except Mondays and Saturdays."[4] Evidently, when the schedule became too full, there was no time to keep the diary. After an entry about summer camp in July, she wrote, "My diary has nothing written for the remaining part of 1947. Perhaps we were too busy." When she resumed writing on 1 January 1948 she speculated, "Perhaps I had made a New Year's resolution."[5]

Though I made attempts through members of the McAlister family to gain access to the original, unedited diaries, it became clear that those original texts no longer exist and therefore no such comparison can be made. What is in hand, then, is 116 single-spaced, typewritten pages of

regular entries that Agnes McAlister wrote over a twenty-three-year period from her marriage to Harvey in March 1936 until the end of June 1959. Sometime in the 1990s,[6] Agnes reread her own diaries and typed the version of them that I received in 2012.

The Diarist

The diarist, Agnes Leverth McAlister (born 1913), was the daughter of Swedish immigrants who had arrived in the United States in 1900 as young adults and worked for five years in South Dakota. Before her parents got married, Agnes's mother found work as a cook in a hotel and her father as a farm labourer. By 1910, the Leverths were successful farmers on rented land when, on the prompting of family members who had already migrated to Canada, they made the decision to move to a place where, as Agnes said, "they, also, could have their own land."[7] The Leverths settled in Crooked Lake, Alberta, near the community of Wetaskiwin, approximately seventy kilometers (or forty miles) south of Edmonton. Agnes's father purchased from a homesteader a half section of land that included a log house, a log chicken coop, and a log barn. In that rural home, Agnes was born in December 1913.

The family religion in Sweden was Lutheran, but in Canada the Leverths became Pentecostal. In 1918 a Swedish itinerant preacher from Winnipeg, C.O. Nordin, travelled to their area bringing a Pentecostal message of Holy Spirit baptism and speaking in tongues. Agnes's mother and father were among the first to receive that message, and they offered part of their land to build a church. With that meeting place as a base, it is no surprise that their home was a centre of religious activity where itinerant preachers often stayed with their family. Agnes remembered scenes from her childhood of revival meetings where

> Some people came and stood on some building scaffold that was outside, so they could see through the windows what was happening in the church. They possibly did see some things that were different from the classical church of that day. People would raise their hands as they loudly praised the Lord. Some may have been shaking, or weeping, or laughing. Some fell prostrate as the Holy Spirit moved in the church. We were called "Holy Rollers," although I don't remember seeing anyone roll. We did appreciate the anointing of the Holy Spirit.[8]

In 1929 Agnes turned sixteen and she moved, with her parents, to the town of Wetaskiwin so that she could attend secondary school. The Wetaskiwin Pentecostal church became their new church home. In the fall of 1932 she went to Normal School in Camrose to train as a teacher. She worked at her first teaching job, in the South Pigeon Lake School District about thirty miles from Wetaskiwin, until 1936 when she married Harvey C. McAlister (1914-1974), who had become the pastor of the Wetaskiwin Pentecostal Assembly the year before. Harvey McAlister's extended family was well known in Canadian Pentecostal circles because many of his relatives from the very large extended family, including his uncle R.E. McAlister, known as "the Father of Canadian Pentecostalism," were pillars of the church in the Ottawa Valley and across Western Canada. Many of them became national denominational leaders as the Pentecostal movement took hold and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada was formally organized in the 1910s.[9] Agnes recalled that when she first met Harvey McAlister he was assisting in a service at her family's church while she was still in high school. She wrote, "I said to whoever I was sitting by, 'Another McAlister upstart trying to be a preacher.' Dear Lord, forgive me for my cynical comment."[10]

After their wedding in March 1936, Agnes finished out that teaching year and then quit her job. As she said, "At the end of June that year I quit being the teacher at South Pigeon Lake School and became a full time Pastor's wife."[11] Yet that comment about her change of employment belies the fact that Agnes McAlister was more than the spouse of a pastor. In fact she shared fully in the ministry when, according to her diary, she regularly preached at least one of the two sermons on any given Sunday. Moreover, her diary reveals that Agnes regularly redoubled her ministry efforts, taking on the full responsibility for running the church, sometimes for weeks at a time, when her husband was absent or unwell. At the same time, she gave birth to four children and her diary records the busy details of raising her family and living in more than six different communities over twenty years of ministry partnership with her husband.

The Historiographic Context

A study of what the rural and small town Pentecostal pastor, Agnes Leverth McAlister, said in her diary about family life can usefully be grounded in at least three different bodies of scholarship, and this essay attempts to join the conversation with those scholarly works: first, with

historians of women who use memory sources, particularly diaries and journals; second, with Pentecostal scholarship that explores gender constructions and lived religious experiences, particularly those of women in ministry; and finally, with scholarship about working-class family life, including the cultural meanings attached to food, the consumption patterns of rural family life in the postwar, and the unpaid work of caregiving.

When women's history was still gaining traction in the larger discipline of history during the 1970s and 1980s, scholars discussed the innovation of turning to women's own writing to hear the voice of historical actors who were neither famous nor published. There are many debates about using such records, including how representative they might be, how fragmented they sometimes become, and how to situate such texts into a wider context. Yet despite those challenges, there is no question that diaries and journals are an important form of ethnography that can be explored in a variety of ways.

Identifying and interrogating sources that give access to women's own voices is no longer a novel approach for historians, although it was regarded that way just a few decades ago.[12] With the emergence of women's history almost fifty years ago, scholars recognized that studying women's experiences would require a degree of creativity in searching for and using source materials that had previously been overlooked or undervalued. So-called "non-traditional sources" were a hallmark of the turn toward the new social history in general, and toward women's history in particular. As social history and women's history gained momentum in the 1970s and 1980s, the quest to find the voices of so-called "ordinary" women also accelerated, as did attention to the everyday experiences of more public figures. Interdisciplinary influences also served women's history well in guiding the use of diaries and other memory sources.

Rural scholarship, using diaries, journals, interviews, and other ethnographic source materials, is a rich field as the work of Catherine Wilson, Andrea Gal, and Emily Weiskopf-Ball illustrates.[13] My essay intersects with gender history, in particular that of women and religion, specifically Pentecostal women.[14] In the realm of Pentecostal studies, there has been a long-standing call for attention to women's experiences, beginning with David Roebuck's call almost twenty years ago, for additional biographical studies of women's biography to be made.[15] American scholars of Pentecostalism, including Estelda Alexander, Edith Blumhofer, Abraham Ruelas, and a growing list of others, have answered that call to provide biographical studies of prominent Pentecostal

women.[16] Beyond recovering those stories, attention is also being given to theoretical perspectives on the institutionalization of religion and the promise of gender theory for understanding Pentecostal women's history.[17]

At the same time, there is convergence between works in religious studies and those in social history given the turn toward a "lived religion" approach where the everyday experiences of believers are mined for evidence about how spirituality is enacted in the quotidian details of life. Scholars such as David Hall and Meredith McGuire both call for this kind of attention to lived religion, and, in Canadian scholarship, the work of Marguerite Van Die is a good example of this approach.[18]

Agnes McAlister's diary provides a prime example of a source that can allow for an exploration of family life and religion and specifically of gender, ministry, and lived religion in the context of Pentecostalism's growth in Canada at mid-century. Because Agnes worked with her husband as a co-pastor while she gave birth to four children between 1938 and 1953, and because she moved her household more than half a dozen times to accommodate the ministry work she shared with her husband, McAlister's diary offers a rare glimpse into the workings of ministerial family life.[19] Even with the silences borne of the diary's characteristic "gaps" when the demands of family life and ministry responsibilities meant she was too busy to find the time to write, the diary provides a rare glimpse into the daily, weekly, and seasonal rhythms of a Pentecostal minister's family at mid-century. That the pastor was female is particularly important because it provides a record of a woman in a rural and small-town setting who was simultaneously fulfilling the roles of pastor, wife, mother, daughter, and friend.

Among the personal papers that Agnes McAlister left for her family, in addition to the typed version of the diary, she wrote a document entitled "My Story" that outlined her family's history and immigration experience arriving in Canada. In the preface to that document she remarked,

> My mother always said that God had directed her path through life. As a child I heard her story many times, and always the theme was: "God must have been in it all." With this thought in mind, I would like to think that everyone, who has some connection with this family, would know that we, indeed, have a rich heritage. God wants us to live, as children of God, serving and loving Him.[20]

With that clear statement as preface to the writing of her life story, it seems likely that Agnes McAlister retyped her diary as an extension of

that same purpose, and her writing was an exercise in identity formation. She overtly declared that her purpose in writing was to preserve her story for future generations, reminding them that they had a "rich heritage" as Pentecostal people, and that it was their destiny also "to live, as children of God, serving and loving Him."

Family and Food: Symbol of Celebration

Looking at McAlister's diaries with a focus on food, one observes that, just as scholars of food studies suggest, the cultural meanings attached to food are multi-faceted. First, one can see that Agnes's diary makes clear that she associated certain foods with family identity and celebrations. While she makes some mention of Swedish foods, including cookies and breads, her parents quickly embraced the foodways of their new country. Recounting her parents' immigrant experiences before their marriage, she recorded "Mother soon found a job in a hotel, where she learned the American style of cooking. I can still taste her lemon pies."[21] And during her childhood in rural Alberta, she remembered "waiting eagerly to hear the clatter of the wagon, which meant dad would soon be home. He brought the groceries and anything we needed from town. Usually there was a chocolate bar for me."[22]

When Agnes grew up food remained central for her and she spoke about it frequently in her diary. Like all housewives and mothers in the mid-twentieth century, it was Agnes's job to plan and provide meals for her family.[23] But because of the nature of Agnes McAlister's multiple roles, as wife, mother, homemaker, and pastor, her work with food was particularly demanding. Speaking about 1942, she wrote "The summer months were filled with meetings, visiting our people, working on the church building, entertaining visitors, and keeping our table filled with food."[24] Though she was a pastor in her own right, Agnes McAlister was also the pastor's wife, and in that role she often was expected to provide meals for visitors, as well as overnight accommodation for guest speakers and church workers. She frequently recorded that she was part of other food events at the church as well, such as the farewell party that the church hosted for a young woman who had been working with the children in their church as part of her bible school placement work during the summer. In September, as the student was preparing to leave for the bible school in Victoria, BC, Agnes recorded "After the Tuesday night Gospel hour we had a farewell party for Opal. We gave her a handkerchief shower

and afterwards, had tea, sandwiches and cake."[25]

But Agnes was also a mother, and in that role she continued the emphasis from her childhood on special foods and treats for her children, especially around important family celebrations such as birthdays. Invariably, her diary reports that birthdays were celebrated with visitors and presents, and Agnes provided cake. When Grace turned four in October 1942, Agnes recorded the names of twelve people, children and adults from their church, who came to the party. On the menu, there were "two cakes and pumpkin tarts."[26] When the McAlisters moved to Drumheller in 1946, their household continued to be a busy one. For several months in 1947 they had at least two extra people living with them – a high school student and a children's worker. Those two women baked the birthday cake for Grace's party since Agnes had been travelling. As Agnes reviewed her diary and retyped it, she added this explanation about birthday celebrations during their years in Stettler: "We usually celebrated the children's birthdays in some way. We would often have ice cream. We did not have a fridge that year, so ice cream was only on special occasions."[27]

Family and Finances

For the McAlisters, family life in the postwar years was not characterized by upward mobility or greater financial security. As they moved from one church assignment to the next, their years in Stettler from 1950 to 1956 were particularly challenging financially, and this was reflected in the food they ate and how they celebrated special occasions. When financial hardship was ever-present, community life was a central part of their family experience. "On [January] the 16th [1952], the Hart family and ourselves were invited to the Petersen's [sic] for a turkey dinner to celebrate their boys' (Ted and Doug) birthdays. It was cold that evening – minus twenty degrees Fahrenheit. During our stay in Stettler we had many good dinners and precious times of fellowship in the Petersen home in Botha."[28] In her article "Stocking the Root Cellar: Foodscapes in the Peace River Region," Megan J. Davies notes "memories of food tend to emphasize the social relations around food and foodways."[29]

While Agnes clearly valued times of celebration and socializing as special memories, the fact is that it was difficult to make ends meet on a pastor's salary. As a result, Agnes often mentioned in her diary what she saw as signs of God's provision for her family. Food scholars have noted

the place of food in religious expression, but most of those studies focus on ceremonial foods such as the bread and the wine used in observing the Christian sacraments.[30] Much less attention has been paid to the religious symbolism imbedded in everyday foods and their provisioning. Agnes recorded in her diary that while they lived in Kamloops, "The Harringtons, one of our church families, were very faithful to bring us produce from their farm. We had visited at their home where we picked plums. They also gave us tomatoes, apples, watermelon and cantaloupe."[31] Agnes frequently recorded her late summer and harvest-time work with entries such as this one from September 1942: "I see by my diary that I was busy canning pears and plums. We also went to Penticton, and out to Kaledan. The Dunns, Prestons, and Lockharts lived there. We came home with more fruit, especially peaches."[32] That seasonal work relied on the generosity of church members who provided Agnes with valuable fresh produce so that she could preserve it for the coming winter:

> I canned fifteen quarts of peaches, some more plums, and one quart of pears. The Dunns from Kaledan had sent us fruit. The Harringtons had given us tomatoes, plums, and apples. They were always faithful with vegetables and eggs. The Hannahs, too, often gave us produce.[33]

When the McAlisters lived in Stettler from 1950 to 1956, they were establishing a new church ("a church plant" in current evangelical language) and therefore they did not have a strong financial base of support. As Agnes recorded, "The offerings in our church were not large enough to pay the bills for heat, light and water plus the various renovations but God did supply our needs in so many different ways. I remember one day a Mr. Whiteside, who worked in the oil fields, came rushing in, and asked me if I had a receipt book. He gave us money that paid for the coal we so needed to keep warm. The church in Wetaskiwin sent us an offering. Friends in Edmonton, Roy Dickinson and the Kendricks sent us money. We certainly praised the Lord for His care."[34] This kind of mutual support that the McAlisters received from family members, neighbours, and parishioners sounds like Depression-era strategies for making ends meet.[35] Agnes explained in her diary that "Harvey did not have a steady job that year [beyond his church work], but worked where ever he was needed." In order to provide for themselves and their growing family, the McAlisters depended on gifts from various sources. Agnes wrote a long entry in her edited diary about this in which seh summarized the gifts they

received in 1950-51:

> The people of Stettler were very friendly as we visited with them and invited them to our church functions. Mr. Martin, our neighbor next door, brought us a chicken . . . Mr. Gillespy, who sometimes came to our church, gave us a chicken. Harvey visited a Mrs. Shilling to invite her children to Sunday School, she gave us a pork roast. Mr. and Mrs. Porter were an elderly couple that we visited, he was bedfast with arthritis . . . Mrs. Porter gave me a jar of corn, another time they gave Harvey a big furry brown overcoat. The Petersens were always generous with their farm produce, they often brought us cream and milk. We had a garden out on their farm that summer, and in August I was canning vegetables. In October we picked six sacks of potatoes and a half sack of carrots. We picked peas in Bob and Donna Haring's garden, from which I canned nine quarts. The Huckle family from Alix had come to our church and had asked for some fruit jars, I had given her two dozen. As we came home from visiting my parents in Wetaskiwin in February nineteen fifty one, we stopped to see the Huckles in Alix. We had coffee with them, and before we left she gave us twenty-four jars of saskatoons and some vegetables.[36]

While that kind of generous sharing of foodstuffs was not an uncommon act in rural culture, Agnes reflected on the many providers of food and other items and ascribed a higher meaning to their acts of neighborly generosity. For Agnes this was something more than simple human kindness. Imbuing the provision that came through those people with religious meaning, Agnes expressed gratitude as she concluded, "God certainly did provide for us."[37]

In addition to recording the celebrations of family and friendship, it is clear that shared meals, gifts of food, a secondhand coat, and money to buy fuel were more than just human exchanges to Agnes McAlister. The diary makes clear that she saw these gestures as one of the concrete ways that God took care of her and her family. In her experience of lived religion, she attributed spiritual significance to the everyday experiences of food, friendship, and finances. For Agnes these were all aspects of God's provision.

Family and Female Labour: The Work of Caring

A third way of reading the entries that Agnes made about family life

is to think of how she described the unpaid female labour that is part and parcel of family life. Here, the diary makes clear that Agnes recognized the work of other women in her community and how their offers of help were a godsend to her. At the same time, Agnes was called upon to make an extra effort, sometimes because of her husband's travels and sometimes because of his ill health. Added to this, there was the responsibility of caring for two sets of aging parents since Agnes and Harvey remained relatively close to both the McAlisters and the Leverths throughout their years in ministry.

For Agnes McAlister with her busy life of ministry work, as well as her household responsibilities, she sometimes lacked the available time to accomplish all the aspects of household management that fell to her, including food preparation and planning for celebrations.[38] When that was the case, female friends and community members came to her aid. Her diary typically notes that on any given Sunday, Agnes would preach the sermon in the morning service and Harvey would preach in the evening or vice versa. The point is that she was a full partner in ministry with her husband. While her diary reveals that there was a weekly rhythm to Agnes's housework and food work, with Saturday a day for housecleaning and baking in preparation for Sunday, sometimes that weekly routine was interrupted by the additional chores of seasonal food preservation work, especially in late summer and fall. Often that work was shared between women. In September 1944, for example, Agnes recorded that "Mrs. Lindahl brought her pressure cooker and we canned twenty five quarts of tomatoes, and ten of plums."[39]

For Agnes McAlister, the Pentecostal minister, it was not just the seasonal rhythm of harvest time, but also the church calendar that made her unpaid domestic work more intense. In the winter of 1950, when Harvey travelled to Toronto on church business for a month to attend a national Sunday School convention, Agnes was left to take care of the family and, as her diary records, "I was in charge of the Sunday services for the next three weeks."[40] During this particularly demanding period of her family life and church work, her son's birthday approached and Agnes seemed relieved to report "Mrs. Crowell had brought me cake and cookies so I didn't need to bake for the birthday on February 27th."[41]

At least once a year the McAlisters' churches held revival meetings that might last for a period of two to four weeks or longer with daily church services through the week and multiple services on Sundays. During these special meetings, Agnes might preach, provide music for the

services, or lead prayer meetings. The services themselves typically lasted for several hours. But in addition to that church work, Agnes was usually responsible to host the guest preachers and musicians in her own home. The extra work of having multiple house guests, particularly on a tight household budget, was a source of stress. Yet, in those periods Agnes recorded that other women in the church often came to her aid. Sometimes that aid took the form of food provided or a dinner invitation to feed the guests in their home to give the McAlisters a break. For example, in February 1959, the McAlisters hosted a series of meetings in their church with traveling evangelists, Minnie and Hilda Mueller, two sisters. Agnes recorded in her diary that the guests arrived on Saturday, 7 February and stayed until Monday, 2 March. During that time, there were meetings every night except Mondays, with multiple meetings on Sunday, and Agnes was busy not only hosting the guests, but also leading services. She records how women from the church helped her to provide meals for these guests with these entries: "On Thursday, Mrs. Ley brought the dinner, 'All in One'"; "Mrs. Davies sent us two pies"; "The next day the Mueller sisters were at Volstads for dinner"; and "Sunday was a very good day in the House of the Lord. The Mueller sisters went to the Sinclair's [sic] for dinner."[42]

While these entries might be regarded as a further extension of "God's provision," the way that Agnes recorded the gifts of labour she received from friends and neigbours suggests that she thought of these differently. Most often her comment was "the Lord bless them" and what she indicated was her good wishes, even gratitude, for the people who recognized the double load she was carrying as minister and homemaker. She asked the Lord's blessing on these other women for their acts of service and their gifts in kind. In a sense, the people who assisted Agnes with her unpaid work of hosting and providing meals were recognizing that, as a woman working in ministry, Agnes could not fulfill all the demands placed on her. For the women who stepped in to help her, those gifts of food, time, and labour were probably more than gestures of friendship. They may, in fact, have been a form of offering made by women who themselves did not have extra cash to donate, but who could make gifts of their own work.

Not only was the extra work of food preparation time consuming, but feeding additional people also meant added expense for the McAlisters' meager household budget. Recognizing those realities, women around Agnes extended their own homemaking skills and shared from

their pantries and larders to assist her. In light of the scholarship that emphasizes how much food work was concentrated in the hands of the mothers of households, this informal arrangement among Agnes and her friends and female parishioners is significant. It illustrates that the women who assisted her recognized and valued her unpaid work as hostess, but in coming alongside her they also validated her paid work as a church minister. They exercised the opportunity to express their own faith in a concrete way by providing for Agnes in her time of need. These provisions, then, were part of the lived religion of Agnes's friends and parishioners.

Agnes's diary also gives clues about the strain that was placed upon her by the work of caring for her husband's health concerns and their aging parents' needs. Harvey McAlister was a sensitive individual and the diary hints at the fact that he found it very difficult to cope with the stress of managing church affairs, particularly when church business meetings called his performance into question. In the summer of 1945 Agnes wrote: "On Sunday, August 5th it says, 'Harvey not so well, I spoke all day. God certainly helps us.' On August 8th the diary says, 'Harvey still not so well but better. Praise God.' On August 9th 'Business meeting tonight. Accepted our resignation. God is still leading his dear children along. Amen!'" For the next two weeks, the services were covered by the visit of "the McColl Girard[sic] trio," and then "Sunday, August 26th, was our last Sunday in Kamloops. My diary says, 'A big day and heavy, but God helped us. Blessed be His Name! The radio program went OK, but all very difficult."[43]

For the next six months, Harvey and Agnes were not involved in full-time ministry, although her diary records that they considered a pastorate in Abbotsford, BC. When Agnes went back over her diary to edit it, she remarked, "This is something I do not remember at all, nor does my diary give me any clue concerning this. Either we did not let our name stand, or if we did, we did not receive a majority vote."[44] During this interlude between pastoral postings, the McAlisters retreated to Wetaskiwin to her parents' farm and Harvey spent some time in Edmonton working at his brother's service station during the week. They still owned a small home on 149th Street in Edmonton, and after their tenants moved out, the McAlisters moved back in, though they would be staying there less than four months. They enjoyed being close to Harvey's parents who also lived in Edmonton, and they made regular visits to visit her parents on the short drive to Wetaskiwin. On weekends, the family attended the

Edmonton Pentecostal Tabernacle and several times they spoke or sang at other, smaller churches or on the radio. Harvey supported his family during this time with the work he found at his brother's service station. Agnes gave an indicator of how disruptive this period was for their family life when her diary recorded that, in February 1946, they were moving again to take up the position of interim pastor of a church in Drumheller. "I don't believe that either Harvey, or I, had thought that our stay in the little house on 149th street would be only be for four short months . . . I don't think Grace was too happy about this move. This would be the third school that she attended in grade two."[45]

In addition to balancing the needs of her husband and her children, Agnes had close relations with her own parents and her in-laws. During the Kamloops years, Mrs. McAlister came to live with Harvey and Agnes for two months, from February to April 1945. In Drumheller, the Leverths moved from their farm in Wetaskiwin to spend the winter of 1947 in a rented apartment next door to the church to be close to Agnes and her family. Agnes revealed to her diary in March of that year that she was pregnant with their third child, and no doubt she appreciated having her mother next door to help with some of the extra domestic tasks. For example, Mrs. Leverth baked apple pies on 22 March and it is likely that those pies were served to the next round of house guests who came to minister in the church a few days later.[46] Just a month later, Agnes recorded that her mother-in-law, who had not been well for some time, suffered another stroke. Harvey went to Edmonton for a brief visit with her, and then "On Tuesday, May 13th, Grandma McAlister in Edmonton went home to Glory. The funeral was on Saturday." Harvey attended the funeral, but Agnes did not travel with him, as she explained, "perhaps it was because our baby was soon to arrive, or maybe we felt I needed to be home for the Sunday services."[47] At eight and a half months pregnant, Agnes did not preach that week, but records the names of the two visiting ministers who took the morning and evening services. Two weeks later, the McAlisters' baby girl was born on 2 June, and Agnes explained that their second daughter was named "after her two grandmothers Beulah Anna Matilda."[48] After some notes about the camp meetings they attended in the summer of 1947, Agnes observed when she revisited her diary years later, "My diary has nothing written for the remaining part of 1947. Perhaps we were too busy."[49] Yes, perhaps they were!

Conclusion

Agnes McAlister's mid-twentieth century diary provides rich insight into the family life of a Pentecostal woman in ministry. First, it illustrates how she attributed many different cultural meanings to the place of food in family life. From the simple records about children's birthday parties, church functions, and meals shared with friends, it is clear that certain foods, because of their scarcity, took on particular significance as symbols of family celebration, like ice cream at a birthday party. Moreover, when young families gathered to share a meal, they were not only sharing food, but also building social relationships, or as Agnes said "sharing sweet times of fellowship."

Second, when offerings were small and the pastors' family was growing, finances were tight. Harvey and Agnes supplemented their income with other paid work (he with manual labour jobs, she as a supply teacher). At the same time, when rural parishioners shared the bounty of their harvest or provided the preachers' family with a chicken, a jar of preserved fruit, a secondhand winter coat, or money for a load of coal, those items took on religious meaning for Agnes McAlister. Although such gifts came to her through the hands of her neighbours or friends, she recognized and recorded them as provisions that came directly from God. When family finances were inadequate, McAlister told her diary that such friendly gestures were actually much more than human kindness. Instead, she encouraged her readers to see them as proof of God's faithfulness to provide for her family's needs.

Third, McAlister's diary reveals important aspects of unpaid female labour within the family. When Agnes McAlister's ministry work demanded her time and energy, other women came to her aid as they shared the domestic work by dropping off a prepared meal, baking her child's birthday cake, or inviting her house guests to supper to give her a much needed break and to relieve the strain on her family budget. Agnes McAlister's female friends generously shared their gifts of domestic labour with her. Those acts can also be read as peer recognition because other women validated her multiple roles by stepping in to assist with her unpaid work as a homemaker, and, in doing so, they endorsed her formal ministry work as preacher and church leader.

While Agnes kept up with the very full schedule of ministry and motherhood, there were still more demands on her time as she was caregiver to her husband and extended family. Because her husband's

health was sometimes fragile, she assumed extra work by protecting him after difficult church business meetings, encouraging him to take long breaks from church work, and taking up more than her share of preaching. Living close enough to both sets of aging parents that they could drive to them within several hours, Agnes and Harvey frequently traveled to their parents' homes to assist with household tasks, include them in family celebrations, and tend to their increasing health needs. At other times, the parents came to be with Agnes and Harvey for extended visits during the winter months.

Agnes McAlister wrote and edited her diary for her family to communicate to the younger members that as Pentecostals who were called to ministry positions, they should expect to "live by faith," and, in exchange, they would witness the faithful provision and blessing of God. Yet her record of family life goes well beyond that purpose of family identity formation. The McAlister text provides a fascinating example of how memory sources like diaries and memoirs can be useful for gender history. Specifically, this diary offers an intimate portrait of the family life of a Pentecostal woman in ministry, serving as a useful case study of the gender dynamics of shared ministry and illustrating just how diminishing and misleading the title "pastor's wife" often is. Beyond Pentecostal studies, the McAlister diary is useful for students of religion because of what it reveals about aspects of family life and ministry at mid-century. For the McAlisters, and surely for many other ministerial families in small rural parishes of various denominations in the 1940s and 1950s, to "live by faith" meant to live outside the context of suburban postwar prosperity and beyond carefully scripted stereotypes about who did the breadwinning and who did the caregiving. The McAlisters relied on God to provide for them, and it seems God often relied on the generosity of the ministers' friends, neighbours, and parishioners. Thus the family lives of those who served the church and "lived by faith" were entwined very closely as acts of lived religion performed by them and by other people.

Endnotes

1. Michael Wilkinson, ed., *Canadian Pentecostalism: Transition and Transformation*. (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010); Michael Wilkinson and Peter Althouse, eds., *Winds from the North: Canadian Contributions to the Pentecostal Movement* (Leiden & Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2010); and Michael Wilkinson and Steven M. Studebaker, eds., *A Liberating Spirit: Pentecostals and Social Action in North*

America (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2010).

2. McAlisters were central to the organization of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (hereafter PAOC). Members of Harvey's extended family, especially Walter McAlister and R.E. McAlister, were important figures in the early days of the PAOC administration and leadership.

3. "Kamloops," 10, Agnes Leverth McAlister Diary, Private Collection (hereafter ALM Diary).

4. "Kamloops," 17, ALM Diary.

5. "Drumheller," 7, ALM Diary. Three years later she wrote something very similar: "Perhaps I made a New Year's resolution to write in my diary, since I began writing again on January 1st, 1951." "Stettler," 3, ALM Diary.

6. There are several indications in the diary that help to date the rewritten text to the late 1990s. This estimate is based on two comments Agnes wrote: first, when she was attempting to retrace the travels that she and Harvey had made in the first five years of their marriage. Referring to an entry where she had mentioned a community named "Belton" that they had passed through on a road trip in 1941, she wrote this editorial comment: "There seems to be no place now (fifty-five years later) [sic] named Belton." Second, Agnes referenced Harvey's cousin, Florence Steele, who worked as a nurse by saying "As of 1998 she is still living in Kamloops." "Kamloops," 22, ALM Diary.

7. "Harvey and Agnes," 3, ALM Diary.

8. "Harvey and Agnes," 8, ALM Diary; "Kamloops," 19, ALM Diary.

9. Indeed, so many members of the McAlister family were involved in the leadership of the PAOC that it is difficult to sort out their names and involvements. More than fifteen pages of a history of Canadian Pentecostalism is devoted to the McAlister family tree because Harvey McAlister's grandparents, James and Margaret (Brown) McAlister, had thirteen children, many of whom were involved in PAOC ministries, as were their grandchildren and great-grandchildren. See Douglas Rudd, *When the Spirit Came Upon Them: Highlights from the Early Years of the Pentecostal Movement in Canada* (Mississauga, ON: Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, 2002), 129-45.

10. "Harvey and Agnes," 2, ALM Diary.

11. "Harvey and Agnes," 3, ALM Diary.

12. For a recent overview of the trends in writing women's biographies and of using memory sources such as diaries see Susan Ware, "Writing Women's Lives: One Historian's Perspective," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XL,

no. 3 (Winter 2010): 413-35.

13. Some examples include the work of Catherine Wilson (University of Guelph), Andrea Gal (Wilfrid Laurier University), and Emily Weiskopf-Ball (Laurentian University).

14. Linda M. Ambrose and Leah Payne, "Reflections on the Potential of Gender Theory for North American Pentecostal History," *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 36, no. 1 (2014): 45-63; and Linda M. Ambrose, "Thinking Through the Methodological and Theoretical Quandaries of Gender and Canadian Pentecostal History," *Canadian Journal of Pentecostal Charismatic Christianity* 3 (2012): 70-88.

15. David Roebuck, "Perfect Liberty to Preach the Gospel: Women Ministers in the Church of God," *Pneuma* 17, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 25-32; and David Roebuck, "Pentecostal Women in Ministry: A Review of Selected Documents," *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 16, no. 1 (2006): 29-44.

16. Estrelda Alexander, *The Women of Azuza Street* (Cleveland, OH: The Pilgrim Press, 2005); Estrelda Alexander, *Limited Liberty: The Legacy of Four Pentecostal Women Pioneers* (Cleveland, OH: The Pilgrim Press, 2008); Estrelda Alexander and Amos Yong, eds., *Philip's Daughters: Women in Pentecostal-Charismatic Leadership* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2009); Edith L. Blumhofer, *Aimee Semple McPherson: Everybody's Sister* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993); and Abraham Ruelas, *No Room for Doubt: The Life and Ministry of Bebe Patten* (Laurel, MD: The Seymour Press, 2012).

17. Ambrose and Payne, "Reflections on the Potential of Gender Theory," 45-63. That work builds on earlier scholarly work calling for a reconsideration of women and Pentecostalism. See for example Charles H. Barfoot and Gerald T. Sheppard, "Prophetic vs. Priestly Religion: the Changing Role of Women Clergy in Classical Pentecostal Churches," *Review of Religious Research*. 22, no. 1 (1980): 2-17; Edith L. Blumhofer, "Women in American Pentecostalism," *Pneuma* 17, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 19-20; and Pamela Holmes, "The 'Place' of Women in Pentecostal/Charismatic Ministry since the Azusa Street Revival," in *The Azusa Street Revival and Its Legacy*, eds. Harold D. Hunter and Cecil M. Robeck, Jr. (Cleveland, TN: Pathway Press, 2006).

18. David Hall, *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997); Meredith B. McGuire, *Lived Religion: Faith and Practice in Everyday Life* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Robert Orsi, *Between Heaven and Earth: The Religious Worlds People Make and the Scholars Who Study Them* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006); Robert Orsi, *Thank You, St. Jude:*

Women's Devotion to the Patron Saint of Hopeless Causes (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); Marguerite Van Die, *Religion, Family and Community in Victorian Canada: The Colbys of Carrollcroft* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007); and Marguerite Van Die, "'But have you kept the faith of your Ancestors?' Musings on the Writing and Teaching of the History of Christianity in a Secular Canada," in *Christian Thought for the 21st Century: Agenda for the Future*, eds. Tina Ruparell and Douglas Shantz (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2012).

19. The children were Grace Harvena, born October 3, 1938; Jim, born February 27, 1944; Beulah, born June 2, 1947; and David Albin, born September 5, 1953. The McAlisters moved frequently in the first years of their marriage, and returned to their parents' homes in Edmonton, Wetaskiwin, or Sylvan Lake, Alberta to spend summer vacations and times between ministry postings. After 1940, the diary is organized into four sections corresponding to their ministry locations at Kamloops, BC 1941-1945; Drumheller, AB 1946-1950; Stettler, AB 1950-1956; and Claresholm, AB 1956-1959.

20. "My Story," 1, Agnes McAlister (nee Leverth) [sic], Personal Collection.

21. "My Story," 2, Agnes McAlister (nee Leverth) [sic], Personal Collection.

22. "My Story," 4, Agnes McAlister (nee Leverth) [sic], Personal Collection.

23. On food and "the significant roles played by mothers who lived in rural settings" see the chapters in Franca Iacovetta, Valerie Korinek, and Marlene Epp, eds., *Edible Histories Cultural Politics: Toward a Canadian Food History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), especially those by Stacey Zembrzycki, Caroline Durand, S. Holyck Hunchuck, Julie Guard, Andrea Eidinger, Marlene Epp, and Sonia Cancian. See also Royden Loewen, *Family, Church, and Market: A Mennonite Community in the Old and New Worlds, 1850-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), and also his *Ethnic Farm Culture in Western Canada,* Canada's Ethnic Group Series, Booklet No. 29 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 2002).

24. "Kamloops," 5, ALM Diary.

25. "Kamloops," 6, ALM Diary.

26. "Kamloops," 7, ALM Diary. On another occasion, when Jimmy turned one, Agnes hosted a party for him and for another child who was turning five. See "Kamloops," 19, ALM Diary.

27. "Stettler," 7, ALM Diary.

28. "Stettler," 8, ALM Diary.

29. Megan J. Davies, "Stocking the Root Cellar: Foodscapes in the Peace River Region" in *Edible Histories Cultural Politics*, 95. On this point Davies footnotes D. Lupton, "Food, Memory and Meaning: The Symbolic and Social Nature of Food Events," *Sociological Review* 42, no. 4 (1994): 664-85.

30. See, for example, Michel Desjardins and Ellen Desjardins, "The Role of Food in Canadian Expressions of Christianity," in *Edible Histories Cultural Politics,* 70-82.

31. "Kamloops," 6, ALM Diary.

32. "Kamloops," 6, ALM Diary.

33. "Kamloops," 16, ALM Diary.

34. "Stettler," 7, ALM Diary.

35. See for example Stacey Zembrzycki, "'We Didn't Have a Lot of Money, but We Had Food': Ukrainians and Their Depression-Era Food Memories," in *Edible Histories Cultural Politics*, 131-39.

36. "Stettler," 7, ALM Diary.

37. "Stettler," 7, ALM Diary.

38. Meg Luxton, "Two Hands for the Clock: Changing Patterns in the Gendered Division of Labour," *Studies in Political Economy* 12 (1983): 27-44.

39. "Kamloops," 16, ALM Diary.

40. "Drumheller," 13, ALM Diary.

41. "Drumheller," 13, ALM Diary.

42. "Claresholm," 36, ALM Diary.

43. "Kamloops," 21, ALM Diary.

44. "Kamloops," 22, ALM Diary.

45. "Kamloops," 23, ALM Diary.

46. "Drumheller," 5, ALM Diary.

47. "Drumheller," 5, ALM Diary.

48. "Drumheller," 6, ALM Diary.

49. "Drumheller," 7, ALM Diary.

Lived Religion and the Changing Spirituality and Discourse of Christian Globalization: A Canadian Family's Odyssey

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Few individuals have presented a greater challenge to a secular society's understanding of the past than the missionary. "Once almost universally acclaimed as a self-sacrificing benefactor, he or she is now more commonly dismissed as an interfering busybody and in all probability a misfit at home who could find only among the colonized a captive audience on whom to impose a narrow set of beliefs and moral taboos."[1] Thankfully, in the three decades since this memorable characterization by Canadian church historian John Webster Grant, research into related areas such as gender and theological change has done much to deconstruct these stereotypes. Recent work on Christian globalization has moreover drawn attention to the ways the missionary enterprise changed religion not simply among the indigenous population, but also at home. Mark Noll, for example, has argued that by the early twentieth century as part of a larger global "multi-centering," Christianity in North America was subtly shifting away from traditional church and imperial norms towards new models. It is now generally accepted that this re-centering was accompanied by an enormous release of evangelical energy, and the impact of an emerging global society profoundly reshaped Christianity.[2]

My essay builds on Noll's observations, but rather than focusing on missionary institutions and their spokespersons, it examines from below some of the continuities and changes in the spirituality and discourse of Christian globalization. It does this within the context of three generations

of a well-to-do Toronto family for whom missions and international travel were a compelling way of life. The range of their interests was wide, and included Keswick spirituality and faith missions; mainline Presbyterian and United Church missions in China; medical work in India with the London-based Zenana Bible and Medical Mission (ZBMM); and, during the 1950s and 1960s, sustained involvement by the third generation in Moral Rearmament, founded by American Lutheran minister Frank Buchman. As this diversity indicates, one family's experience cannot be seen as representative. It can, however, provide some insight beyond that offered by institutional studies into the ways and reasons why spirituality and the discourse of Christian globalization could take on different forms over time even within a single family equipped with material means, strong spiritual examples, and a sense of moral responsibility.

The son of impoverished Irish immigrants, Robert J. Fleming, the family patriarch, served three terms in the 1890s as Toronto's youngest mayor, followed by seven years as assessment officer for the city. Admired for his public role on behalf of religious causes, he was a leader in temperance and prohibition causes and an active member of his local Methodist church, Toronto's Park Street Primitive Methodist Church, and, upon its founding in 1914, Timothy Eaton Memorial Methodist (after 1925 United) Church.[3] In 1904, to better support his large family, he became general manager of William Mackenzie's Toronto Railway Company. From that date, as a result of his judicious investments in real estate, stocks, and mining, the family's fortunes took a turn for the better. By the time of his premature death in 1925 he had ensured a solid financial future for his wife Lydia, their nine adult children, and, in time, a close-knit cohort of grandchildren.[4]

For a variety of reasons none of his four sons followed their father's example in active and public religious involvement. It was in the female branch where the religious interests and practices of the second generation flourished. This can be primarily attributed to Lydia Orford, whom Fleming, as a young widower with two young children, had married in 1888. Twenty-six years in age, and the only daughter of a comfortably situated Toronto family, Lydia entered the marriage with strong roots in the city's evangelical Anglican community. An organist at St. Peter's Anglican Church, she was also an active member of its Bible class led by lawyer Sam Blake, the ardent defendant of conservative evangelical causes. With other members of Blake's class, she spent many hours at his Sackville Mission in Toronto's East End where, as a young street corner

evangelist, she proclaimed "the gospel of Truth" to the city's un-churched population. Her closest friend and co-worker at the Mission was Rosalind Bell-Smith, the daughter of renowned British portrait painter, John Bell-Smith, who had moved to Canada in 1866 to establish the Royal Academy of Art in Montreal. In 1890, leaving behind her affluent middle class life, Rosalind married Jonathan Goforth, the Sackville Street Mission's unconventional and uncompromising young evangelist, and accompanied him immediately thereafter to the North Honan mission field of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

The Influence of Keswick Holiness

Among the large crowd at the train station to see the Goforths off was the recently wed Lydia Fleming, who made a public promise to her friend that she would "hold the ropes" on the home front on her behalf. The result was far-reaching for both women. Rosalind's regular letters to Lydia detailed an unwavering fundamentalist faith in the face of excruciating trials as a young wife and mother on an inhospitable mission field. Lydia, in return, through the intermediary of the Timothy Eaton store, sent her friend thoughtfully selected care packages and provided hospitality to two of the Goforth children when these were sent to Toronto to further their education.[5] Both the Goforths and Lydia were drawn to the conservative evangelicalism devoted to the promotion of holiness, presented since the 1870s at annual conferences in Keswick in the beautiful English Lake District. In 1910, Lydia, accompanied by her husband and Reba, their oldest daughter by his first marriage, attended a Keswick conference for the first time. To its followers, Keswick's teaching on the spiritual freedom experienced through faith in the crucified Christ and the resulting infilling of the Holy Spirit was a strong motivator for foreign missionary work, making Keswick a major recruiter for independent faith missions, such as Hudson Taylor's China Inland Mission.[6]

With its emphasis on prayer and non-denominationalism, Keswick spirituality found a natural partner in the growing number of British independent women's missionary societies pursuing such separate "women's work for women" as hospital care, education, evangelization, and, in India, zenana visiting. Among these was the ZBMM founded in 1852, and which, by 1900, had become an extensive global network that included branches in Ireland, Scotland, New Zealand, Australia, and Canada.[7] Essential for the financial support of such independent faith-

based societies were women on the home front who offered a carefully calibrated response that balanced fundraising and prayer. Here Keswick spirituality flourished as regional ZBMM prayer gatherings in England were mounted to coincide with Keswick's annual conferences.[8] In 1912, two years after her first visit to Keswick, Lydia took on the presidency of the Canadian auxiliary, which in 1903 had assumed oversight of the ZBMM's hospital in Nasik, located in west central India, about 200 kilometers north-east of Mumbai.[9] Practically minded, concerned about the cultural and spiritual plight of women in India, and intensely committed to prayer, she was the ideal person to ensure the vitality of the Canadian auxiliary. First at St. Clair Avenue West and, after 1923, at "Donlands," a 950 acre farm to the north of Toronto (now the intersection of Eglinton Avenue and Don Mills Road), her home became the elegant stage for drawing room meetings as upwards of sixty women met to raise funds and hear visiting missionaries. Among the major fundraising projects for the Canada hospital were a "babies bungalow" completed in 1927, and, ten years later, a residence for the staff composed largely of Indian nurses and nurses in training, supervised by Dorothy Holden, a Torontonian.

Thanks to the efforts of Thomas Cook's travel agency, the Keswick conferences, located in an attractive area for salutary holidays, became a major stimulus in the spread of organized evangelical tourism. Lydia's 1910 trip to Keswick became the first of many overseas trips combining family visits with the pursuit of religious causes, a pattern familiar among well to do evangelicals. Such travels were, as Mark Hutchinson and John Wolffe have observed, "congruent with the broader therapeutic society in which these middling classes lived and placed their hope."[10] For Lydia and her daughters this included regular times for spiritual and physical renewal at various American health centres, thereby further extending their network of evangelical contacts. Much of the more distant travel, however, was directed at visits to far-flung family members pursuing missionary work – in 1920, Lydia, accompanied by two daughters, visited Reba, spending three years as a self-funded missionary with the Goforths in China. The trip included extensive tourism in Korea and Japan and a hair-raising confrontation with bandits while touring down the Yangtze River.[11] A visit to India followed in 1927-28, with her two youngest daughters and a daughter-in-law, to dedicate the newly constructed baby bungalow at the Canada Hospital at Nasik and to lay the cornerstone of the proposed nurses' residence. Study tours in prominent religious venues were part of the new 'religious tourism' and, in 1931, she and Reba, en route to China

to meet with newly wedded daughter Stella on the Honan mission field, stopped in Palestine for a session organized by Charles Trumbull, editor of the respected weekly, *The Sunday School Times*. A strong proponent of Keswick, in 1923 Trumbull had established an American 'Keswick' in New Jersey.[12] Visitors had included Lydia and Reba Fleming, who, in 1930, were delighted to attend the first conference of a Canadian Keswick, located at Ferndale in Ontario's scenic Bruce Peninsula.

In 1936, again in the company of Reba, Lydia embarked on a second extensive trip to India, intending to spend some time with her second youngest daughter, Evelyn, since 1930 a surgeon at the Nasik hospital. Her heart was not strong and in September, while in Nasik, tended by her physician daughter and Reba, she died. Two months later her life was commemorated at an overflowing funeral service at their family church, Timothy Eaton Memorial. Presided over by a United Church theologian and an evangelical Anglican minister, the event brought together an ecumenical group of civic and religious leaders whose eulogies reflected her many and varied interests and causes. Praised as a missionary in her own right, Lydia over the years had had a significant association not only with the ZBMM, but also as a Bible class teacher in her United Church congregation where a special Fleming sewing circle was dedicated to making western clothing for children at the Nasik hospital. The list of her involvements was long: the Methodist and United Church Women's Missionary Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society (on whose women's auxiliary she had served a term as president), the Upper Canadian Tract Society, the Sudan Interior Mission, the Intervarsity Christian Fellowship, the Toronto Bible College, the Toronto Mission Union and its Sackville mission, and the Canadian Keswick Conference.[13] While Baptists such as Toronto's T.T. Shields were in step with the combative American fundamentalism of the 1930s, the city's Anglican evangelicals modeled a more moderate approach in an emerging conservative network. Here influential laywomen such as Lydia provided an important bridge. Doctrinal distinctions fell away when women engaged one another in practical mission work accompanied by prayer.

For women such prayers were a public extension of evangelical domestic religion. Eulogists at Lydia Fleming's memorial service extolled her maternal role at home as a model and as the wellspring of her strong commitment to mission work. In their home life, Lydia and Robert dedicated each newborn to "Almighty God, our Maker," and each day began with the entire household, children as well as servants, gathering on

their knees in worship while their father asked for God's mercy and protection.[14] To correct an earlier evangelical emphasis on sin, guilt, and shame, the more liberal approach to domestic religion in the early twentieth century focused on positive energy expressed through such means as hospitality and harmonious relationships.[15] Hospitality for the Flemings included taking into the family home, sometimes for extended periods, missionaries or their children, hosting educational and fund-raising missionary events, and providing money and material goods to local families in need. It was part of a longer tradition that went back to the time when the Flemings had immigrated to Canada during the Irish famine. At the centre of this tradition had been Fleming's older half-sister, Polly Verner, who, with her husband, turned her small home and store in Toronto's Cabbagetown district into a safe haven for the family's large number of orphaned and motherless children in the 1870s and 80s, as well as providing financial relief to down and out customers. (For a short time it also hosted a small holiness group, whose claims to divinely sanctioned meals and credit came to an abrupt end when, one day, Polly, claiming a counter revelation, cut off all further credit and thereafter dropped out of the group).[16] Stories of Polly's selfless generosity in hard times became a powerful source of collective identity in more affluent days, and family harmony and goodwill trumped any potentially divisive allegiances that sporadically surfaced in the voluminous correspondence among siblings. Robert Fleming's final words to his children, frequently recalled, had been the admonition to love one another. This would be reinforced twelve years later, when, in India, their dying and much loved mother implored the Almighty that each of her children be eternally saved.

The Interwar Years: Indigenization and Internationalism

It was up to the second generation, growing up in quite different circumstances from their elders, to translate this spiritual ideal of harmony and hospitality into their own context. Mission work continued to attract the daughters in ways that both fed on and differed from their mother's experience. Already intimated at the 1910 Edinburgh Conference of World Wide Missions, the approach to missions underwent marked changes during the interwar period. Moving beyond the well-studied liberal/conservative battles on missions, Dana Robert has drawn attention to the prominence of Christian indigenization and internationalism discourse among mainline denominations during this period.[17] In a recent study of

global evangelicalism, Mark Hutchinson and John Wolffe have seen earlier evidence of this in conservative evangelicalism and its Pentecostal offshoot, both rooted in Keswick spirituality and both providing "a unified, experiential worldview built around a personal sense of calling to ultimate ends."[18] New religious groupings with an enthusiasm for global mission, such as the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA), further diversified the approaches westerners were taking towards indigenization on the mission field. Where earlier revivals had been transatlantic, those of the early twentieth century saw the rapid emergence of a global evangelical culture with such new "hot spots" as Melbourne (1902), Wales (1904), Mukti, India (1905), the Heart of Africa Mission in the Belgian Congo (1914), and Manchuria, where, in 1908, Jonathan Goforth began a period of mass revival linked by migrant Christian workers.[19] What had once been a fairly simple shared evangelical missionary discourse now became disparate. Each of the Fleming daughters, in different ways, entered into this conversation. Spiritually their voices differed, but the shared discourse of family identity allowed relationships to remain intact.

Daughter Rebecca, known as "Reba," and deeply religious, had accompanied her stepmother on most of her travels and was drawn to the emerging Pentecostal movement. During the three years she spent with the Goforths in China, once the rudiments of mandarin were mastered, she helped at a missionary school for the blind in Shantung under a Chinese principal. Her letters home reveal a contradiction not uncommon among her peers on the mission field: an intense love for the souls of those considered heathen, accompanied by a dismissal of their "paper idols" and their different cultural habits, not least of which were an absence of soap, water, and modest clothing. The Chinese practice of foot binding also called for frequent critical comment. However, at a time of widespread famine and acute suffering among the Chinese in 1917, she was able to contribute $1,000 towards relief thanks to a gift sent by her father.[20] Her career as an active missionary was short-lived, but for the remainder of her long life she maintained a lively interest in conservative expressions of world evangelization, especially in its more charismatic forms. By 1926 she was actively involved in Toronto with students at the CMA's recently founded Canadian Bible Institute, inviting them to one of the farms her father had bought near Pickering, helping organize their mission placements in Canada, and enthusiastically sharing in letters with Agnes, her youngest and still religiously malleable sister, their joyful accounts of material deprivation.[21] The following year she briefly joined the staff of

the new Canadian Pentecostal Bible College in Winnipeg under its principal J.E. Purdie, an ordained Anglican priest.[22] There she came into contact with the World Evangelization Crusade (WEC). Founded as the Heart of Africa Mission in 1913 by Charles Studd, one of the famed "Cambridge Seven" missionaries to China, the WEC would become Reba's primary interest and the recipient of a generous legacy at her death in 1962.[23] In Toronto she attended the ministry of Oswald Smith, first at the CMA's Christie Tabernacle, and later, after his resignation from the Alliance, his independent People's Church, both with a strong emphasis on foreign missions.[24] In 1942, having experienced a "new dedication to Christ" at a WEC conference in Pittsburgh, she ensured that the organization would also have a home in Toronto. Prompted by its premise as a faith mission that "giving must be under strict [divine] guidance," she bought her own home, which she then shared as a WEC training and respite centre (thereby ingeniously overriding her late father's legal efforts to protect his kind-hearted daughter from giving away her inheritance).[25] At the Centre she drew on her earlier training at the Lillian Massey School of Household Science to offer missionary trainees lessons in domestic science and deportment, helping them, often anonymously, with their financial needs for mission equipment and travel.[26]

Whereas Reba's approach to world missions hearkened back to an earlier model of converting the heathen to western Christianity and culture, her four younger sisters were influenced by the new emphasis on Christian indigenization and sensitivity to the host culture. The two oldest, Stella and Victoria (usually called "Queenie"), deferred marriage until they met the ideal spouse, who in both cases turned out to be a significantly older, widowed missionary. Stella first met her future husband, Murdoch Mackenzie (1858-1938), during the trip in 1919-20 to Reba in China, but it would take another seven years and extensive travel in South America and Europe, before she accepted his proposal. The two were married in October 1927 in a simple ceremony at "Donlands."[27]

In 1889 the Presbyterian Church had sent Mackenzie and his first wife as part of the second missionary contingent to North Honan where, for the next forty years, he evangelized and established churches until his retirement in 1937. Known for his sensitivity to Chinese culture and religions, he became a strong advocate of an indigenous self-supporting Chinese church and in 1913 published *Twenty-Five Years in Honan*, a thoughtful book-length description of the missionary encounter with the native population. His approach to Christian evangelization reflected the

new interest among liberal evangelicals in the historical Jesus and his teaching of the Kingdom of God. Using as a model the propagation of "the Jesus religion" during the apostolic period before its institutionalization, Mackenzie and his cohorts sought to present a pure form of Christianity, "neither Canadian nor Chinese," distinct from its subsequent institutional history in western imperialism.[28] At the same time, drawing on Jesus' role as a teacher and healer, they broadened the earlier approach to evangelization to include education and medical work. Historians such as William Hutchison have depicted the resulting strong investment in schools, hospitals, and churches by mainline denominations as "a moral imperative for imperialism."[29] More recent revisionist work by Dana Robert has presented this investment in an indigenous infrastructure as a contributing factor to the re-centering of Christianity and to its ongoing vitality in the non-western world. However, while she locates the discourse of indigenization in the interwar period, the writings of Murdoch Mackenzie and others, such as his friend R.P. MacKay, the Foreign Missionary Secretary the Canadian Presbyterian Church from 1892 to 1926, reveal its presence well before then.[30]

By 1929, when Stella accompanied her newly wedded husband to her new home, the North Honan mission field was well advanced in its devolution, a process that was hastened by denominational financial constraints resulting from the global economic depression.[31] At the same time, western influences remained. All the elegance of a middle class western life style is evident in photos of their home in the Changte mission compound, where the couple regularly provided hospitality to visiting church dignitaries and, in 1934, to family members Lydia, Evelyn, and Reba, with Reba staying on an additional year. Stella would later recall her years in China as the happiest of her life, but her letters home at the time hinted at some of the challenges she encountered, not least of which was the couple's commitment to an indigenous, self-supporting church. Writing to her youngest sister, Agnes, in 1930, she observed, "foreigners now have to work under the Chinese, who tell them when & where they may go." Admitting that this could be humiliating, she was still grateful that, in the process, missionaries were learning valuable lessons "regarding the advancement of God's Kingdom."[32] As Mackenzie's health began to deteriorate, the two reluctantly decided to return home. In 1937, shortly after Lydia's death, the couple settled into rooms at Donlands, where Mackenzie died the following year.

Her younger sister, Victoria, would also marry an older, widowed

missionary. Stella had received a B.A. in English from Toronto's Victoria College in 1916, but since their father had concluded that there was little evidence of practical benefit, he had decided to send the younger sister to a Bible school instead. Victoria did not find Bible school particularly fulfilling, and, in 1919, she was happy to accompany her mother and Stella to visit Reba in China. She stayed on an additional year, assiduously studying and practicing mandarin and gratefully concluding that her exposure to Chinese culture had been a valuable substitute for a university education. At a time when marriage was seen as a woman's destiny, Lydia kept a watchful eye out for a suitable husband for her daughters, and shortly after Stella had finally decided on marriage, she was pleased to encourage the attention directed at Victoria by Walter Turnbull. After briefly serving as a CMA missionary to India, he had become a well-traveled and admired foreign missions executive, and, at the time, was serving as the popular Dean of Men at the denomination's Nyack College in New York State. A prominent newcomer in the growing web of conservative evangelistic movements, the CMA had been founded by William Howland, Fleming's predecessor as mayor of Toronto, and a member of the conservative Anglican network in which Lydia had been active prior to her marriage.[33] Several encounters between Victoria and Walter, thoughtfully encouraged by Lydia, soon resulted in a marriage in 1930, which gave every indication of happiness. Sadly, less than a year after their marriage, and while Victoria was expecting their first child, Walter was killed in a tragic car accident.[34]

As secretary of the denomination's foreign department, he had made two extensive global journeys visiting and establishing CMA missions, the first to China, Japan, French Indo-China, India, and Palestine, and the second to Latin America. CMA observers credited the new denomination's rapid global expansion to his strong conviction that the primary task of every missionary was to establish a self-supporting indigenous church as quickly as possible and then move on. An immediate hit with the Fleming family, Turnbull expound his vision of a native self-supporting and self-propagating church in India and China to Reba, inspiring her to reflect how she also might do "more along missionary lines."[35]

Differences in missionary approaches by conservative and liberal denominations have loomed large in the secondary literature, but, as indicated by Reba's response to Turnbull, what mattered within a mission-minded family like the Flemings were spiritual commitment and practical effectiveness. In Toronto's evangelical missionary circles this was the

general view, one that allowed for easy movement between the mainline evangelical denominations and the emerging more conservative movements.[36] Such blurring of distinctions between liberal and conservative evangelicals facilitated continuity among the generations in their participation in a globalizing Christianity. Though only Lydia and Reba had been drawn to Keswick spirituality, the two youngest daughters, Evelyn and Agnes, adapted their example of tireless work and constant reliance on the power of prayer to their own changed circumstances.

As the youngest in a family of recent wealth, the two had escaped the financial constraints experienced by their older siblings, and their carefree and seemingly frivolous approach to life became a matter of some concern to their mother. Agnes, the youngest, commonly called "Babe," who had undergone a steady dose of her oldest sister Reba's evangelism as a schoolgirl and had dreamed of becoming a missionary, tossed that ideal to the wind when, in 1927, at age twenty-two she met and quickly became engaged to Eric Bentley, a handsome, charismatic Montrealer. The life of her four-year older sister, Evelyn, to whom she was very close, gave every indication of moving in a similar path. After graduating from the University of Toronto in medicine in 1926, Evelyn had gone to London, England, for further training. Undeterred by the glut of candidates also looking for internships, she had happily socialized, including being presented at the British Court. Proudly escorted after the ceremony by a young Albanian diplomat, she soon thereafter saw a promising romance shattered by his recall to his native country.[37] To temper both of her youngest daughters' affairs of the heart with a more sober experience, their mother asked them, along with a daughter-in-law, to accompany her on an extended trip through India to see first hand the work of the ZBMM in Nasik. Sent off by some 200 well-wishers gathered at the Fleming home, Agnes remained unwavering during the Indian trip in her decision to marry. For Evelyn, however, who joined them in London, the experience became spiritually transformative. "We have all been learning many lessons lately," she wrote from Darjeeling to Eric, Agnes' fiancé, "but the one that seems most marvelous to me and that gives one absolute satisfaction and happiness is that when we substitute our weakness for His strength and our hearts are filled with His love – one cannot help but radiate that love toward *every* human being. In a country like this where there is so much that is unlovely, and to me unlovable and repulsive, one has seen how lacking they are in appropriating this great gift of God."[38] Several months later, back at her work and studies, while on her way

through Hyde Park to the Dorchester Hotel, a favourite venue for high tea, she experienced a sudden glow of great light and warmth, and instantly knew that her future lay in India as a doctor.[39]

After pursuing courses in surgery at the University of Edinburgh, she joined the staff of the Canadian women's hospital in Nasik in 1930 and remained there until 1943.[40] On her visits home she gave presentations on her work and women's life in India to various Canadian branches of the ZBMM and regularly agreed to newspaper and radio interviews. It was here, rather than in her letters home, that she provided some brief insight into her attitude to the indigenization and internationalization of Christianity.

The ZBMM had never been reticent during its long history about the perceived benefits the British Empire brought to India. While the other ZBMM hospitals in India (the Kinnaird at Lucknow, the Duchess of Teck at Patna, and the Victoria at Benares) retained an earlier, more westernized tradition and had been designed primarily to meet the needs of the better-class Indian women, Nasik's work was directed at country women. From the start, the hospital had led the way in Indianization. Its ideal was to be an "Indian Christian Hospital – as Indian as possible, as Christian as possible and as Efficient as possible."[41] Each patient was allowed to have a friend stay with her, all patients could wear whatever made them feel comfortable, and nurses wore the sari of the countryside with their heads uncovered. As a surgeon and educator at a mission hospital in the 1930s and 1940s, Evelyn saw herself as part of a larger narrative in which Indians were gradually modernizing with the help of their colonial mentors. Speaking with pride of the Government's recognition and praise of the high standards of training at the Canada Hospital in Nasik, she commented, "a necessary part of our contribution to Indian independence is to train young Indian women as nurses, fitting them to go out and serve their own people."[42]

Like some of her generation, she no longer fit the stereotype of the missionary whose primary purpose was to save souls, the ideal that had motivated her mother's friend, Rosalind Goforth, and her older sister, Reba. Dr. Fleming "looked like a carefree young person on her way to a garden tea when we talked to her in the living room of 'Donlands,'" noted a 1932 *Toronto Star* article. Nevertheless, the interviewer emphasized, "She is serious of mind, with her work the most interesting and thrilling thing in life to her." In Evelyn's words, "I couldn't go to India – it is depressing and so far from home – unless I felt the real call of the work.

In giving those people the gospel, we are transforming their whole lives as well as healing their bodies. The Hindu man's treatment of women is so dreadful and Christianity is the thing which will lift them out of that horror and make life bearable for them."[43] Although she did not use Murdoch Mackenzie's discourse of the Kingdom of God, her words reflect a shared conviction that that Gospel became indigenized in part through eradicating such perceived injustices as lack of education, medicine, and gender inequality. Home on furlough in 1942 after an exciting journey as nurse on a troop ship, she observed in an interview on CFRB radio that, "With us they learn that in the sight of God there is neither Brahmin nor other caste nor outcaste, but all are equal, and they see for themselves that each one receives the same loving care according to their need."[44] She left Nasik in 1943 and became chief medical officer with a large British tea company in Assam, assuming responsibility for its seventeen hospitals and the medical needs of a labor force of 34,000 largely female tea pickers.[45] The tug of family proved too great to remain there long and, in late 1951, after returning briefly for a farewell visit to Nasik, she embarked on an entirely new chapter of the Fleming family's global outreach – Moral Rearmament.[46]

Moral Rearmament and Christian Globalization

The Fleming engagement with Moral Rearmament began in 1932 when first Helen Hyde, the estranged wife of Lloyd, the second oldest son, and, shortly thereafter, Agnes and Eric Bentley became ardent supporters of its predecessor, the Oxford Group, founded by Frank Buchman. A Lutheran minister in Pennsylvania, Buchman had experienced a profound sense of divine love and forgiveness while attending a conference at Keswick in 1908. This led to him to develop a non-denominational Christian spirituality directed at effecting personal transformation. Critical of traditional missionary movements after he toured China from 1917 to 1919 under the auspices of John R. Mott and the International YMCA, he proceeded in the early 1930s to translate this experience into a new form of missionary movement, known as the Oxford Group, aimed at bringing about personal and collective change through carefully staged gatherings in large hotels and private homes. Though intended at a time of economic depression to appeal to people of all ages and social classes, the movement found its most receptive audience among well-educated young men and women of comfortable means for whom house and hotel parties were a

familiar venue. Practical rather than theological, and with no ties to any religious denomination, Buchman focused on helping individuals by encouraging them to adopt a simple spiritual discipline. Meeting daily in a period of "quiet time" with a partner or small group, they were to open themselves to the guidance of the Holy Spirit, confess to one another any sins that they had committed, and ask forgiveness of those wronged. This personal regime was to be part of a commitment to practice four "absolute standards" of moral behaviour – absolute honesty, unselfishness, purity, and love.[47]

One of Buchman's talents was his ability to adjust his evangelistic efforts to cultural change, a flexibility that allowed for frequent re-invention. In the late 1930s, as war loomed, he reconfigured the movement as Moral Rearmament (MRA) and extended its focus on individual change to a promise of national and even global renewal. Often viewed with suspicion because of his rather naïve efforts to avert war through dialogue with Hitler and the Nazi leadership, he recalibrated and reorganized his movement yet again during the war years. From Mackinac, an American centre on Lake Michigan purchased in 1940, he began to focus on healing the wounds of war by presenting MRA as "a new world philosophy capable of creating a new era of constructive relationships between men and nations."[48]

In the postwar period the urgent need for political reconciliation and reconstruction, the prevalence of industrial conflict, the rapid inroads of communism, and the beginnings of decolonization provided an opportunity to test his ideas. In 1946, he made a second purchase, a large bankrupt hotel, at Caux-sur-Montreaux, Switzerland, to serve as a European centre. Located in the mountains above Lake Geneva, it was intended as a centre for international reconciliation on a more personal and informal level than that pursued by national governments. As the Cold War intensified into a struggle between two stark alternatives, communism and democracy, he increasingly envisioned Caux as "a world ideological training center for democracy." The 1950s and early 1960s saw it drawing 4000 participants a summer from eighty countries. Strategically located in a neutral country and near the hub of the international organizations in Geneva, the MRA centre at Caux brought together large numbers of carefully selected French and German civic leaders, as well as representatives of labour and management, the economic sectors seen to be most urgently in need of reconciliation and most vulnerable to the inroads of communism.[49] With the warm endorsement of General Douglas MacArthur, in 1950 a

contingent of seventy-six prominent Japanese was also invited to Caux. Upon witnessing first hand the reconciliation between French and Germans taking place there, they traveled home via Bonn, Paris, and the United States, crossing the latter in a well-publicized automobile cavalcade.[50] In the late 1950s and early 1960s, African and European nationals seeking to make a peaceful transition to post-colonialism, most notably in Tunisia, Morocco, Kenya, the Belgian Congo, and, in the 1970s, Rhodesia-Zimbabwe, were similarly drawn to MRA's work at Caux.[51]

This post-war phase of MRA has received very little attention, and the place of religion in conflict resolution, as opposed to instigating war, remains an under-documented story. At a time when people were looking for spiritual and moral values to replace the war and violence of the recent past, Buchman and MRA, as a third party independent of church and state, were in a unique position to influence the process of reconciliation. MRA's efforts at a parallel diplomacy were informal and therefore hard to document. There is general agreement, however, beyond its own membership, that in fostering personal relationships among French and German politicians, coal and steel industrialists and union leaders, the meetings at Caux helped prepare the ground for the Schuman Plan in 1950 that integrated the two countries' coal and steel industries and later led to the formation of the European Economic States Community.[52]

Largely ignoring these efforts at reconciliation, critics have depicted MRA as simply an ideological alternative to communism during these Cold War years. In a sympathetic, well-researched study, *The Spiritual Vision of Frank Buchman*, historian Philip Boobyer suggests that its work and ideals can better be understood as an influential movement of Christian revival aimed at offering a spiritual response to the emergence of a global society. What held it together were a few simple spiritual practices intended to be life changing, and a shared conviction that, through the help of the Holy Spirit, those whose lives had been changed could influence others and "remake the world." This was not the Holy Spirit of charismatic movements like Pentecostalism, but a Spirit working through personal story telling, carefully staged dialogue, and dramatic productions, and more in tune with the changing culture. Reliance on the Holy Spirit rather than on a full-orbed Christian theology and discourse also made it easier by the 1950s to drop explicit Christian terms and make room for adherents of all faiths and ethnicities.[53] Familiar in some ways and attractively simplified and forward-looking in others, MRA appealed

to young people socialized in Christian institutions but eager to find exciting new expressions for moral concern.

Actively recruited by Agnes and Eric Bentley to this post-war phase of MRA's reconfiguration were the Fleming nieces and nephews, seven of whom, during the late 1940s to mid 1960s period, served in MRA for extended periods of time: Bob and Lou Fleming (Lloyd's twin sons), Lydia Bentley (Agnes' daughter), Margaret Fleming (daughter of Goldwin, the oldest Fleming son), Betty and Everett Fleming (daughter and son of Russell, the third Fleming son), and Catharine Turnbull (Victoria's daughter). Each came to the movement for different personal reasons, but family dynamics played an important role. Most, but especially Lloyd's twin sons, Bob and Lou, who had left their father to come over with their mother from England in 1935, and Catharine, had spent much of their childhood at Donlands, the Fleming family's home. Interest in missions and global awareness were part of the air the grandchildren had breathed, whether through the letters and stories of Rosalind Goforth, their grandmother and aunts, or the family's large collection of photographs depicting traveling members in exotic places and poses.

For the cohort of the 1950s, unlike many of the idealists of the 1960s who gravitated to secular NGOs like CUSO and the Peace Corps, spiritual concerns remained a part of personal and professional identity in addressing international concerns.[54] Though MRA drew its volunteers from a range of social backgrounds, its spiritual optimism and structured approach appealed especially to educated young people of privileged background who, like the Fleming cousins, had lost interest in an older missionary way of service yet retained a strong sense of *noblesse oblige*. To historian Robert Ellwood, those who reached adulthood during the late 1940s and 1950s found themselves conflicted between a yearning for normalcy and a profound sense of dislocation. As a result, they were now propelled as individuals and as families into uncharted terrain.[55] Conservative revivalists such as Billy Graham and Charles Templeton met the spiritual search for identity by repackaging evangelical Christianity in ways designed to reflect the period's growing youth culture. MRA leaders distanced themselves from such revivalists. Instead, they offered young people opportunities for self-knowledge and identity formation, which, though consistent with their childhood socialization, also spoke hopefully of how personal efforts could influence positively a war torn world in need of healing.

Through correspondence, memoirs, and interviews, the seven Fleming cousins who served in MRA have provided thoughtful insight into how the personal and global were related during their time with the movement. As young adults each experienced the need to cut through the thickets of family tradition and expectations and seek their own identity, one that was distinct from that of the older generation, but also not cut off from the family bonding they had experienced growing up together. The first of the Fleming cousins to become involved with MRA had been seventeen-year old twins Bob and Lou Fleming in 1941, when their mother had sent them as part of their war effort to work at Camp Hatley, a farm in the Eastern Townships, owned by prominent MRA supporters Bernard and Alice Hayward (daughter of Hugh Graham, publisher of the *Montreal Gazette)*. [56] An avid photographer already in his early teens, Bob's awareness of the power of the camera "to move people's hearts and spur their spirits," soon thereafter set him off on a thirty-year stretch as an MRA photographer. Under the mentoring of Arthur Strong, a British portrait and news photographer, since 1938 full time with MRA, he was able to make important contacts with some of the many media, arts, and Hollywood motion picture personalities drawn to the movement. Such networks with influential members became part of MRA's identity as it propagated its message of "life change" through theatrical productions and films. Reflecting the culture of the 1950s, these helped the movement transcend language and ethnic differences on its global trips. In 1948, impressed at the Mackinac conferences by MRA's approach to post-war reconciliation, Bob joined an MRA international task force of several hundred as they toured major cities in the Ruhr region in West Germany. Under the aegis of the British, American, and French Control Commissions, the group presented a musical stage show, "The Good Road," aimed at bringing reconciliation. Engaging in round-table discussions with business, labour, civic, and academic leaders, as well as large numbers of students, the volunteers gained first-hand impressions of the area's devastation caused by the war. Some of Bob's photographs of the encounters in the midst of ruined cities were later collected in a booklet, *The Road From Ruin*, with appropriate captions advertising MRA's ideals.

MRA's reconciliation efforts at Caux fired the idealism of other young Flemings. Catharine Turnbull, who first visited the centre with her mother in 1950, two years later, upon her graduation from Toronto's Victoria College, returned to join an MRA team of young people working in the German coal mining Ruhr region. Hearing first hand the stories of

both Allied and German civilian suffering during the war, she admired the ways former combatants were meeting one another in honest discussion.[57] From 1952 to 1953, Bob's twin brother, Lou, traveled as technical manager of theatrical productions with another group of 200 MRA workers to India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka, in an effort aimed at "breaking down barriers between East and West."[58] In 1955, Bob, now as official staff photographer, accompanied a three-month "Statesmen's Mission" in which a group of 400 European MRA workers and former political leaders toured Asia, the Middle East, and Africa with a musical, "Vanishing Island," directed at a peaceful resolution of impending postcolonial hostilities and resisting communist takeover. Among the travelers was his aunt Evelyn who had been drawn to MRA's approach to forgiveness and reconciliation in India and, in 1952, became one of its two full-time physicians. The year after the "Statesmen's Mission," another cousin, Everett, spent time in Morocco as part of a small MRA contingent as the colony prepared for independence from France.

MRA work required total commitment that extended to marital relations and to limiting family size. All three male cousins married full-time volunteers and would spend a significant number of years with MRA. The father of Everett's bride, Frederica Bull, happened to be Canada's ambassador to Japan and the couple's wedding in 1962 at the Canadian Embassy in Tokyo became an international event. It happily coincided with the opening of a new MRA centre in Japan, the completion of Bull's diplomatic posting, and a visit by the Anglican Primate of Canada.[59]

Among those present at Everett's storybook wedding was his cousin, Margaret, recently arrived in Tokyo to teach at a girl's school. In 1954, in the course of a visit to Caux, she became the last of the Fleming cousins to become an enthusiastic MRA volunteer. Her carefully preserved letters, which retain an immediacy lacking in the much later reminiscences of her cousins, offer invaluable insight into the attraction MRA posed to a highly intelligent, introspective young woman. Her father Goldwin, the oldest of R.J. Fleming's surviving sons, like his father, was a man of strong views who held high expectations of his talented children.[60] These headed him into a collision course with his second oldest daughter, who had recently graduated as head girl of Toronto's University College. His categorical insistence that she break off her relationship with a Roman Catholic young man, along with her own growing sense of discomfort with what she considered a superficial life, led her to abandon a short career as a school teacher and accompany her older brother Ross to England. While he

pursued further medical studies, she embarked on a European tour. At Caux the presence of cousins Catharine, Lydia, and Bob, as well as Aunts Evelyn and Agnes and Uncle Eric Bentley, turned an intended brief stop into a family reunion. Her immediate family had been critical of MRA, and though she had had no intention of staying, Margaret fell under the spell of Caux and began to waver. What drew her most, as she explained to her startled parents, was the clear sense of purpose and honesty of the MRA volunteers, something that was far removed from the evangelical spirituality that she and her cousins had come to dislike. "There is nothing sentimental or aunt Reba-ish about it," she informed her parents two weeks after arrival, "it is clean, hard fighting."[61] Speaking of the decade in which the Fleming cousins had reached adulthood, Swiss psychiatrist Paul Tournier (who was himself sympathetic to MRA) has noted the negative effects high parental standards placed on youth, giving them little space to strike out in new directions.[62] To Margaret, MRA offered volunteers a new and meaningful way of life. "Here at Caux I have really found how to get rid of the barriers I have built, and to face (without fear of being hurt) the real me inside," she confided to her brother. "And am I ever thankful for that! It has made me see clearly why things weren't going quite right, what to do about it, and where to go in the future. Because here at Caux, men and women from *everywhere* are demonstrating a practical, positive, outgoing, happy, and satisfying way of life that is really working miracles in human relations around the world. They are showing that democracy can be just as straightforward and just as powerful as the strongest communism – and they are out to convince the 'democratic' countries of that before they are swept up by the passion of communism."[63]

Initially working at the MRA British headquarters in London, she helped spread MRA teachings among university students through dramatic productions and personal conversations. At the same time, she daily practiced MRA's spiritual regime whose backbone consisted of waiting for spiritual guidance and seeking forgiveness and reconciliation with those wronged. Each of the Fleming cousins had experienced first hand its power as they confronted their own longstanding losses and hurts.[64] In Margaret's case, reconciliation happened in the course of her father's visit to London in April 1956, four years before his unexpected death.

Time was spent briefly thereafter with the MRA mission in Morocco, in which her cousin Everett was actively engaged. This was followed by more sustained periods of work at an MRA centre in Kisco,

New York, and in various Canadian cities and towns. The summer of 1962 found her in Mackinac Island preparing for a posting at a girls' school in Tokyo, where she arrived in time to attend her cousin's wedding. Two years later, she eagerly prepared to accompany a prominent Japanese family and MRA supporter, the Shibusawas, to London to stay with the family of Peter Howard, who, following Buchman's death in 1961, headed MRA.[65] Tragically, she was unable to make the journey, for a minor injury left untreated too long resulted in pulmonary embolism and her death on 5 October 1964 at age 35.

Despite the reconciliation with her father, her immediate family had retained their misgivings about her decision to join MRA and was devastated by her death.[66] The event was part of a larger unraveling of the Fleming family's involvement in MRA. MRA's sense of mission had begun to wane in the early 1960s when first, in 1961, Buchman and then suddenly, in February 1965, his successor, Peter Howard, had died.[67] In these latter years ambivalence and in some cases disillusionment concerning MRA's structure and approach had surfaced among most of the Fleming volunteers.[68] Much introspection would follow.

As they moved into new opportunities for service, the practical experience, contacts, and, in most cases, the self-confidence they had acquired during their lengthy years of service were not, however, wasted. New careers opened that seemed far removed from their former identity as MRA volunteers: nursing for Betty, finance for Everett, theatre management for Lou, and for Bob photo-journalism with *Pace* (an innovative news magazine, centred in Los Angeles, initiated by several former MRA members). Catharine, his cousin, joined him at *Pace* as a researcher, uncovering global stories of human interest.[69] Later, she and her husband, broadcaster and former Jesuit priest Neil McKenty, would actively involve themselves in a Christian Meditation Centre in Montreal, founded in 1978 by Father John Main, a Benedictine monk. Influenced by an Indian teacher, Swami Satyanada, whom he had met while in Malaya in 1955, Main became a key figure in introducing eastern meditation practices to North Americans who, like the McKentys, were searching for contemplative forms of spirituality.[70] In so doing, he and they were participating, perhaps unwittingly, in the larger re-centering of a global Christianity as it decisively shifted away from traditional church and imperial norms towards more individualistic spiritual practices.[71] Over a century these practices and their discourse became endlessly varied. In three generations of a single family, the resulting new spiritual identities

included Primitive Methodism, evangelical Anglicanism, Keswick, Pentecostalism, indigenous Chinese and Indian forms of Christianity, post-war Moral Rearmament, and the adaptation of ancient forms of eastern meditation.

Conclusion

As is evident in this brief overview of the lived religion of one family, a departure from the well-trodden road of theological and church history can lead to unexpected and unpredictable paths. The influence of Keswick spirituality in motivating women such as Lydia and Reba Fleming and the supporters and workers of the ZBMM is not part of the more familiar American and Canadian narratives of liberalizing evangelical missions as told, for example, by William Hutchison in *Errand to the World* and Robert Wright in *World Mission.* And while John Wolffe and Mark Hutchinson underscore the role of Keswick in their history of global evangelicalism, they fail to address the efforts at indigenization by mainline missionaries such as Murdoch Mackenzie, and give only a nod to the "world-life changing" ideology of post-war MRA.[72]

Lived religion, on the other hand, moves a familiar narrative into uncharted terrain and makes connections where none seem to exist. In the case of the Fleming family, the connecting factors include a shared religious socialization, a conviction that privilege and wealth entailed moral responsibility in a changing global society, and the financial freedom to put belief into practice for as short or as long as one wished. The spirituality and missionary interests of the first two generations may, at first glance, seem quite out of step with the third generation's attraction to MRA's personalist approach to global change. However, like the missionary movement, MRA assumed that bringing about global religious and cultural change was a western responsibility. Both also saw change to be not the work of denominational churches or political action, but of the Holy Spirit working through personal and nondenominational efforts. In the collective memory of the Fleming family, a sense of *noblesse oblige* combined with stories of transcendent spiritual experiences formed a consistent thread that included the Methodist holiness of their great aunt Polly, the Keswick spirituality of grandmother Lydia and aunt Reba, the story of their aunt Evelyn's decision to serve in India, as well as mystical experiences among the third generation.[73]

Such spiritual experiences had an expansive optimistic quality and,

in their shared idealism about the possibility of world change, both the missionary movement and MRA were expressions of millenarian hope.[74] In retrospect, for the Fleming family, as for many active in the wider enterprise of Christian globalization, these assumptions were also fraught with contradictions and ambiguity. In the encounter with a globalizing world, individual and family lives, as well as the message people sought to bring, would be re-centred and surprisingly changed.[75] Here such stereotypes as "the self-sacrificing benefactor," and the "misfit interfering busybody," with which this paper began, provide little insight. Even such labels as "liberal" and "conservative" offer a dualism contradictory to the fluidity of reality. Religious discourse and constructs are much more rich and complex. They are embedded in every day lived experience. To cite cultural historian Robert Orsi, they "are never innocent, nor are the effects of their presence singular . . . The sacred is always caught up and implicated in struggles on earth. They bear the marks of history."[76]

Endnotes

1. John W. Grant, *Moon of Wintertime:Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter Since 1535* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 215.

2. Mark Noll, *The New Shape of World Christianity: How American Experience Reflects Global Faith* (Downer's Grove: Intervarsity, 2009), 30; and Dana L.Robert, *Christian Mission: How Christianity Became a World Religion* (n.p.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

3. For his early life and role as mayor see Marguerite Van Die, "Protestants, the Liberal State and the Practice of Politics: Revisiting R.J. Fleming and the 1890s Toronto Streetcar Controversy," *Canadian Historical Association Journal* New Series, 24 (2013): 89-129.

4. In 1929 Donlands Properties Ltd., comprising 950 acres, and valued at $667,357.50 ("the largest [deed] ever recorded in the county registry office") was transferred to Lydia Fleming. "'Donlands' Transferred," *Toronto Star*, 1 February 1929.

5. For the relationship and letters between Rosalind Goforth and Lydia Fleming see Lois Neely Roberts, *Through Deep Waters to Higher Ground: The Life Journey of Jonathan and Rosalind Goforth* (Private publication). Their correspondence is in Tyndale University Archives, Toronto.

6. For Keswick see Ian M. Randall, *Evangelical Experience: A Study in the Spirituality of English Evangelicalism, 1918-1939* (Carlisle: Paternoster 1999), 14-45. For its influence on missions see Mark Hutchison and John Wolffe, *A Short History of Global Evangelicalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 128; and Alvyn Austin, *China's Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832-1905* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 9, 186-8.

7. J.C.Pollock, *Shadows Fall Apart: The Story of the ZBMM* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1958). Founded as the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society (IFNS), an Anglican missionary society within the Church Missionary Society, the ZBMM became non-denominational in the mid 1870s under the enthusiastic leadership of the Kinnairds, a Scottish Presbyterian banking family drawn to the interdenominational approach of American-style revivalism. It was directed by an all-female committee and the presidency of the Lady Kinnaird. Steven S. Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good: Culture, Faith, Empire, and World in the Foreign Missions of the Church of England* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014), 215.

8. In 1910 Lydia had met the renowned ZBMM missionary "Granny Pollen," who, upon the death of her husband, E.C. Pollen, a British District Officer, had commenced work in Bulandshahr, below Musoori. Two years later Mrs. Pollen visited her in Toronto, and, in 1927, accompanied Lydia and her daughters on their tour to the Canada Hospital in Nasik. "A Red-Letter Day in Nasik," *The Zenana: the Monthly Journal of the Zenana Bible & Medical Mission* 35, no. 403 (February 1928): 23-5.

9. Pollock, *Shadows Fall Apart*, 126-41.

10. Wolffe and Hutchinson, *Global Evangelicalism*, 127.

11. Agnes Fleming Bentley, "Memoir."Typescript, 11, Fleming Family Archives (FFA).

12. George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: the Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1876-1925* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 96.

13. "In Memoriam: Lydia Orford Fleming," typescript, 14pp., FFA.

14. Agnes Fleming Bentley, "Memoir," typescript, 6, FFA.

15. Margaret Lamberts Bendroth, *Growing Up Protestant: Parents, Children and the Mainline Churches* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers, 2002), 61-80.

16. Catharine Fleming McKenty, *Polly of Bridgewater Farm: An Unknown Irish Story* (Toronto: Cabbagetown Press, 2009); and J.V. McAree, *Cabbagetown Store* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1953), 29-42.

17. Dana L. Robert, "The First Globalization: the Internationalization of the Protestant Missionary Movement Between the World Wars," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 26, no. 2 (2002): 50ff.

18. Wolffe and Hutchinson, *Global Evangelicalism*, 144.

19. Wolffe and Hutchinson, *Global Evangelicalism*, 149-50; for Goforth see Neeley Roberts, *Through Deep Waters*, 94-147.

20. The famine is briefly described in Alvyn Austin, *Saving China: Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom 1888-1959* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1986), 193-5. Less successful was her father's other effort: to ship an automobile to China to facilitate travel for his wife and daughters, Stella and Victoria, during their visit in 1920.

21. Reba Fleming to Agnes Fleming Bentley, 7 August 1926, FFA. Lindsay Reynolds, *Rebirth: The Redevelopment of the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada* (n.p. 1992), 335-6. It opened in 1924, with John Turnbull as principal, brother of Walter, who would marry her sister, Victoria, in 1930. Both brothers were former CMA missionaries to India. In 1929, the Institute was closed for financial reasons.

22. Bruce L. Guenther, "Pentecostal Theological Education: A Case Study of Western Bible College, 1925-50," in *Canadian Pentecostalism: Transition and Transformation,* ed. Michael Wilkinson (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 100-122; and James D. Craig, "'Out and Out for the Lord': James Eustache Purdie, An Early Anglican Pentecostal" (M.A. thesis, University of St. Michael's College, 1995).

23. "Spinster Leaves Most of Estate to Church Work," *Globe and Mail*, 28 April 1963.

24. Kevin Kee, *Revivalists: Marketing the Gospel in Canada, 1884-1957* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 53-95. Lindsay, *Rebirth*, 148-53 gives a brief summary of Smith's conflict with the Alliance, and his founding of the Peoples Church in September 1928.

25. Norman Grubb and Alfred Ruscoe, "In Loving Memory of 'Aunt Reba,'" *Worldwide* 23, no. 1 (January/February 1963): 13.

26. In 1908 she had received a B.A. from Victoria College, University of Toronto. University of Toronto. Register 1920. http://archive.org/stream/ register00 univuoft/ register00 univuoft_ djvu.txt accessed 12 May 2015.

27. The event was described in detail by Reba to her mother and two youngest sisters, who were in India at the time. Reba Fleming to Agnes Fleming Bentley, 13 November 1927, FFA.

28. Murdoch Mackenzie, *Twenty-Five Years in Honan* (Toronto: Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in Canada [1913]), 167.

29. William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 91-124.

30. Andrew Thompson, *The Life and Letters of the Rev. R.P. Mackay, D.D.* (Toronto: Ryerson Press 1932), 62-105. Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 2009), 234-35 cites Mackenzie's response to the Conference's work on the relation of the Christian message to non-Christian religions as an example of a respectful approach to Chinese culture within a conservative theological framework.

31. Ruth Compton Brouwer, *Modern Women. Modernizing Men: The Changing Missions of Women in Asia and Africa* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002), 11-35, 55.

32. Stella Fleming Mackenzie to Agnes Fleming Bentley, 12 February 1930, FFA.

33. Lindsay Reynolds, *Footprints: The Beginnings of the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada* (Toronto: CMA in Canada, 1982), 158, 172. For Howland, see 210-27.

34. Reynolds, *Footprints*, 173, 272. A.C. Stead, "Missionary and Missionary Statesman, *The Alliance Weekly,* 28 June 1930, 405-6, 415. The entire issue was devoted to his life and legacy.

35. Reba Fleming to Agnes Fleming, 20 June 1929, FFA.

36. Murdoch Mackenzie's friend and immediate superior, R.P. Mackay, the Presbyterian Secretary of Foreign Missions, for example, appeared to have no difficulty also sitting on the boards of the China Inland Mission and the Toronto Bible College. Robert Wright, *A World Mission: Canadian Protestantism and the Quest for a New International Order* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 122.

37. Evelyn Fleming to Agnes Fleming Bentley, 23/23 May 1927 and 14 June 1927, FFA.

38. Evelyn Fleming to Eric Bentley, 15 February 1928, FFA.

39. Catharine Fleming McKenty, "The Grandmother Who Rode Elephants," 13 [autobiographical account in possession of the author].

40. The successor to the ZBMM, Interserve, mentions this date and notes that Evelyn, along with Toronto nurse Dorothy Holden, left as the result of an unknown disagreement. I thank Douglas Virgin for this reference. *A Book of Memories* (Scarborough: Interserve Canada 2003), 7.

41. Pollock, *Shadows Fall Apart,* 128.

42. "CFRB Radio Broadcast. Interviewer Miss Leslie Stowe. Tuesday 24 November 1942," typescript, FFA.

43. "Daughter of R.J. Fleming Home After Years in India," *Toronto Daily Star*, 28 June 1932.

44. "CFRB Radio Broadcast," FFA.

45. "Flies from far Assam for short Toronto visit," *Globe and Mail*, 15 October 1948.

46. Evelyn Fleming to Agnes Fleming Bentley, 18 November 1951, FFA.

47. For a succinct, balanced introduction see Daniel Sack, *Moral Re-Armament: The Re-invention of an American Religious Movement* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

48. Philip Boobyer, *The Spiritual Vision of Frank Buchman* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013), 132; Sack, *Moral Re-Armament*, 119-39.

49. Sack, *Moral Re-Armament*, 141-61.

50. Garth Lean, *Frank Buchman: A Life* (Glasgow: William Collins, 1985), 389-92.

51. Michael Henderson ed., *The Forgiveness Factor: Stories of Hope in a World of Conflict* (London: Grosvenor Books, 1996), 37-73, 208-63.

52. Edward Luttwak, "Franco-German Reconciliation: The Overlooked Role of the Moral Re-Armament Movement," in *Religion, the Missing Dimension of Statecraft*, ed. Douglas Johnston and Cynthia Sampson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 37-57.

53. Boobyer, *Spiritual Vision*, 83-105.

54. Ruth Compton Brouwer, *Canada's Global Villagers: CUSO in Development, 1961-86* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 40-41.

55. Robert S. Ellwood, *The Fifties Spiritual Marketplace: American religion in a decade of conflict* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997).

56. What follows is based on an autobiographical account, Robert J. Fleming, "Memories of Norman Keene," 1-54, typescript, Robert J. Fleming Papers, Queen's University Archives, Kingston.

57. Catharine Fleming McKenty, "The Grandmother Who Rode Elephants," 28-37.

58. Michael Henderson, *Ice in Every Carriage: An Extraordinary Asian Journey, 1952-53* (Caux: Caux Books, 2010).

59. Everett R. Fleming, *From Meadowbrook Farm* (Private Publication, 2012), 108-33.

60. Ross Fleming, "Goldie: A personal memoir of my father Goldwin Orford Fleming 1889 to 1960," 24-6, typescript 2012, FFA. Everett, a son by Fleming's first marriage, had died of respiratory illness in 1901.

61. Margaret Fleming to Goldwin Fleming and Jean Ross Fleming, 17 August 1954, Ross Fleming Papers.

62. Paul Tournier, *The Person Reborn* (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), 58-68.

63. Margaret Fleming to Ross Fleming, 14 August 1954, Ross Fleming Papers.

64. Based on interviews and private memoirs, I have briefly discussed these in an unpublished paper, "A new spirituality for a war-torn world: one Canadian family's investment in Moral Re-Armamant."

65. Margaret Fleming to Jean Ross Fleming, 11 July [1964], Ross Fleming Papers.

66. Paul Campbell to Ross Fleming, 2 November 1964, Ross Fleming Papers.

67. Sacks, *Moral Re-Armament*, 163-94. Since 2001 MRA has been re-named Initiatives of Change. See Laurent Gagnon, *Beyond Borders: Initiatives of Change in Quebec* (Caux: Caux Books, 2006).

68. For a balanced assessment of the high demands Buchman placed on its volunteers, see Boobyer, *Spiritual Vision*, 56-82.

69. Some of Fleming's *Pace* photographs with accompanying articles have been republished. See, for example, "Starvation and death haunted people of 'the other Brazil,'" *Kingston Whig Standard*, 25 June 2004. Both cousins later returned to Canada to join the Ontario public service, Catharine as a speechwriter for Bill Davis and Bob as an administrator of the Ontario Legislature.

70. Neil McKenty, *In the Stillness Dancing: the Journey of John Main* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1986).

71. Robert Wuthnow, *After Heaven: Spirituality in America Since the 1950s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 168-98.

72. Wolffe and Hutchinson, *Global Evangelicalism*, 165.

73. Interview Betty Fleming Beaman, 19 December 2013; interview Robert J. Fleming, 13 December 2013; McKenty,"The Grandmother who Rode Elephants," 13, 21-2.

74. Boobyer, *Spiritual Vision*, 156.

75. See, for example, Ruth Compton Brouwer, "When Missions Became Development: Ironies of 'NGOization' in Mainstream Canadian Churches in the 1960s," *Canadian Historical Review* 91, no. 4 (December 2010): 661-93.

76. Robert Orsi, *Between Heaven and Earth: The Religious Worlds People Make and the Scholars Who Study Them* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 4.

CSCH President's Address 2015

Creating a Useable Past: Retelling Christian History for the Twenty-first Century

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Every five hundred years the church has a rummage sale. All of the junk gets thrown out. The last time this happened was five hundred years ago during the reformation, but this happened five hundred years before that, and five hundred years before that (in the year 500 CE). This explains the changes transforming the church in the west today. I know this because I've heard this said on several occasions at various seminars, workshops, or other special events that have focused on what the church needs to do today. The presenters have been good, credible experts in their field and in what they were presenting. But this rather odd picture (to say the least) of church history was presented as a given, a repeatable pattern, and as true. It is found in a book by Phyllis Tickle, entitled *The Great Emergence: How Christianity is Changing and Why* (2008).[1] Based upon this, Tickle argues for a path forward for the church today. Whatever the value of the suggestions for today may be, the description of church history is nonsensical.

History is used. Historians may use the past, but so too do those in other disciplines. Theologians, sociologists, philosophers, economists, political scientists, and others all use evidence from the past to bolster their particular arguments. Church historians need to be aware of how history is being interpreted and framed. We need to recognize that the past is

being used and how it is being used. I raise this not to be territorial or to chastise, criticize, or rebuke other disciplines, but to point out what strikes me as some serious misrepresentations of the past and to raise the question of our responsibility to address this. To put it directly: sometimes others put together a picture of the past because we have not done that as clearly as we might. Historians have done amazing work in concentrated areas of research, but, in our teaching and our writing, it is not clear that we have communicated our findings in a way that people can readily access so that people don't have to rely on the idea of a rummage sale every five hundred years, or if they do encounter such ideas, they can dismiss them.

This was not the talk I had imagined giving as the presidential address for this society. I had looked at addresses given over the years and originally planned to talk about the teaching of church history, and how it, particularly teaching about the reformation, has changed in the last generation. Changing necessities resulted in those ideas instead appearing in a special edition of the *Toronto Journal of Theology* celebrating the 170th anniversary of Knox College and the 100th anniversary of our current building as "The Changed and Changing Face of Church History."[2] In working on that paper a passing comment was made in the introduction that I realized needed to be explored further. The result of those explorations is what this presentation will share. For the *Papers* of our society, I have edited the address, but have chosen to keep some of the personal approach of the presentation intact. I want to begin by detailing two of the narratives we frequently encounter – the narrative of Christendom, the narrative of secularization – and exploring some of the problems with these narratives. In the second major section some different themes that might counter these are explored.

Many contemporary descriptions divide the history of the church neatly into three: the church before Christendom; Christendom; and today, post-Christendom. These categories have replaced the more traditional (and equally problematic) categories of early, medieval, early modern (or reformation), and modern. The idea seems to be (though this might be something of a caricature) that there was a pure time in church life before Constantine converted to Christianity, but with his conversion everything moved into a more or less unified church/state entity, which we are now, thankfully, leaving. The Constantinian period is seen as irredeemably corrupted; the only resources churches today should look to would be those from the pre-Constantinian church. This image is used in terms of church-state relations, but also extended to include virtually anything:[3]

theology, faith, piety, mission. Seemingly, everything remained virtually static from about 325 to about 1950 or whenever the particular author wanted to suggest that Christendom ended. That is not to say that Christendom is not a good term or that there is not some value in thinking about what happens to faith when it becomes the official religion of the state. As someone who uses the term, I want to suggest that the concept of Christendom has value, and I would agree with Marguerite Van Die in her presidential address five years ago, that this has become a crucial way of discussing what has happened to the church in Canada in more recent years. Terms such as leaving Christendom and de-Christianization can be extremely helpful – when used appropriately.[4] The problem has become that too often the term Christendom is used as if there were one monolithic reality that began with Constantine and continued, unchanged, until recently or whenever the particular author or speaker suddenly has it end. It is this way of imagining history that I would argue is the problem with this concept.

Indeed, one of the challenges related to the concept of Christendom comes when one tries to define when precisely it ended. When did Christendom end? It is fair to assume it has ended, but when it ended is debatable and depends on how one defines Christendom. Does the term mean Christianity being the exclusive religion of the state to which everyone is expected to adhere? That is not a bad definition of Christendom, and indeed something similar seems often to be in the background for those who use the concept. In this case one can readily determine a beginning date for Christendom. It began when Emperor Theodosius I made Christianity the religion of the Roman state in 380. Note that it was Theodosius, not Constantine, who was responsible for this. Constantine converted to Christianity, ceased persecuting Christians, and favoured religious institutions, including playing a crucial role in calling the Council of Nicea. All of this was of great significance, but he began a process that found its fruition several generations later. If the origins of Christendom are somewhat clear in this definition as official religion of the state, the end point is much less so. Did Christendom end with the reluctant acceptance of religious divisions within the European continent wherein different parts of Europe might hold different versions of Christian faith as determined by their rulers – *cujus regio, eius religio*? Or, did it end when states began to realize (however willingly or grudgingly) that they needed to accept religious diversity within their respective realms? States might even discriminate against religious minorities, but

they were no longer willing to use violence to eradicate them. Or is it simply when the Christian religion (in whatever form) was no longer privileged by the state? Most people work with some form of this latter definition in mind. If so, the end of Christendom will vary from country to country. In Canada, a reasonable date to consider as the beginning of the end might be 1967, a year when the government of Canada attempted, as demonstrated in the work of Gary Miedema, to move to a multi-faith vision of religion as part of the centennial celebrations. At the same time, it is important to remember that the actual celebration of the centennial year began with a televised, distinctively Christian prayer service (though with Jewish representatives in attendance).[5] Two brief comments. First, note how recent this change has been. Second, note that this is only one of the potential places where one might say "Christendom ended" even using this definition. The secularization of the clergy reserves in Upper Canada in the mid-nineteenth century might also be seen as the crucial moment – except we are then left with a very messy picture, with all of the religious rhetoric so central to the prosecution of the First World War happening post-Christendom. If one uses other possible definitions, for example one where the majority of individuals adhere to the Christian faith, the problems only multiply.

Church and state clearly entered into an intimate relationship in the years after Constantine's conversion, and particularly after Christianity became the state religion of Rome in 380; however, what is crucial to remember is how that relationship differed from one political entity to another, how that relationship changed over time, and how the church was not always the loser (nor always a winner) in any tussle between church and state. The church was transformed by this interaction, but so too was the state. This was an encounter that transformed each partner and evolved. There is no one Christendom. There are only Christendoms (a term that will never catch on). Illustrating this is not impossible. One can inform students that the relationship between Patriarch and Emperor in the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire was different from the relationship in Western Europe. The Emperor saw himself, and was generally conceived to be, above the Patriarch, with responsibilities for the life of the church. The kinds of struggles between Pope and Emperor so evident in Western Europe are not as evident in Eastern Christianity. It was the political uncertainty in the fragments of what had been the Western Roman Empire that raised so many issues of church and state. At the same time, we see a changing relationship, one where the authority of the papacy grows and

where papal claims are contested. We see this in the famous incident when the Emperor Henry IV was kept waiting in the snow at Canossa in 1077 before doing penance before Pope Gregory VII. This incident represents a dramatic event in the much longer evolution of roles between Pope and Emperor, but it is not a story about Popes telling Emperors what to do within "Christendom." Quite the contrary. Several years later Henry drove Gregory into exile where he died. There was a struggle over who had what authority. There were concordats or agreements between the Pope and particular monarchs. The relationship between church and state was complex and varied from place to place, from period to period. To lump it all together distorts. And yet that distortion seems to be so central to this picture of Christendom which has emerged. Rather than seeing change and struggle, evolution and resolution, give and take, too often it seems that Constantine's conversion establishes a unity of church and state that remains the same until it collapses and we move out of Christendom.

One of the areas where Christendom has been used as an organizing principle is discussions of the mission history of the church. This model, in its starkest form, suggests: in the early church everyone was a missionary; in Christendom, mission either ceased or became the responsibility of experts who carried on mission outside of Christendom; in our post-Christendom era, we have a new reality where, one assumes, we all need again to become missionaries. This is very much again an A-C-A structure, where C (Christendom) is not merely a change, but a wrong turn and a move away from what should have been. This characterization of Christendom as monolithic in its missionary approach or lacking in mission is far too simplistic. The charge of Christendom having abandoned mission is simply false. St. Cyril and St. Methodius, St. Boniface, and St. Francis of Assisi (who was intent on being a missionary to Islam) all give us examples that we could multiply *ad nauseum* of the missionary impulse of Christendom. One might quickly respond: "yes, but this was all mission by experts on the frontier." Some clearly were. But that was only one of the forms which mission took in this period. The nature of conversion in many cases was such that once the original missionary had succeeded in converting the tribal chieftains to Christianity, the more complicated task of explaining the new faith to not only the chieftains but to their followers began. This internal mission was ongoing throughout the history of what we might characterize as Christendom. The preaching of mendicant friars, Benedictine and Franciscan, was an attempt to teach people inside Christendom about the faith to which they belonged, but about which they

might have (or at least others might assume they had) limited knowledge. A concern for mission was a significant feature of Christendom, and continued to the latter phases of Christendom, not only in the great Catholic missions to Asia and the Orthodox missions across Russia, but in the explosion of Protestant interest in mission that reached its heights in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Here too we see a concern for internal mission – mission within Christendom to convert nominal Christians into committed Christians.[6] When we tell the history of missions, it is not clear how Christendom is an effective organizing principle. How does it help us to understand change? I would suggest it does not. If we want to organize the history of the mission of the church there are other more effective ways.

The gradual erosion of Christendom and its end leads to the consideration of a related, but nevertheless distinct, theme that has dominated our cultural understanding, and that is the narrative around secularization. Christendom is conceived of as a world imbued with religion and faith. The world after this is conceived as a world without faith, a world without God. It is secular. How we moved from the one to the other is often described as a process of secularization. A common model begins this process around the time of the intellectual Enlightenment; thereafter, as the world became more scientific, more urban, and more industrial, religion naturally and inevitably declined. Scholars rarely put it this starkly, yet most of these theories of secularization argue for a gradual process, one that happens over time, beginning (as noted) with the scientific changes of the Enlightenment, or sometimes with the fracture of Christian unity that occurred in the sixteenth century (the reformations). Both the complex academic theory related to secularization, as well as a more common cultural understanding, suggest, in different ways, that the erosion of the place of religion in modern society has been gradual and inevitable. Historical evidence is selected and used to prove that this narrative works. Historians object and provide examples of continuing faith or growing religious institutions. Evidence to the contrary is either dismissed or allowed as an exception that, nevertheless, proves the rule. The narrative of secularization continues to dominate.[7]

One of the challenges in dealing with various secularization theories is finding a clear definition of what the terms secular and secularization actually mean. What precisely are we talking about? What is the process we are describing? What one quickly discovers is that there are multiple definitions and multiple understandings; indeed, so much is going on that

it is often hard to keep the conversation straight. One useful definition can be found in the work of Steve Bruce, who remains one of the most vocal proponents of secularization theory. Bruce identifies three factors as crucial: first, "the declining importance of religion for the operation of non-religious roles and institutions such as those of the state and the economy;" second, "a decline in the social standing of religious roles and institutions" so that, both through public opinion and political process, religious institutions have a more limited role; and, third, "a decline in the extent to that people engage in religious practices, display beliefs of a religious kind, and conduct other aspects of their lives in a manner informed by such beliefs."[8] Central to this narrative is the idea of decline. But what distinguishes decline from change? Given the comprehensiveness of this definition, the multiple aspects being covered (politics, personal belief, institutions), is it possible to imagine decline in one area and growth in others; or where change in one area happened without anything similar to what one could define as "secularization" taking place? Seventeenth century England after the Civil Wars would be a perfect example of a society where personal involvement and commitment declined but societal support for one unified religion increased. In nineteenth century Canada religion was displaced from some spheres where it had previously dominated (university education) at the same time when most indicators of personal religious belief would show either stability or actual growth.

But none of this seems to matter. This narrative of long-term secularization continues to dominate the conversation concerning what has happened to religion in society over the last two to five hundred years. Its power is such that it has become common in Canada today to hear commentators express surprise that the church is still around, or to hear them (erroneously) speak of the traditional separation of church and state in Canada.

Time, perhaps too much time, has been spent laying out narratives of the past (Christendom, secularization) that dominate how both those in the church, as well as the broader academic world and society beyond that, speak of the past. These narratives shape how the past is understood. In teaching, the church historian's job includes challenging these narratives, raising questions, giving counter-examples, and generally adding greater complexity to the picture. But this is not enough. If no alternative picture is offered, one fears that these narratives will reassert themselves. It is important to offer a different narrative. What should the narrative be? This

is something I have begun to consider more and more. I want to share some suggestions, while at the same time recognizing that my thoughts are very much shaped by the particular location in which I teach (a Protestant/Reformed theological college), my own background in that tradition, and the students with whom I interact, primarily candidates for ministry. Many of these students have little sense of why they should study the past, yet, more frequently than they realize, they draw upon an imagined past.

There are some broad themes that are important to raise. One is the on-going dialogue between culture and faith. Too often students (and many others) imagine that it is only now in the twenty-first century that faith is being shaped or challenged by culture. This is a much longer, much more complicated, process. Christian faith nowhere exists in some pristine, pure form but has always interacted with culture. Christianity was transformed as it became more successful within the Roman Empire. The early apologists adapted the faith as they needed to in order for it to make sense in the Graeco-Roman world. Further changes occurred with the collapse of the Roman Empire in Western Europe, as missionaries attempted to evangelize Germanic and other tribal peoples. This interaction between culture and faith is a process that occurs throughout Christian history and one that needs to be recognized. Another broad theme relates to institutions, and in particular the crucial role that monasteries and various forms of the set-apart religious life have played throughout the history of the church. What we imagine today as the central institutions of the church have not always existed, let alone mattered. The role that martyrdoms have played in the history of the church is another broad theme worth considering. When we look exclusively at the experience within the Roman Empire, we might accept the famous phrase of Tertullian – "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church" – as true for all times and periods. There is, indeed, some evidence that the courage of Christians in the face of early persecution led to growth. At the same time, there is other evidence that suggests that targeted persecution, such as the Diocletian persecution in the early fourth century, weakened the church.[9] We know of other times in the history of the global church where persecution has (tragically) succeeded.[10] I am intrigued by the idea that it may actually have been the compassion that Christians showed to those inside and outside their gathering, rather than martyrdoms, which made a positive impact on many in Roman society. There are many general themes, but I want to turn and focus on some aspects of the more recent

past that seem particularly crucial for us today.

The reformations of the sixteenth century were significant, but they were not the last significant event prior to our own time. One cannot understand Christianity in the world today without knowing about Martin Luther or the Council of Trent, and a multitude of other personalities and key events. The sixteenth century matters. But so too does the seventeenth century, when the consequences of new theological ideas and the religious divide in Western Europe were still being contested. In my own tradition (reformed) there is a strong tendency to assume that nothing after the sixteenth and parts of the seventeenth centuries is really worthy of our study. If you want to know what is important for the history of the church, you study the reformation. You will understand everything. If you really must do more, study the early church. All other historical periods are considered less important or a decline away from these moments of insight. The importance of events in-between the reformations and ourselves require a great deal more attention. As much as it pains me to say this, John Wesley may be a more significant figure in Christian history than John Calvin. John Wesley can be seen as the reluctant founder of a new religious tradition, Methodism, which was one of the great success stories in English religion, as well as the religious history of North America. But more than this, he was part of an approach to religious faith that moved it from head to heart, from the intellectual to the deeply personal, which permanently and fundamentally changed the very nature of those religious traditions we lump together as Protestant. This change was, of course, the result of the work of more than Wesley. The Moravians and the pietists and other evangelicals, notably George Whitefield, need to be included. Similar transitions can also be discerned within Roman Catholicism in this period. What is being described here is a profound shift in Christian faith and piety. An example of this shift can be seen in the explosion of hymn writing, expressing faith in one's own words and not relying exclusively on the texts one finds in the psalms or other songs in the Bible. Charles Wesley's hymn texts continue to shape faith today in a way that John Knox would deplore; yet those who would see themselves as walking in the footsteps of Knox are happily oblivious to this. The evangelical revivals that began in the eighteenth century have had a marked effect, and not only on the religious traditions that can directly link back to founders like Wesley, but also traditions such as branches of the reformed tradition which, on the surface, would be completely opposed to Wesley.

These ideas continued to evolve and much of that evolution occurred in another distinct time of transformation, in the very crucial nineteenth century, and notably in the Victorian period. Were these simply natural outgrowths of the ideas germinated at the time of the evangelical revivals? Possibly yes. At the same time, the major institutions we now think of as central to the church (Sunday schools, mission societies, youth groups) do not link back to the institutions founded by Wesley (class meetings, strictly enforced discipline). There are also new features that were added – again linked to evangelical concerns – but either more intense or of a different nature. Temperance. Abolitionism. Political involvement to make the Sabbath a day where no work should take place. Were these new innovations? Or were they developments that emerged out of earlier motivations? There were also darker themes that seem to have been absorbed in that ever-continuing relationship between faith and culture. For example, missions which had at one point been open to the participation by indigenous people in leadership in Canada, now moved to exclusively European leadership.[11] To become Christian one needed not only to take on European culture, but also abandon one's native language for either English or French. It is worth pausing here. This is a dramatic shift. While the Chinese rites controversy and other arguments in the history of mission may have asked questions about what was appropriate to bring into Christianity from another culture, this complete rejection of another culture and the demands that it be replaced seems new, and an aberration from so much which had gone before it. There is something qualitatively different here from the early missions to indigenous peoples, for example the Hurons, or other missions where the gospel was translated into aboriginal languages. There seems to be something new and dark emerging in Victorian Christianity. In researching Presbyterians in the Great War, I have been struck by the pervasive attitudes of racial superiority in this period, not only in terms of white people superior to those of African or Asian heritage, but the superiority of some white people over other white people, of Northern Europeans over Southern Europeans, of Britons over everyone else. Did social Darwinism, the survival of the fittest, begin to pervade Christianity at this point? There are many questions for us to consider, but what seems clear is that there were important changes in Christianity that took place in this period. The form of Protestant Christianity that many people now mourn was not the church of John Calvin, or even the church of John Wesley, but a rather different institution – one we see clearly in Stephen Leacock, not only in *Sunshine*

Sketches of a Little Town but even more tellingly in *Arcadian Adventures of the Idle Rich*. This is the Christian Canada that, as Mark Noll noted, was lost.[12]

Our discussion to this point has focused primarily on changes that occurred within what is broadly construed as Protestantism. The Roman Catholic tradition also went through significant changes that too often are left out of the story. The idea of a Roman Catholic tradition that codified what it believed at the Council of Trent and then has not changed from these positions down to the present day apart from a few alterations, such as the inclusion of developments at the First and Second Vatican councils, is not a helpful narration. The great mission adventures of the Jesuits, followed by the challenge to decisions about the indigenization of the gospel in Confucian cultures (the Chinese rites controversy), and the violent persecution of Japanese converts in Japan in the early seventeenth century,[13] are all important stories that are too often neglected. Another example would be the experience of the Roman Catholic Church during the French Revolution. The French Revolution was the first attempt to create a secular regime. Given the intimate links between the French crown and the church in France, it is not surprising that an attack on the former led to an attack on the latter. The violence, the destruction of the physical property of the church, the number of priests and religious executed or driven into exile, is truly staggering. It is difficult to find an equivalent experience within most Protestant traditions.[14] When one considers this experience, the fear of modern ideas and change that one sees reinforced in the First Vatican Council in the nineteenth century makes far more sense. It is important to remember as well that the ideas of the French Revolution were exported throughout Europe as the French army conquered the continent. The trope of the village priest and secular school master constantly bickering is a result of the legacy of the French Revolution and would not have been a feature of Christendom but for the first (failed) attempt at the creation of an exclusively secular state, an experiment that continued throughout the twentieth century after the success of the Russian Revolution. These changes affected the Catholic tradition, as well as the Orthodox. It also reminds North Americans that the Christian tradition not only continued on the European continent after the discovery of the Americas, but that developments on that continent continued to be crucial for the history of Christianity.

The significance of the recent past, of the twentieth century, for Christian history is another important theme. Christianity was transformed

in the last century. Some of those transformations were external in their origin, the result of such catastrophes as the two World Wars. Others have been more internal. The explosion of Pentecostalism and other forms of charismatic faith has been one of the great changes of the last century. While one can see the roots of Pentecostalism in the holiness movements developing through the nineteenth century and into the early part of the twentieth, few would have predicted that this would be the movement which would explode across North America and across the world. It is a truly remarkable story. Another major transition is the shift of Christianity to the developing world. When Protestants met at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference in 1910 with the stated goal of the Christianization of the world in a generation, the results by 1990 (about three generations later) were not at all what they would have imagined. The success of Christian missions in Africa and Asia seem, in many cases, to have been achieved when foreign missionaries have not been present. This has led to different forms of Christianity throughout the world than those necessarily favoured by denominations in Europe. While Christianity has grown dramatically in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, it has declined – imploded – in Europe and in other Western countries. This is a major story; indeed, it is this story that often leads to the kind of approaches and uses of history with which we began, where we speak of rummage sales, or inevitable secularization, or the moving out of a monolithic Christendom dating from the fourth century. Too many of these discussions keep the Western church as the focus, where the action really is, as opposed to taking global changes seriously. This is not to suggest – as too often seems to be the case – that all would be well if Canadian churches acted as if they were Ghanian churches or Korean churches. What we need to recognize is the shift that has happened and speak clearly about it; describing what has occurred, as well as analyzing its implications.

For the past to be useable, the story needs to be accurate and reflect the best research. This does not mean that there will be a consensus. We all know that there are multiple interpretations and ways of looking at key events. But the story needs to be told in a way that comprehensively captures the nature of Christian experience. Neither simplistic understandings of Christendom nor secularization will help. This does not mean that we must abandon these categories; rather, we need to re-define them, bring nuance and complexity, and help those we teach (through our classrooms and our writing) better understand the dramatic changes that have taken place. One helpful concept taken from the work of Callum Brown is the

idea of a move from a Christian discourse to a secular discourse, from a world where God and faith inform the broader cultural conversation to one where the conversation takes place with very different starting places in mind.[15] This is a profound transformation, one that distances us not only from the world of medieval Europe, but also from the experience of Canadians in the Great War when national days of prayer were part of the war effort, as well as more recent times.

Research in very specialized areas is one crucial task, one at which historians, Canadian church historians among them, have excelled. The amount of quality scholarship that has taken place over the last generation is remarkable. When I look back at the books and articles I was able to consider around 1989 when I was working on religion in Canada as one of my themes for my Canadian history comprehensive with Professor Gil Stelter at the University of Guelph, I remain amazed at how much has been published subsequently related to the history of Christianity in Canada. Great work has been done. An additional, perhaps more challenging, task is still before us, namely to begin to shape a narrative that communicates these findings, and those in the broader field of church history, to our colleagues in other disciplines and to our broader publics. While certainly aware of the challenges this presents and the many barriers in our way, it is something we need to do. We need to communicate, as best we are able, the exciting discoveries in the history of Christianity that have emerged in the last few generations. These challenge the neat narratives of secularization and of Christendom, but in this more complex picture there are resources for the institutional church today, warnings that should be heeded, and simple facts we need to accept. We can do better than let people hear that every five hundred years there is a need for a rummage sale.

Endnotes

1. Phyllis Tickle, *The Great Emergence: How Christianity is Changing and Why* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2008), 19-29. Tickle credits the idea to the Rt. Rev. Mark Dyer (16-17).

2. Stuart Macdonald, "The Changed (and Changing) Face of Church History," *Toronto Journal of Theology* (Supplement 1: "Faith Matters in Changing Times," ed. Bradley McLean, 2015): 29-42.

3. The afternoon after writing this paragraph I encountered this approach in an article in the Presbyterian denominational magazine: David Webber, "Losing the Chains of Christendom," *Presbyterian Record* (May 2015): 47-48.

4. Marguerite Van Die, "'We who speak . . . and write books': Writing and Teaching the History of Christianity In a Secular Canada, 1960-2010," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2010): 95-107. In preparing this address, I re-read many previous presidential addresses and am grateful to my colleagues for their wisdom and insight. I also discovered how close my title was to that chosen a little more than a decade ago: Douglas Shantz, "A Useable Past: Church Historians as Engaged Scholars Who Serve the Common Good," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2003), 171-92.

5. Gary Miedema, *For Canada's Sake: Public Religion, Centennial Celebrations, and the Re-making of Canada in the 1960s* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), xi-xv.

6. Henry Mayr-Harting, "The West: The Age of Conversion (700-1050)" in *The Oxford History of Christianity,* ed. John McManners (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 101-10.

7. While this article explores the use of history within theories of secularization, history is also a notable feature in rational choice theories, which in many ways are the ideological opposite of secularization. For example see Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*, 2nd edition (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005).

8. Steve Bruce, *God is Dead: Secularization in the West* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 3.

9. W.H.C. Frend, "Persecutions: genesis and legacy" in *The Cambridge History of Christianity Vol. 1: Origins to Constantine*, eds. Margaret M. Mitchell and Frances M. Young (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 503-23.

10. Philip Jenkins, *The Lost History of Christianity: The Thousand-year Golden Age of the Church in the Middle East, Africa, and Asia – and How it Died* (New York: HarperOne, 2008). After the address, Gord Heath was kind enough to share an excellent article he has written exploring aspects of this topic. Gordon L. Heath, "When the Blood of the Martyrs Was Not Enough: A Survey of Places Where the Church Was Wiped Out," in *The Church, Then and Now*, eds. Stanley E. Porter and Cynthia Long Westfall (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2012), 97-131.

11. I am indebted to the Rt. Rev. Mark MacDonald, who articulated this idea so well in his address "Truth and Reconciliation: Focusing on the Horizon" given at Knox College on 13 May 2015. Peter Bush, *Western Challenge: The Presbyterian Church in Canada's Mission on the Prairies and North, 1885-1925* (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer, 2000), 86-118.

12. Mark A. Noll, "What happened to Christian Canada?" *Church History* 75, no. 2 (June 2006): 245-73. While the church can be seen throughout Stephen Leacock, *Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town* (1912), the portrayal of urban Christianity in Leacock's *Arcadian Adventures with the Idle Rich* (1914) is the focus of the last three chapters in that more acerbic novel.

13. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Christianity: The First Three Thousand* Years (New York: Viking, 2010), 708.

14. The experience of persecution is, of course, lionized in many Protestant traditions, but it is usually persecution directed from another branch of Christianity, either Roman Catholicism or another form of Protestantism. How the narrative of these experiences differs from what the Roman Catholic Church in France experienced is a topic worthy of further consideration.

15. Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800-2000* (London: Routledge, 2001).