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John Webster Grant – John Moir
Graduate Student Essay Prize Winner 2018

Identity Negotiating in Cultural Accommodation and Spiritual Practice: A Case Study of the Chinese Diasporic and Sinophone Christians in Four Toronto-based Ling Liang (Bread of Life) Churches[1]

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> Then the angel showed me a pure river of the water of life, bright as crystal, flowing from the throne of God and of the Lamb through the middle of the street of the city. On either side of the river is the tree of life with its twelve kinds of fruits, producing its fruit each month: and the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations (Revelation 22: 1-2).[2]

The Position of Chinese and Sinophone Christianity in Canada

After a period of growth and stability following the Second World War, Canadians began to shed their Christian identity in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In 2011, representing 67 percent of the whole population, Christians continued to dominate the religious composition of Canada. But that figure represented a significant decline from 1961 when 96 percent of Canadians identified themselves as practicing some form of Christianity.[3] The new reality in Canada was far more diverse – and one that included 24 percent of the population identifying as having "No Religion Affilia-

tion."[4]

In 2011, "visible minorities" were well represented among Canada's Christians, those identifying as having no religious affiliation, as well as those practicing other world religions including Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism, and Buddhism.[5] Indeed, as new immigrants continued to arrive in Canada from non-traditional (non-European countries) all over the world, it was hardly surprising to see religions other than Christianity grow as an overall percentage of the population. And yet not all immigrants from these countries bolstered the ranks of non-Christian religions. For example, the largest number of Chinese Canadians – comprising over 64 percent of all Chinese people living in Canada – identified themselves as practicing no form of organized religion. Canadians identified as "Independent Chinese Christians" – denoted "Christian n.o.s." in the 2001 census and "Christian n.i.e." in the 2011 census – increased dramatically as a percentage of the overall Canadian population from 5.7 percent in 2001 to 7.6 percent in 2011.[6]

What happened to the practice of Christianity among Chinese Canadians? Why has it evolved as it has? What did and does it mean to be a Chinese or Sinophone Canadian Christian today? This article investigates these questions in the context of an indigenous Chinese "sect" of Christianity known as "Ling Liang Tang," or, in English, the "Spiritual Food Church" or the "Bread of Life Church." Ling Liang Tang was first established in Shanghai 1942. From there it spread first to Hong Kong and Taipei and, after the Second World War, elsewhere around globe. The Bread of Life Christian Church is distinguished by the practice of what is known as the "Ling Liang Rule" – a rule based on the older "Matteo Ricci Rule" for bringing Confucian perspectives to bear on Western forms of Christianity. My preliminary exploration of the history and theology of the Ling Liang Tang or Bread of Life Christian Church yielded what I describe a "three-in-one identity" model – a model that marries Chinese and Sinophone culture to Christian beliefs in contexts that are distinctively local and that contribute to the overall the spread of Christianity in a post-colonial world.

This article begins by describing the historical development of the Ling Liang sect as an independent form of Chinese Christianity. It then elaborates on the history of the four Toronto-based Ling Liang churches. Finally, it explores the hybrid "three-in-one identity" of Toronto church members as they negotiated the tensions that existed between their cultural identities as Chinese Canadians and their spiritual practices and beliefs as

members of these Christian churches. The main research question driving this article is "what does it mean to be a 'Sinophone Canadian Christian'"? The article argues that the "three-in-one" identity characteristic of global Sinophone Christianity in the Greater Toronto Area facilitated the coexistence of believers' Sinophone (Chinese-speaking, Chinese, and Chinese descendent or Chinese influenced) identities, their Canadian identity, and their Christian identities all within local forms of Christianity marked by this "hybridity." Members of these churches lent support to one another by respecting the core values of each of these constituent identities under the broad umbrella of Christianity and in the local expressions of faith evident in these particular churches. The successful forging of this hybridized identity – comprising cultural, religious, and ethno-linguistic elements – among Chinese Christians helped drive the expansion of these churches in Toronto by attracting to their communities first, second, and third generations of Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong, Taiwan, mainland China, Southeast Asia, Europe, Africa, and other parts of the world.

Brief History of the Ling Liang Church and Its Toronto Enterprise

As of 30 April 2018, "Ling Liang Tang" – the so-called "Ling Liang big family" – had 518 independent or branch churches in forty countries and regions numbering about 200,000 churchgoers who, though mostly made up of Chinese, Chinese diaspora, and Sinophone Christians, also included other ethnic peoples from around the world. These congregations are organized by the Ling Liang World-Wide Evangelistic Mission Association (hereafter LLWWEMA) headquartered in Hong Kong and the Bread of Life Global Apostolic Network headquartered in Taipei.

The Hong Kong-based Ling Liang World-Wide Evangelistic Mission was founded by Rev. Timothy Dzao (1908-73) in Shanghai in 1946 and moved to Hong Kong after the communists took power in mainland China in 1949. The LLWWEMA consisted of forty-seven Ling Liang (Bread of Life) churches among Chinese, Chinese diaspora, and Sinophone peoples in local communities in Hong Kong, Indonesia, India, Philippines, Australia, the United States of America, and Canada.[7]

The Bread of Life (BOL) Christian Church in Taipei numbered a global network of 471 churches or Good News Centers – including 185 in Taiwan, 105 in other areas of Asia, sixty-three in North America, seventy-six in Africa, twenty-three in Oceania, and nineteen in Europe.[8] The BOL

Church, under the leadership of Rev. Nathaniel Chow (1941-), had a foothold in some forty countries around the world. As the Church spread, it transformed the fundamental expression of Chinese Christian culture among many global communities made up of Chinese, Chinese diaspora, Sinophone, and other believers.

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, under the shadow of the Japanese invasion of China during the Second World War, dozens of independent and indigenous (and frequently Pentecostal) preachers appeared as major purveyors of "a redemptive eschatology" in Shanghai, drawing freely on "premillennial dispensational teachings" to attract followers.[9] Among them one of the best known was Rev. Timothy Dzao, the founder of the Spiritual Food Church and the church-based mission, the Ling Liang World-Wide Evangelistic Mission.

Timothy Dzao was born in Shanghai 1908. His father was a businessman and his mother a Buddhist housewife.[10] He was the thirty-third-generation grandson of Zhao Kuangyin, the founder and first emperor of the Song dynasty in China.[11] In 1921, at the age of thirteen, his cousin Xie Bingyan brought him to Sunday school.[12] On Christmas Day 1924 he was baptized at the Mo Er Church.[13] During a revival meeting at the Xin Tian An Church in 1925 led by Paget Wilkes (1871-1934), an English evangelical Christian missionary to Asia, and translated by Pastor Wang Zai (1898-1975), he dedicated his life to full-time ministry.[14] Feeling that he was now born again in the Holy Spirit, and determined to be a light in the world, he changed his name to Shiguang (meaning "the light of the world").[15] He then entered a Bible college established by the Christian and Mission Alliance Society and studied there for several years. In 1928, Dzao was invited by the Shanghai Shou Zhen Church of the Christian and Mission Alliance Society to become a pastor. He was not finally and formally ordained, however, until 1932.[16]

While pastoring Shanghai Shou Zhen Church from 1928 to 1936, Dzao heard the Macedonian call.[17] He shared his vision with Rev. Robert Alexander Jaffray (1873-1945), a Canadian missionary sent to China, Vietnam, and Indonesia by the Christian and Missionary Alliance.[18] With the help of Jaffray, from September 1936 to July 1941, Dzao was sent by his church to serve as a missionary among several Chinese diasporic communities in the Nanyang region – including Malaya, Indonesia (especially Borneo Island), and Thailand.[19] In 1941, he received an invitation letter from a church in Jakarta, Indonesia. When he was still planning his trip, however, the Pacific War broke out on 7 December, and

he was forced to suspend his plans. In March 1942, with the assistance of Gu Xianmin, a new graduate from the University of Shanghai, Dzao published the first issue of the *Ling Liang Monthly* in the name of the Nanyang Mission of the Shanghai Committee.[20] Pursuing the vision of a self-supporting, self-evangelizing, and self-governing Chinese church, Dzao found himself in prayer in the Huangjiasha Garden the following June. There he received a clear vision from the Holy Spirit to establish the Ling Liang Tang (Spiritual Food Church) together with his fellow believers Ms. Hua Huizhong, Ms. Wang Chunyi, Ms. Shi Huade, Mr. Gu Shouyi, and Mr. Wei Bole.[21] In the middle of August 1942, the Ling Liang Church began holding worship services in the rented auditorium of the Xiejin Middle School.[22] Within a few years, the Ling Liang Church had erected its own buildings, established branch churches throughout the city, and attracted more than 3,000 followers.[23] After 1942, Zhao's itinerant preaching led to the founding of several additional churches including two in Shanghai, one in Nanjing, one in Hangzhou, and one in Suzhou. By the late 1940s, the Ling Liang Church began developing its own network of educational and social services, including seminaries, middle schools, elementary schools, orphanages, and nursing homes. Dzao promoted these services, together with his own eschatological teaching, in pamphlets such as *Teaching Materials on the Book of Revelation* and *The Seven Dispensations*.

After the communists took power in mainland China, Rev. Dzao and his family fled to Hong Kong – still under British control – on 1 October 1949. On 1 January 1950, Dzao began renting the King's Theater in Hong Kong as a place to hold worship services. In September 1951, the Kowloon Ling Liang Church was established. It was here that Dzao conducted an evangelistic campaign over 100 days. Many refugees from mainland China came to hear his message of the gospel and accepted Christ. As a result, the Hong Kong Ling Liang Church was founded in May 1958. In addition, members of the Ling Laing Church who had fled mainland China also established the Bread of Life Christian Church in Taipei in September 1954. That Church also invited Dzao to hold several evangelistic meetings.

Rev. Timothy Dzao had a special desire to "go into all the world and proclaim the good news to the whole creation" (Mark 16:15). He shared this vision and stressed that this was the responsibility of indigenous Chinese churches. Accordingly, in June 1946, at a meeting of all Ling Liang churches, the decision was made to form the Ling Liang World

Wide Evangelistic Mission[24] – the first organization of its kind in modern China. Its mission was to preach the gospel to Chinese peoples in all parts of China as well as overseas to Chinese and Sinophone peoples of all backgrounds and nations. Later, two seminaries, the Ling Liang Seminary in Shanghai, and the East China Seminary in Suzhou, were founded to train missionary workers.[25] In December 1948, the Mission sent Rev. and Mrs. David Lamb to Calcutta, India, to undertake pioneering evangelistic work among Chinese Hakka immigrants.[26] The missionary couple established the Ling Liang Chinese Church Trust in Calcutta in 1961. This led to the later formation of two churches, the Grace Ling Liang Church and the Ling Liang Chinese Church, as well as and two schools, the Grace Ling Liang English School and the Ling Liang High School. In 1949, the Mission sent Mrs. Moses C. Chow to the Ling Liang Church in Jakarta, Indonesia, to serve as its pastor. She later served as the first pastor of the Chinese Christian Church in Washington, DC, from 1962 to 1968,[27] and as one of the founders of the Ambassadors for Christ, Inc. in Paradise, Pennsylvania. The latter organization was established for the express purpose of "reaching Chinese intellectuals for Christ in this generation."[28]

The Ling Laing Church is regarded as having earned "an indisputable place among notable indigenous Protestant groups of twentieth-century China"[29] for both its indigenous work its global expansion. As of 30 April 2018, some 518 Ling Liang churches had been established in those regions and countries where Chinese and Sinophone peoples had settled including Hong Kong, Taiwan, Macao, Indonesia (where the denomination is known as Gereja Santapan Rohani), India, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Philippines, Australia, Mongolia, Japan, Africa, Europe, the United States, and Canada. All these churches participate in Dzao's vision for a global Christian mission among Chinese and Sinophone peoples of all nations and cultures. Their proselytizing efforts are generally carried out though programs that rely on preaching, publishing, philanthropy, and education.

In the shadow of the political circumstances that attended the Chinese Civil War (1946-49), the Cold War (1945-80s), and the decolonization of the Global South, Hong Kong and Taiwan have often served as safe locations for indigenous forms of Chinese Christianity to spread across the world. This has been the case, for example, for the True Jesus Church, the Local Church, as well as the Ling Liang Church.[30] The four Toronto-based Ling Liang churches traces their roots to both the Ling Liang Church based in Hong Kong and the Bread of Life Christian Church

headquartered in Taipei.

The Ling Liang World-Wide Evangelistic Mission Association established its headquarters in Hong Kong in 1986 and its member churches hold bi-annual conferences chaired by the circle of one church leader (pastor, elder, or deacon) chosen from churches comprising three districts: Hong Kong (with twenty churches), Indonesia (with fifteen churches), and North America (with six churches). As of 30 April 2018, among the forty-seven Ling Liang Church communities worldwide,[31] six are located in North America: Torrance Bread of Life Church (in Los Angels), New York Ling Liang Church, Orange County Bread of Life Church (in California), Vancouver Ling Liang Church, Toronto Ling Liang Church, and the Grace Ling Liang Church in Toronto.

The Toronto Ling Liang Church began holding services in June 1975 when Ms. Gloria Tien-Hwa Dzao, the fifth daughter of Rev. Timothy Dzao, and Ms. Tang Ling-An rented space on Floyd Avenue in downtown Toronto.[32] After graduating from an American university, Ms. Dzao moved to Toronto to organize members of the Chinese Ling Liang churches who had already immigrated to the city and had established their own Ling Laing cell groups as early as January 1973. By November 1998, the church had erected its own building on Clayton Drive in Markham – a suburb of Toronto. Ms. Gloria Dzao remained a member and a deaconess of the Chinese congregation as of 30 April 2018.[33] On a sunny afternoon of April 2018, when I visited this church, I also visited the Timothy Manse – named to memorialize the founder of the Ling Liang Church.

The Grace Ling Liang Church in Toronto was founded in 1998 by Chinese and Sinophone believers who arrived in Canada from Hong Kong as well as India. These immigrants spoke both English and Hakka, a dialect of Chinese language. The congregation traced its origins to nine original families with Ling Laing ties who emigrated from Hong Kong in the 1980s and 1990s and who met together for informal worship services.[34] As they prayed together in the spring 1998, "the Spirit of the Lord led them to form a church. By faith they obeyed, and the worship services have been providing since the first Sunday of September 1998 without a break."[35] As of 30 April 2018, worship services were being held in the Alumni Hall of the Tyndale University College and Seminary in Toronto while the church's office is located in Markham. Senior Pastor Ting Tao Chiu was a former associate pastor of the Grace Ling Liang Church and the Ling Liang Chinese Church in Calcutta, India. He was instrumental in bringing about a merger of two the Grace Ling Liang Church and the Ling

Liang Chinese Church in Toronto in January 2002.

The Bread of Life Christian Church in Taipei sponsors a global network known as the Bread of Life Global Apostolic Network (hereafter BGAN). At the end of April 2018, it included some 471 churches.[36] Working under the leadership of Rev. Nathaniel Chow, Rev. Yongliang Ou, Rev. Tong Liu, and Rev. Ennian Zhang, the network reaches congregations in forty countries or regions.[37] The Taipei-based Bread of Life Christian Church established its BGAN – BOL (hereafter Bread of Life) Global Apostolic Network in 2009 and has two independent churches in Toronto: the Toronto River of Life Christian Church and the Fountain of Life Christian Church. The Fountain of Life Christian Church was founded by Senior Pastor Jason Liu in the Highland Junior High School in North York as an offshoot of the Bread of Life Christian Church in Taipei.[38]

The Toronto River of Life Christian Church was founded in June 2013 as a daughter church of the Silicon Valley River of Life Christian Church by Pastor Richard Yeh.[39] It is located in Mississauga near Toronto.[40] As a granddaughter church of the Bread of Life Christian Church in Taipei, its short history was taken as evidence of a divine purpose for the Greater Toronto Area.[41] The church traced its beginnings to meetings that first began in November 2010 and that, within a few months, had grown to include five regional cell groups and one Cantonese-speaking group. A part of their mission was to plant new churches in cities with universities. With that in mind, Pastor Mr. Jack Chen and his wife were sent to London, Ontario, and Pastor Victoria Lien to Waterloo, Ontario, in February 2013. The London River of Life Christian Church of Canada was founded in June 2015 under the eye of Rev. Tong Liu, Senior Pastor of the River of Life Christian Church in Silicon Valley.[42] The Waterloo River of Life Christian Church was also established in June 2015.[43]

Hybrid Three-in-one Identity of the Toronto Ling Liang Christians Negotiating in Cultural Accommodation and Spiritual Practice

According to 2007 data published by the British statistician David Barrett on global Christianity, Christians account for 33.2 percent of the world's population. Those practicing no religion account for 28 percent of the global population, or approximately 1.8 billion people. The latter figure represents a slight increase of 0.3 percent over 2006.[44] While the

number of people practicing Christianity in the West appears to be on the decline, a reverse trend is evident among Chinese and Sinophone peoples. According to several research projects – the *Chinese Protestant Mission Road*, authored by the Chinese Evangelical Privileges; the *Global Chinese Church Status Report 1998-2003* completed in 2007 by the Chinese Coordination Centre of World Evangelism (hereafter CCCOWE); and the recent writings of Chinese church historian Rev. Edwin Su (Pastor of the Shenzhou Training Materials Centre) – there are at least 9,000 active Chinese or Sinophone churches in the world. Among these 9,000 churches, 3,000 are located in Taiwan, approximately 1,200 in Hong Kong, 1,200 in the United States, 1,000 in Malaysia, 400 in Singapore, 350 in Canada, 350 in Indonesia, and 180 in Australia.[45] In addition, there were also about 100 Chinese theological seminaries and 500 Chinese Christian institutions active in these regions in 2007.[46] As many as 1,000 of these churches actively participated in the Chinese evangelical missions aimed at converting Chinese and Sinophone peoples in a variety of national, ethnic, and cultural settings.[47]

Although these figures are large, the majority of these churches are, at best, small and medium-sized. Only a small handful would meet the thresholds necessary to be described as mega-churches. In Hong Kong, for example, about 95 percent of these active churches count fewer than 500 regular churchgoers while 70 percent number fewer than 200 people on an average Sunday.[48] In the United States, the average number of attendees at a typical service fell from 191 in 1998 to 149 in 2003.[49] If churches are defined by the number of registered churchgoers – with those counting fewer than 199 as small, 200-499 as medium-sized, 500-1,999 as large, and churches with more than 2,000 regular worshippers as mega-churches[50] – 90 percent of the Chinese, overseas Chinese, and diasporic and Sinophone churches would be considered small and medium-sized churches.[51]

The four Toronto-based Ling Liang churches all fall within this typical range attracting fewer than 500 regular Sunday worshippers.[52] In the rest of this article, I argue that the Sinophone-Canadian Christians in the Toronto-based Ling Liang churches have developed particular strategies for affirming the tripartite identities of their members and adherents as Sinophone Chinese people, Canadian citizens, and Christian believers. By recognizing the importance of this "three-in-one identity" in church life, the local Bread of Life Christian church has become a "converting zone" that affords its members "an identity negotiating process." This in turn

allows believers to formulate meaningful answers to questions about personal – who am I? – and communal – what can I do in this context? – identity. This dynamic process serves as one possible resolution to the Western missionary's dilemma by facilitating the emergence of an indigenous form of Chinese Christianity that readily accommodates the ongoing cultural importance of Chinese Confucian beliefs and practices.

Identity I: As Chinese, Chinese Diaspora, or Sinophone People for the Nostalgia of China Centre in a Postcolonial Metropolitan Area

"Sinophone Christianity" is an amended analytic category coined by me as an extension of the discourse around "Chinese" and "Chinese diaspora" Christianity – a subfield of Chinese studies focusing on Christianity and Chineseness, nationalism, and Chinese nostalgia. Narrowly, the analytic framework of "Sinophone Christianity" defines its field as embracing overseas Chinese and Chinese diasporic Christianities beyond China proper. Broadly, it takes as its subject all kinds of Christianities in all Chinese-speaking nations, regions, communities, and societies all over the world including "Greater China" (mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, and Macau Special Administrative Region).

Pioneered by comparative literature scholar Shu-mei Shih in 2007, the heteroglossia of the Sinophone is defined as "a network of places of cultural production outside of China and on the margins of China and Chineseness, where a historical process of heterogenizing and localizing of continental Chinese culture has been taking place for several centuries."[53] In a 2011 essay, "The Concept of the Sinophone," Shih conceived her conception of Sinophone studies,

> as the study of Sinitic-language cultures on the margins of geopolitical nation-states and their hegemonic productions – locates its objects of attention at the conjuncture of China's internal colonialism and Sinophone communities everywhere immigrants from China have settled. Sinophone studies disrupts the chain of equivalence established, since the rise of nation-states, among language, culture, ethnicity, and nationality and explores the protean, kaleidoscopic, creative, and overlapping margins of China and Chineseness, America and Americanness, Malaysia and Malaysianess, Taiwan and Taiwanness, and so on, by a consideration of specific, local Sinophone texts, cultures, and practices produced in and from these margins.[54]

In short, building on concepts such as "cultural China,"[55] "Chineseness in practice,"[56] and Chinese "marginality,[57] Shih's concept of Sinophone studies offers a programmatic view of the parameters of postcolonial studies in Sinophone communities and cultures bearing a historically contested and politically embedded relationship to China – much like the relationships between the wider Francophone world and France – and through the historical processes of "continental colonialism" in Mongolia, Tibet, and Xinjiang, and "settler colonialism" in Nanyang.[58]

The concept of the "Sinophone" in this article simply means "Chinese-speaking" in Toronto by Chinese, Chinese diaspora, and Sinophone peoples who existed along the margins of the cultures of the Chinese Han people and Chinese religions. At various times throughout history, many of these peoples fled China and Taiwan in order to avoid persecution for their religious or political beliefs. The Chinese language includes Putonghua (Mandarin) as well as Chinese dialects such as Cantonese (Taishanese was one of its variations), Minnanese (Taiwanese was one of the Minnanese or the Fukienese variations), and Hakka. Most share a common writing system of Chinese characters.

The Chinese and "Sinophone" Christians in Toronto are composed mostly of Chinese-speaking immigrants, or those whose ancestors settled in Toronto's Chinatown sometime after 1878 when a Chinese immigrant named Sam Ching came to Toronto to open a laundry on Adelaide Street East. In addition, some "Sinophone" Christians are ethnic Chinese people or descendants of mixed parentage who do not speak Putonghua or any one of the Chinese dialects. Although these people may speak only English, Vietnamese, Malaysian, Tagalog, and/or other languages, they are culturally recognized as members of the Chinese community writ large and therefore are included in the target population of this study.

The Bread of Life churches in the Greater Toronto Area expanded steadily by defining Chinese or Sinophone identity with chief reference to the practice of the Ling Liang Rule. In Toronto churches the concept of the Christian's "cultural accommodation" and "spiritual practice" include several dimensions. First is the use of the Sinophone languages (Mandarin, Cantonese, and Hakka) to preach, to pray, and to sing hymns written in Chinese characters. Second is the provision of affordances to members to make sacrifices to their ancestors using traditional Chinese rites tempered by Christianity. Such rites include, for example, the presentation of fresh flowers as a sacrifice in accordance with Confucian filial piety, as well as

the reading of a local announcement as a means for demonstrating Christian respect for one's Chinese ancestors. Third, after each Sunday service, Sinophone Christians eat Chinese food together (including Western-style Chinese food for children) at a Love Banquet of God. Fourth, members of these churches are also expected to celebrate both the high Christian festivals of Christmas and Easter, as well as traditional Chinese festivals, including the Chinese New Year, the Moon Festival, the Dragon Boat Festival, and others.

Identity II: As Canadian – Local Identity Negotiating for "Deep Equality"

Although Chinese-Canadians comprise one of the largest ethnic groups in the country, they have often been marginalized by mainstream Canadian society. Despite their importance to the Canadian economy, including their historical participation in the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, many white Canadians of European descent have expressed opposition to Chinese immigration. From 1885 to 1947, for example, Canada levied a prohibitively expensive head tax of $50 to $500 on immigrants from China. This sum amounted to the typical income a Chinese worker might expect to earn over a period of two years hard labour.[59] Worse still, this tax was the only such tax ever to be levied on immigrants entering Canada from a specific country. From 1923 to 1947, moreover, the Chinese Immigration Act prohibited any immigration to Canada from China altogether.

Christians belonging to the Toronto Ling Liang (Bread of Life) churches often pursued status as either permanent residents or Canadian citizens while nevertheless maintaining their traditional Confucian ethics and values. The church as community provided a practical means for those seeking to negotiate their identities in this way. For these "visible minority" people, the church became a significant aid in assuming a Canadian identity, learning English, and coming to understand the political and legal landscape of their new home.

For many, improving their English language skills was a high priority. Although this was not necessary in order to participate in the religious life of the Ling Liang churches, the church provided a convenient and ready avenue for this pursuit. Despite the fact that members almost always spoke one of the Chinese languages as their mother tongue at home, they faced serious barriers in finding work, pursuing study, and

interacting in daily life if they were unable to speak English. In response, the churches provided their members with free English classes, English Bible study cell groups, and included English sermons in their services.

Understanding Canadian customs and laws was almost as important as learning English. Many newcomers to Canada found it difficult to understand the way Canadians behaved, how Canadian society worked, and how the legal system and cultural traditions of this country influenced public behaviour. To help new immigrants acclimatize to these social and cultural norms, these churches provided a public space in which to ask questions, observe the behaviour of others, gather information, and to come to grips with democratic institutions and norms, political freedom, the criminal justice system, and so forth. This helped many to accelerate their adaptation to Canadian life by providing guidance and help in obtaining a drivers licence, pursuing further education, earning professional credentials, purchasing and owning a house, reporting taxes, participating in elections, and even taking a holiday.

Members of the Toronto Ling Liang churches were eager to negotiate linguistic barriers, familiarize themselves with Canadian cultural norms, and adopt common spiritual practices, in large part so that they could realize a sense of "deep equality" or "deep justice" – something far more significant to them than becoming mere objects of "tolerance" and "accommodation" premised on the abstract valuing of ethnic and religious diversity in a postcolonial metropolitan city.[60] Indeed, the concepts of "tolerance" or "accommodation" have been identified as particularly problematic in the discourse of white centralism – a discourse that describes such concepts as emblematic of a postcolonial hegemony premised on the superiority of the Western world relative to the culture of Sinophones. Lori G. Beaman, a professor in the Department of Classics and Religious Studies at the University of Ottawa and the Canada Research Chair in the Contextualization of Religion in a Diverse Canada, argues that the concepts of "toleration" and "accommodation" are, in fact, laden with an implicit inequality and are therefore an imperfect starting point for any dialogue about religious diversity.[61] Rather than seeing equality as the ultimate outcome of any dialogue, Beaman contests that equality must serve as the initial starting point in order for a genuinely multicultural and inter-religious dialogue to begin. In a desire to achieve this "deep equality," Christians attending the Ling Liang churches in Toronto wish to be seen as full residents, full citizens of Canada, with a recognized and accepted identity rooted in language, religion, legal

traditions, and cultural heritage.

Identity III: As Christian – Religious Identity Negotiating for Spiritual Needs in Mainstream Practice

Being members of a community that had been "double marginalized" from the China-centred Chinese as well as the white-centered Canadian, the Christians of the Ling Liang churches in Toronto could never fully identify themselves with either of these centers and therefore felt always on the periphery. Thus they pursued what was perceived to be a "major religion" in the Canadian context – Protestant Christianity – as a powerful means for fashioning a cosmopolitan identity rooted in both Canadian and Chinese cultural practices, English and Chinese languages, and Christian and Confucian spiritual norms.

By choosing to embrace Christianity – a "major religion"[62] of the West – in order to achieve "deep equality" in Canada, members of the Toronto Ling Liang churches understood that they were also embracing what was in traditional Chinese and Sinophone civilizations – where No Religion, Confucianism, and the Three-Teachings of Confucianism-Buddhism-Daoism had always occupied the dominant position – a "minor religion." Indeed, only 5 percent of the population in China identifies as Christian while, in Singapore, just over 20 percent of the population so identifies.[63] And yet, for Chinese people living in China, members of the Chinese diaspora around the world also constitute only a "minor people." By the same token, for Canadians born in Canada, the Chinese and Sinophone immigrants are an ethnically "minor people" as well, and their denomination, the Ling Liang denomination, a "minor Christianity" within the families of either mainstream or Chinese/Sinophone Christianity. Choosing to embrace a "major religion" in a traditionally Christian country, however, was a powerful demonstration for those belonging to the Toronto Ling Liang churches of their desire to become fully integrated with Canadian culture and to assume a thoroughly mainstream identity. This leads to several conclusions.

First, this expression of the idea of the "will to religion" reflected "a broadly Foucauldian perspective on the care of the self and the requirement to confess" – in this instance to confess the Chinese or Sinophone Canadian's belonging to a mainstream religious category.[64] The decision of these Chinese and Sinophone Canadians to embrace religiosity afforded

them tools for negotiating complex new identities connected to mainstream spiritual practice. Christianity had been a "major religion" in Canada but a "minor religion" in Chinese or Sinophone culture. The conversion of Chinese or Sinophone residents, immigrants, and Canadian citizens performed a "will to Christianity" thus moving their cultural identities from margin to center. The Toronto Spiritual Food Christians practiced a Christian-centered Canadian lifestyle, as the Foucauldian discursive construction of a "normal" in which all Canadians were religious, and through which values were construed as "universal," and our moral and intellectual traditions firmly rooted in Christianity. This was perceived as a kind of "resumé whitewashing" for the spiritual lives of the "racial minority" and offered a means to combat discrimination in a postcolonial metropolitan capitalist city.

Second, the identity transformations that took place as members transitioned to a "majoritarian religion" at the Toronto Bread of Life churches were identifiable. Beaman points to four consequences in the religious shift to a "new normal" in which we are all religious, including the essentialization of religious identities, the overemphasis on religion, the infiltration of measures in religiosity, and the spread of religious freedom protectionism. Faced with this new normal, the shifting of the cultural location of Sinophone people from "minor" to "major religion" offered a means for indigenizing themselves as they also shifted from "minor" to "major cultural" actors. These new Chinese or Sinophone immigrants accepted Christianity because it afforded them a practical way to assume a new position in the majority culture by adopting the faith, symbols, and traditions all around them.[65]

Conclusion

This article first reviewed the position of Chinese and Sinophone Christianity in Canada as the "major religion" of a "minor race." It then provided a brief history of the Ling Liang Church as "an indigenous sect" of Christianity in China, as well as the denomination's spread to Toronto under the "Matteo Ricci Rule." In the third part, this article offered an examination of what it means to be a "Chinese- or Sinophone-Canadian Christian," concluding that the hybrid "three-in-one identity" of the members of the Toronto Ling Liang churches performed a negotiation between cultural accommodation and spiritual practice. Historically, Christianity was "a foreign religion" and a "minor religion" among

Chinese people. The Chinese overseas diaspora has changed that in some contexts. Sinophone people in Toronto – "double marginalized" because they are marginalized by both the mainland Chinese and Canadian mainstream – chose to embrace the Spiritual Food Church, a sect of indigenous Chinese Christianity, in order to pursue a hybrid identity as a "Sinophone Canadian Christian," seeking not merely accommodation, but also "deep equality."

Those describing themselves as Ling Liang Sinophone-Canadian Christians have chosen to align themselves with Canada's "major religion" while maintaining many Chinese cultural and spiritual practices. In their churches, they use English for the second or later generations and the Sinophone languages, including Mandarin and Chinese dialects such as Cantonese and Hakka, for the first or older generations. They celebrate Chinese, Canadian, and Christian festivals and practice these rites and cultures as one body. Their ethnic identity as Sinophone-Canadians is negotiated as a group by embracing both Chinese and Canadian religious and cultural norms. When conflict arises between these three identities, they seek remedy in their Christian faith and in the Bible. These Sinophone Christians, though they continue to practice Chinese rites and to celebrate Chinese festivals, owe no political loyalties to China or Taiwan. They follow Canadian laws, adopt Canadian social norms, and steadily improve their facility with English. By thus organizing and participating in these church activities, Ling Liang Christians acknowledge the hybrid nature of their cultural identities as Sinophone, Canadian, and Christian. The churches thus serve as an "umbrella community" and "cellular society" for "cultural converting" where Sinophone immigrants learn how best to live in the Greater Toronto Area while continuing to satisfy their spiritual needs as members of a marginalized minority group.

Endnotes

1. I would like to thank the four University of Toronto professors, Mark G. Toulouse and Phyllis D. Airhart, both in Emmanuel College of Victoria University, Li Chen in the Department of History, Vincent Shen in the Department of East Asian Studies, for their excellent guidance.

2. All Bible citations in this article are from *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books* (New Revised Standard Version), Augmented Third Edition, edited by Michael D. Coogan et al., (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

3. Brian Clarke and Stuart Macdonald, *Leaving Christianity: Changing Allegiances in Canada since 1945* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 6.

4. The group of No Religion in 1961 was less than one percent, in 1971 was four percent, and in 2011 was near 25 percent. See these data respectively in Clarke and Macdonald, *Leaving Christianity*, 6, 25. These are not the percentages of those who were inactive in churches. Also, according to Mark A. Noll, "As late as 1961, only one-half of one percent of Canadian citizens told census takers that they were not attached to any religious body. That proportion rose to 4.3 percent in 1971 and in the latest census from 2001 . . . stands at 16.2 percent." See Noll, "What Happened to Christian Canada?" *Church History* 75, no. 2 (June 2006): 248.

5. In the Canadian Census 2011, the "Vast Majority" is, in fact, "White," while the category status of "Visible Minority" indicates those who self-identified "Chinese, South Asian, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Japanese, Korean, Other-Specify," while the "Aboriginal Canadians" were lumped in with "All Others." Clarke and Macdonald, *Leaving Christianity*, 167.

6. Clarke and Macdonald, *Leaving Christianity*, 192.

7. Ling Liang World-Wide Evangelistic Mission Association: http://www.llwwema.org

8. Bread of Life Christian Church in Taipei: https://www.breadoflife.taipei/en, accessed 30 April 2018; BGAN (BOL Global Apostolic Network): http://web.bolcc.tw/NPlanting/churches.php?page=1&type=A

9. Xi Lian, *Redeemed by Fire: The Rise of Popular Christianity in Modern China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 194.

10. Zhao Shiguang (Timothy Dzao), *Ershi nian huiyi: yi jiu er wu-yi jiu si wu* (*Twenty Years Memoir: 1925-1945*), 2nd edition (Shanghai: Shanghai Ling Liang kan she, 1947), 2, 4.

11. Dzao, *Twenty Years Memoir*, 2.

12. Dzao, *Twenty Years Memoir*, 7.

13. Dzao, *Twenty Years Memoir*, 13.

14. Dzao, *Twenty Years Memoir*, 14, 18.

15. "You are the light of the world. A city built on a hill cannot be hidden" (Matthew 5:14).

16. Dzao, *Twenty Years Memoir*, 23, 41. The number of the church members increased from ten to more than 600. See *Arise, Shire: Bread of Life Christian Church in Taipei 60th Anniversary Celebration* (Taipei: 2014), 14.

17. Timothy S. K. Dzao, *Xuanjiao licheng* [*Progress of Evangelism*] (Hong Kong: Spiritual Food Publishers, 1969), 1:78, 1:82.

18. Robert Jaffray was born in 1873 into a wealthy Scottish immigrant family that owned Canada's *Toronto Globe* (now known as *The Globe and Mail*). He was the founder of the Wuzhou Bible School in Guangxi province, 1899, now the Alliance Bible Seminary in Hong Kong, and the editor and principal contributor of the Chinese language version *Bible Magazine*, published by South China Alliance Press. To meet the urgent need of serving overseas Chinese in South East Asia, Jaffray founded the first Chinese missionary society, called the Chinese Foreign Missionary Union (CFMU), in 1929 to send out missionaries to Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines. Jaffray served in Wuzhou for thirty-five years, in spite of a heart condition and diabetes. In 1942, Japan invaded Sulawesi Island in Indonesia where he was stationed with his wife, Minnie Donner, and his daughter. Soon after the invasion, Jaffray and other missionaries were arrested by the Japanese and sent to internment camps. Jaffray remained captive until his death in 1945 from illness and malnutrition. See Aiden Wilson Tozer, *Let My People Go: The Life of Robert A. Jaffray* (Harrisburg, PA: CrossReach Publications, 1947).

19. Dzao, *Progress of Evangelism*, 1:60, 1:108.

20. Dzao, *Progress of Evangelism*, 1:109. *Ling Liang Yuekan* [*Ling Liang Monthly*] 1, no. 1, Shanghai: Nanyang Budao Zhu Hu Weiyuanhui.

21. Dzao, *Progress of Evangelism*, 1:109. Up to the beginning of the Second World War in Asia, much of the church activities in China were still carried out by western missionaries; however, after the Japanese seized the International Settlement in Shanghai and controlled it in December 1941, identification with Western missions was no longer profitable.

22. Dzao, *Progress of Evangelism*, 1:110.

23. Lian, *Redeemed by Fire*, 194.

24. Dzao, *Progress of Evangelism*, 1:126-7.

25. Dzao, *Progress of Evangelism*, volume 1.

26. There were two Ling Liang churches in Calcutta, India. One was Ling Liang Chinese Church founded in 1963 by Rev. David Lamb, providing worship service in English and Haka (3.00 P.M.) at P-7 Hide Lane, Calcutta 700012,

West Bengal, India, in the Ling Liang High School (founded in 1963). The other was the Grace Ling Liang Church founded in 1973 also by Rev. David Lamb, providing worship service in English and Hakka (8.30 A.M.) at 21B Hughes Road, Calcutta 700046, West Bengal, India, in the Grace Ling Liang English School (founded in 1973). See "The Ling Liang Chinese Church Trust" from the Net Ministers network: https://www.netministries.org/see/churches/ch17500.

27. Fenggang Yang, *Chinese Christians in America: Conversion, Assimilation, and Adhesive Identities* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 64-5, 77-8, 157, 201.

28. The other founders of the Ambassadors for Christ in the United States were the Choy couple, Ted and Leona Choy, with help from Christiana Tsai (*Cai Sujuan*, 1890-1984). The Ambassadors for Christ, Inc. was founded on 6 May 1963. See Cecelia, *Cong piaobo dao zhigeng: Beimei Huaren jiaohui fengcai lu* [*Been Adrift, Now Rooted: A Short History of North American Chinese Church*] (Petaluma, CA: CCM Publisher, Meiguo Zhongxin chubanshe, 2010), 183. Also see the Ambassadors for Christ, Inc.: http://afcresources.org

29. Xi Lian, *Redeemed by Fire*, 194.

30. Most new Chinese or Sinophone churches in North American were founded since the 1950s after the Chinese Exclusion Acts were replaced in 1943 in the United States and in 1947 in Canada.

31. *Jidujiao Ling Liang Shijie Budaohui Xianggang Qu Lianhe Chachuan Shigong Weiyuanhui* [Ling Liang World-Wide Evangelistic Mission Hong Kong United Mission]: http://www.lingliangmission.org/about.html, also including two in India, one in Australia, and three in Philippines.

32. In 1934, Timothy Dzao married Ms. Tang, a graduate of Shanghai Chinese Women's Seminary and a great partner in his ministry. They gave birth to six daughters and one son. Sheng-Ping Guo's interview with Ms. Gloria Dzao on 28 April 2018, in the Toronto Ling Liang Church, Markham, Ontario.

33. Sheng-Ping Guo's interview with Ms. Gloria Dzao on 28 April 2018, Markham, Ontario. Also see *Duolunduo Ling Liang Tang* (Toronto Ling Liang Church): http://tllchurch.wordpress.com.

34. *Endian Ling Liang* [Grace Ling Liang Church]: http://gracelingliang church.org

35. Sheng-Ping Guo's interview with Assistant Pastor Wei Hsien Chen (Michael Chen) on 28 April 2018, Markham, Ontario.

36. Bread of Life Christian Church in Taipei: https://www.breadoflife.taipei/en

37. BOL Global Apostolic Network: http://web.bolcc.tw/NPlanting/index.php, and the 611 Bread of Life Christian Church: http://www.church611.org.The 611 Bread of Life Christian Church in Hong Kong was established in 2001 by Rev. Ennian Zhang and developed more than seventy branch churches in fourteen countries as of 30 April 2018.

38. Fountain of Life Christian Church: https://www.facebook.com/folcc.toronto

39. River of Life Christian Church at Silicon Valley began its first Sunday worship in the classroom of the Santa Clara Mission College on 9 April 1995. It was established under the leadership of Rev. Tong Liu in Santa Clara, California, to fulfill a vision and mission from God to build a glorious church in the twenty-first century. This was a continuation of the vision and mission received by Rev. Timothy Dzao at the Bread of Life Christian Church in Shanghai and by Rev. Nathaniel Chow in Taipei. As of 31 December 2017, the number of member churches in the River of Life Christian Church at Silicon Valley has greatly increased and more than 190 daughter churches have been established in Mongolia (totalling forty-six daughter churches with the church in Ulaanbaatar being the biggest Protestant church in Mongolia with more than 1500 members), North America (forty churches in Canada and the United States), Africa (more than seventy churches in thirteen countries), and Central Asia (Uzbek, Kazakhstan, and Turkey). See River of Life Christian Church: https://rolcc.net

40. *Duolunduo Shengminghe Ling Liang Tang* [Toronto River of Life Christian Church]: http://www.trolcc.ca

41. Toronto River of Life Christian Church: http://www.trolcc.ca

42. River of Life Christian Church: http://www.lrolcc.org. Rev. Tong Liu received his bachelor's degree in Meteorology at the National University of Taiwan and his master's at the University of Maryland, United States. After graduation he joined the United States Weather Bureau, while serving at the Ambassadors for Christ in Pennsylvania. In 1983 he received his calling to serve God full time and started his theological studies at the Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. After graduation, he joined San Jose Christian Alliance Church and served as an assistant Pastor for the Mandarin congregation for about ten years. Under his leadership, the River of Life Christian Church focused on a vision with four main tracks – Worship and Praise, Renewal of the Holy Spirit, Cell Church, and World Missions. Rev. Liu was an outstanding worship leader for his captivating and powerful sermons. His wife Belinda founded the Double Portion Media to minister sister groups (see https://rolcc.net).

43. River of Life Christian Church: http://www.lrolcc.org

44. David B. Barrett, et al., "Christian World Communions: Five Overviews of Global Christianity, AD 1800-2025," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 33, no. 1 (January 2009): 32.

45. These figures did not include many family groups or Bible study classes that had pastoral members and functioned as churches. See Morley Lee, "Ershiyi shiji haiwai Huaren Fuyin shigong jianjie" [Introduction to the 21st Century's Overseas Chinese World Evangelism], CCCOWE: http://www.cccowe.org/content.php?id=others_mschurches_lausanne2010report.

46. Lee, "Introduction to the 21st Century's Overseas Chinese World Evangelism."

47. The Chinese Coordination Centre of World Evangelism (CCCOWE): http://www.cccowe.org.There were 14.404 billion Chinese in mainland China in 2010 ("Communiqué of the National Bureau of Statistics of People's Republic of China on Major Figures of the 2010 Population Census (No. 1)," National Bureau of Statistics of China: http://www.stats.gov.cn). There were about 31.64 million Chinese or Sinophone peoples in the Greater China area beyond mainland China: 23.57 million Chinese in Taiwan in April 2018 (National Statistics, Republic of China (Taiwan), "Statistics from Statistical Bureau": https://eng.stat.gov.tw), 7.41 million in Hong Kong in December 2017 (The Census and Statistics Department, Government of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, "Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics (Report)": https://www.censtatd.gov.hk), and 0.66 million in Macau in March 2018 (DSEC, Statistics and Census Service, Government of Macao Special Administrative Region: http://www.dsec.gov.mo). The Chinese diasporas or Sinophone peoples: there were 7.57 million overseas Chinese (Haiwai Huaren/Weiji Huaren) in Indonesia, 7.15 million in Thailand, 7.07 million in Malaysia, 3.50 million in the United States, 3.38 million in Singapore (majority), 1.77 million in Canada (Statistics Canada, "Immigration and Ethnocultural Diversity Highlight Tables": http://www.statcan.gc.ca/eng, accessed 1 May 2018), 1.30 million in Peru, 1.26 million in Vietnam, 1.15 million in Philippine, 1.10 million in Myanmar, 1.00 million in Russia, 0.67 million in Australia, 0.52 million in Japan, 0.35 million in United Kingdom, 0.34 million in Cambodia, 0.23 million in France, 0.19 million in India, 0.19 million in Laos, 0.15 million in Brazil, 0.15 million in New Zealand, 0.14 million in Italy, 0.14 million in Netherlands, 0.14 million in South Korea, and 0.10 million in South Africa (Except where mentioned in brackets, all data are from "Overseas Chinese," *New World Encyclopedia*: http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org).

48. "2004 nian Xianggang jiaohui xiankuang baogao" [2004 Status Report on Hong Kong Churches], CCCOWE: http://www.cccowe.org/churchreport/topic_body85.html

49. Lee, "Introduction to the 21st Overseas Chinese World Evangelism."

50. As of 1 May 2018, among the 9,000 churches, single mega-churches with more than 2,000-5,000 registered churchgoers included the following several churches: Evangelical Free Church of China-Yan Fook Church (EFCC Yan Fook Church, Hong Kong), Kowloon City Baptist Church (Hong Kong), Shatin Baptist Church (Hong Kong), North Point Alliance Church (Hong Kong), Wing Kwong Pentecostal Holiness Church (Hong Kong), Bread of Life Christian Church in Taipei (Taiwan), River of Life Christian Church (Santa Clara, Greater San Francisco Area), and Richmond Hill Christian Community Church (RHCCC, Greater Toronto Area).

51. Here the Chinese church was defined as located in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Macau, and the Chinese diasporic and Sinophone church was defined as located at all other overseas places, not including mainland China.

52. Sheng-Ping Guo's observations in church services and interviews with the pastors of these churches, from February to May 2018, in the Greater Toronto Area, Canada.

53. Shu-mei Shih, *Visuality and Identity: Sinophone Articulations across the Pacific* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 4.

54. Shu-mei Shih, "The Concept of Sinophone," *PMLA* 126, no. 3 (May 2011): 710-11.

55. Tu Wei-ming, "Cultural China: The Periphery as the Center," *Daedalus* 120, no. 2 (The Living Tree: The Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today, Spring 1991): 1-32. See https://www.jstor.org/stable/20025372

56. Wang Gungwu, *A Short History of the Nanyang Chinese* (Singapore: D. Moore for Eastern Universities Press, 1959).

57. Leo Ou-fan Lee, "On the Margins of the Chinese Discourse: Some Personal Thoughts on the Cultural Meaning of the Periphery," *Daedalus* 120, no. 2 (The Living Tree: The Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today, Spring 1991): 207-26. Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/20025380.

58. Nanyang was a Sinocentric Chinese term for the warmer and fertile geographical region south of China, otherwise known as the Southeast and South Asia near the Chinese South Sea. The term came into common usage in self-reference to the large ethnic Chinese migrant population in Southeast Asia and was contrasted with Xiyang (literally "Western Ocean"), which referred to the Western world, and Dongyang (literally "Eastern Ocean"), which referred to Japan. The Chinese press regularly used the term to refer to the region stretching from the Yunnan province to Singapore in the south and from India

to Vietnam in the west and east of China; the term also referred to Brunei, Malaysia (eastern part), Indonesia, and the Philippines in the region it encompassed. See Bertil Lintner, "Enter the Dragon," *Far Eastern Economic Review* (22 December 1994), 23. The Nanyang was extremely important in the trade for business and was one of China's main trading partners in early years. Nanyang encompassed three main trading routes: one through Burma, one through Vietnam, and one through Laos. See Bertil Lintner, *Blood Brothers: Crime, Business and Politics in Asia* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2002), 221. Shu-mei Shih, "Introduction: What Is Sinophone Studies?" in *Sinophone Studies: A Critical Reader*, ed. Shu-mei Shih, Chien-hsin Tsai, and Brian Bernards (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 1-16. David Chuenyan Lai and Jack Leung, "Toronto Chinatown 1878-2012," 1 in the Canada Chinatown Series edited by Chinese Canadian History Project Council, published by David See-Chai Lam Centre for International Communication, Simon Fraser University, 2012. According to Lai and Leung, after the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed in 1885, a steady stream of Chinese immigrants came to Toronto by rail from Vancouver. By 1900, 200 Chinese residents and ninety-five Chinese businesses formed the origin of the Toronto downtown Chinatown. Shu-mei Shih, "Introduction: What Is Sinophone Studies?" in *Sinophone Studies: A Critical Reader*, ed. Shu-mei Shih, Chien-hsin Tsai, and Brian Bernards (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 1-16.

59. Historica Canada, "Chinese Canadians," www.thecanadianencyclopedia. ca

60. Beaman Lori, *Deep Equality in an Era of Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 56-89.

61. Lori, *Deep Equality in an Era of Diversity*, 122-54.

62. The concept of "major religion" was inspired by the concept of a "minor literature" in Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari, and Robert Brinkley, "What Is a Minor Literature?" *Mississippi Review* 11, No. 3 (Winter/Spring 1983): 13-33. Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/20133921.

63. The estimated 2010 Christian population in the People's Republic of China was 67,070,000 and the percentage of population that was Christian was 5.0, which occupied 3.1 percent of the world Christian population (of 2,184,060,000 that was 31.7 percent of the 2010 global population of 6.9 billion). Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life Global Christianity: http://www.pewforum.org/category/publications/2011/, "Global Christianity: A Report on the Size and Distribution of the World's Christian Population" (published on 19 December 2011), 60, 75, 97 accessed 1 May 2018. From the same source on page 75-6, the data of Hong Kong: 840,000, 11.9 percent, < 0.1; Macau: 40,000, 7.2 percent, < 0.1; Taiwan: 1,290,000, 5.5

percent, < 0.1; Singapore: 920,000, 18.2 percent, < 0.1. Singapore Department of Statistics, "Census of Population 2014 Statistical Release 1 - Demographic Characteristics, Education, Language and Religion" (PDF), archived from the original 2011 census: http://www.singstat.gov.sg/pubn/popn/C2010sr1/cop2010sr1.pdf.

64. Lori G. Beaman, "The Will to Religion: Obligatory Religious Citizenship," *Critical Research on Religion* 1, Issue 2 (2013): 141.

65. Lori G. Beaman, "Battles over Symbols: The "Religion" of the Minority Versus the "Culture" of the Majority," *Journal of Law and Religion* 28, 1 (2013): 101-138. According to Beaman, symbols are never just about symbols, but also about power and the upholding of class, gender, race, and sexuality relations. The core argument of her article is that the cultural transformation of religious symbols allows for the preservation of a majority religious hegemony in the name of culture. Moreover, the move to culture opens space for an argument that religious values are universal values.

Christianization: Women's Immolation in Europe, India, and Japan (1550-1650)

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During the European Reformation, European states were nations "with the soul of a church."[1] The Portuguese Jesuit Luís Fróis (1532-1597) of the Society of Jesus arrived in Japan in 1563; six years later, Fróis convinced the most powerful local warlord, Oda Nobunaga, to allow Jesuits to spread Christianity in Japan.[2] Although the Bible does not explicitly deal with the concept of gender equality, Fróis did not discriminate between male and female converts.[3] For example, one of Fróis' devout converts, Hosokawa Gracia, became a Christian martyr by having her subordinate kill her and then burn her body.[4] The immolation of her remains became a contributing factor to the conclusion of the long-time warring state era from 1467 to 1603.[5] During this transition, Japan reversed from being a warring state to a *bakufu* state (a previously existing model of governance marked by a patrilineally inherited military dictatorship). In the same period, the practice of *sati* or *suttee* (widow-burning) and witch-hunts existed in India and Europe respectively. Since the European states at the time were under the control of the Church, the vast majority of witch-hunt scholars approach the subject from a Christian perspective to explain that those who performed witch-craft had to be punished in order to maintain a godly state.[6] Conversely, Silvia Federici approaches the witch-hunts through a Marxist framework, arguing that witches' protests had to be suppressed to enable Europe's transition from feudalism to capitalism – a result of the witch-hunt in Europe and its extension to Central and North America.[7] In this article, I use a postcolonial lens, based on an *a posteriori* model of

current global capitalism and feminism in church history.[8] Deriving a theoretical framework from the European witch-hunt movement as an underlying mechanism of Christianization, I examine the ways in which the witch-hunt model either directly or indirectly catalyzed a global transformation to capitalism during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[9]

I argue that the historical phenomena of the witch-hunts produced the economic and political systems that are associated with modernity. The clergy demonized heretic women as witches and silenced them by torture and execution to extract capital. Upholding the same ideology, European settlers vilified and massacred the colonized to extract capital for European modernization. Moreover, using a comparative analysis to examine the historical background of women's immolation, I conclude that the practice reveals a social structure common to the European, Indian, and Japanese contexts between 1550 and 1650: male domination and female subjugation. In her article entitled "Can the Subaltern Speak?" Gayatri Spivak relates European women's suffering from the witch-hunt persecution to Hindu women's suffering from the *sati* practice (widow-burning, a funeral custom dated back to the third century BC).[10] Similarly, in her article entitled "Contentious Tradition," Lata Mani analyses the British abolishment of *sati* in India in the nineteenth century as preparation for Christianization for the purpose of colonization.[11] I include the approaches of Spivak and Mani to expand my own argument.

Christianization and Colonization in Asia in the Sixteenth Century

In Fróis' *History of Japan*, he not only condemned the cruelty of women's immolation, but also detailed the expansion of Christianity in the sixteenth century as a world religion. Fróis and the Jesuits arrived in Japan to carry out their Catholic missions through collaboration between the Society of Jesus and the Portuguese seaborne empire.[12] As a member of the Society, Fróis took a galleon to Goa, India, where he met Francis Xavier, the first missionary to Japan, and his Japanese companion, Yajiro, in 1549.[13] Following that, he went to Malacca and later returned to Goa in 1557. He worked as a priest and a coordinator of theology for the district director of the Society of Jesus in Goa, collecting reports from East Asia and sending them out to the external Society of Jesus in Portugal. From these transmitted texts, Fróis learned about missionary works in East Asia.

Vernacular Interpretation of Japanese History

Through his Japanese mission, Fróis engaged in an intercultural study to learn Japanese language and customs for evangelizing the Japanese. Upon his arrival in Japan at Yokoseura in Nagasaki, Fróis immediately experienced local political warfare.[14] The warring state persisted throughout Fróis' stay in Japan while he learned Japanese over the course of his stay with the help of his Jesuit colleagues. Due to his fluency in Japanese, Fróis was able to travel around Japan to engage in cultural contacts with the indigenous population. In order to accomplish his Christian mission, Fróis sought out Oda Nobunaga in 1569. He described the warlord as behaving similarly to the depiction in *The Chronicle Lord Nobunaga* written by Oda's vassal, Ōta Gyūichi. In *The Chronicle*, Ōta narrated how his lord besieged the castle of a rebelled subordinate, Araki Murashige, who betrayed Oda and left Araki's family in Setsu.[15] Differently than what Ōta wrote, Fróis emphasized in his *History of Japan* the bloodshed pursued in the punishment of Araki's family in lieu of Araki extended to women's immolation:

> Three hundred and eighty women and one hundred and thirty-four men were placed on a stack of weeds and woods and were burned alive. Their howling and crying terrorized everyone. Even though they were heretics [according to the Jesuits], they did not do anything wrong. They were sentenced due to Araki's malicious stubbornness and evildoings; Araki should have been the only one to be punished. However, these people took his place to be tortured to death.[16]

Fróis spoke Japanese as a lingua franca to communicate with the local Japanese and collected oral narratives to give voice to those innocent women by describing the malicious violence of the women's immolation. Even though the immolation was not gender specific, and Fróis' condemnation of women's immolation in Japan was framed by the Jesuit's Christian perspective, the simultaneous history of church-sponsored women's immolation in Europe complicates this reading. Rather, the practice of women's immolation across the European and Japanese contexts provides a framework for analyzing the ideological imperatives and unanticipated effects underlying the practice of women's immolation in this period.

Christianization in Europe: The Witch-Hunt Movement

The history of witch-hunts in Europe originated in the historical background of the feudal system. Under the system of serfdom during the Middle Ages, serfs lived in poverty and held an inferior social status that often led them to rebel against the Church.[17] The corruption of the clergy could be seen throughout Christian history in medieval Europe: the Church sold indulgences such as purgatory and absolution, preached the sanctity of the tithes, and extorted investitures from churchgoers.[18] Moreover, the Church attacked any social insubordination through the charge of heresy.[19] For example, in 1234, the Bishop of Bremen punished peasants who refused to pay tithes by waging a crusade against them.[20] Subsequently, in the thirteenth century, the Pope created the Holy Inquisition to eradicate heretics and heretical doctrines.[21] According to the 1377 Inquisition in Ypres, garment workers were burned as heretics for having rebelled against their employers.[22]

Heretic Women (900-1322)

To fight against Church corruption, heretic women contested the Church's control over the reproduction of labor power and participated in proletarian revolutions. Between the end of the Early Middle Ages and the Late Middle Ages, unlike the women of the orthodox Church, the women in the heretic world were equal to men regarding their social status and mobility. In the tenth century, the Bogomils (a sect of Manicheanism) already contained a considerable number of heretic women who formed women's movements seeking to control their own reproductive system, according to the eleventh-century Inquisition in France and Italy. Some of these women heretics might have been burned for controlling their reproductive function by having abortions or using contraceptives.[23] Even so, heresy remained the main threat to the Church in 1215.[24]

The Popularity of Women's Heretic Movements: Fighting against Church Corruption

Resisting clerical exploitation, women participated in heretic movements to exhort people not to pay the clergy for any taxes or tithes. While the Christian Church preached that women should be submissive to their husbands, and canon law even sanctified husbands' right to beat their

wives, many heretic women were often against marriage and procreation. They shared apostolic poverty, sought a return to the primitive church, and were in favor of religious reform.[25] Heretic women often performed medieval birth control in the forms of sodomy, infanticide, and abortion, while the Church wanted to control the marriage and sexuality of everyone, from emperors to peasants.[26] Subsequently, the proletarians from European countries gathered an international assembly to challenge Church corruption and landlords' greed, denounced the accumulation of wealth, and demanded social justice in order to redefine women's everyday life and their sexual reproduction.[27]

The Proletarian Revolution after the Great Famine (1323-82)

The great famine (1315-22) ushered in an era of proletarian revolution that arose from built-up class conflicts. Since the thirteenth century, land owners and urban patrician merchants had maintained a power structure that solidified urban and rural workers.[28] Urban proletarians of women and men felt alienated from their own productions and fought for an egalitarian society, a struggle referenced in the political discourse of fourteenth-century Florence. Consequently, there were proletarian rebellions throughout the fourteenth century in Europe, including the 1323-8 peasant revolts in Flanders, supported by craftsmen at Liege;[29] however, they were ultimately defeated by the King of France, Charles IV.[30]

Black Death (1347-52)

The great famine weakened Europeans' immunity to morbidity, and the advent of the Black Death undermined the stability of the social hierarchy. The labor crisis reversed peasants' social order and threatened the ruling class while the peasants acquired more wealth and power. The ruling class struggled to regain their status; peasants resisted through insurrections.[31] The labor crisis prompted the landowners to return to slavery in 1366; in 1378 Ghent weavers established the first known dictatorship of the proletariat.[32] In Germany and Italy, day-laborers seized power in 1379 to establish a workers' government; the shortage of the labor force inspired the uprising of 1381. The Ghent weavers were eventually crushed by the noblity and bourgeoisie in 1382. In the same year, 26,000 weavers at Ghent died at Roosebecque undoing their previous

success. Attempting a genuine social revolution, however, workers at Liege succeeded in the fight against the nobility in 1384, and their craftsmen became the arbiters of the government.[33]

Heretic Women (1300-1500)

While women attained social and financial independence, a misogynous backlash also emerged. These heretic women worked as schoolteachers, doctors, and obstetricians by the fourteenth century, and, according to the state records, they gained more social autonomy. Even though priests scolded women's disobedience, these women participated in heretic movements. By the fifteenth century, the women populated the cities heavily and attained traditionally male jobs such as butchers. In Frankfurt, they participated in around 200 occupations from 1300 to 1500; in England, they dominated the silk-making guild: the female employment rate was as high as the male.[34] However, by the beginning of the fifteenth century, the process of inquisition marked a transition from persecuting heretics to persecuting witches, corresponding to the inquisitors' finding of the Luciferans (devil-worshippers) sect; consequently, persecuting witches could be seen in the Spanish Inquisition from 1540 to 1700.[35]

Sexual Politics (1350-1499)

Furthermore, Church inquisitions aligned the timeline of social conflicts between the nobility and the proletariat with that of contemporary sexual policies in Europe.[36] The great famine, Black Death, and the disappearance of serfdom segued into a golden age for the European proletariat. By the end of the fifteenth century, the feudal power of the nobility, Church, and bourgeoisie united together through a sexual politics to divide proletarian protests, to dissolve social conflict, and to centralize state, class, and feudal power as a counter-proletarian-revolution. At this time, the feudal power granted "gang rape" privileges to the male proletariat: permitting them to sexually assault lower class women, usually members of the poor young proletariat. Once these women were raped, they lost their social status and had to be expelled from their hometowns or become prostitutes. Meanwhile, the legalization of group-raping created a climate of misogyny undermining the class solidarity that the proletariat had achieved in the previous feudal struggle.[37]

At the end of the fourteenth century, the Inquisitional target

became gender specific focusing on female heretics and preparing a stage for witch-hunts.[38] After two inquisitors of the Dominican Order, Heinrich Kraemer and Jacob Sprenger, published *Malleus Maleficarum* on witchcraft in 1486, the first witch trials began taking place in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy in the fifteenth century.[39] Meanwhile, Rossell Hope Robbins wrote the first account of Sabbats. Some contemporaries described the Sabbat as a sexual transgression where the devil instructed the witches to revolt against their employers. The nocturnal gatherings were also suspected to be a peasant conspiracy to encourage uprisings which were deeply feared by the authorities. Subsequently, the Catholic Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, enacted the imperial legal code to punish witchcraft by death in 1532. After 1550, ordinances made witchcraft a capital crime in Scotland, Switzerland, France, and the Netherlands.[40]

Witch-Hunts: Women's Immolation in Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

The witch-hunt, accompanied by the transition from serf feudalism to mercantile capitalism in Europe, was a misogynous campaign led by the Church to maintain its power and wealth.[41] The movement took place primarily from the last half of the sixteenth century to the first half of the seventeenth century at the time of a main price hike. For example, in France the Croquants fought against an excessive tax that caused major starvation in Europe between 1593 and 1595. Women always initiated and carried on the insurrection after men were unable or unwilling to continue protecting their children. Even when male proletarians gave up on rebellions, female proletarians persevered in fighting for their rights.[42] These female warriors would eventually become the targets of witch-hunts.

The primary source of written literature and art works in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries supports the history of witch-hunts. Around a hundred thousand women were tried as witches, and the authorities targeted poor and old women specifically.[43] When they were young, they were the by-products of the sexual politics that attempted to silence young male proletarians' rage against the rich for postponing their marriages. These raped women were needed in the state-managed brothels in Italy and France between 1350 and 1450.[44] Moreover, artworks such as Sebald Beham's (ca. 1530) show that these prostitutes followed soldiers

or proletarians to the battlefield to provide cooking, washing, or reproductive services to them.[45] When these prostitutes grew old, they relied on public charity to survive. Most likely, the authorities felt hostility towards having to provide communal resources to keep them alive. Furthermore, they lived long enough to acquire the proper knowledge to lead people in revolt, and their collective wisdom threatened authority. Therefore, the authorities claimed to have received an accusation from a neighbour and put them on trial as witches; they were publicly humiliated and tortured to extract their confessions. Some of them were submerged in water or hanged.[46] Although records of these trials are incomplete, and the number of women who were executed "by burning at the stake" is uncertain, the executions successfully deterred spectators from engaging in any kind of uprising.[47] The witch-hunt movement was a kind of state terrorism designed to destabilize feminist movements.

Witch-Hunts: Christianization and Colonization in the Americas

Witch-hunts were employed to colonize the Americas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the same approach was applied in the Christianization of Europe: for exterminating the native, the colonizer vilified the colonized as inhuman. For example, a picture of the Sabbat painted by Pierre de Lancre demonizes the witches as devils to support their eradication. Similarly, Tobias Smollett's painting depicts the Caribbean Indians as devils, suggesting that the West had a right to exterminate them. Federici considers *The Tempest* by William Shakespeare a metaphor for the indigenous resistance to Europeans' colonization.[48]

In my interpretation of Federici's title of *Caliban and Witch*, Shakespeare's witch, the mother of Caliban, represents a pattern of Christianization in Europe. Shakespeare's Caliban, a slave living on the island of the Americas, represents an example of Christianization and colonization inherited from the methods of Christianization in Europe.[49] Using the same charge of heresy, a Spanish anti-idolatry campaign led by Diego de Landa in the Yucatan peninsula of Mexico in 1562 tortured more than 4,500 for practising human sacrifice.[50] In Peru, the first Spanish attack on native devil-worshipping was in the 1560s, coinciding with a native millenarian movement. The Taki Onqoy movement encouraged the indigenous peoples to reject Christianity and refuse paying tributes. The indigenous peoples continued to live the same lives as they did before

under the pretense of maintaining Christianity. Between 1619 and 1660, the Spaniards destroyed idols and brought the same witch-hunt procedure from Europe to the Americas: reading an edict against the sin, obtaining secret denunciations by informants, torturing to extract confessions, and punishing.[51]

Nevertheless, the European model of the witch-hunt was unable to be successfully transported to the Central and South America because the Christian ideology underlying the witch-hunt was alien to Indigenous peoples in the Americas. Regardless of the colonizer's attempt to segregate Andean women from their own communities, Andean women were still needed in the functions of local informal village reunions to maintain their ancient traditions and resist colonial power.[52] Indigenous women were supported by their communities; their solidarity fighting against the foreign power became stronger after the hunted witches were persecuted.

Similarly, this European witch-hunt model was brought to British America at a crucial turning point in the seventeenth century. The witch-hunt movement emerged in Salem, Massachusetts; when Puritanism was challenged, the Salem witch and the Puritan's wife supported one another,[53] and the Indigenous spiritual leader suggested that Christian missionaries associated Indigenous cultures with evil in their context of Christianization.[54] Moreover, in India, the model of Christianization was utilized to camouflage the real colonial intention behind the British abolishment of *sati*. After staying in Goa, India, less than a month, Robert De Nobili, another member of the Society of Jesus, witnessed the rite of *sati*;[55] however, Fróis never verified whether he witnessed *sati* during his twelve-year stay in Goa.[56]

Sati *in India*

Sati was a social and cultural tradition in India: widows were encouraged to show their faithfulness as good wives by ascending the pyre to be burned beside their deceased husbands.[57] By following their dead husbands into the afterlife, they would live eternally in heaven with their husbands.[58] There is speculation that the widows truly wanted to die and would have threatened anyone restraining them from committing *sati* with legendary curses; recommended widowhood or ascetic widowhood might not have been a good option for these widows; they deserved to have an option to enter into a new marriage after their husbands' death. However, the voices of women who participated in *sati* could not be heard since

there were no independent resources recording their thoughts.[59] Therefore, Hindu widows did not control their own lives after their husbands' deaths. An Islamic Mughal ruler, Aurangzeb (1618-1707), was said to have abolished the *sati* practice in 1664, but the ruling had no lasting effect on the indigenous tradition.[60] In the mid-sixteenth century, Fróis eventually went to Japan via Goa to write the *History of Japan*.

Christianization for Evangelization in Japan

Christianization for the purpose of colonialization in Japan was impossible in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries because it was undergoing continual civil wars. For example, religious conflicts and warfare persisted between Christian missionaries and local Buddhists: they both faced death on a daily basis.[61] Other than joining in the ongoing civil wars, Fróis persevered in collecting oral narratives to write the Jesuits' missionary history. Fróis discovered that Japanese women played an important role in helping Jesuits' missionary work. However, their contributions to support the spread of Christianity were often overlooked by contemporary scholars. To demonstrate how female powers in the religious arena emerged in the warring era, Fróis provided a report by Almeida, another Jesuit, about a female Christian sympathizer, Monica, as evidence.

Indigenous Agency: A Test Case of Successful Evangelization in Japan

Jesuits' evangelization inspired Japanese women's agency in the process of helping to convert local atheists, Shintoists, and Buddhists, to Christianity, representing a transformation from patriarchal agency to matriarchal agency through Christianization. In 1565, Fróis quoted Almeida's portrayal of Monica, a daughter of a local Christian protector who took care of Almeida when he was ill at Sakai and had a non-Christian fiancé, as a successful Christian model.[62] The following year, Fróis wrote his own account of Monica. She converted her fiancé to Christianity after they were married. Six or seven years after she delivered her second child, she lost consciousness due to an epidemic sickness. Whenever she regained consciousness, she repented of her sins, prayed to God to save her soul, and was reconciled to the possibility of death. During Monica's twenty days of illness, she continuously recited the names of Jesus and Mary in order to convert her mother successfully, a

devout Buddhist of the *Ikkō* sect, to Christianity and had her baptized.[63] Monica's perseverance successfully converted her family regardless of many difficulties.

The End of the Christian Golden Age: The Death of Oda

The abrupt death of the Jesuits' only Japanese warlord supporter, Oda, ended the golden age for Christian missionaries due to the rebellion of Oda's subordinate, Akechi Mitsuhide. In his *History of Japan*, Fróis depicted the death of Oda:

> (Oda) Nobunaga pulled out the arrow in his back and brought a scythe-shaped long-knife coming out from his room. He fought for a short while, and eventually his wrist was hurt. He then entered his room again, closed the door, and slit his own belly. Others said that he burned himself alive . . . There was none of his remains left on the floor.[64]

As the most powerful warlord in his time, Oda demonstrated *bushido* (warrior-ship) to end his life: to avoid his remains being used to his rival's advantage, Oda burned himself.

Female Indigenous Agency in Christian Martyrdom in Japan

Wishing to die as a martyr to Christianity, the daughter of Akechi Mitsuhide, Hosokawa Garacia (Tamako), expressed her desire to achieve martyrdom, no less than the most powerful male warlord, Oda, achieving *bushido*, thirteen years prior to her death. Fróis wrote about her resolution:

> Eleven days after Oda died, Akechi died as well. Akechi's daughter survived her father. She often heard of Ukon from her husband regarding Christianity. Her husband once heard of our preaching and was willing to become a Christian. Since Toyotomi Hedeyoshi did not support Christianity, she said "If that tyrant returns to Osaka to harm any Christians, for the sake of being a Christian I might be killed. If so, that would be a great thing: I would never want to miss the chance to be a martyr to Christianity."[65]

Three years after Fróis' death in Nagasaki, her dream came true at the advent of the important battle of Sekigahara in 1600.[66] The anecdote of her

death was written by her servant, Shimo, and compiled in the *oboegaki* (memoir) of Shosuga, her grandson's vassal, in 1648. Yamamoto Hideteru (1857-1943), a Protestant church historian, published his pamphlets about the *Chronicle of the Hosokawa Higo Clan* while Yamamoto was alive:

> The night before the battle of Sekigahara, Tadaoki (Akechi Mitsuhide's daughter's husband) received Bungo Kitsuki 60,000 *koku* (bushels) stipend. His vassals were divided among Tango, Osaka, Kitsuki. Therefore, Tadaoki was determined to join (Tokugawa) Ieyasu's army in the name of fighting Uesuki. Ishida Mitsunari (Tadaoki's rival) at Tenshukaku began taking hostage in Osaka responding to the news that Tadaoki joined Ieyasu. Tamako (Akechi Mitsuhide's daughter, Hosokawa Gracia) was surrounded with Ishida's army. She asked Ogasawara Shōsai (a servant of the Hosokawa clan) to impale a knife on her chest. She did not want to kill herself: as a Christian, "committing suicide" was prohibited . . . Later Shōsai burned her dead body . . . After she consulted with her vassals, Tamako, as a lawful wife, considered that would be the best thing for the Hosokawa clan.[67]

Hosokawa's death stopped the extortion of her husband's rival, Ishida Mitsunari. Ishida gave up taking hostages from warlords' wives, fearing public anger might help further to strengthen the power of Tokugawa, Hosokawa's warlord. Eventually, Tokugawa won the decisive battle of Sekigahara to end the nearly two-century warring-era in Japan. Hosokawa sacrificed herself not only for the righteousness of the Hosokawa clan, a form of warrior-ship that unified the Hosokawa and the Tokugawa clans, but also as a martyr to resist the oppression of Christianity. Her martyrdom was similar to that of the twenty-six martyrs (Toyotomi crucified twenty-six Jesuits in Nagasaki as part of his religious oppression of the order).[68] Soon the warlord of the Tokugawa clan evicted the Jesuits and isolated Japan to monopolize state capitalism. Hosokawa's death reversed Japan from a warring state to a *bakufu* state and from privatized capitalism to state capitalism. In addition to Hosokawa, other groups of Japanese women showed their agency in warfare as well.

Indigenous Women's Agency in the Evangelization of Japan

Fróis provided another account of how his evangelization shifted social power in the religious arena in Japan from men to women. In 1590,

Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the second warlord after Oda who unified Japan, ordered Kato Kiyōmasa to attack Hondo castle (*jō*) in Amakusa, Kyūshū. In the castle, the Jesuit sub-district director, priest, and friars were surrounded by the heavy attack of Kato; women chanted in the name of Jesus and persevered in the battle even after their male soldiers quit. These three-hundred women won an honorable reputation: fighters in Amakusa were not men; they were women, the most effective, bravest fighters:

> The state of the war became extremely dangerous. The castle was under siege; however, women's agency was amazing greatly surprising. After having lived in Japan for so many years, I need to tell the great achievements of these Japanese women. Wives, daughters, and daughters-in-law of the lord of the castle, Don Andreidon Giorgi, and other noble women not only rescued injured husbands and relatives and handled dead bodies, but also united together to fight. Three hundred women understood the crisis they were facing and forgot about themselves as women: their physical and mental constraints. They showed unequivocal bravery as female warriors to enter the war in solidarity . . . It did not matter whether they were married, widowed, or single, they cut their hair and clothes short in order to fight freely.[69]

These fearless Japanese women were not unlike the European heretic women, who, in the same period, were tried as witches and put to death for resisting patriarchal authority. Even though these Japanese women all died in the end, they protected priests and friars and were martyrs to Christianity. Subsequently, the Jesuits successfully evangelized Japan in the sixteenth century. Contrasting this model, the British deployment of Christianization in nineteenth-century India was influenced by the project of colonization in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Focusing specifically on British attempts to abolish the *sati* practice in India, modern Hindu feminists have questioned the humanitarian claims of British involvement at the time.

The British Abolishment of Sati *in the Nineteenth Century*

Christianization for colonization was attempted under the pretence of saving widows from the *sati* practice in India. While Spivak argues that the British abolishment of the *sati* practice reversed the native social consciousness to feudalism in India, Mani considers that in the debates on

abolishing *sati* widows had no subjecthood and agency.[70] By the time the British abolished sati in 1829, 63 percent of 8,134 *sati* were among the upper caste in Calcutta city; based on colonial reports, women were coerced to ascend the pyre.[71] Officials forbade widows under sixteen or those with infants younger than three-years old from participating in the practice. According to the data of 1818, 64 percent of women were above the age of forty, and women could immolate themselves if they had their infants taken care of. The discourse of abolishing *sati* was already prevalent prior to British rule, and the colonial officials had power over India's population.[72] To analyze how British authorities controlled the debate on abolishing *sati* among the sceptical indigenous, Mani selected three sources of documentation.

Hindu Feminist Analysis of the British Abolishment of Sati

Those three sources of documentation represent the position of the colonial, the indigenous progressive, and the indigenous conservative parties, helping us to understand the politics of the debate. A letter from a British official, Walter Ewer, in 1818, to the judicial department represented the colonial position. Ewer, an abolitionist, argued that the performance of *sati* ignored and did not reflect obedience to the Brahmanic scripture and the religious nature of the *sati* practice; he interpreted the practice as the conscious design of the surviving relatives to secure material gains. Therefore, the performance could not be a sacred act. The tract of Rammohun Roy, a member of the indigenous elite known for his Bengal Reform in 1830, represented the progressive indigenous position. The orthodox community's petition represented a conservative indigenous position. All of these parties – the colonial party represented by Ewer, the indigenous progressive party represented by Roy, and the indigenous conservative party – focused on the scriptures as the premise for determining whether the *sati* practice should be abolished.[73] Through the analysis of these three sources of documentation, Mani argued that the British established a double-standard policy with regards to abolishing the *sati* practice.

The Double Standard of the British Tolerance of Sati

The double standard underlying Britain's selective toleration of *sati* represented an attempt to avoid potential political repercussions from the

indigenous population. The 1813 regulation provided certain criteria to determine whether a *sati* practice was permissible: Ewer advocated that when a *sati* performance and an official's reading of the scripture interlocked, the performance met the criterion of being a good *sati*; otherwise, it was a bad one. Addressing both religious and material issues, the abolition of *sati* could be safely executed without provoking indigenous rage. Subsequently, British officials tolerated *sati* twice in 1827; however, after Ewer determined that the actual *sati* practice bore no resemblance to a religious ritual, he pointed out that the scriptures only mention Hindu widowhood but not the necessity of the *sati* performance. Depending on their reading of the scriptures, colonial officials decided whether a *sati* was permissible by determining through observation whether the widow demonstrated free will.[74]

Officials Returned Appropriated Brahmanic Scriptures to Hindus

Brahmanic scriptures would have to be re-interpreted by colonial officials. In 1830, Roy, with Calcutta residents, petitioned Bentinck, a prominent figure who belonged to both Dutch and British nobility, to prohibit *sati* by offering the evidence that jealous Hindu princes initiated the burning of their widows, a motivating factor that was not legitimized by the Brahmanic scripture.[75] Although evidence of *sati* practice based on material gains varied from region to region, these variations challenged the textual hegemony of colonial officials' reading of the Brahmanic scripture about *sati*. The British authorities stressed the assumption that the *sati* practice should have been viewed primarily as a total obedience to religious texts in their attempt to abolish the *sati* tradition. To support this aim, British officials appropriated the Brahmanic scripture then returned them, reinterpreted, to Hindus.[76]

Subject of Abolishing the Sati *Practice: The Hindu Tradition, not Hindu Widows*

The British authority prepared to bring in Christian order by abolishing Hindu tradition of *sati*. If widows were to be saved, their agency and subjecthood in the debate on abolishing *sati* should have been prioritized. However, British officials, Christian missionaries, and the indigenous elite and conservative group shared the same methodology: each privileged Brahmanic scriptures as Hindu tradition. In a patriarchal

discourse to justify the colonial civilizing intervention, officials foreclosed women's subjecthood and agency in the *sati* debate: the subject of the debate had nothing to do with widows' rights. Rather, the subject of the debate was the indigenous tradition that British officials intended to reconstitute and rearticulate by reinterpreting Brahmanic scriptures. Losing their agency and subjecthood to the authority of both Hindu men and colonial officials, widows eventually remained the eternal victims in the act of *sati*. Thus, the intersection of traditional and patriarchal notions enabled a discourse of salvation, a concept of protecting the weak from the strong.[77] Saving Hindu widows from committing *sati* was integral to the British notion of outlawing the *sati* practice; the real intention underlying the colonial power's attempt to abolish the practice was to impose Christian order on India. The first step was to remove the tradition without incurring any local insurrections.

Conclusion

Women's immolation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries manifested the social structure of male domination and female subjugation in Europe, India, and Japan. In these three areas, women did not possess agency and subjecthood over their own lives. Just as in the West, the Church openly supported political terrorism in persecuting European witches; in India, Hindu widows burned themselves to follow their deceased husbands; in Japan, for the sake of their husbands or their male warlords, Japanese women were immolated.[78]

Both Protestant and Catholic reformations, in fact, gave church women more space to contribute their activism to the church in Europe and abroad in Canada in the witch-hunt period.[79] However, both Protestant and Catholic churches tried thousands of women as witches who were usually killed at the stake. Nevertheless, in the mid-seventeenth century judges ended the witch-hunts, admitting that witches did not exist in the world.[80] Federici's euphemism clearly demonstrates that the witch-hunt – a misogynous movement and genocide of poor and old women – silenced these women's revolutions to re-allocate their capital to the Church and the state and thus created a transition from feudalism to capitalism in Europe.[81]

For the purpose of colonization, imperial powers utilized the same European model of witch-hunts to spread Christianity throughout the Americas. The colonizers wanted the resources of the colonized but feared

their resistance. In order to quell opposition, the colonizer vilified the colonized to subjugate them for monetary profit. For example, before 1542, the Spaniards desired the resources of the Americas but feared native resistance; thus, they demonized South American peoples as primitive and backward so that they could be seen as righteous in their massacre of the indigenous heathens. Spaniards "burned everyone alive" in Hispaniola and impaled women, young and old, in pits in Guatemala. Nothing could be more barbaric than the destruction of the Indies based on Bartolomé de las Casas' account.[82] However, they were unsuccessful in part because the indigenous in other areas rejected Europeans' assimilation and strived to maintain their old traditions and religions.[83]

In contrast, Fróis' style of Christianization for inter-culturalism has become increasingly popular and has developed into the global evangelism we recognize taking place in the present. For example, through his study of Japanese language and culture, Fróis was able to collect vernacular narratives through his cultural contacts with the native Japanese to write the Jesuits' missionary history in Portuguese. His *First European Description of Japan, 1585* was translated into English from Portuguese in 2014,[84] and he filed important contemporary reports such as the martyrdom of the twenty-six saints in 1597 shortly before his death.[85] Moreover, Fróis' *History of Japan* was translated into Japanese in 2000 by Professors Matsuda Kiichi and Kawasaki Momota. These accounts are integral primary sources for the research of sixteenth-century Japanese history.[86]

From Fróis' books, scholars can detect a model for evangelization based on the recognition of the indigenous culture through inter-culturalism.[87] This approach is different from Christianization for the purpose of colonization: the colonial authority used the witch-hunts as a model through which to eradicate native traditions and to assimilate indigenous cultures into the culture of the colonizer. In contrast to this view, Fróis engaged in inter-cultural learning to equalize his social status with the native population, inspired Japanese women's subjecthood and agency over their own lives, and successfully converted native Japanese. In return, the indigenous were martyred for protecting Jesuits and Christianity. Fróis' inter-culturalism for evangelism presents itself as a more successful model than colonial recognition by assimilation because it was based on equality and reciprocity. Christianization in the form of evangelization helped Japan in a positive way and inspired Japanese women's agency, which was further passed on to the modern female foreign missionaries to

Japan who were members of the Woman's Missionary Society in Canada in the nineteenth century. This approach clearly depicted the development of global evangelism.

Unlike Hindu scholars' harsh criticism of the British abolishment of *sati* in the nineteenth century, the colonial Muslim king received praise for his abolishment of *sati* in the seventeenth century. Despite the fact that Robert De Nobili (1577-1656) and William Carey (1761-1834) attempted to evangelize India, Christianity remained unpopular in India; Christianization was often overshadowed and stigmatized as a process of colonization.[88] It is hard to believe that the British abolished *sati* in India out of a humanitarian intention after Europeans burned their own women and brought the same witch-hunts to the Americas.[89] In fact, the British abolishment of *sati* in the nineteenth century fell into the same pattern of Christianization for colonization. The double standard of abolishing *sati* demonstrates that the British were afraid of native insurrections. Following the same mentality that the Church used in medieval Europe, the British re-interpreted Brahmanic to undermine Hindu tradition and to introduce the Christian order. This can be attested to by the number of witch-burnings in western India in 1840; the number was more than that of *sati* in the same year.[90]

Thus, a transition from feudalism to capitalism eventually took place in India even though India maintained indigenous feudalism, indicating its opposition to colonial power and protecting its tradition of the *sati* practice.[91] Through the corruption of feudalism after the Second World War and global decolonization, in theory, capitalism equalized everyone's social class based on individual income and property. Eventually, capitalism catalyzed democratic movements in these three areas in the twentieth century.[92] Conversely, Fróis' successful evangelism was neither capitalism nor colonialism; it was based on an *a posteriori* situation of global evangelism. Fróis' evangelism closely resonates with Jesus' teaching in "Life among the Believers" of *The Acts of the Apostles*: believers share personal possessions and help one another to survive; this mentality also resonates with the socialism of the present day, which supports the sharing of social responsibilities.[93] It is a lasting lesson that comes down to us from the witch-hunt movements.

Endnotes

1. Phyllis D. Airhart, *A Church with the Soul of a Nation: Making and Remaking the United Church of Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), xviii; and Sidney Mead, "The 'Nation with the Soul of a Church,'" *Church History* 36, no. 3 (1967): 262.

2. Luís S.J. Fróis, *Complete Translation of Luís Fróis's History of Japan (Nihon Shi)*, trans. Matsuda Kiichi and Kawasaki Momota (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōron Shinsha.2000), 1:321, 1:326, 1:322-3. All translations from Japanese to English are by the current author.

3. Genesis 2.18-25. *New Revised Standard Version: The Harper Collins Study Bible* (San Francisco: Society of Biblical Literature, 1989). On the one hand, Genesis seems to advocate gender equality, but, on the other hand, it seems also to imply male supremacy over women.

4. Hideteru Yamamoto, "The Chronicle of the Higo Hosokawa Clan,"*Shin-shindoh*, 1930, http://www.shinshindoh.com/gracia.htm. Japanese last names are written before first names.

5. *Shiryō Sōran (A Complete View of Historical Data* (Tōkyō: Tōkyō *Daigaku Shuppankai* – University Press, 1981), 8:232; *Shiryō Sōran* (Tōkyō: Tōkyō *Daigaku Shuppankai* – University Press, 1981), 14:6.

6. Brian P. Levack, ed., *Witchcraft in Scotland* (New York: Garland Pub., 1992), 7:x; Stuart Macdonald, "Threats to a Godly Society: The Witch-Hunt in Fife, Scotland 1560-1710" (Ph.D. diss., University of Guelph, 1997), 4; Julian Goodare, Lauren Martin, and Joyce Miller, eds., *Witchcraft and Belief in Early Modern Scotland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 18. During his extensive research on witchcraft in the European Reformation, Professor Macdonald created a useful, complex database for the witchcraft survey, and I appreciate his suggestions to improve my paper.

7. Darren Oldridge, *The Witchcraft Reader* (London: Routledge, 2008), 171-9; Silvia Federici, *Caliban and the Witch* (Brooklyn: Autonomedia, 2004), 8. However, Christina Larner considers witchcraft a crime to be eradicated.

8. Marilyn Färdig Whiteley, *Canadian Methodist Women, 1766-1925: Marys, Marthas, Mothers in Israel* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005), 1-15; and Phyllis D. Airhart, 78-9, 74, 129, 141-2. Airhart and Whiteley are prominent authors of Canadian church history. Moreover, female principals have emerged in recent years: Airhart has been principal for several years, and Michelle Voss Roberts is the current principal of Emmanuel College. These female academics not only demonstrate the feminism flourished in the Methodist Church (later United Church of Canada) in the

late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, but also embody the spirit of second-wave and third-wave feminists.

9. Jeffrey D. Sachs, "Twentieth-Century Political Economy: A Brief History of Global Capitalism," *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 15, no. 4 (1999): 99; Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985); Eric Williams, *Capitalism & Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944); *The History Book* (Episodes 4: *Bloody Schemes* – The Slave Trade), DVD, directed by Jannik Hastrup and Li Vilstrup (New York: Tricontinental Film Center, 2005). Accompanying the slave trade that fuelled the European industrial revolution, the persecutions of witches allowed a transition from feudalism to capitalism in Europe and the development of global capitalism.

10. Gayatri Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Lawrence Grossberg and Cary Nelson (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 296-7, 302, 306; and Abram Eraly, *The First Spring: The Golden Age of India* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 2011), 370.

11. Lata Mani, "Contentious Traditions: The Debate on *Sati* in Colonial India," in *Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History*, ed. Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid (New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1989), 88-121.

12. Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2009), 134; and R, Janz, ed., *A Reformation Reader: Primary Texts with Introductions* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), 368. The Society of Jesus was established by Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556) to engage in world-wide missions as a new Christian order.

13. Fróis, 1:321; Sanneh, 132.

14. Fróis, 1:321-2.

15. Ōta Gyūichi, *The Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga*, trans. J.S.A. Elisonas and J.P. Lamers (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 296-303. Ōta Gyūichi, ed., Kuwata Tadachika, *Shinchō Kōki (The Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga)* (Tokyo: Jinbutsu Ōrai Sha, 1965), 233-8.

16. Fróis, 3:74.

17. Federici, 23.

18. Janz, 53-4. Albert of Mainz instructed staff in 1515 about the sales of indulgence, purgatory, and absolution.

19. John W. Coakley and Andrea Sterk, eds., *Readings in World Christian History* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2004), 58-66. Irenaeus of Lyons (ca. 130-ca. 200) depicts a Catholic understanding of what is against the Gospels, the tradition of the Apostles, the unbroken succession, and the authority of the church.

20. Federici, 34; Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1992), 98.

21. Federici, 33, 53; Janz, 347-8.

22. Federici, 34; Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 105; Jonathan Barry and Owen Davies, eds., *Palgrave Advances in Witchcraft Historiography* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 4-7.

23. I am grateful to Professor Eva C. Karpinski who taught me and inspired me to do research on women's reproductive health in Asia and Canada.

24. Federici, 38-9, 45, 56, 39-40; Henry Charles Lea, *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1961), 615-20; and Rodney Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free: Medieval Peasant Movements and the English Rising of 1381* (New York: Viking Press, Inc., 1973), 108.

25. Federici, 34, 25, 34, 53-4; Brian P. Levack, ed., *The Witchcraft Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 2004), 33-5, 46, 57, 59-60, 235, 278. Unlike Federici, Levack uses the primary source of Canon Law to explain witchcraft and support the repression of heretic women.

26. Federici, 36; and G.C. Homans, *English Villagers of the Thirteen Century* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1960), 37-9.

27. Federici, 33.

28. Federici, 44, 41; W.C. Jordan, *The Great Famine: Northern Europe in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

29. Federici, 42-3.

30. Federici, 41; David Nicholas, *Medieval Fanders* (London: Longman, 1992), 213-4.

31. Federici, 44. The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse are described in the New Testament predicating the advent of famine and death (Revelation 6:8, NRSV).

32. Federici, 45, 57-8, 43.

33. Federici, 43, 45, 43.

34. Federici, 25, 31; Shulamith Shahar, *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1983), 189-200; Margaret L. King, *Women of the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 64-7; and Marty Williams and Anne Echols, *Between Pit and Pedestal: Women in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Marcus Wiener Publications, 2000), 53.

35. Federici, 40; William Monter, "The Mediterranean Inquisitions of Early Modern Europe" in *Reform and Expansion 1500-1660*, ed. R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 6:299; Brian P. Levack, ed., *Witchcraft, Women, and Society* (New York: Garland Pub., 1992), 10:ix-xi. Women were targeted as witches possessing the following characteristics: sharp-tongued, having participated in protests against authority and having requested charity in times of economic stress. See Brian P. Levack, ed., *Witchcraft and Demonology in Art and Literature* (New York: Garland Pub, 1992), 12:vii. Witch-hunts often resulted from social and religious tensions.

36. Brian P. Levack, *The Witchcraft Sourcebook*, 175. Witch-hunts intensified in the harsh economic conditions in late sixteenth-century. See Federici, 47-9.

37. Federici, 46, 49, 47-8, 48, 49.

38. Federici, 49.

39. Janz, 14-22, 23-6. Henricus Cornelius Agrippa gave a different account from Kraemer and Sprenger about the status of women in 1509. See Hsia, 406-424. Similar to Denis R. Janz, Wolfgang Behringer explores debates on demonology based on the contemporary literature between 1500 and1660 such as Johann Weyer (1515-88) and Henricus Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486-1535) against the persecution of witches. See Brian P. Levack, ed. *Witchcraft in Scotland* (New York: Garland Pub., 1992), 7:ix-x. Sorcerers or magic practitioners were considered as harmful witchcraft to a godly state. See Brian P.Levack, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe and Colonial America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 429-46. Although biblical scholarship did not accept the interpretation of the "sorcerer" in Exodus 22:18 as being the same as the definition of "sorcerer" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the church administration continued to use the term to eradicate witches.

40. Federici, 165, 210, 177, 176, 166; and Rossell Hope Robbins, *The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft and Demonology* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1959), 415.

41. Janz, 165-7; Federici, 7, 174, 176.

42. Federici, 174.

43. Brian P. Levack, *The Witchcraft Sourcebook*, 173, 197, 190-7; Federici,193. The drawing of Elizabeth Sawyer in 1621 and Hans Burkmair's paint/woodcut before 1514 conform to the stereotype of the witch – poverty and sterility.

44. Federici, 47-99, 49, 93.

45. Federici, 74, 93.

46. Brian P. Levack, *The Witchcraft Sourcebook*, 190, 179, 185, 190, 203, 220, 175, 179, 185, 190, 198, 203, 210, 185; Federici, 95, 193. A witch was submerged in the water, and later imprisoned for life.

47. Brian P. Levack, *The Witchcraft Sourcebook*, 173, 173-219; and Federici, 162.

48. Federici, 196, 199, 219.

49. William Shakespeare, *The Tempest: Sources and Contexts, Criticism, Rewritings and Appropriations*, eds. Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (New York: W.W. Norton, 2004), Act 1 Scene 2: 17. Prospero colonized an uninhabited island and enslaved the indigenous Caliban while Miranda, Prospero's daughter, ungratefully vilified Caliban. See Federici, 137.

50. Federici, 225.

51. Federici, 225-6, 227.

52. Federici, 231, 108, 215, 220; Janz, 378-9; and Brian P. Levack, *The Witchcraft Sourcebook*, 220-9.

53. Federici, 108.

54. Darrell Manitowabi, "The Meaning of Bear-Walking," in *Anishinaabewin Niizh: Culture Movements, Critical Moments 2011*, ed. Alan Corbiere, Deborah McGregor, and Crystal Migwans (M'Chigeeng: Ojibwe Cultural Foundation, 2012), 62.

55. Sanneh, 134-5.

56. Fróis, 1:321-2.

57. *Sati*, both a ceremonial rite and a name, is a common female name meaning "a good wife" or "faithfulness" also given to the practice of widow sacrifice. Sanneh, 135. Sanneh interprets "*sati*" as faithfulness. Spivak, 306. Spivak explains "*sati*" a good wife.

58. Mani, 99; Major, 1-25.

59. Spivak, 297; Mani, 97. V.N. Datta, *Sati: A Historical, Social and Philosophical Enquiry into the Hindu Rite of Widow Burning* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1988), 207.

60. Mani, 116, 114. Aurangzeb, http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/ pritchett/00 islamlinks/part2_15.html. Aurangzeb reigned from 1658 to 1707. Abdul Basit, ed., *The Global Muslim Community at a Crossroads: Understanding Religious Beliefs, Practices, and Infighting to End the Conflict* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2012), 95; Audrey Truschke, *Aurangzeb: The Life and Legacy of India's Most Controversial King* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017), 17, 2, 16: "an Indian king who hungered after territory, political power, and a particular ideal of justice." Edward John Thompson, *Suttee: A Historical and Philosophical Enquiry into the Hindu Rite of Widow-burning* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1928), 19, 37, 44-56, 57; and Andrea Major, ed., *Sati: A Historical Anthology* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007), 27-43.

61. Fróis, *Complete Translation of Luís Fróis's History of Japan (Nihon Shi)*, 1:362, 9:328, 9:336-8.

62. Fróis, 1:246-50.

63. Fróis, 2:24-32.

64. Fróis, 3: 48; Ōta, 382-3; Ōta, trans. J.S.A. Elisonas and J.P. Lamers, 472. Fróis' account of Oda Nobunaga is not completely the same as Ōta's; however, they are very similar.

65. Fróis, 3:237-8.

66. Fróis, 1:326; *Shiryō Sōran*, 13 263.

67. Hideteru Yamamoto, "The Chronicle of the Higo Hosokawa Clan," *Shinshindoh*, 1930, http://www.shinshindoh.com/gracia.htm; Yasuko Tabata, *Hosokawa Garasha: Chirinubeki Toki Shirite Koso (Hosokawa Garasha: Even Though I Know When I am Dying*) (Kyōto: Mineruva Shobō, 2010), 212-13.

68. Tabada, 213; *Shiryō Sōran*, 13:125-6.

69. Fróis, 12: 28-9.

70. Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" 297-313; Mani, 88-126.

71. Mani, 88; Datta, 19-70.

72. Mani, 97, 100, 98, 90. Colonial officials reported the barbarity of Hindu males' coercion of this matter. See also Major, 73-118.

73. Mani, 88-9, 102; Major, 119-51.

74. Mani, 94, 92-3, 94-5, 93-4, 90, 92, 104; Major, 172-94.

75. Mani, 92-3, 105-6; Datta, 82-118.

76. Mani, 96, 92-3.

77. Datta, 71-81; Major, 227-38; Mani, 97, 118.

78. I am grateful to Professor Radhika Mongia who inspired me to write this paper.

79. Hsia, 473-80; J. R. Miller, "Early Contacts in the Eastern Woodlands," in *Skyscrapers Hides the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations*, ed. J. R. Miller (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 40-1.

80. Brian P. Levack, *The Witch-hunt in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2016), 1. This newest edition is essential reading for students embarking on the history of witchcraft. Federici, 208. It is impossible for anyone to find out how many witches were burned because those who conducted witch-hunts were free to arrest witches and handle records. Oldridge, 100-103. H. C. Erik Midelfort probably accepted the number of witch-burning from *De Praestigiis Daemonum* of Johann Weyer (1515-1588). Federici, 202; and Oldridge, 342. Brian P. Levack used "judicial scepticism" to explain inquisitors' ground to end witch-hunts.

81. Federici, 8.

82. Bartolomé De Las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, trans. Nigel Griffin (London: Penguin Books, 1992), 14-17, 59, xiii.

83. Federici, 219-39.

84. Fróis, 1: 3-5; Luís S.J. Fróis, *The First European Description of Japan, 1585: A Critical English-Language Edition of Striking Contrasts in the Customs of Europe and Japan*, trans. Richard K. Danford, Robin D. Gill, and Daniel T. Reff (New York: Routledge, 2014).

85. Fróis, 12:326; *Shiryō Sōran*, 13:125-6.

86. Sanneh, 1-8, 128-33.

87. Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" 292.

88. Sanneh, 134-42.

89. Mani, 88. Aurangzeb, http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00 islam links/ikram/part2_15.html.

90. Federici, 237.

91. Spivak, "Can Subaltern Speak?" 298; Datta, 34; and Thompson, 69. The number of *sati* from 1815 to 1818 steadily increased to twice. Thompson, 127. The rite still survived at the beginning of the twentieth century.

92. Spivak, "Can Subaltern Speak?" 272, 278-9.

93. Acts of the Apostles 2:37-39 (NRSV). Meg Luxton, "Marxist-Feminism and Anti-Capitalism: Reclaiming our History, Reanimating our Politics," *Studies in Political Economy* 94, Autumn (2014): 137-60. I suggest that Professor Luxton's Marxist Feminism is analogous to the socialism in Luís Fróis' evangelism and Jesus' teachings as well.

Seeking Mutual Respect: Rhetoric versus Reality in the Missiology of the United Church of Canada Korea Mission, 1960s

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> Westerners do not easily accept the one-world idea; their heritage is one of domination, and new forms of Western domination continue to appear through the exercise of economic power and through foreign investments in lands where colonial power has been supplanted by ineffectual forms of self-government. Real power remaining in outside hands represents a divisive factor, for participants who do not share in the decision-making process in relation to determinative power find little meaning in merely constitutional independence. This has been a subject of debate in many of the "situation conferences" convened to discuss missionary policy. The one-world concept of secular society and the "Mission to Six Continents" concept of the churches are both related to a central question in the world today: How can mutual respect be achieved?[1] (from the Report of the United Church of Canada *Commission on World Mission*, 1966)

The above quote from the United Church of Canada (hereafter UCC) *Commission on World Mission* demonstrates an awareness of the fundamental issues of power and colonial history being raised on its mission fields overseas and a self-awareness concerning the patterns of domination that held their own members in Canada back from the personal and institutional changes required to address them. During the 1960s, as indigenous churches on the mission fields were pushing back against

decades of Canadian missionary paternalism, the language of the UCC was trying to get out ahead of the changes. But lingering colonial attitudes and practices were holding back real action. A study of missionary correspondence from Korea during this period, especially that of Wilna Thomas, an important woman pioneer in the UCC and secretary for mission boards overseeing missionary work in East Asia, provides insight into the tensions that existed within the UCC as it tried to come to terms with the new global post-colonial context and its own history of paternalism. This essay argues that pushback by the Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea against Thomas' agenda for change uncovers some of the lingering colonial patterns that remained hidden beneath a progressive missiological rhetoric of change.

"Dear Mrs. Taylor," wrote Saskatchewan-born UCC missionary Romona Underwood to Ruth Taylor, the chair of the UCC Woman Missionary Society, in 1960, "I apologize to you if I have caused you additional concern and work by not writing to you about the political events of the past few weeks."[2] The letter was more than a few weeks late. The political events she refered to in June had occurred in mid-April. Later known simply by the numbers marking the date of 19 April on which it occurred, "4.19" was a student-led movement that toppled the government of Rhee Syng Man.

Rhee, the first president of the Republic of Korea, had been all but directly installed by the United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) that had taken control of the Korean peninsula south of the 38th parallel following the capitulation of Japan at the end of the Second World War. There had been a delay of some months between the surrender of Japan and the moment when American forces had begun to arrive. In the brief interlude, local Korean councils effectively managed their own business. While not communist, these councils often had socialist leanings, something that made the new American military government uncomfortable. Though promising democracy, Lieutenant General John R. Hodge, the military governor of South Korea, a man who had curried the favour of Christian missionaries and their western educated Christian followers, called the election that Rhee won despite an apparent absence of popular support.[3]

From the start, Rhee's methods were authoritarian – a strategy calculated to make up for his government's lack of grassroots support. Sadly, Protestant and Catholic churches lined up to support him.[4] A year after he was elected, public opinion in South Korea remained overwhelm-

ingly in favour of socialism. A group of right-wing paramilitary youth under Rhee's influence, referred to as the "Blue shirts," terrorized neighbourhoods where there were known to be socialists and communist sympathizers. The Korean military, aided and abetted by American advisors, carried out massacres and atrocities before and following elections. As Rhee's government lost any semblance of virtue and abandoned all pretence of democracy, the population grew unhappy. Larger and larger student-led rallies against government violence, corruption, and election meddling culminated with the police responding on 19 April with live fire on the streets of Seoul. Nearly two hundred people lost their lives and Rhee, by this time an embarrassment to the United States, was finally forced to step down.

The letter from Underwood to Taylor frames these events as momentous and ones that heralded changes for both Korea and the UCC mission. The events of 4.19 resonated with the missionaries in Korea, and perhaps even more so among supporters at home in Canada, reviving memories of the Chinese uprisings a generation earlier that had had serious consequences for many UCC missionaries working there.[5] "One or two of our missionaries packed bags in case of evacuation, I suspect the majority of us did so mentally," wrote Underwood.[6] Although they had, in fact, never been in danger in Korea, the concerns expressed serve to show that missionary memories of colonial times were still very much alive among Canadian missionaries and in the church in Canada.[7]

It is notable as well that Underwood felt it important to mention the fact that the missionaries had been brave and continued to model good behaviour. "Some of the missionaries gave blood at Severance Hospital," she wrote, "and actually set the example which was followed by some of the Koreans."[8] This commendable act of citizenship performed by missionaries on the grounds of a hospital with connections to the UCC mission was a well-used trope in the missionary movement: "Missionaries teach others how to be modern nationals." This trope was important for missionaries seeking to justify their presence in foreign lands – to themselves as well as to their home constituencies. Although on the cusp of significant changes that would affect the church at home, as well as missionary self-understanding, UCC missionaries nevertheless continued to uncritically repeat this message to themselves in the 1960s.

But even as Underwood reflected on the safety and the exemplary behaviours modeled by UCC missionaries, she demonstrated her awareness of the political importance of the event she and other missionaries had

witnessed. She was clearly empathetic with the students and stood in solidarity with their accomplishments. "At first, in spite of my concern and sympathy for the students who lost their lives and their families," wrote Underwood to Taylor, "my personal reaction was one of resurgence of hope for the welfare of this country. I must admit I have been very discouraged during the past year and particularly at the time of the March 15th election. The students have been the great heroes of the crusade against corruption[.]"[9]

Students of the 4.19 uprising gave voice to a general desire among Koreans, north and south of the 38th parallel, for greater agency in the decisions of a sovereign nation. Their demands stressed the need not only for democracy in the south but also reunification with the north. Ironically, it was student action to organize a meeting with North Korean counterparts at Panmunjom, a village straddling the border between the North and South, that provided Korean General Park Chung Hee with the pretext he needed for a military overthrow of the democratically-elected government that had been the crowning achievement of their 4.19 uprising.[10] Dismissing the barely-one-year-old government as weak, Park led a coup on 16 May 1961 (5.16). In following years, he imposed a disciplined, militaristic, ideologically anti-communist and gendered program of modernization that made a deep imprint on South Korean society for decades to come.[11]

As the 46th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea (PROK) gathered in 1961, just days after the 5.19 coup, political developments were no doubt on the minds of its members. Kim Chai Choon, a founding leader of fledgling PROK, was swift in his condemnation of the military action. Others like him were genuinely distraught by the blow to Korean democracy. But however urgent and dramatic developments affecting national politics were at the moment, missionary relationships remained the number one issue. Indeed, emotions were very close to the surface and when the issue came up for discussion the General Assembly erupted. At issue was the lack of trust and respect missionaries were showing to their Korean partners. The missionaries, it was charged, hovered over their Korean colleagues, accused them of misusing funds, and routinely wielded the charge of "sin" against them.[12] Taking exception to this treatment, Koreans passed an angry motion to reject furthering funding from the UCC.[13]

This was the first such open conflict between Korean Christians and the UCC Korea Mission since the 1920s when students had set fire to a mission-run school to protest the missionaries' funding priorities.[14] And

yet, the conflict might nevertheless be understood as the resumption of a contentious debate that had simply been interrupted by the Pacific and Korean wars. The motion to reject UCC funding was of such significance that it was simply referred to as "the decision" for many years. It marked a significant turning point in the relationship between the Korean Church and its Canadian missionary partners. The elimination of overseas funding had huge consequences for the PROK – a relatively young denomination that had just six years earlier separated from the larger Presbyterian Church in Korea (PCK). The church was financially fragile, and "the decision" provoked earnest reconciliation efforts on both sides. Over the course of a lively debate that ensued, a new missiology began to be articulated.

The 4.19 uprising, the 5.16 coup, and "the decision" of the PROK were all part of a postcolonial moment for the Korean nation and church. And yet it is possible that Canadians belonging to the UCC Korea Mission were only partially aware of the significance of these events that were occurring all around them.[15] In Toronto, the UCC metropole, there is no doubt that the church bureaucracy was starting to come to grips with a sea change in their foreign missions around the world. In 1962, the WMS and its Board of Overseas Missions (BOM) were amalgamated into the Board of World Mission (BWM). The omission of the "s" in "Mission" indicated a more global understanding of Christian work.[16] In the same year, a Commission on World Mission was struck by the UCC General Council to undertake a comprehensive review of the history and direction of missionary activity and church missions. Fundamental to these moves was a new awareness that, whereas the UCC had once considered others to be exclusively in need of the gospel, they were now seeing that they might need some evangelization as well. On the surface this was an act of humility that acknowledged the leadership and vital contribution of non-western Christians. Korean theology student, Lee Young Min, who was studying in Canada on a UCC scholarship at the time, remembered the discussions that were taking place in UCC circles around him concerning "a new day's mission policy along with a new role for missionaries." For Lee Young Min, the moment felt "truly opportune" and he was left with a profound sense that the UCC was about to make "a big switch in the right direction."[17]

The UCC bureaucracy was also getting a new face to go with its new mission policy. In 1960, Wilna Thomas became the executive secretary of Overseas Missions and, in 1962, associate secretary of the new Board of

World Mission with responsibilities for East Asia. Wilna Gratia Thomas was born on 6 March 1917 in Ogema, Saskatchewan.[18] The only student in her class at the rural school to advance to university, she graduated with great distinction earning a Bachelor of Arts degree in mathematics and economics from the University of Saskatchewan. Soon after she enrolled at the UCC Training Centre to begin a career in church work.[19] After graduating from this program in 1941, she was recommended for work as military chaplain after the UCC received a request for a woman to provide spiritual support to the Canadian Women's Army Corps.[20] Beginning with the rank of lieutenant at the Advanced Training Centre in Ste. Anne de Bellevue, she became one of only two women padres serving in the Canadian army.[21]

After being decommissioned in 1946, Wilna applied for a position with the WMS serving in Japan and was sent overseas in 1947. As a single woman missionary, Thomas joined a long and important missionary tradition that had offered women unique opportunities for personal and professional development. Single female missionaries, though not usually from elite backgrounds, often managed to achieve a kind of elite status in Canadian society and abroad[22] and offered unmarried women attractive careers in places others could only dream of going.[23] From its beginnings in the mid-1800s, single women missionaries had made significant contributions on the Canadian mission field. Combined with that of missionary wives, the numbers of female missionaries easily exceeded those of their male colleagues. In 1960, the UCC Korea Mission, for example, employed thirteen male missionaries and twenty-one female – nine of them single.[24] In some places, however, the number of single women exceeded those of all male colleagues on their own.[25] But by choosing to return to Canada to take an executive position in the church hierarchy, Thomas broke through a glass ceiling that had kept those same women from directing the missions to which they contributed so much labour. This was another first for Canadian women in the Protestant church: Thomas became the first woman to serve in an executive position in the UCC with responsibility for not only female but also male missionaries. Sadly, Thomas has not been remembered in the UCC for these pioneering roles – fallen forgotten between the the landmark events of Lydia Gruchy's ordination as the first female UCC minister in 1936 and Lois Wilson's ordination as the first married woman minister in the UCC in 1965. Wilson went on to become the UCC's first female moderator in 1980. Thomas' achievement in 1960, however, was another important first

for women and a sign of the times for religion in Canada.

One wonders what impression this sign of the times made on others with whom she came in contact as she visited UCC mission fields around the world. It is particularly worth asking how churches in places like Korea, churches that had been steeped in the patriarchal tradition of male church leadership modeled by earlier missionaries, responded to a woman at the top of the church hierarchy. When Canadian missions scholar Ruth Compton Brouwer asked a Korean male medical student about his first-hand experience of working under a female missionary doctor, she realized the question was in some ways absurd. Though the situation certainly "called for an all around wariness" on a number of levels, Brouwer surmises, nothing precluded the ability of these workers to collaborate on a project that was clearly important.[26] The fact that Thomas had received the position with the support of her male colleagues, moreover, would also have carried weight with the Koreans whom she encountered.[27]

While it is hard to know to what extent Koreans may have held preconceived notions about women in positions of authority, it is clear that Thomas had already formed her own ideas about Koreans. In 1957, while still a missionary in Japan, Wilna had been asked to be part of an ecumenical mission to visit Korea and meet with students on the theme of "Revolution and Reconciliation." Memories of Japanese colonialism were still fresh and it was impossible at this time for a Japanese citizen to get a visa to visit Korea. As a result Thomas was asked to represent Japan on the visit.[28] They met 3,000 students in fifteen different universities and discussed various intra-Korean controversies in the church – including the split in the Presbyterian Church in Korea (PCK) that resulted in the creation of the PROK. This was a particularly important issue for Thomas as a UCC missionary since the UCC and its missionaries in Korea had decided to support the PROK when it was formed from a small group of leaders and churches expelled from the PCK over issues of biblical criticism and missionary control of theological education. The UCC's was the first and only mission to stand with the PROK at the time. Curiously, Thomas came away from her time in Korea with the impression that the split was the result of nothing more than an internal Korean power struggle. "One group is definitely fundamentalist; the other group is called liberal, but is so conservative I could scarcely tell the difference. Perhaps a greater reason for the split has been the clash of personalities, and the desire for power on the part of certain leaders."[29] UCC missionary colleagues working in Korea at that time would have almost certainly

found this assessment surprising. For William Scott, a UCC missionary in Korea since 1914, the issue was one based clearly on theological principles and had little to do with the clash of personalities. It was, for him, far more about maintaining indigenous Korean Christian integrity in the face American missionary meddling.[30] "It is difficult to avoid the conclusion," he wrote, that those responsible for the split had one thing in mind: the elimination of the anti-fundamentalist and an independent Korean voice in the life of the Presbyterian Church in Korea.[31]

The issue that interested Thomas more was Korean-Japanese relations. "I think we can understand why the Korean people think and feel as they do," she reported with reference to the distrust and resentment Korean Christians seemed to harbour for Japanese people. "For thirty-six years they were under Japanese rule. They couldn't use their own language. They had to change their names. No Korean could advance to a position of leadership." The legacy of bitterness and dysfunction for Thomas, however, rested on the shoulders of the Koreans rather than the Japanese: "Children were taught that to lie and to deceive the Japanese authorities was good. Now those children are the leaders. They have no training for it. Deceit and distrust are evident in every area of life. Even Church leaders deal in the black market."[32]

These views seem to have carried over into Thomas' visits as executive secretary in the 1960s. Her notes from the 1961 visit reveal an interest in reconciliation between Japanese and Koreans, but nevertheless put the onus for change on the Koreans. She felt it was incumbent upon Korean Christian students, as Christians, to forgive the Japanese for the colonial oppression they had endured.[33] Their failure to do so disturbed her. She felt that it was an example of human "sinfulness" – a theological category that carried particular weight.[34] In subsequent visits to Korea, Thomas again affirmed her view that the Korean church was riddled with corruption – a perspective that was not shared by all Korean missionaries and that was never borne out by any other missionary documents.[35] These views were likely conditioned by the colonial perspectives still common in Japan where she had served for seven years, as well as by her own colonial assumptions as a Canadian of British descent. Indeed, Hamish Ion has noted that Canadian missionaries serving in Japan readily adopted Japanese colonial attitudes about Koreans and Taiwanese.[36] It is thus not surprising that Thomas' reflections in 1957 reflected dominant Japanese stereotypes about Koreans.[37] And yet the notes from Thomas' visits to Korea and other mission fields in the early 1960s were not completely

coloured by this bias. Indeed, they also reflected an evolution towards a more positive assessment of Koreans. She concluded her 1964 visit, for example, by remarking that, although the Korean Church was "fraught by all the sins of institutionalism that are part of the weakness of the Church everywhere," she nevertheless believed that she "left Korea more conscious of the opportunities confronting the Church than in its weaknesses in meeting them."[38]

In many ways, Thomas' notes paint a complex and multidimensional picture of a mission in transition. Her attentiveness and openness to the voices of those she encountered in Korea certainly distinguished her notes from the records kept by her male predecessors.[39] And yet her notes also reflect the Canadian church's ongoing tradition of paternalism in the context of visits undertaken not only to listen, but also to disperse funds and teach Koreans what for her were more enlightened approaches. Her notebooks from her 1961 and 1964 trips to Korea outline the main points she sought to make as she met with each local presbytery. In her talks at PROK presbyteries around the peninsula, Thomas introduced the UCC's new philosophy of mission – one that had been developed indirectly with indigenous churches through ecumenical institutions such as the World Council of Churches (WCC) but not directly with the local Korean churches or with other indigenous or Canadian church members. She stressed the importance of shifting away from making converts and towards erecting new social services. This was a position upon which the UCC was at the time putting a very strong emphasis. Indeed, some might have said that Thomas functioned as a kind of a harbinger of the wave of secularization then sweeping the Canadian church and society.[40] The leadership in Canada preferred to think of it as winning souls through "service for Christ's sake," but there is no doubt the emphasis had changed.[41] "Doing justice" had become a more important aspect of Canadian missions than making converts.[42]

Whether regular members of the UCC back in Canada were generally on board with the new understanding of mission is doubtful.[43] Certainly, Thomas' notes show clearly that many in the Korean church resisted it. Many PROK Christians whom Thomas met asked the UCC to renew its commitment to evangelism. For some this situation had urgent political dimensions. "South Korea must become Christian quickly [in order to fend off the] communists next door," one person told her.[44] As most Christians in South Korea were refugees from the North, moreover, their views of communism were more than ideological. Korean Christian-

ity had made most of its converts in the northeast area of the country in and around Pyongyang. Even before the division of the peninsula, there had arisen a serious tension between Christians and socialists over questions related to the Japanese occupation and modernization. In the shadow of both the Soviet occupation in the 1940s, followed by the rise to power of Kim Il-sung's communist regime in 1948, persecution of Christians had become severe. Those persecutions were made worse by the connections most Christians maintained to the West through their contact with the missions – including Moon Chai Rin, one of the first Korean Christians to study in Canada, and Kim Shin Mook, who worked with Canadian missionaries in Manchuria and later in South Korea. The communists regarded these connections with great suspicion.[45] Those who managed to escape the north, moreover, made up the majority of Christians in the south. These people had suffered greatly and had good reason to fear the further spread of communism.

For others, the priority of making converts was simply a religious desire to bring the Christian message to the many Koreans who had yet to encounter it. Some complained that even with many missionaries in the field, few unbelievers were being reached. Notes from the minutes of the United Work Committee (UWC), an organization in which PROK leaders and UCC missionaries shared responsibility for mission-related church programs, indicate that the priority for the Korean church was pioneer church building – that is, growing the number of Christians in Korea.[46] Koreans stressed to Thomas that they were very disturbed by the UCC mission policy, which they could not understand.[47] But Thomas remained intent on shifting the view that proselytization was central to the missionary enterprise. She informed her Korean audiences that the UCC now had a new understanding.

Mission, Thomas insisted, is the essence of the church. However, mission, as the UCC now understood it, was no longer about conversion but service. "The Church," she proclaimed, "must involve itself in all the problems of people: political, economic, educational, family, health."[48] What is more, mission was not to be understood as the special domain of missionaries. "I dislike very much the fact that there is an organization called the Korea Mission of the United Church of Canada," Thomas declared, "This was true long ago – overseas churches as part of their mission to the world sent missionaries abroad and became related to these countries in the terms of these missions . . . Now we realize that there will be developed effective ways of partnership between the overseas church

and the church here for the mission of the whole church."[49] For this to be true, she proclaimed, "your Assembly organization must be your own, supported by your own members so that it becomes your servant and is responsible to you. It seems to me that these days we are called to enter into a *partnership* of *equals* before God."[50]

The position that Thomas articulated was clearly a departure from the colonial era approach to missions. It was based on a reworking of mission policy taking place in UCC headquarters to address issues that had been raised by indigenous church leadership the world over. The UCC developed this position in consultation with other churches, including non-Western ones, at gatherings of such global ecumenical organizations as the World Council of Churches (WCC) that were themselves a legacy of the missionary enterprise. However, it is clear that there was distance between the message that Thomas was delivering and the views of the Christian membership on the ground in Korea. The way a privileged Westerner delivered this message to a non-Western audience, seemingly without opportunity to debate, belied its progressive rhetoric. Despite attempting to be more progressive, even egalitarian, the top-down delivery served only to highlight that it was coming from the powerful to the powerless. There was an element of self-interest concealed in the new policies as well: shifting the focus to social programs would also serve as a rationale to withdraw financial support from the Korean church proper. Accompanying this new theology was a policy to accelerate the transition to a self-funding, self-governing indigenous church. This acceleration was in part a knee-jerk reaction to growing accusations that the missionary movement was really just a form of cultural imperialism – accusations that were keenly felt by liberal churches in particular.[51] But for all that, the UCC knew that overseas churches could not afford to maintain the institutions that missionaries had built up despite growing financial and ethical pressures to withdraw.[52]

If Thomas was promoting a new vision of mission as partnership, and chiding the Korean church to get with it, the Rt. Rev. Lee Nam Kyoo, former moderator of the PROK, had his own chiding to do about the attitude and approach of Thomas and the Canadian missionaries. At a meeting of the Study Committee tasked with looking into PROK-missionary relations, he argued that these missionaries held contrarian attitudes about Korean leadership that showed little acquaintance with the Korean Church situation. What is more, he said, they were misusing their spiritual authority, accusing the PROK leadership of "*sin*" simply because

they disagreed with or could not understand their priorities.[53] Tensions between missionaries and the PROK leadership in Korea were becoming dangerously high – "strained to the point of breaking" as one UCC source noted.[54] In September 1964, the General Assembly of the PROK met and, among other business, received a report by the Study Committee looking into missionary relations. In line with many of Lee Nam Kyoo's observations, the Study Committee identified that the problems contributing to tensions between missionaries and the PROK leadership were connected primarily to the role missionaries played within the governing structure of the PROK. Specifically, they wielded too much power and were out of touch with the needs of the Korean church. Even then there were some in the Korean church who felt the report did not go far enough, and some who simply wished to send the missionaries home.[55] Even those who were more reticent desired to see a radical shift in the relationship. In a letter to the editor in the *Presbyterian News*, a denominational organ of the PROK, Rev. Chung Yong Chul argued that missionaries and their money should be entirely subject to the will of the General Assembly of the PROK.[56] The sovereignty and unity of the Korean church body was of the utmost importance for Chung. There should be no hierarchy or parallel structure for missionaries, he explained, and no special parameters placed on the spending of overseas funds besides those set by the Church in Korea. But beyond matters of policy and structure, Chung also touched on the question of attitude. "It is necessary for us to receive help from *friends*," he said, but "we do not want money given as if it was to charity. If we are dependent and humiliated it is not good."[57] Lee Nam Kyoo said something similar: "Missionaries must not continually travel about prying into our mistakes since this is very upsetting to us. They must try very hard to have an attitude of sympathy and understanding and so develop a *true friendship* between us."[58]

The question of friendship is an interesting one. To what degree were relationships founded on mutual affection, understanding, and trust actually possible on the uneven social terrain of the mission field? It is hard to say. But we do know that Chung and Lee were not alone among indigenous Christians in lamenting the absence of friendship in their relations with foreign missionaries.[59] Wilna Thomas had heard as much in other places.[60] In moments of honesty, Canadian missionaries would also admit that they had failed to act as friends. In 1975, missionary William Scott concluded his extensive reflections on the Canadian Korea mission with the following:

> Our missionary mode of life tended to isolate us from close contact with Korean people. We lived, for the most part, in Canadian-style homes, wore Canadian-style clothes, ate North American foods (imported or home grown), and formed a neighbourhood of our own – a community apart. It is true that in our work, in church, school, or hospital, in the city or the country village, we rubbed shoulders with Korean of all classes, but in our off-duty hours, in our homes and social contacts, we tended to keep to our own missionary group. In recreation, where familiarity is encouraged, we seldom missed. Few missionaries learned the Korean form of tennis, with soft-ball and lighter racket. Fewer still could play their favourite games of ping-pong or soccer.[61]

Scott may not have given himself enough credit. Some in Korea vividly remembered the heart-felt farewell Scott delivered at his retirement in 1956, in which he recited from heart classical Korean poetry and stirred in the students feelings of courage and awareness of their inheritance and duty as Koreans.[62] Nevertheless, there was truth to the confession as well. The UCC missionary residence at Seodaemun (the Great West Gate) is a case in point: a grand, redbrick structure of Edwardian vintage that dwarfed the humble thatched-roof dwellings in its shadow. The UCC missionaries lived in this house. They were served by Korean cooks and chauffeured by Korean drivers through to the 1970s.[63] Language also remained an important barrier. UCC missionaries themselves acknowledged that they had failed to achieve a proficiency that would allow them to work with their Korean colleagues in their own linguistic territory.[64] For Lee Nam Kyoo and Chung Yong Chul, friendship would only become possible if the missionaries gave up their position of power and privilege within the PROK body. To some degree, this was the vision that Thomas, despite her paternalism, was also articulating. But to what degree could she or others from the UCC truly overcome paternalistic attitudes and neo-colonial structures?

Thomas and the UCC Korea Mission continued to struggle with these issues throughout the 1960s. By 1969, UCC missionary Morley Hammond insisted that the PROK already had much more control over UCC mission funds and institutions than other Korean churches had in relation to overseas missionary churches. Yet clearly this was not enough. As Hammond admitted in his year-end report, few concrete solutions had been found for ending the acrimonious debate that began nine years earlier. Rather he described progress in the "mood," and a deepening sense

of mutual understanding that might serve as a springboard for concrete steps in the decade to come. There was, he said,

> an atmosphere of mutual expectation for the future, accompanied by conviction and confidence that the shackles of old patterns must and can be broken for mission in the seventies. There remained, then, the business of transforming this mood into practical decision and action.[65]

The following decade did indeed see meaningful action to resolve the uneven relations between UCC missionaries and PROK Christians in Korea – but not without a crescendo in the debate and increased tensions between PROK leaders and UCC missionaries. The end result was the dissolution of the UCC Korea Mission. Those missionaries who remained, as Chung Yong Chul had suggested, worked directly for the Korean church. In addition, all UCC mission property was transferred to the PROK, including the big house in Seoul. There were other meaningful changes as well, including, perhaps, a change in attitude on the part of some Canadian missionaries. But this was something for which the Koreans in the relationship had to continue to fight.

The 1960s represent an important decade in the history of Canadian missionary activity, a time when political movements, theological developments, economic realities, and postcolonial consciousness combined to create a new context in which the missionary enterprise – a mainstay of Canadian religious life for generation – was being fundamentally challenged. Between the 4.19 student uprising and the end of the decade, lingering Korean unhappiness with UCC missionaries' policies, practices, and attitudes were aired and conversations were initiated. These conversations forced UCC missionaries and their supervising bodies to face ongoing patterns of colonialism that lingered behind new policies wrapped in progressive theological language. The interactions of Wilna Thomas, a pioneer for women leaders in the church, offer us a valuable glimpse of the complex and contradictory dynamics of the mission field during this period. This history is of value today in an age when colonial attitudes in church and Canadian society continue to impact relationships with non-Anglo, non-white individuals and communities despite the fact that they are often disguised by progressive discourse.

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19. Smith, *Tree Planted by the Water*, 4.

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52. Ruth Compton Brouwer provides one example of this dynamic: Brouwer, "When Missions Became Development," 669.

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56. Translation of an article in the third issue of the *Presbyterian News* by Rev. Chung Yong Chul entitled "Having Read Mission Policy Report," Box # 14, Accession # 83.011C, UCC Archives, Toronto.

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59. Andrew Walls provides this quote from a famous speech delivered fifty-three years earlier: "Through all the ages to come the Indian church will rise up in gratitude to attest the heroism and self-denying labours of the missionary body. You have given your goods to feed the poor. You have given your bodies to be burned. We also ask for love. Give us FRIENDS!" Andrew F. Walls, *The Cross Cultural Process in Christian History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002), 70.

60. Notebook on Trinidad, 1960, Wilna Thomas fonds, Trinidad notes File #2-1, Accession #94.053C, UCC Archives, Toronto. Trinidadian church leader Roy Neehall "admitted that there was not a real sense of fellowship between Trinidadians and Canadians. They do not enjoy each other – share their difficulties with each other."

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Navigating Tradition: The Life and Leadership of *Ältester* Herman D.W. Friesen, 1908-1969

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Born on 4 February 1908, on a homestead located on Treaty 6 lands in the small Mennonite village of Blumenheim forty kilometres north of Saskatoon, Herman D.W. Friesen's life, along with his wife Margaretha's, reflected many of the patterns that characterized the experience of homesteading pioneers in rural Saskatchewan during the first half of the twentieth century. During this period, the newly formed province of Saskatchewan underwent massive change as government leaders aggressively sought settlers to populate and farm its wide open grasslands. By 1911, it had become the third largest province in Canada. Rapid change continued during the next five decades as modernization impacted agriculture, transportation, and communication. By 1960, Herman and Margaretha had experienced changes and were living in a world that as young children they never imagined possible.

Herman and Margaretha were not only the children of immigrant settlers, they were also a part of the Old Colony Mennonite Church. During the watershed decade of the 1960s, at the age of fifty-four, Herman became the *Ältester* (Bishop) of this faith community. As a bi-vocational farmer and spiritual leader, his story simultaneously offers a unique window into *both* the agrarian transitions that took place in the province, as well as the experience of one immigrant religious community as it struggled to navigate the tumultuous changes taking place during the first half of the twentieth century. As the spiritual leader of the Old Colony Mennonite Church during the 1960s, Friesen was faced with the challenge

of carefully navigating adherence to cultural and religious traditions and the need to adapt to a new, and ever-changing cultural context. The internal tensions created by such intersection and contradiction are amplified within a religious community that considered it essential to maintain a visible (and uniform) separation from a sometimes hostile and intensely individualistic modern society.[1] This article focuses on one aspect of Herman Friesen's life and leadership, namely the significance of his refusal to endorse a perpetual strategy of migration and geographical isolation as markers of Christian faithfulness within the Old Colony Mennonite community.

The story of Herman and Margaretha also has considerable personal interest for me: they are my maternal grandparents. My final memories of Grampa are etched with vivid clarity into my childhood memory, and have to do with the day during harvest in September 1969 when my parents received the terrible news of his tragic death as the result of a farm tractor accident. I was only ten years old at the time. Almost three decades later, following the death of my grandmother in 1997, I became aware of the existence of my grandfather's sermon collection. Among the sixty sermons, all hand-written in German gothic script, were sermons dating back to 1833 that had been used by Mennonite ministers in southern Russia. No comparable collection of Old Colony Mennonite sermons exists in any archive. From that point onwards, I knew that I wanted to use them as the basis for a writing project featuring the Old Colony Mennonites in Saskatchewan, which recently culminated in the publication of a biography.[2] Informing the methodological approach of the biography is the idea that life stories are well told when, as Michael Armstrong Crouch puts it, they "capture the relationships between the individual and society, the local and the national, the past and present and the public and private experience."[3]

The Old Colony Mennonite Church in Saskatchewan

Herman Friesen's life story, and the significance of his leadership, cannot be understood without reference to the history of the Old Colony Mennonite Church in western Canada, and its central role in the life of its members. Both Herman and Margaretha's parents were part of a migration of approximately 18,000 Low German-speaking Mennonites from southern Russia (present day Ukraine) to North America during the 1870s, of which approximately 7,500 settled in southern Manitoba. Eager to

attract new immigrants, the Canadian government promised the Mennonites exemption from military service, and the freedom to educate their children in their own private schools.[4] The ones who came to be known as the Old Colony Mennonites settled on the west side of the Red River in townships reserved by the Canadian government exclusively for Mennonite settlement. Here the new settlers tried to replicate their open-field village way of life in order to preserve intact their communal and religious traditions.

Two decades later, some began investigating the possibility of moving westward with the hope of finding additional tracts of homestead land in isolated locations. This search led many to resettle on the Hague-Osler Reserve, a four-township area located north of Saskatoon that was designated for their use in 1895. By 1910, the Old Colony Mennonite Church was the largest Mennonite denomination in Canada.

The church, led by a hierarchical (and patriarchical) structure of ministers led by the *Ältester*, determined the way of life for its members. Of particular note for the story of the Friesen family was *Ältester* Jacob Wiens, who was appointed as *Ältester* in 1900. Well-respected for his chiropractic skills as well as his veterinarian and agricultural knowledge, his dedication as a church leader sometimes expressed itself in rather strict, uncompromising and autocratic ways: for example, he demanded the use of a girdle-like garment for women when attending church as an essential feature of modesty; he insisted that church members live according to a vow made in 1916 by all Old Colony ministers to ban use of the automobile forever; and despite considerable pressure from within and without the church, he resolutely refused to allow church members to send their children to English-language public schools.[5]

The latter directive resulted in a major conflict with the provincial government over the meaning of the federal government's guarantee to the Mennonites regarding the freedom to educate their own children. In 1908, a provincial Commission of Inquiry Regarding Public Education investigated the Mennonite resistance to public schools, and sternly warned Wiens to stop excommunicating members whose children attended public schools.[6] The conflict escalated further prior to the First World War at about the same time as Herman Friesen began attending the German-language church school in the village of Blumenheim. Heightened suspicions about the presence of a large number of German-speaking settlers, an intensely patriotic Protestantism driven by a potent cocktail of nationalism, anti-Catholicism and xenophobia, hailed the public school

system as the primary means for transforming the polyglot population in western Canada into patriotic Canadians.

The election in 1916 of a new premier in Saskatchewan, William M. Martin, who had made English-language schools a major plank in his election platform, solidified the provincial government's resolve to destroy all non-English language parochial schools, including the German-language schools operated by the Old Colony Mennonite Church, by passing legislation making attendance in English-language public schools compulsory. This was "part of a consistent national policy aimed at the assimilation of ethnics to safeguard national unity and cultural uniformity."[7]

Despite appeals to the federal government to intervene, petitions to the provincial governments to relent, and several unsuccessful attempts to negotiate compromises, prosecution of Old Colony Mennonites who refused to comply began in selected areas in 1918 (for example in Aberdeen) and continued till the mid-1920s. Between 1918 and 1925 the number of school attendance prosecutions of Saskatchewan Mennonites exceeded 6,000. During a three-year period (1923-1925), there were 1,400 convictions in six school districts in the Hague-Osler area alone.[8] Penalties were mostly fines, but some Old Colony Mennonite members were also imprisoned, a practice that was quickly discouraged for fear of creating "martyrs;" but it was not entirely discontinued. The fines were not insignificant ($4 per month per child), and created considerable hardship for pioneering farmers who were cash-poor, but still expected to pay school taxes as well as a church levy to finance their own schools. Some were forced to sell cattle and land in order to make the payments. In 1920-21 alone, $26,000 was collected in eleven Mennonite districts.[9] Those unable to pay had goods seized by the police, and sold at public auction.

Old Colony Mennonite parents were caught on the horns of a difficult dilemma: if they refused to send their children to the new English public schools they risked destitution.[10] Yet if parents sent their children to public schools they risked being reprimanded by, and possibly excommunicated from, the church, which also had severe economic and social implications.

It became increasingly obvious to Old Colony Mennonite leaders that the provincial government had no intention of relenting in its efforts to enforce their policy of compulsory attendance at provincially accredited schools in which English would be the sole language of instruction. The sense of betrayal and hopelessness felt by the Mennonites toward the

provincial government prompted them to organize meetings to consider an alternative course of action. In 1919 delegates were selected and given the mandate of finding a new homeland. Having finalized Mexico as the destination, church leaders began appealing to a religious vision that evoked the biblical story of the ancient children of Israel who were called to leave their positions as slaves in Egypt in order to enter a promised land filled with "milk and honey" to convince members to relocate. Isaak M. Dyck, who eventually became an *Ältester* in Mexico, depicted Canada as a "heathen" nation shaped by the hegemonic, imperial culture of the "all-British Empire" with its "inextinguishable enthusiasm for the art of war." Canadian historian Royden Loewen notes how the migration of the 1920s was seen as an addition to the "grand narrative of Mennonite diaspora" alongside the story of sixteenth-century Anabaptist martyrs, and ancestors who had courageously taken up the "walking staff" from Holland, to Prussia, to Russia, to Canada, and now to Mexico.[11] Encasing the migration with such religious meaning made it much more difficult for church members to resist. Those who refused were suspected of shirking their religious duty because of pride, or the pursuit of wealth, or a preference for assimilation into a culture of modernity. Even more seriously, those who did not obey the directive to relocate were no longer considered to be part of the Church. The refusal was interpreted as a serious breach of the vow of fidelity made to the church and to God at baptism, an act that would have negative consequences for all of eternity.[12]

The conflict over private versus public schools culminated in a mass exodus of 8,000 Old Colony Mennonite people from Manitoba and Saskatchewan to Mexico during the 1920s. This included two-thirds (3,340) of the Old Colony Mennonite members in Manitoba, one-third (1,100) of those members living near Swift Current, and only about one quarter (1,000) of those members living near Hague-Osler.[13] (These membership numbers do not include those who had not been baptized, namely children.) The migration to Mexico was a defining moment for the Old Colony Mennonites in Canada. The move decimated their numbers and the strength of their influence, and created deep divisions within families and between church members.

The migration left a serious leadership vacuum among those who stayed behind; only two ministers remained in Canada, and they bore a particularly heavy burden of severe criticism from their ministerial colleagues who considered them to be traitors. The pressure to assimilate did not diminish, and after some reorganization, the new leaders of the Old

Colony Mennonite Church in Saskatchewan again began investigating the possibility of relocating to more isolated frontiers as a response to governmental involvement in education and to other changes taking place within Canadian society. From the 1920s onwards, every *Ältester* encouraged the search for alternative isolated geographical locations in which they could live with minimal governmental interference. In the early 1930s, an Old Colony Mennonite minister led a group to the La Crete and Fort Vermilion region of northern Alberta, which was beyond the boundaries of any public school district.[14] Smaller groups went to various locations in Saskatchewan such as Carrot River, Swan Plain, Mullingar and Sonningdale. In 1940, another minister (Heinrich Bueckert) accompanied a group of church members to Burns Lake, BC. In 1953, church leaders began negotiating the acquisition of a 20,000 acre tract of land near Prespatou, BC, approximately eighty kilometres north of Fort St. John, BC. The deal was finalized in 1961, and resulted in more than one hundred families relocating (approximately twenty-five percent of the church membership in the Hague-Osler area at the time).

The post-1920 migrations coincided with a series of unprecedented changes in the province that made it virtually impossible to maintain the level of isolation and uniformity among church members that had been possible in the past. By 1930 radios were introduced in many Canadian homes, and shortly after telephones became widely accepted. In 1949, as more technological innovations were introduced in agriculture, the provincial government made plans to create a province-wide electrical grid that would include vast rural areas and a province-wide grid road system to facilitate the growing demand for automobiles and trucks. In 1944 Saskatchewan only had 222 kilometres of hard surfaced roads, and the vast majority of farms were not accessible by gravel roads. In 1948 only 1,500 farms were connected to the electrical grid, mostly because of their proximity to the lines that linked cities and larger towns. By 1966, less than two decades later, this number had increased to 66,000. The cumulative effect of these developments meant that avoiding cultural assimilation was becoming more difficult, and for some less desirable.

A New Direction

The migration to Prespatou, BC, which involved four ministers including *Ältester* Abram Loewen, again significantly diminished church leadership, thereby setting the stage for Herman Friesen's election as

minister in 1962, and shortly thereafter as *Ältester*. For multiple reasons, he was an unusual candidate for selection as *Ältester,*[15] and his approach marked a dramatic departure from the attitudes and strategies promoted by Old Colony Mennonite leaders to date. Despite having grown up in an environment filled with intense governmental conflict, and with considerable suspicion toward those outside of the walls of the church, he was the first *Ältester* in Saskatchewan who was less separationist, who did not organize, or even advocate for, another migration, and who tried to guide the church in a strategy of gradual cultural accommodation. His openness to a greater degree of cultural integration represented, at least implicitly, a rejection of the "pure church" vision that had been expressed through a strategy of perpetual migration.

As leaders within the Old Colony Mennonite Church continued their struggle to maintain a way of life that minimized the influence of Canadian culture, and as church leaders organized successive migrations during the first half of the twentieth century, Herman steadily maintained an almost paradoxical combination of leadership roles in both the church and the surrounding community. For over three decades, starting when he was only a young school-age boy, Herman had a front row seat in the life of the church from which he watched the promotion and the impact of successive migrations on individual members of the Old Colony Mennonite Church, and on the church as a whole. His musical talent and commitment to the church resulted in his election as a song leader while only a young man in the early 1930s. In addition to leading music on Sunday mornings, he was often asked to assist with song leading at other church functions. This was a highly visible role within the internal life of the church, and it enabled close proximity to church leaders that provided a vantage point from which to watch and listen to their internal deliberations and decisions.

In addition to his involvement within the church, Herman was elected in 1936 as a public school board trustee for Saskatchewan School District #99, only a decade after the controversial exodus to Mexico on the part of many co-religionists. His motivation for participating in local community politics is not clear: Was there some regret over educational opportunities that he had missed? Was he disappointed with the way the conflicts over private schools and the Mexico migration were handled and he wanted to work toward a different kind of solution for his children that was less divisive? It may be that he saw this role as a way of doing his part in taking responsibility for the education of his children. Serving as a trustee gave him ample opportunity to monitor and influence what was

taking place in public school classrooms. Or it may simply have been that he saw participation as a key to the social and economic well-being of his family and the community at large. Although his role as a trustee sometimes meant enforcing attendance requirements on other Old Colony Mennonites, it is not known whether he was ever censured by church leaders for his involvement as a trustee, or whether church members were generally quietly grateful to have one of their own present as an influence. The scope of Herman's involvement in local community leadership expanded still further in 1946 when he was elected as a councillor in the Rural Municipality of Warman.

During his twenty years of involvement in local politics, Herman Friesen was involved in numerous issues and decisions that impacted the Old Colony Mennonite community. In addition to providing Herman with opportunities for developing skills in the area of public speaking and leadership, this experience also broadened his awareness of governmental processes, and significantly increased his network of relationships within the region. It made him more comfortable in accepting a degree of modernization and Canadianization. The information he obtained, particularly from his role as a municipal councillor, often helped him in the development of his own modern dairy operation as it gave him a better understanding of what was being planned for rural regions (for example, governmental plans for the rural electrification and road improvements in the late 1940s and early 1950s, and information about farming innovations). Despite ongoing suspicion about the potentially negative impact of radio and television, he was often an early adopter of new agricultural technology. The experience gained from leadership experience both within the church and outside of the church deeply influence his views on cultural integration, community involvement, and church leadership.

His election at the age of fifty-four in 1962 as minister, and as *Ältester* shortly thereafter, brought an end to Herman Friesen's public service involvement. It did not take long for him to make his impact felt within the Old Colony Mennonite Church. Although he was aware of ongoing discussions at the time among other Old Colony Mennonite communities in Canada about locations for new colonies that were being considered at the time (for example, in British Honduras and Bolivia), he neither promoted these ventures, nor did he try to discourage people from participating if they were so inclined.[16] He wisely recognized the potential for division if he were to take a strong position either for or against such migrations. Some members in the church had relatives who had recently

migrated elsewhere, or who were themselves sympathetic to the strategy of migration, but were themselves unable to do so. This group was generally not interested in seeing changes take place in the life of the church. Other members in the church, particularly younger adults, were not interested in migration or increased isolation as they were establishing roots in the area not only as farmers, but also as labourers and tradesmen in and around urban centres. Many of them were eager to see the church adopt some of the practices already in use in other Mennonite denominations particularly in the areas of music and the use of the English language.

With complete cultural isolation no longer a possibility (or even a desirable option), Herman's challenge as *Ältester* was to navigate the changes facing the Old Colony Mennonite community as it gradually moved away from an agrarian village way of life toward adopting a way of life that permitted a greater degree of accommodation and engagement with modern Canadian society. The persistence of an agrarian-based sense of identity gradually diminished as more and more members began living outside of the original villages and even within the city of Saskatoon. During this time, the *Ältester* played a key role in moderating the pace of change – too fast would alienate those still interested in preserving intact their church experience, too slow would mean increasing to a stream the steady trickle of individuals opting for other churches in the region.[17]

Herman's sudden death in 1969 due to a horrific farm tractor accident curtailed his ministry after only seven short years and brought to an abrupt end the strategy of gradual accommodation among the Old Colony Mennonites in Saskatchewan. A longstanding minister who had participated in a move to Fort Vermilion, AB during the 1950s as well as the migration to Prespatou during the early 1960s, Julius Ens, returned from the Fort St. John area to Saskatchewan to become the new *Ältester*. He was more reserved and conservative as a leader, and emphasized a return to, and the preservation of, historic traditions and practices. It would only be speculation to consider how this religious community might have fared if it had maintained the course set during Herman's tenure.

Conclusion

To date very little scholarly attention has been given to the story of those Old Colony Mennonites in Saskatchewan during the middle of the twentieth century who did not endorse a strategy of migration.[18] The story of Herman Friesen therefore provides an update to prairie-based history of

the Old Colony Mennonites in Canada that has often been curtailed after the migration to Mexico during the 1920s. The experience of those who stayed, and the experience of those Old Colony Mennonites who have returned from Mexico to Canada since the 1970s (more than 45,000),[19] needs to be incorporated more fully into Mennonite historiography in Canada. The story of Herman Friesen adds a small piece to the much larger historiographical narrative of a traditionalist Low German-speaking "village among nations" that has become, in the words of Royden Loewen, "a 'virtual' transnational community consisting of other Low German speakers, kinship networks, and bearers of a common historical narrative of a people of diaspora."[20] Herman Friesen's experience is a part of this larger story, but it does not fit neatly into the general characterization of this transnational "village" as those who have consistently rejected the "trajectory of modernization" and participation in nation building. Friesen's biography adds texture to the overarching narrative of perpetual migration by exemplifying an instance of an Old Colony *Ältester* whose parishioners chose not to migrate, and who tried instead to navigate a gradual process of accommodation to the changes taking place in Saskatchewan during the first half of the twentieth century. While the Old Colony Mennonites who remained in Canada, like their coreligionists who migrated, did not accept the dominant progressive, liberal nation-building vision of Canada at an ideological level, they nevertheless participated economically, and in some instances contributed, as did Herman Friesen, in local community building.

Endnotes

1. The communal dimension of Old Colony Mennonite soteriology reinforced the necessity of maintaining a uniform response. Calvin Redekop notes, "The highest goal is the goal of salvation, which is understood as acceptance by God as faithful people rather than [only] as faithful individuals" (Calvin W. Redekop, *The Old Colony Mennonites: Dilemmas of Ethnic Minority Life* [Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1969], 35). An individual's deviance can put the community at risk, at least if deviation is allowed to persist and be copied by other people. Deviance from communal ideals is understood as a manifestation of worldliness: conformity is enforced by the threat of excommunication and social ostracism. The significance of uniformity is reinforced still further by the Old Colony Mennonite self-conception as God's chosen (and pure) people who had covenanted to remain faithful to God and to their church.

2. This article is based upon a book manuscript that was in press at the time of the 2018 CSCH annual conference. Permission to use excerpts has been granted by the University of Regina Press. See Bruce L. Guenther, *The Ältester: Herman D.W. Friesen, A Mennonite Leader in Changing Times* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2018).

3. Michael Armstrong Crouch*, Prepared for the Twentieth-Century? The Life of Emily Bonnycastle Mayne (Aimée) 1872-1958* (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 36.

4. Numerous Mennonite historians have examined the story of this Mennonite migration in detail: see for example E.K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba* (Altona, MB: D.W. Friesen and Sons Ltd., 1955); Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974); and Adolf Ens, *Subjects or Citizens? The Mennonite Experience in Canada, 1870-1925* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1994).

5. Leonard Doell, "*Ältester* Jakob Wiens (1855-1932)," *Preservings* 29 (2009): 15.

6. See Alan Guenther, "'Barred from heaven and cursed forever': Old Colony Mennonites and the 1908 Commission of Inquiry Regarding Public Education," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2007): 129-148.

7. Francis, *In Search of Utopia,* 233.

8. Ens, *Subjects or Citizens*, 147-153.

9. William Janzen, "The 1920s Migration of Old Colony Mennonites from the Hague-Osler Area to Mexico," *Mennonite Historical Society of Saskatchewan Occasional Papers* (2006): 9; and Ens, *Subjects or Citizens*, 147-153.

10. In 1920 Johan F. Peters of Neuanlage wrote a letter to Premier Martin describing the dilemma facing Old Colony parents with school-age children: "If we send our children to public schools we violate God's commands in not holding to that which we promised our God and Saviour at holy baptism. If we do not send them, we offend against your laws. Does Mr. Martin want us to transgress God's laws in order to keep his? Oh how difficult it is to be a true Mennonite." Cited in Leonard Doell and Jacob G. Guenter, *Hague-Osler Mennonite Reserve 1895-1995* (Saskatoon: Hague-Osler Reserve Book Committee, 1995), 657.

11. Royden Loewen, *Village Among Nations: "Canadian" Mennonites in a Transnational World, 1916-2006* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 14-17; and Royden Loewen, "A Village Among the Nations: Low German Migrants and the Idea of Transnationalism in the History of Mennonites in Canada," *Conrad Grebel Review* 33, no. 1 (Winter 2015): 29-48.

12. This is explicitly spelled out by Johan P. Wall, one of the ministers leading the migration (Johan P. Wall, letter to C.B. Dirks, September 10, 1933, in Herman D.W. Friesen Personal Papers). See also Titus F. Guenther, "Theology of Migration: The *Ältesten* Reflect," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 18 (2000): 164-176.

13. The lower level of participation on the part of Old Colony Mennonite members in the Hague-Osler region was due to a variety of factors including the inability to obtain a single tract of land in Mexico that was large enough to include everyone. Negative reports of hardship, banditry and extreme poverty from the first to leave Canada prompted some in the Hague-Osler area to reconsider; others simply couldn't afford to relocate due to the financial impact of school attendance fines, which was the case for Margaretha's parents. Herman's father opted not to move, in part, because of the death of his wife in 1921 and re-marriage the following year.

14. Delbert Plett, *Old Colony Mennonites in Canada*, 1875 to 2000 (Steinbach: Crossway Publications Inc., 2001), 156-157.

15. At age fifty-four, Herman was considerably older than almost all other Old Colony ministers in Saskatchewan at the time of their election. The usual practice was to elect men as ministers in their late thirties or forties. Although it is not explicitly stated as a church policy, it may be that, despite obvious leadership ability, the residual shame associated with Herman and Margaretha's prenuptial pregnancy disqualified Herman from being considered as a potential candidate for ministry sooner. See Hans Werner, "'A mild form of deviancy': Premarital Sex among Early Manitoba Mennonites," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 26 (2008): 149-150.

16. Several migrations to British Honduras and Bolivia were initiated by Old Colony Mennonites living in La Crete, AB during the 1960s. See Dawn S. Bowen, "To Bolivia and Back: Migration and its Impact on La Crete, Alberta," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 22 (2004): 59-82.

17. Herman's own family of twelve adult children represent a kind of spectrum of the different cultural tensions experienced and life choices made by those in the Old Colony Mennonite community. Their experience of cultural integration resembles that of other ethnic immigrant groups in Saskatchewan

as they participated in the transformation of rural Saskatchewan during the first half of the twentieth century.

18. Exceptions include Leo Driedger, "A Sect in a Modern Society: A Case Study, the Old Colony Mennonites of Saskatchewan" (M.A. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1955); and Richard Friesen, "The Old Colony Mennonite Settlements in Saskatchewan: A Study in Settlement Change" (M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1975). Worthy of mention also is the mammoth volume of information compiled by Doell and Guenter, *Hague-Osler Mennonite Reserve 1895-1995*.

19. Public perceptions around the return of these Mennonites from Mexico has often been shaped by media reports featuring incidents of domestic violence, and participation in violent drug smuggling gangs. See for example, "Mennonite Mob," *Fifth Estate*, CBC, 10 March 1992 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Buf-yaN_tE), which featured Old Colony Mennonites involved in smuggling vast quantities of marijuana into Canada; Andrew Mitrovica and Susan Bourette, "The Wages of Sin: How God-Fearing Old Colony Mennonites – 'the plain people' – Have Become Some of Canada's Biggest and Most Dangerous Drug Smugglers," *Saturday Night*, April 2004, 28-36; and more recently a bizarre fictional crime drama aired by CBC as a TV mini-series, *Pure*, in early 2017 (http://www.cbc.ca/pure).

20. Royden Loewen, "A Village Among the Nations: Low German Migrants and the Idea of Transnationalism in the History of Mennonites in Canada," *Conrad Grebel Review* 33, no. 1 (Winter 2015): 31.

"Getting their Story into the South": Project North and the United Church of Canada, 1975-1987[1]

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When he saw the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (hereafter CBC) television crew waiting at the door for him, Hugh McCullum knew he was not walking into a typical United Church of Canada committee meeting. The CBC was interested in controversy, and by inviting both the camera crew and McCullum of the Project North coalition to its 1977 Calgary meeting the Northern Coordinating Committee (hereafter NCC) of the national United Church was hoping to provide the CBC just what it wanted: Project North on the defensive, for all of Canada to see.

Those who have attended Canadian Society of Church History meetings over the years, will know that in-house church fights are nothing new. Papers have featured Quaker pamphleting wars, Church of England divines sniping at one another, and of course infamous inter-Methodist battles with guns drawn. However, in the late twentieth century, hostilities in United Church national committees tended to be more muted. In 1977 it was no secret that the NCC, under the auspices of the Division of Mission in Canada, was not sorry to be putting Project North, which also reported to the Division of Mission in Canada, on the spot. How it came to this impasse might be simply an amusing anecdote, lost in the minute books, except that it relates to the United Church's responses to indigenous issues. It gives a window, I believe, into an early moment on the path to "truth and reconciliation." In this paper I explore the conflict between these two groups by describing the history of each and suggesting how recent discussions of settler/indigenous relations might help analyze the

conflict.

The "Unjust Society" and Project North

Across Canada in the early 1970s aboriginal communities were organizing. As the brilliant young Cree leader Harold Cardinal declared at the time, "an angry, new" indigenous leadership was rising up against centuries of oppression. [2] This storm of protest helped force the federal Liberal government to rescind its "White Paper" proposals to abolish Indian treaties and the Indian Act, to the dismay of Pierre Trudeau, who apparently retorted: "Fine. We'll keep them in the ghetto as long as they want."[3] A series of assertions of territorial rights and nationhood put Canada on notice that indigenous people intended to control their destiny in ways unimagined only a decade before.

Canada's largest churches meanwhile had also slowly shifted their attitudes. By the late 1960s, they had begun to move away from their mid-century focus on social services and community development – an approach Hugh McCullum labeled "Christian hamper syndrome," and had started to reckon with indigenous activism and the call for justice. In 1969 the Anglican General Synod pledged to engage in a partnership of solidarity and equality with its native constituency. In the United Church E.E. Joblin, responsible for the national oversight of "Indian Work," noted in his 1969 report to the Board of Home Missions that the church's contributions to Indian welfare had been at best "remedial," and that compassion alone was not enough.[4]

By 1975 Canada's Anglican, United, and Roman Catholic churches had all made formal statements that the rights of indigenous peoples "to participate as equals" took priority "over any development projects being planned for lands which had not been given up through treaties."[5] "Christian hamper syndrome" would not cut it any longer; the stage was set for a new approach. Hugh McCullum and Karmel Taylor McCullum were ready with a proposal. Hugh, a journalist, editor of the *Anglican Churchman*, had grown up in the Yukon, the son of an Anglican minister. He and Karmel had travelled extensively in the north, attending indigenous assemblies and resource development hearings. They had discussed indigenous issues with church leaders and were in the process of writing *This Land is Not for Sale*, a book explaining a variety of aboriginal justice issues, primarily for church audiences.[6] In the summer of 1975 staff representatives of the United, Anglican, and Roman Catholic churches

agreed to form an "Interchurch Project on Northern Development" (ICPOND) with four national staff persons as the "administrative committee," and the McCullums as the "coordinators."[7]

Soon after, the name "Project North" emerged, mercifully, as the coalition's shorthand title.[8] The three denominations contributed equally to finance the project, which they intended to run for one year, but which in fact continued for twelve. The eagerness of Canada's three largest churches to work together – including across the recently impenetrable Catholic/Protestant divide – bears witness to the strength of ecumenical enthusiasm in 1970s Canada. Other Christian denominations quickly climbed aboard. Lutheran, Mennonite, Quaker, Baptists, Disciples of Christ, and Christian Reformed Church representatives became involved over the years; some of them devoting substantial financial and personnel resources to the project. Thus, at least 95 percent of Canadians in the 1970s and 1980s were connected through their church affiliation to this shared endeavour in indigenous relations.[9]

While Project North's work shifted over the twelve years of its existence, its commitments remained the same: to research and document issues facing northern indigenous people, as identified by aboriginal groups themselves; to communicate these issues to the "south," through a monthly newsletter and the development of about sixty regional support groups – mostly in southern Canada; and to help the churches act in solidarity with indigenous communities. The coordinators and church staff, operating on a modest budget, maintained an astonishing pace. They spoke at denominational gatherings, public meetings and debates. They strategized with indigenous leaders, met with oil company executives, and – the litmus test for any activists worth their salt – were investigated by the RCMP internal security branch, which wished to determine if their support for the Dene nation was subversive. They traveled from small Arctic communities to Washington DC to discuss pipelines and energy issues.[10]

Project North was formed as the Berger Commission hearings of 1975-76, on a proposed natural gas pipeline through the Mackenzie Valley, was introducing the public to indigenous voices that most Canadians had never heard before.[11] In 1977 the Berger report[12] recommended a ten-year moratorium to settle indigenous land claims and to set aside conservation areas before commencing pipeline construction. This recommendation was precisely the outcome sought by the indigenous communities with whom Project North worked. The force of and reaction to this report was electric. Change was afoot, and the news media were

curious. Predictably, oil and gas exploration firms were loudly vocal in their opposition to the moratorium. They had found a treasure hidden in a field and were not about to let it escape their grasp. Industry supporters accused Project North of being southern do-gooders, unwilling to let northern aboriginal people develop their economies. More surprising, perhaps, was the hostility that emerged from within the head office of the United Church of Canada: the NCC.

"The Real North" – the Northern Coordinating Committee

The Division of Mission in Canada created the NCC – consisting of six members, none of whom were indigenous – just two months before the formation of Project North. Its goal was to support United Church ministries in communities across northern Canada, especially the many resource-based towns that had sprung up in the past decade. The group discussed ministry leadership options (such as fly-in clergy, or company chaplaincy), conferred with other denominations, and sent "deputations" to southern cities to describe the hopes and challenges of northern resource communities and to recruit clergy for northern towns.

The NCC was immediately suspicious of Project North, as they noted in their September 1975 minutes: "We are concerned that this project will produce biased information and information that will have the stamp of approval of the 'United Church of Canada' . . . We expect to be informed of the Committee, but we will watch it with grave concern."[13] The committee worried "that many in the 'South' do not understand the 'real north' and that many of them are listening to a few Native voices rather than coming to a broad understanding of the true Native concerns of the North and the concerns of the whites who are there."[14] The NCC refused to support the pipeline moratorium, even after their sponsoring body, the Division of Mission in Canada, had passed a motion endorsing the moratorium.[15]

Showdown in Calgary

Then came the 1977 Calgary meeting of the Northern Coordinating Committee, to which Hugh McCullum was invited. The NCC minute-taker spared no detail: "Hugh McCullum then arrived and was welcomed to the meeting by the Chairman. There was some hostility, at first, particularly over the presence of the CBC." Why the CBC? Project North was closely

aligned with the Dene of the Northwest Territories, who were unable to convince the Métis Association to join their Brotherhood or to support the pipeline moratorium. The CBC saw a story: the churches' prized Project North doing battle with the beleaguered Métis. When the committee members suggested that once the media had left there could be "some honest discussion," McCullum indicated that "this might be a little difficult considering that we seem to have polarized our present situation."[16] End of showdown. No guns, or even fists, admittedly, yet the fact that one national church committee was ready to throw *another* national church committee under the bus in such a public fashion does suggest an unusual pugnacity.

Shortly after this encounter, the United Church's national governing body, the General Council, voted to support the pipeline moratorium. Animosity continued, however. Project North complained that the NCC was receiving almost double Project North's annual funding from the national church.[17] The Division of Mission in Canada, somewhat embarrassed by its renegade committee, renamed and re-mandated the NCC in 1980. It became the "Forum on the North," and church staff expressed the belief that the new group, focused on congregational support, was "trying to understand" the issues.[18] However, the Forum continued to criticize Project North, claiming northern people's voices were not being heard.[19] By 1986 the Forum on the North included two indigenous participants, and was able, grudgingly, to pass a motion asking Labrador Presbytery to consult with Project North regarding low level military flights – but adding in the minutes that Project North did not "know the issue of militarism well enough to be making statements."[20] In the early 1990s Forum on the North was gone, replaced with a general commitment to develop "strategies" for supporting northern congregations.[21]

By then, Project North was also gone. Pipeline issues had given way to a bevy of complex indigenous struggles, and it no longer made sense to focus solely on the "north." There was also the question of indigenous participation in the leadership of the group. As United Church minister Stan McKay put it, "We are asking if the drum has a place at the table."[22] In early 1987 Project North itself proposed disbanding the coalition at the end of the year,[23] to be replaced by a new Aboriginal Rights Coalition.

Analysis: Unsettling the Settlers

Any assessment of the Project North/Northern Coordinating Committee conflict must begin with the acknowledgement that northern indigenous leaders utilized and appreciated Project North. Throughout its mandate, they sent requests for assistance in communicating their concerns to governments, church members, and the wider Canadian public. Occasionally they asked for help in preparing arguments and in educating their own people about complex land claims issues.[24] Often they expressed appreciation. Georges Erasmus, National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, wrote to Karmel Taylor McCullum: "It's good to see the support and encouragement of Project North never diminishes. It makes our days a little easier."[25] At the 1987 conference to determine the future of the churches' indigenous work, it was secular indigenous leaders, from the Nisga'a in British Columbia to the Innu of Labrador, who expressed the gravest concerns about the potential loss that ending Project North would represent. Fred Lennarson of the Lubicon Lake Band relayed a message from Chief Bernard Ominayak: "I urge you not to go on retreat in the middle of a war."[26] For once, in their indigenous relations, the Canadian churches seemed to get it right. So, what went wrong in the United Church?

Church leaders assumed they could employ their liberal "everyone-has-a-valid-point" orientation towards an issue of colonial hegemony. A recent book on northern environmental historiography suggests that Canada's north is "not only a physical but an imagined space, with diverse ideas about where it is, who and what belongs there."[27] The Northern Coordinating Committee had also taken up the language of "many norths," and it was repeated by other church leaders.[28] *United Church Observer* articles tended to take a "Let's Listen to Both Sides" position, accusing Project North of failing "to talk to people in the oil and pipeline companies."[29] While the term "many norths" may be evocative, it can imply that all narratives – all diverse ideas about the north – have equal status.[30] Yet the narratives were not equal. The "north" of the settler United Church congregations in northern Canada was recognizable to southern Canadians in a way that the indigenous north was not. In 1974 Patricia Clarke described for *Observer* readers the burgeoning United Church in Yellowknife: "Here on the edge of civilization, the [United] church is crowded with capable, energetic young families." She introduced some of the parishioners – all white persons, including a nurse who traveled by plane

to "remote Arctic communities" where she would get "called out at three in the morning to take a loaded gun from a crazed person."[31] One can guess the implied race of the "crazed person." The north of the 1970s Yellowknife United Church: growing, vibrant, populated largely with white transplants, was one that southern United Church readers could grasp. Such congregations were of special interest, in fact, as they represented hope and new life in a church that had begun its long and ongoing decline in membership and social importance.

United Church lay leaders in the settler north were often members of the managerial class in government or the resource industries. Chris Pearson, for example, was a member of the Northern Coordinating Committee[32] and a sometime-elder in the Whitehorse United Church. He became the leader of the Yukon Progressive Conservative Party and then Premier of the Yukon. In that role he withdrew the Yukon from land claims discussions. A lawyer for the Council of Yukon Indians wrote to Clarke MacDonald, of the Division of Mission in Canada, "You may be assured that the Council for Yukon Indians has appreciated the assistance given to it by the various church organizations in Canada including the United Church through its central office. It is unfortunate the same cannot be said for the local church."[33]

By supporting a "many norths" narrative, church leaders and observers failed to distinguish race and class issues that privileged white settlers over the colonized indigenous population. Not surprisingly, those closest to Project North's work had no time for such a narrative. In an address to a meeting of the British Columbia Conference of the United Church in 1977, Hugh McCullum said:

> During the past two or three years the churches . . . have committed themselves . . . to see that [the] oppression [of native people] does not continue … And that, my brothers and sisters, has put us whether we like it or not clearly on one side of the issue. There are not two sides to the story. The prophet does not dialogue. We live the other side.[34]

Where is a big-tent, liberal church to go from there? Recent scholarship on reconciliation and reparation suggests that settlers must live inside the paradox colonialism has constructed. Adam Barker states: "Settler people who hope to become effective allies must move past the desire to re-establish comfort and ask the question, 'What do we do?' from a profoundly uncomfortable place."[35] Within a decade of the end of Project North and the Northern Coordinating Committee, the United Church –

along with other churches that had run Indian Residential Schools – would indeed be in an uncomfortable place regarding indigenous relationships. The CBC crews would again be waiting at the door, but this time they would not be waiting to confront Hugh McCullum. They would be waiting to confront a church denomination that had not been ready, in 1977, to embrace the discomfort of "living the other side."

Endnotes

1. The faculty of St Andrew's College, in partnership with indigenous scholars, is collectively authoring a book that intends to assist the United Church of Canada in honouring its Truth and Reconciliation Commission commitments. This paper forms part of the chapter I am contributing on the work of Project North. It focuses on the dispute between Project North and the United Church's Northern Coordinating Committee.

2. Harold Cardinal, *The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians* (Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig, 1969), 117.

3. See https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/the-white-paper-1969

4. "Indian Work – 1968: A Report to the Board of Home Missions – 1969," in *Manual for those Representing The United Church of Canada Among the Indians of Canada*, vol. 3, 1-2.

5. Roger Hutchinson, *Prophets, Pastors and Public Choices: Canadian Churches and the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Debate* (Waterloo: Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion, 1992), 15.

6. Hugh and Karmel McCullum, *This Land is Not for Sale: Canada's Original People and Their Land – A Saga of Neglect, Exploitation, and Conflict* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1975).

7. General Synod Archives, GS89-18, Box 2, Minutes Folder 1975-77, Interchurch Project on Northern Development (ICPOND), 31 August1975.

8. General Synod Archives, GS89-18, Box 2, Minutes Folder 1975-77, Minutes, 16 October1975.

9. Brian Clarke and Stuart Macdonald, *Leaving Christianity: Changing Allegiances in Canada since 1945* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 29, 34.

10. General Synod Archives, GS89-18, Box 2, Minutes Folder 1975-77, "Coordinators' Report," 8 April -12 May 1977.

11. See, for example, Patrick Scott, *Stories Told: Stories and Images of the Berger Inquiry* (Yellowknife: Edzo Institute, 2008), 53.

12. Thomas R. Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry* (Canada, 1977).

13. United Church of Canada Archives, Acc. 95.030C Box 40-7, NCC Minutes, Yellowknife, 6-7 September 1975.

14. United Church of Canada Archives, NCC Committee Minutes, 15-17 October 1976.

15. General Synod Archives GS89-18, Box 2, Minutes Folder 1975-77, Meeting of 27 October 1976.

16. General Synod Archives GS89-18, Box 2, Minutes Folder 1975-77, Minutes, 18-21 August 1977.

17. Letter from Michael Lewis to Howard Brox, 1978. United Church of Canada Archives, Acc 95.030C Box 41-2 – correspondence relating to Forum on the North.

18. Project North Minutes Folder, 1981-85, Meeting of 18 February 1981.

19. Ac 95.030C Box 40-8, Forum on the North, Minutes 1980-85, Minutes of 8-9 February 1985.

20. Project North Minutes, Folder 1986-87, Minutes of 18-19 March 1987.

21. Ac 95.100C Box 3-8 – DMC Mandate for Forum on the North, January 1992.

22. General Synod Archives GS89-18, Box 1.5 – Remandating (File folder 1987-1), Meeting of 23 September1987.

23. General Synod Archives GS89-18, Box 1.5, Minutes Folder 1986-87, Minutes, January 1987 Administration Committee Meeting-Personnel Committee.

24. Letter from Adeline Webber, President, Yukon Indian Women's Association to Hugh and Karmel McCullum, 19 May1976. General Synod Archives, GS89-18, Box 14, File 4.

25. Letter from Georges Erasmus to Karmel Taylor-McCullum, 26 May1987. General Synod Archives, GS89-18, Box 14, File 1.

26. General Synod Archives GS89-18, Box 1.5, Project North Meeting, 23 September 1987, Bond Place Hotel, Toronto.

27. Stephen Bocking, "Conclusion: Encounters in Northern Environmental History," in *Ice Blink: Navigating Northern Environmental History*, eds. S. Bocking and B. Martin (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2017), 511.

28. Northern Coordinating Committee Minutes, 15-17 October 1976. See also Hutchinson, *Prophets, Pastors and Public Choices*, 104, footnote 46.

29. James Taylor, "Let's Listen to Both Sides," *United Church Observer*, August 1976, 9; W. Clarke MacDonald, "Church Speaks: 'Firmly on the Side of the Poor,'" and Ronald G. Willoughby, "Business Replies: 'Using the Church to Promote a One-sided Economic View," *United Church Observer*, August 1978, 16-18, 19-21.

30. Hutchinson devotes a chapter of *Prophets, Pastors and Public Choices* to "Competing Rights and Conflicting Ways of Life," 89-110.

31. Patricia Clarke, "Yellowknife: The Suburban Church in Mukluks," *United Church Observer*, October 1974, 23.

32. GS89-18, Box 2, Minutes Folder, 1975-77, Minutes of 29 November 1976.

33. GC89-18 Box 14, File 3, Letter from Allen Lueck to Clarke MacDonald (Associate Secretary of the DMC), 18 November 1976.

34. Hugh McCullum, Speech Notes for the morning of BC Conference.

35. Adam Barker, "From Adversaries to Allies: Forging Respectful Alliances between Indigenous and Settler Peoples," in Lynne Davis, ed., *Alliances: Re/Envisioning Indigenous-Non-Indigenous Relationships* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 323.

Mabel Loomis Todd and the Will of God: Three Crises of Faith in Late Nineteenth-Century America

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On Sunday, 5 February 1871, a precocious fourteen-year old American named Mabel Loomis wrote the first entry in her new journal:

> It is a beautiful day. The distant hills look so near, and every thing has the appearance of spring. Mother and Grandma have gone to church, but last night I had a dreadful earache, and so today am not able to go out. Last summer . . . I read a book called "Stepping Heavenward." It is the Journal of a young girl, first, and goes on until she becomes quite an old lady. For three or four years I have kept a *daily* journal, but have not written in it lately, for I do not have time. So I thought I would begin this one, *not* to write in *every* day, but when I feel like it, or to put down important events.[1]

Like the earnest narrator of *Stepping Heavenward*, Mabel Loomis kept this record of her life throughout her girlhood and her marriage to the astronomer David Todd; she only stopped when she became "quite an old lady" herself. When she died in the autumn of 1932, Mabel Loomis Todd left behind as rich a record of a life as one could hope to find.

That life took fascinating turns in both the private and public spheres. As an adult, Mabel became a public intellectual. She accompanied her astronomer husband to Africa, Asia, and Europe in various attempts to observe solar eclipses. She wrote books and for magazines and newspapers; she also gave hundreds of public lectures on a wide variety of topics.

If people know about her today, however, it is because of her friendship with Emily Dickinson – the brilliant and reclusive poet of Amherst, Massachusetts. Mabel edited the first edition of Dickinson's poetry, along with Thomas Wentworth Higginson, the radical abolitionist, Civil War veteran, and amiable man of letters. More controversially, in 1882 Mabel embarked on an extramarital affair with Emily Dickinson's brother, Austin. In their journals, both Mabel and Austin Dickinson marked the beginning of that love story with a single word: "Rubicon." Apparently, they both forgot that Julius Caesar's seizure of power did not end well either for himself or anyone else. At any rate, the affair between Mabel Todd and Austin Dickinson tore the Dickinson family apart and only ended when Austin died in 1895. Mabel recorded its ups and downs with the same frankness that characterized all of her self-analysis.[2]

Mabel Loomis Todd's voluminous and obsessively honest record of her private and public lives has laid her open to a number of different interpretations: some generous and others not so much. The historian Peter Gay, for instance, praises her "indefatigable energy . . . her infectious gaiety" and her "robust and resilient character." She was, quite simply, the "most candid of historians when it came to her sexual life" – something that was bound to appeal to a biographer of Sigmund Freud. In contrast, Polly Longsworth, the editor of the love letters between Austin Dickinson and Mabel Todd, is less enthusiastic, introducing her as an "extremely self-centered personality" whose claims to "genius" were more apparent than real. The biographer Lyndall Gordon is harsher still, labeling Mabel the "Lady Macbeth of Amherst." Gordon concocts a strange reverse anthropomorphism, describing her subject as a petted, rambunctious, vaguely idiotic poodle with "warm, reddish-brown eyes," "her lower lip . . . a little open," and "fine, floppy hair elaborately coiled and puffed out." And, as is the prerogative of any writer of fiction, the novelist Jerome Charyn goes his own way, transforming Mabel into a stylish figure who skated into the lives of Emily Dickinson and her family "with one leg high in the air until she resembled a schooner with her own taut body as a mast."[3]

Most scholarly studies of Mabel Loomis Todd have focused on her sexuality and her interactions with the Dickinson family. While those topics are interesting and important, concentrating on them so completely gives only a partial view of Mabel and her world. As that first entry that Mabel wrote in her journal suggests, religion also played an important role in her life. Longsworth alludes to that fact, summarizing Mabel's spiritual

trajectory from Presbyterianism to Unitarianism to pantheism to a God forged in the image of her father, her husband, and her lover.[4] That summary is accurate enough, as far as it goes; but I am going to argue that it does not go far enough. Between 1871 and her engagement to David Todd in 1879, Mabel experienced both the everyday religion of her era and three crises of faith. Such moments of normality and religious transformation help reveal the forces that underpinned America's Protestant century and that eventually propelled Mabel Loomis Todd into Transcendentalism.

A Girl of the Gilded Age

Before coming to Mabel Loomis Todd's religious life, one should spend a few minutes getting to know her. Where did she fit in the gaudy tapestry of Gilded Age America?

Growing up at the centre of American politics in Washington, DC, Mabel and her family were typical Northerners. They were solidly Republican. Mabel made sure to record Ulysses Grant's successful bid for reelection in November 1872. In March 1874 she lamented the death of Charles Sumner, one of the Republican Party's founders. She noted that "Congress has lost her greatest statesmen; the colored people their truest friend; the cause of right and truth its noblest champion." "It is sacrilege for little popinjays to attempt to criticize such a glorious man," she added indignantly, "He is entirely too far above them for their comprehension."[5] Two years later, in 1876, Mabel noted that "the whole country" was "greatly excited" by the electoral contest between the Republican Rutherford Hayes and the Democrat Samuel Tilden, which threatened to plunge the nation into another civil war. That did not happen, of course; the two parties reached a compromise that gave the Republicans the White House, handed over the state governments of the South to the Democrats, and abandoned the region's black population to the none-too-tender mercies of Jim Crowism. For her part, Mabel was happy that a "great deal of trouble and even bloodshed" had been avoided. Perhaps, like most Northerners, she had had enough of the upheavals of Reconstruction; or maybe, as a teenager caught up in her own world, she had simply reached the limit of her political interest.[6] Mabel's reaction to a school assignment in 1871 suggests that the second possibility is just as likely as the first. She had to write a letter to President Grant about the proposed annexation of Santo Domingo; but, she declared, it was the "ri-dic-ulous-est" of

composition subjects and she put it off as long as possible.[7]

When it came to social class, the Loomis family was, once again, typical of Northern society. Mabel's parents, Eben and Mary Loomis, were proud of their middle-class background, but they had ambitions well beyond their resources. Relying solely on Eben's salary as a clerk at the Nautical Almanac Office, they were always worried about maintaining their social position. The Loomis family never owned their own home; instead, they moved from boarding house to boarding house during Mabel's youth. Mabel fully assimilated her parents' mixture of pride and anxiety. It shaped her friendships. In what was likely a subconscious attempt to compensate for her own insecurities, Mabel insisted that she was inherently superior to all of her friends. On 14 February 1871 she wrote in her journal during the noon recess at Miss Lipscomb's finishing school for girls in Georgetown. She noted that there were only a few girls in the room and that they were all "stupid." By 10 March 1872 Mabel was willing to concede that some of her classmates were not complete simpletons. Julia Moore was "very smart at saying bright things," she admitted, before adding that Julia was "too old-maidish to suit me. She can also be extremely disagreeable at times." Clara Hoover was a bit better – "quite pretty," in fact – but she was also "extremely silly and affected."[8] This streak of snobbishness in the young Mabel became a mile wide later in life. After she met her future husband, David Todd, in 1877, she noted that he was a direct descendent of America's greatest theologian, Jonathan Edwards, "so [he] has good blood." Mabel was probably unaware of the fact that, through the Edwards connection, David Todd was also related to another, altogether less savory, character: the duelist and relentless schemer, Aaron Burr.[9]

Everyday Religion

Mabel Loomis Todd's experience of everyday religion – religion as it is lived day-to-day – was no more outside the norm than her political and social identities. She was the granddaughter of Reverend John Wilder, a Protestant minister in Concord, Massachusetts.[10] Mabel's denominational identity may have changed between 1871 and 1879, but her adherence to her ancestral religion remained constant. She certainly harbored an instinctive distrust of Roman Catholicism, as was the case with most nineteenth-century Protestants. As a music enthusiast, Mabel was happy, now and then, to visit Catholic churches. On Christmas Day in 1873, she

and her mother went to one "to hear the music." That, however, was the extent of Mabel's appreciation of Catholicism. When one of her suitors announced that he feared he was "becoming a Roman Catholic," she noted that, "of course if he does, that finishes any relation with me." She had read novels like Julia Wright's sensational and "exciting" *Priest and Nun;* she knew better than to put any faith in those who made an art of "calling evil, good, and good, evil."[11] Instead, like almost all Protestants, Mabel was a person of the Book. In October 1871 she pasted a newspaper article dealing with "Facts about the Bible" in her journal. Discovered by "a prisoner condemned to solitary confinement" for three years, they were "remarkable," she declared. "The Bible," the convict had found, "contains 3,586,489 letters, 773,692 words, 31,173 verses, 1,189 chapters, and 66 books."[12] Mabel seems to have been equally traditional when it came to one of the burning intellectual issues of the day: evolution. Louis Agassiz, the biologist and ardent opponent of Charles Darwin, whom her father had heard lecture at Harvard University, died in November 1873. Mabel lamented that, "America has lost a great man." The apple likely did not fall far from the tree, in this instance.[13]

Mabel Loomis Todd was also a regular churchgoer during the 1870s. Again, that is not surprising. In the late-nineteenth century, weekly services and other church functions were important sites of youth culture – of friendship, public display, and courtship.[14] Mabel threw herself into each of those activities with teenaged zeal, often, it seemed, to the exclusion of the business of salvation.

During Mabel's teen years, friendships were broken, made, and consolidated at church. In February 1871, for instance, Mabel complained that her friend Edith had "looked as solemn as a deacon, shook her head, & walked out in the other direction" after Mabel invited her to "walk down to church" after Sunday school. "Maybe I was mistaken, and . . . she shook her head because she wanted to go with her Aunt," a hurt Mabel wrote, ". . . but I don't know, and what's more, I don't *care*!" Edith, she decided, "is a queer girl; sometimes very loving & affectionate, and sometimes very distant & tries to put on airs." Mabel had an altogether more pleasant time with down-to-earth girls like Cara Lovejoy, who went to church with her in July 1871. Such happy moments, however, could not equal the joy of a day like 8 March 1872, when Mabel and some of her friends "read, & ate taffy all day, & went to church in the evening."[15] When combined with agreeable company, candy made even the dullest church event more enjoyable. In March 1873, Mabel went with her friend Julia to a Presbyte-

rian chapel for "a congregational meeting" held to discuss the building of a new church. The two girls did not care much about the matter at hand, but they had "ever so much fun eating caramels" and chatting with a young theology student. A little under a week later, Mabel and Julia were back to attend another meeting; while the adults argued vociferously for or against a new church, Mabel, Julia, and five of their friends "sat in the little alcove at the back of the chapel, & had a gay old time." "We scarcely heard a word of any of the speeches," Mabel gleefully admitted, "and when we came out to go home, the floor was fairly white with little bits of paper, for we wrote notes, played consequences, & drew pictures all the evening."[16]

In addition to gay old times with their friends, attending church gave outgoing young people like Mabel a chance to be noticed in public and even to turn otherwise sinful vanity to religion's advantage. Always a keen clotheshorse, on 20 December 1872, Mabel noted that she "went to S[unday] S[chool] and then to the Quaker meeting in Washington." She was happy to report that her hat "was very much admired," but "not in the Quaker meeting," she made sure to add. In April 1873 Mabel was delighted at the prospect of appearing at church on Easter Sunday "in all the gorgeousness of a new dress & hat." At other times, however, she worried that she was doing herself an "injustice" in "thinking that whenever I am dressed nicely I can be good." "I really do think it adds to my good behaviour," she wrote in February 1873, "but it don't *make it*, for today I had on my pretty winter suit...but I was certainly no *better* than usual."[17] That was a sore disappointment. Mabel attempted to make up for it by taking an active role in fund-raising for the Presbyterian Church. Performing tableaux was "a very easy and pleasant way of getting money for the new church," she discovered. It helped that she had the chance to wear "a regular nun's costume, with my beads and prayer-book." Evidently, she was willing to put aside her distrust of Roman Catholicism for one night, since "I had a perfect nun's face and I *know* I looked pretty."[18]

Looking pretty was important to Mabel, who was drawn to boys throughout her teen years. Church provided an opportunity to meet and get to know handsome and eligible young men. In February 1873, she candidly noted that a Sunday school meeting "was so much fun, for all the boys were there." That did not mean that the chapel was a danger-free zone for a young woman. On 20 February 1873, one of the boys in her church, Harry Brown, took advantage of a moment before an evening

service to hand Mabel a confidential note. He accused her of leading him on: a "*sin*" that she would have "to answer for," if it was true. "I fear the sermon did not do any good, to me that night," an upset Mabel wrote. A month later, in March 1873, a trip to a Methodist chapel with her friend, Clara Hoover, offered an opportunity for revenge. She "never had such a good time," Mabel noted, "for all the boys heard that she & I were going . . . & so, left our church" and came over to the Methodists for the evening. Harry Brown "left before the meeting was over, seeing . . . all the boys, & knowing he could have no chance," a triumphant Mabel declared.[19]

Such teenaged drama was a thing of the past by the end of 1877. In December, David Todd began to court Mabel in earnest. Sundays were their day of the week. They attended church in the morning, went for a walk in the afternoon, and frequently went to another service in the evening. During those days together, Mabel tried to gauge whether David was a good match for her. She seems to have decided he was worthy by the end of April 1878. After a stroll, the couple returned to the Loomises' boarding house. They went into the parlor "sat down, & then walked up & down the room," Mabel wrote, "and, – and he – well, I couldn't help it." "I woke up the next morning," she continued, "very happy . . . & feeling not at all condemned. The next day was Easter."[20] For Mabel, this was a match made by God.

Crises of Faith

That was the one of the few certainties that lay at the end of Mabel Loomis Todd's religious odyssey during the 1870s. Despite the surface calm, the almost jolly paganism that often marked her everyday religion, the teenaged Mabel was troubled by religious doubts. That interior struggle sometimes manifested itself in public, but it was primarily played out in her mind, her soul, and her journal. Mabel's eight-year quest to find a faith that made sense to her allows us to examine the forces that propelled a typical young woman of the American middle class from Presbyterianism to Unitarianism and Transcendentalism. Those forces included friends; family; nationally celebrated and local preachers; two dead German theologians; a radical Unitarian; the intellectuals of Concord, Massachusetts; and a summer vacation at the seashore.

I will start with Mabel's friends. They set the stage for her first crisis of faith: the one that made her into a member of a church. Until 4 May 1873, Mabel was an uncommitted Presbyterian – in other words, a

Presbyterian who attended services, but who was not a covenanted member of the congregation. She was plagued by doubts about her own spiritual state. As she put it in March 1871, "I really do think I love the Saviour, and I *know* He loves me . . . and I *do* want to be good . . . I know I have a hasty temper, and I will *pray* to have Jesus help me cure it."[21] Even the beginning of a "great revival" at her church could not convince her to "unite" with the Presbyterians, despite the fact that six of her friends "and others" had decided to take the plunge. Mabel hoped that she knew "what a friend the dear Saviour is," though she remained outside the ranks of the covenanted. "I know I am very bad, get angry very often, am vain, and foolish," she reasoned, "but still, since I have Jesus for my Guide and Friend, I cannot go *far* wrong." Two years later, peer pressure was having a much more decided effect. "All the girls have been talking to me this week, about joining the church," Mabel wrote on 2 March 1873, ". . . but I did not feel myself prepared to take such an important step, & so, resisted all their entreaties." "But," she added, "I have made up my mind if I feel ready next time, to do as they wish." This was hardly an unqualified triumph for Mabel's friends. "Although I believe so differently from them in many respects," Mabel noted, "I think Christ will take the will for the deed." At any rate, she would do her best "to believe aright."[22]

Among Mabel's problems in deciding her future course were the clashing influences of her grandmother, mother, and father. Mabel's grandmother, who lived with the family, was the widow of Reverend John Wilder of Concord, Massachusetts, and a committed Congregationalist. Mary Loomis was equally pious and keen to see her daughter settled in a church. In contrast, Eben Loomis was less interested in organized religion. In February 1873 he advised his conflicted daughter to "*do right* in all things, and let beliefs alone." "And his life is more pure," Mabel wrote, "and his motives higher than many who profess to be Christians."[23] Eben was even more direct a few months later, warning Mabel that, when it came to her eternal soul, she was too young to know what she was doing. He firmly believed that no one should be worried about what they "believe, or disbelieve." "No human being has a right to impose *any* belief on you," he argued, without a hint of irony. And yet Mabel did decide to unite with the Presbyterian Church – and Mary Loomis joined at the same time.[24] What convinced Mabel to go against the advice of the father whom she adored?

Looking back on her spiritual journey, Mabel concluded that, much like other "sensitive girls" who became "enthusiastic over religion," she

was influenced by "affection for the pastor." She was, indeed, briefly swept up in one of the cults of personality that took shape around nationally renowned ministers during the late-nineteenth century, including Boston's leading Episcopalian minister Phillips Brooks. Mabel first heard Brooks preach in October 1872 and she recorded that he delivered "such a sermon" as "I believe no mortal man e'er preached before." She was not exactly sure what his text had been, but "the impression which it made on me has lasted until now, and I hope it may never be lost." Every time Mabel heard Brooks speak, she felt closer to God. So much so that, in November 1872, she admitted that, "if I ever attend any church permanently, I think, now, it will be" the Episcopal Church, "but I may change."[25]

That Mabel did change was the result of the more immediate and consistent influence of another preacher: her local Presbyterian minister, Mr. Howe. Mabel was impressed with Howe from the moment she first spoke with him in late January 1873. Urged on by one of her friends, she went to see him at his parsonage. "He did me ever so much good," Mabel wrote, "although I can't tell exactly what he said, but I know one thing – He thinks a person ought to join the church." "I will," she promised herself, "if I have the courage, after he has satisfied me upon one or two little points." Among those "little points" were her "intelligent doubts" about the "doctrines and teachings" of the Presbyterian Church, particularly concerning "eternal punishment" and the truth of the Bible.[26] Howe did his best to sooth her troubled mind by urging her to "only believe the *one* thing, and let all the rest go." For Mabel that meant that she should "simply give myself to God, and tell Him that I will be entirely guided by what He may tell me." In less than a week, thanks to Howe, who continued to help her "ever so much," she had received the guidance that she needed. She had "determined which is the right, or rather the *best*, religion." It was "not exactly strict Presbyterianism" or her father's skepticism, but "a lovely intermediate system" – what she thought of as "Mr. Howe's religion" with "*Christ* the prominent feature in it." Chapter fifteen, verse five of the Gospel of St. John, "Without me ye can do nothing," was Howe's creed and now it was Mabel's too. That was enough to carry her into the Presbyterians Church on 4 May 1873.[27] But it was a weak foundation for a faith.

As it turned out, Mabel's religious doubts had only been papered over by Mr. Howe's spiritual counsel. When regular meetings with the kindly minister became impossible, she was plunged into her second

spiritual crisis. There had been warnings that that might be the case two months before Mabel joined the church. She went to Howe's chapel on 5 March 1873, but since he "was not there it was rather stupid & I do not want to go again till he comes back," she noted. That feeling of disdain for the Presbyterian Church returned when Mabel, her mother, and grandmother travelled to the New England coast to escape the heat of the Washington summer in June 1873. Within a month, Mabel was writing that her "spiritual welfare" was "not coming on at all." "I am still mixed up," she confessed, "& wish I had not joined the church, for I don't believe their doctrines, & it can't be right to profess what I don't believe." "Oh for one sweet long talk with Mr. Howe," she wrote, "I have written to him & hope to get [an] answer soon."[28] No answer came. Attending other churches did Mabel little, if any, good; no preachers could hold a candle to Howe, with the possible exception of the "sympathetic" Phillips Brooks, whose sermons left her "quieted & rested." Such reprieves proved increasingly short-lived, however. Left alone to battle with her doubts, Mabel surrendered to them. She convinced herself that she was finished with "the little narrow-minded Presbyterian Church." By the end of the summer, she could not understand how she could have been "blind enough" to join "such a sect" as that. "I can't endure the name, Presbyterian," she concluded in October 1873.[29]

As autumn took hold, Mabel was well on her way towards a more congenially faith: Unitarianism. True to form, she was influenced, at least in part, by a meeting with another preacher on a train trip to Washington. Dr. Miner, "the great Universalist divine," gave her "a new insight into things." "Oh I am so glad that I have found one sensible man," she wrote with relief, "one who does not think it consistent with God's fatherly love to doom his children to everlasting sin & misery." Mabel was also delighted that she would be able to tell her father that she was "not any longer a Presbyterian at heart . . ." "Being one would imply a sort of check of intellectual growth," she argued, "& my dear Father wants to be proud of his daughter, which I hope he may have cause to be."[30] In October 1873 Mabel decided that all "Churches are a fraud;" and, a month later, she was almost ready to toss the Trinity overboard. "Can it all be a fraud, an imagination of the heart, this belief in Christ, etc.?" she asked herself. By January 1874 she had an answer: yes. "I don't believe Christ is God," she stated. Mabel made a public display of her rejection of the core values of Presbyterianism by refusing to take communion. In her mind, that made her superior to the "commonplace . . . society" that surrounded her, awash

in "fearfully bigoted . . . religious views" and "foolish superstitions."[31] To an egoist like Mabel that was no small thing. But even her sense of righteousness and her happiness at the likelihood of her father's approval could not lead to a calm mind and soul.

It took a third crisis of faith to put Mabel's spiritual upheaval to rest. In January 1875, she signaled that this latest transformation was complete: she had become "an out and out radical, [a] Parkerite,"[32] Mabel wrote. However briefly, one must embark on some of the choppier waters of nineteenth-century theology in order to explain what she meant. In the middle of the century, the Unitarian Church in the United States split into conservative and radical wings. Among the most vocal of the radicals was Theodore Parker. Influenced by two of the greatest theologians Germany ever produced, David Friedrich Strauss and Friedrich Schleiermacher, Parker blew huge holes through traditional Unitarian beliefs. Where conservatives saw the miracles recounted in the Bible as proof of the historical existence of Jesus, Parker saw nothing but myth. He argued, instead, that to understand God one had to look inward. There was a religious element in humanity, beyond and apart from any text or doctrine. It was an "innate truism like liberty or immortality" and the only proof of God that a true believer required.[33] A theology that centered so completely on the self – on the knowledge of God's reality through the existence the individual soul – was bound to appeal to an introspective person like Mabel. It also helped that Parker's skepticism about the Bible and doctrine chimed with her long-held doubts about the value of traditional Protestant beliefs.

Conclusion

Mabel was also drawn to Theodore Parker's ideas because of his connection with some of the most famous thinkers of her time: the Transcendentalists of Concord, Massachusetts. The Transcendental idea that "all of nature in its parts and as a whole" was a "symbol of spiritual reality" and that the universe was never "malignant" completed Mabel's new faith.[34] She loved to be in nature – "some quiet place just at sunset either in the intensely quiet heart of the mountains or by the ocean" was her ideal spot in the world. If she could not experience that sort of beauty on a daily basis, she could at least try to stay "out in the happy sunshine" rather than being "shut up for almost two hours" in a church, listening to "indifferent music, stupid doctrines, & see[ing] stultified faces."[35]

Combined with Parker's takedown of mainline Protestantism, Transcendentalism was a faith that Mabel could throw herself into wholeheartedly. That is what she did. She chased the Transcendental great and good with all the zeal of a convert. She met the philosopher of Concord, Ralph Waldo Emerson; she had tea with Louis May Alcott and her father, the "blessed old prophet" Bronson Alcott; she visited the thinker Henry David Thoreau's famous cabin at Walden Pond; and she became so chummy with Thoreau's sister Sophia that the old lady bequeathed Mabel "nine volumes of Emerson's works," signed by the eminent man himself.[36] Mabel had not quite achieved a "perfect character" by the time she and David Todd became engaged in 1879; in her own estimation, however, she had escaped her earlier obsessions with "church and theology and boys."[37] It was a happy ending of sorts – or, at least, it would have been if that had been the conclusion of her question for religious certainty. Mabel Loomis Todd's spiritual evolution continued and, in many ways, became even more fascinating after 1879. But, as the novelists say, that is another story.

Endnotes

1. 5 February 1871, Volume 1, Journal, Mabel Loomis Todd Papers (hereafter MLTP), Yale University Library and Archives (hereafter Yale). Emphasis in original.

2. The best account of Mabel Loomis Todd's life, concentrating on the period after her marriage to David Todd, is Julie Dobrow, *After Emily: Two Remarkable Women, and the Legacy of America's Greatest Poet* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2018). For the "Rubicon" episode see page 52. To my mind, though claiming no expertise at all in the field, the most effective analysis of Julius Caesar's assassination and its tumultuous aftermath remains Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939); for sheer readability, however, it is hard to beat Tom Holland, *Rubicon: The Last Years of the Roman Republic* (New York: Anchor Books, 2003).

3. Peter Gay, *Education of the Senses. The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1984), 71; Peter Gay, *Schnitzler's Century: The Making of Middle-Class Culture, 1815-1914* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2002), 263; Polly Longsworth, *Austin and Mabel: The Amherst Affair and Love Letters of Austin Dickinson and Mabel Loomis Todd* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), 27, 44; Lyndall Gordon, *Lives Like Loaded Guns: Emily Dickinson and Her Family's Feuds* (New York: Penguin Books, 2010), 10, 12, 231; and Jerome Charyn,

The Secret Life of Emily Dickinson (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2010), 310.

4. Longsworth, *Austin and Mabel*, 16, 29-30, 52-3, 286.

5. 7 November 1872, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 12 March 1874, Volume 2, Journal, MLTP, Yale.

6. 15 December 1876, Volume 2, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 5 March 1877, Volume 2, Journal, MLTP, Yale. On the election of 1876, the compromise of 1877, and the waning of Northern interest in Reconstruction see the classic account by C. Vann Woodward, *Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), and the relevant sections of Richard White, *The Republic for Which it Stands: The United States during Reconstruction and the Gilded Age, 1865-1896* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

7. 29 March 1871, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale. On Grant and Santo Domingo, fans of high political and diplomatic maneuvering will want to see the thrillingly, but almost exhaustingly, detailed narrative in Charles W. Calhoun, *The Presidency of Ulysses S. Grant* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2017), 199-261.

8. 14 February 1871, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 10 March 1872, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale. See also Gay, *Education of the Senses*, 72-3 and Longsworth, *Austin and Mabel*, 13-14.

9. 18 April 1878, Volume 2, Journal, MLTP, Yale. See also Gay, *Education of the Senses*, 74. There are many excellent works on that North American *caudillo* Aaron Burr, but, for an approachable and easily digestible summary, why not see Todd Webb, "Aaron Burr (1756-1836)," in *Encyclopedia of U.S. Political History*, ed., Michael A. Morrison (Washington: CQ Press, 2010), 2:69-71?

10. Dobrow, *After Emily*, 10.

11. 25 December 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 25 November 1875, Volume 2, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 21 July 1872, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; Julia McNair Wright, *Priest and Nun* (Philadelphia: Crittenden & McKinney, 1869), 11. On anti-Catholicism in the United States, how about giving an old classic a try – Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1938) – which includes gems like a description of the skeptical New York editor, William Stone, inspecting Montreal's Hotel Dieu nunnery in the wake of the Maria Monk scandal, "poking into every closet, climbing to a high window to see into an unopened room, and smelling a row of jars in the basement, which might have contained

lime used in the disposal of infants' bodies," before concluding that the story was utter rubbish. This quotation appears on pages 105-6.

12. 6 October 1871, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale.

13. 15 December 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale. On Eben Loomis and Louis Agassiz see Gordon, *Lives Like Loaded* Guns, 170.

14. This seems self-evident to me and so requiring no specific references. But, as Alexis de Tocqueville wrote in his foreword to *The Ancien Régime and the French Revolution*, "I could supply many more examples, if anyone thought that this book merited their asking for them." Substitute "article" for "book," of course. See Alexis de Tocqueville, *The Ancien Régime and the French Revolution*, trans. Gerald Bevan (London: Penguin Books, 2008), 15.

15. 19 February 1871, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 10 July 1871, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 8 March 1872, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale. Emphasis in original.

16. 6 March 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 13 March 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale.

17. 20 December 1872, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 6 April 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 12 February 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale. Emphasis in original.

18. 8 February 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale. Emphasis in original.

19. 8 February 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 20 February 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 13 March 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale. Emphasis in original.

20. 25 April 1878, Volume 2, Journal, MLTP, Yale. See also 6 January 1878, Volume 2, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 14 April 1878, Volume 2, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 8 May 1878, Volume 2, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 12 May 1878, Volume 2, Journal, MLTP, Yale. On 8 May 1878, Mabel wrote, "The weeks fly by so fast, & Saturdays I love, because then I can say—"tomorrow is Sunday," and Sundays I love, because I never fail to have a charming time [with David Todd]. It is the red letter day of the week to me, in truth, just as all Sundays are printed in red ink on the little calendar which hangs in my room."

21. 17 March 1871, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale. Emphasis in original.

22. 11 May 1871, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 12 May 1871, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 2 March 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale. Emphasis in original.

23. 12 February 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale. Emphasis in original.

24. Longsworth, *Austin and Mabel*, 29-30. Emphasis in original.

25. 1 November 1874, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 9 October 1872, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 18 November 1872, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale.

26. 2 February 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 12 February 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale. See also 30 June 1874, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale. On the increasing controversy about the doctrine of eternal punishment during this period see Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters: The Crisis of Conscience of Nonconformity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 48-58, which, admittedly, deals with British Protestants.

27. 12 February 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 16 February 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 4 May 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale.

28. 6 March 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 11 July 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale.

29. 10 August 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 16 September 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 12 October 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale.

30. 16 September 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale.

31. 12 October 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 9 November 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 21 January 1873, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale.

32. 31 January 1875, Volume 1, Journal, MLTP, Yale.

33. On Friedrich Schleiermacher, David Friedrich Strauss, Theodore Parker, and Unitarianism see B.A. Gerrish, "Friedrich Schleiermacher," in *Nineteenth Century Religious Thought in the West*, ed. Ninian Smart, John Clayton, Patrick Sherry, and Steven T. Katz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 1:123-6, 1:134-5, 1:136, 1:138-41, 1:143-4; Hans Frei, "David Friedrich Strauss," in *Nineteenth Century Religious Thought*, 1:233-55; Gary Dorrien, *The Making of Liberal Theology: Imagining Progressive Religion, 1805-1900* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 80-110. The quotation is from Dorrien, *Making of Liberal Theology*, 95.

34. On Transcendentalism see Dorrien, *Making of Liberal Theology*, 58-80; Sydney E. Ahlstrom, "Ralph Waldo Emerson and the American Transcendentalists," in *Nineteenth Century Religious Thought*, 2:29, 2:31-40, 2:42-3, 2:45-51, 2:62-3, 65. The quotations are from Ahlstrom, "Ralph Waldo Emerson," 2:40, 2:45.

35. 21 May 1876, Volume 2, Journal, MLTP, Yale; 18 February 1877, Volume 2, Journal, MLTP, Yale.

36. 17 June 1877, Volume 2, Journal, MLTP, Yale; Mabel Loomis Todd, *The Thoreau Family: Two Generations Ago* (Berkley Heights, NJ: Oriole Press, 1958), 15; 28 November 1876, Volume 2, Journal, MLTP, Yale.

37. 17 June 1877, Volume 2, Journal, MLTP, Yale.

CSCH President's Address 2018

For Whom the Bard Tells: The Role of the Canadian Society of Church History in Shaping Religious Historiography

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Because of the Canadian Society of Church History (CSCH), I can tie a single Windsor knot. While the internet taught me *how* to do this, it was the 2005 Annual Meeting of the CSCH that provided the *why*. I was not sure how my knowledge of Irish Baptists in the Second World War would play to a room full of historians – many of whom I knew by reputation – but I knew I had to at least dress like I belonged there. I had no concept of the nurturing academic world I was about to enter and, had I known, my intestinal health that spring would have been better. On the other hand, that fear motivated me to acquire the aforementioned fashion-related skill which has proven quite helpful. No regrets.

While anecdotal, self-indulgent, and not even remotely intellectual, I offer that preceding tale as a light-hearted example of the ways in which this society can improve the life of a burgeoning academic. The support my work has received over time has fostered in me an excitement for the discipline of history, as well as a desire to champion collegiality over rivalry; a sentiment not necessarily enjoyed in other academic realms. This address has given me the opportunity to reflect upon my time in the CSCH as I have moved from nervous graduate student to nervous professor; from having no idea what a member-at-large was, to my only slightly more

informed role as your president.[1] This nostalgic journey led me to the research that forms this article. What you are about to read is an unapologetically biased look at the role the CSCH has played in shaping trends in Canadian and religious history.

Thanks to the work of Bruce Guenther, Eric Fehr, and Paul Laverdure, we have a collection of presentations and writings that have been a delight to pour over. I hope I can do some justice to these CSCH-ers as this presidential address was designed to celebrate their achievement of cataloguing, exploring, and making readily available such a robust collection of Canadian stories, religious stories, and intersections of the two. I will take us through a very brief review of a certain kind of history before exploring some of the trends that have shaped historical work for the past fifty years. Next, some papers noted in the CSCH index will provide evidence that annual meetings influenced subsequent historical work. Following that, I am hoping to present some of the observations I have made before offering a few ideas for the future (as much as that is a risk for us historians). At the risk of sentimentalizing, I believe the spirit and personalities of this society have done as much to shape Canadian historiography as the topics themselves.

The Bardic Tradition

Like a good historiographical descendant of Thucydides, I have attempted to maintain a detached and analytical approach to my research. Critics of historiography gave me pause that this address would become, in the words of Christopher Norris, "extravagant metaphorical whimsy [and] a kind of sophistical doodling on the margins of serious, truth-seeking discourse."[2] However, I began to warm to the academic element of this topic while doing some research on St. Patrick for a class I was teaching. I came across Joseph Campbell's *Romance of the Grail* in which he argues, "many of the earliest Irish monks had been . . . bards, before their conversions, and . . . brought to their Christianity something of the earlier sense of a common spiritual ground to be recognized."[3] Despite the Synod of Whitby formally bringing the Celtic Church under Roman strictures, Irish missionaries like Columbanus, holy sites like Iona, historical works like that of Bede, and the Irish penchant for collecting non-biblical literature ensured that the fruits of Patrick's labour profoundly shaped Western Christian thought. Though fraught with potential historiographical peril, the present age affords an opportunity to reconsider

the bardic traditions of countless lands, nations, and tribes before us as a wealth of information about how to show and tell well-researched history to a gathered collective.

Rowan Williams' comment about the formation of the Gospels seems particularly fitting as he asserts that the New Testament "is not a simple record of what happened," but that the enduring legacy of these texts came from the "hugely creative and innovative attempt to make one story out of a set of memories."[4] Arthur Lower likewise cautions his readers that the historian's task is to take a collection of independent stories and somehow put them in step with each other in the hopes of presenting a common theme.[5] While this can add fuel to the fire of historical criticism (and cause defenders of scriptural inerrancy discomfort), we know that much of our research originated in the spoken word and was written later for posterity; with all the potential for contamination that implies. After all, historical research has shown us that even elements of what we now call the Bible were written accounts of oral traditions passed down through generations of the faithful.

Christianity is, of course, not alone in this regard as any culture or religion with ancient roots finds the same patterns of dissemination in their own origin stories. In an age when the former methodologies and structures of authority are all suspect, there does seem to be a renewed desire for the individual to find their identity within compelling narratives. Stories seem to be able to transcend the challenges of knowing by submitting information in ways that are evocative and emotionally rewarding. Such attachment to emotionalism could signal the end of true historical discourse, but I would offer a challenge that the culture and technology of this age present us with the opportunity to combine the art of the bards at the fire with the academics in the archives.

This combining of creative story-telling with rigorous research is nothing new and we will return to this topic a little later in the address. For now, I want to take these concepts of post-modernity and historiography and root them in the more localized and shared experience of the past fifty years of the CSCH. Contained within the work of Dr. Guenther et al. is a rich tapestry that reveals the main point of this paper: we write better history because of each other.

Post Colonism

There is nothing quite like a snappy title to grab the attention of potential readers. In 2001, Paul Laverdure's inflammatorily titled "The Jesuits Did It!" certainly grabs the eye, but, once you learn that it is about

the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln, it also piques the interest. In the same year, Marguerite Van Die produced a fascinating case study about the influence of financial investors over Protestantism from 1867 to 1891 and utilized alliteration to present her findings in "Politics, Patronage and Protestants." Mark McGowan's poetic "We Endure What We Cannot Cure" explained Protestant and Catholic tensions in late nineteenth-century Toronto, while Norman Knowles used a direct quote from his research to describe his paper in "Fighting Manfully Onward."[6] Sandra Beardsall's 1999 presidential address, "The Three-Headed Calf," employs a powerful image in her examination of the CSCH (and reveals a certain *gravitas* that supersedes the pun-heavy title you are currently reading).[7] The reason for highlighting these few examples is to point out that such a desire for titillating titles was not always the concern of our colleagues and that is something that should be noted.

Prior to 1977 most papers favoured description over flourish in their titles. Goldwin French's "The Political Ideas of the Methodists in British North America up to 1850;" John Moir's "The Sectarian Tradition in Canada;" and John Webster Grant's "Immigration and the Churches in the Age of Laurier" are prime examples of such explanatory titles.[8] This is not meant to serve as a condemnation – far from it! It is fascinating to chart the development of scholars having more fun with their titles because it is a later 1970s development that was neither needed nor appreciated previously. Of course, there are always exceptions as John Henderson's 1969 address, "Abominable Incubus: The Idea of the National Church in Upper Canada," demonstrates.

The three-part title reveals a development I refer to as "post-colonism" because the colon became an integral element of the title during the 1970s and beyond. Allow me to demonstrate. Part one (pre-colon): the clever, funny, witty, engaging element of the title. Part two (the colon): this grammatical feature lets the reader know that the tone of the title is about to shift from provocative to explanatory. Part three (post-colon): explains what the presentation is actually going to explore. Hence, this overly cute – though accurate, I would argue – term post-colonism. With the exception of a couple of years in the late 1980s, post-colonism was the norm for titles from around 1977 and on.

I have had numerous conversations with other members in which we all confess that our research can sometimes yield quotes so funny, vile, clever, or indicative of their time that we cannot help writing "out of our way" to ensure their inclusion. Even when cut from the printed version of

the presentation, the discovery of a good quip can be as rewarding as a successful day collecting data. The creation of clever titles, or the idea that some tangential quotes are just too good to pass up, is the point I am trying to make. The post-modern penchant for deconstructing grand narratives has yielded some pleasing results but it has also increased the perception that the historical discipline is irrelevant. This thinking is something many of us combat on an institutional level and within the classroom. I begin every semester asking how many people are taking this course out of desire or requirement; my experience is that the latter is the majority. Post-colonism, while not unique to our society, displays our awareness that historiography needs to be packaged – if I can use so mercenary a term – in increasingly creative ways, even to a room of interested colleagues.

This goes to my earlier point that we have shaped each other's interests and what we decide to include in our presentations. I do not want to overstate the case; our own research interests remain the primary motivation for writing and presenting. However, as David Weale's "God's Exiles," or Wallace Mills' "The Fork in the Road," or Richard Ruggle's "House Divided Against Itself," or Elizabeth Muir's "Petticoats in the Pulpit" illustrate, we believe that pithy pre-colon titles are as important as the explanation found post colon.[9]

Panel Discussions

We tell stories. Some of the best stories we tell each other are of the more obscure, unknown people and events that we believe possess an import that outweighs the attention they have received. We combat myths, abolish pre-conceived notions, alter established thoughts by introducing new information, and honour the seemingly insignificant. Canadians are not known to be interested in either religion or their own history and that necessitates some concerted planning for a society dedicated to expounding on both those topics. While the collegial atmosphere of the society, and the casual dinner discussions, can yield profound insights and shape future research, it is important to take some time to look at the intentional ways this society has created influence. Panel discussions address issues of prominence at the time as well as challenging members to consider new topics in the future. [10]

While the publication of Ramsay Cook's *Regenerators* almost necessitated the 1986 panel on his work, other discussions have been proactive and inspirational in their abilities to increase the popularity of certain topics.[11] By way of example, in 1991 Brian Clarke, Hans Rollmann, and George Rawlyk hosted "Revivalism and the Writing of

Canadian Religious History" that gave significant bumps to both historiography and Evangelical Protestantism in subsequent years.[12] To scan presentations from 1992 is to encounter numerous titles including words like "fundamentalism" and "evangelicalism" in the post-colonism section. The panel from that year also carried its predecessor's torch by asking what it is that church historians do and how historians can discern authentic Christianity (an evangelical question if ever there was one). Martin Rumscheidt's question, "How Ought Church-Historians to do Church-History?" is just one example of a structured discussion's notable ability to shape subsequent historiography.

The topic I want to conclude this section with is the society's fourth most popular theme of all time: Women and religion. During the 2017 meeting it was noted that there were, arguably for the first time, more female presenters than males. This is an important increase that, I would argue, truly began in 1990 with Lucille Marr's panel: "Recovering Women's Experience in Church History." Thirty-four papers are counted under the moniker Women and religion and, while the first pre-dates Marr's panel by six years, there is a noticeable increase in the decades that followed.[13] Marr herself presented "Sunday School Teaching: A Women's Enterprise" in 1991; a year that also saw Ruth Compton Brouwer's "Transcending the 'Unacknowledged Quarantine': Putting Religion into Canadian Women's History," John Graham's, "The Haven: A Toronto Charity for Women, 1878-1913," and Eldon Hay's "Letitia Simson: Covenanter Private and Public Person," presentations that answered Marr's challenge to recover these important experiences.

1992 saw even more crossover as historians within the society began to look at the experiences of evangelical women in Canadian history. Sharon Cook wrote about the role of evangelicalism and the Temperance Movement in forming her definition of women's culture. Marilyn Färdig Whiteley introduced the society to Annie Leake Tuttle and the ways in which autobiography helped her find a voice within evangelicalism. Miriam Ross, somewhat akin to Marr's look at women in Sunday School, used the example of Hannah Maria Norris to show how nineteenth-century women shaped the world of Christian missions. This is not to say that only women can/should undertake such topics; 1992 also yielded David Elliot's counter-intuitive work "The Feminist Impulse Within Fundamentalism" – two ideas that are rarely held together in a positive way.

Historians see the value in diverse points of view and struggle to incorporate as many of these as possible in order to ensure the most full-

orbed expression of any given topic. While some have dismissed unfairly feminist history as agenda-driven research, the CSCH has enjoyed a robust collection of priceless scholarship – and leadership – because of the academics who deem such tales valuable. While I would like to point to the obvious merits of such topics and assume that the quality of such work will stand on its own, I find myself thinking that would be sadly naïve. The profound and disturbing regression in many social arenas of life as it pertains to women means that these stories are of increasing value in the twenty-first century. While the #metoo movement has brought some increased accountability, there have been staggering strides taken in the opposite direction from some very public platforms (and political offices). While it is likely beyond the scope of our society to affect change on such national stages, the fact remains that recovering the voices of women in religious histories remains of the utmost importance.

Going Forward

A few years ago, Emily Carr's 1929 masterpiece "Indian Church" re-emerged on the national scene as it became embroiled in a renaming controversy. The quality and content of the painting was not in question, nor was the character of the artist. Unlike the accusations related to residential schools that swirled around men like John A. Macdonald and Egerton Ryerson at roughly the same time, no one argued that Carr was an agent of Native oppression. While there were those who believed changing the name was disrespectful, others put forward the argument that the artist would likely be in support of the change due to her belief that Indigenous people were a beautiful element in the mosaic of Canadian culture. Ultimately, it was decided to change the name of the painting to "Church in Yuquot Village" – a decision that came about not without opposition.[14]

I bring this up because it is indicative of a very important trend within the Canadian academy in this present age. In the wake of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the disgraceful fact that residential schools remained extant until very recently, it is incumbent upon historians to proclaim these tales of atrocities. Perhaps the myths of Canada and the First Nations people are the most important myths we are called to combat. Like the desire in the 1990s to see the experiences of women in Canada recovered, we are now being called upon to recover (or perhaps discover) Native voices and provide places for such voices to be heard. From 1990 to 2009 fourteen papers were written on the topic of First Nations, making it one of the more popular choices for scholarship. However, only Peter Bush's "The Native Residential Schools and the

Presbyterian Church in Canada" specifically addressed this issue. This is not to say that other papers have not referenced the issue within the larger context of their research; it is simply to point out that more work can be done in this area.

Marguerite Van Die and others brought this issue up at Ryerson University in 2017 and wondered how the CSCH could become a society that included more Indigenous research. In keeping with tradition, the year following the meeting yielded a pleasant amount of scholarship related to the previous year's discussion. We began our 2018 gathering by acknowledging the fact that we were located on Treaty 4 land and, in our fifth session, we enjoyed two papers on "Indigenous Expressions of Christianity in Canada." After lunch, our next session featured three more papers on "Religion, Missionaries, and the Numbered Treaties." We were honoured with a tour of First Nations University and allowed access to Treaty maps and the perspectives of a few of the students who attended. This is a society that values Indigenous voices and already possesses within its ethos a warm and inviting spirit.

The struggle that remains is not one of desire or ethos but of methodology. In my work on churches in the War of 1812, I desired to bring First Nations' voices into my research. I found out very quickly that my desires were not going to be met because theirs were not the kind of tales a white boy was going to put in his dissertation. The 1812 experience through Native eyes was part of a culture, and told in ways, that I could not duplicate nor fully understand. Fair enough. I have been a part of numerous conferences on 1812 and almost every single one of those conferences featured a panel on Indigenous involvement on both sides of the war. However, without exception, the people presenting on such panels were white and male and their research was predominantly based on the writings of so-called Indian agents and other colonial officers.

So, the discussions around the table in downtown Toronto in the Spring of 2017 haunt me still. The reality of our location in 2018 does much the same. How can the CSCH be a more inclusive community of scholars? In order to offer some possible suggestions and to conclude this address, I look to the technology of this present age and the story-telling practices of former ages.

Netflix, YouTube, and Digital History

Netflix changed everything. In an age that has witnessed the

sensationalism of Jordan Peterson, academics can no longer deny the impact that streaming services like YouTube can have on the academy – or at least the popular perception of what the academy is about. The money Peterson receives from his YouTube celebrity status means that he can fund any research he so desires without worrying about grant applications ever again; that is a powerful advantage. The ability to binge shows means that people want to consume their entertainment and education (Netflix documentaries are incredibly popular) without having to wait longer than a few seconds for the continuation of the story. While people lament the loss of the written word and the publishing industry records financial losses year after year, that does not mean people are reading less. One has to look only at the magical realm of Harry Potter to realize that books can still carry significant cultural weight. After all, the music industry has seen a steady decline in profitability that mirrors the decline in mainline churches in Canada for more than a decade, but that does not mean that people are no longer interested in music. They are simply finding alternate ways to access their favourite bands.

In her lectures *The Uses and Abuses of History*, Margaret MacMillan correctly states that our digital age is full of plenty of poorly-constructed popular history; but that is only half of the problem. On institutional levels, there can be a lot of pressure from administrations both to bolster class numbers and to develop a strong (and financially beneficial) online presence. That is problematic in that many in this age will, if given the choice, listen to a lecture on their phone or computer rather than attend a class. This is the world in which we live and, again, while it is unlikely that the CSCH will effect change on such a deep cultural level, I believe we can benefit from combining many of the elements that I have discussed in this address.

It is true that this is an age given over to sensationalism, but our post-colonism reminds us that we have always been aware of the fact that engagement is part of good historiography. The panel discussions have proven highly effective in driving research that has greatly benefitted and deepened this society's ability to support new scholars and remain relevant to the discussions of faith from a Canadian perspective. As we delve into the realm of Indigenous history, I believe it is important not just to report on the stories of our First Nations, but also to adjust our methodologies to see their oral/bardic element of historiography as a legitimate academic discipline. I believe that the world we live in now would greatly benefit from a more rigorous version of bardic history that is not only concerned with telling the epics and recounting the heroism of the past, but also with using the oral traditions passed down through generations to critique them.

While few academic societies would disagree with the desire to include Indigenous voices, it appears that such desires rarely move past lip service. Which brings me to my final point: the collegial and supportive ethos of the CSCH is the most valuable commodity we possess when it comes to this topic. We have proven time and again that we listen to each other and when one of our colleagues posits an interesting idea or expresses a desire to expand on an under-examined element of history, we tend to listen.

In a discussion with a graduate student at the University of British Columbia, I learned that she is researching inclusion as it pertains to museums. In short, some people go to museums for academic reasons, others bring their children, others go for personal interest, or because of a particular exhibit, or even utilize the museum as an interesting place for a romantic date. Each type of person gains something different from the museum based on the desires that brought them there in the first place. In other words, two groups of people in the same museum on the same day may have very different experiences and, in some way, experience two different museums. Their agendas shape what they see, why they see it, and how the experience is remembered. Her research, and it is research museums are growing increasingly interested in for obvious reasons, explores how the museum can provide the best version of itself for as many different types of people as possible. The financial benefit is obvious, but the struggle is a simple one: true inclusion always means actual change. Hence the story of Emily Carr's painting and the fallout from one museum's desire truly to explore what it means to honour both the artist as well as acknowledge that words like "Indian" have aided in the appalling damage done to Indigenous peoples.

The internet has forced us to contend with the so-called democratization of information and reduced the need for libraries and archives in popular perception. Historians know the dangers of this because one of the best ways to shape a people is through myths and one of the best ways to build such myths is to limit people's access to legitimate sources. However, as I have watched numerous short films made by Indigenous peoples in the Idle No More movement, I came to realize that these digital archives were going to be important to understand better how twenty-first century Natives were attempting to navigate their space in a Canada that they feel is more willing to listen than in the past. I began to see how many of these young people (and they are mostly young) were attempting to reach out to the white settlers of Canada in a medium that allowed them voices and faces. Even though I love to read, I found it helpful to watch

these films (some of them only a few minutes in length) in order to grasp the themes and witness the passion of these people as they told their stories in compelling ways. They shared their stories, stories I have longed to hear, in ways that made sense to them but were designed to bring awareness to interested parties outside their respective communities. I found myself being thankful that YouTube and other online sites provided an opportunity for communication and awareness that has not been available before now. What an age to be alive! Those videos, and the 2017 panel discussion on Indigenous voices, were the inspirations behind this talk as I wondered how we could truly bring the voices of First Nations to our collective and be shaped by the histories we will hear.

Conclusion

In the last session of our 2017 meeting, we had a presentation from a scholar whose topic did not fit the traditional scope of our society's stated aims. Numerous emails went back and forth between the man, his son, and our Executive as we debated whether or not this paper had a place in the CSCH. The decision was ultimately made less on criteria and more on sentiment, compassion, and a desire to provide a positive experience for the people involved. I fear this sounds dismissive of this man and his work, but I do not mean that at all. Rather, I hold this up as an example of the kinds of issues inclusion creates, but also as an example of how a problematic situation evolved into a wonderful experience.

The session was well-attended by regular members as well as a multi-generational contingent of his family. It was a delight to see the joy on the faces of those relatives as they watched the patriarch of their clan share his wisdom with a room full of scholars. That could be lost in other societies, but I think it is worth noting and celebrating. The opportunity afforded this man speaks to the character of the CSCH more than anything else I can think of in recent memory. I close with this story because I believe that character, more than numbers or academic rigour, has the potential to guide us into the new world that is forming. Such willingness to create a space for others will bring to us an increasing breadth, depth, and diversity; with all the accompanying headaches, sure, but also some new ideas we would not otherwise encounter.

In *On Grand Strategy* Cold-War historian John Lewis Gaddis speaks of the importance of marrying aspirations to capabilities.[15] Citing numerous military successes and failures from Xerxes, to Napoleon, to Vietnam, he argues that knowing where we want to go is rarely the problem. Situations become untenable when we fail to take a sober and

realistic inventory of where we currently reside. Honestly assessing the "geography" (capabilities) upon which we stand can help reveal the path towards – and the obstacles that stand between – our desired destination/aspiration. Aspirations are unlimited as they live within our minds; capabilities live in this world and provide both the limitations and tools needed to achieve our goals. If including more voices is the aspiration of the CSCH, this paper has been a celebration and reminder of some of the capabilities we already possess that, I believe, can help us achieve this laudable goal. Solid scholarship, creativity, humility, and a gracious ethos that seeks to include new voices are some very useful tools and I would like to suggest contemporary technology as a limitation that could be turned to a strength.

Perhaps it is time to find new uses of social media to help scholars present their ideas. Perhaps historians from bardic cultures that celebrate story-telling will find a voice within our society if we can embrace a more narrative methodology. Perhaps we can do that in ways that are academically rigorous and that transcend the baseless opinions and popularity contests that seem to dominate current online discussions. Perhaps more people will learn about women in Canadian history, or evangelicalism, or gun-toting Methodists – if the topics are presented on a platform that is more readily accessible than academic monographs. Perhaps we can raise the profile of all academics to provide a foil for Jordan Peterson's current monopoly over internet academia. Perhaps this will become the age of the peer-reviewed academic film. Perhaps our ability to use these new media will even get our various administrations off our backs as our popularity increases! After all, the internet taught me how to tie a Windsor knot in 2005, but the CSCH was the reason why I wanted to learn in the first place. The internet gives us the "how" to expand our work to a wider circle of established and burgeoning scholars, but the desires of this society to constantly push into new areas provides the why.

I hope this paper has shown that the CSCH has a history of making historiography creative, fun, and engaging without compromising academic rigour. I hope it has shown that we have both shaped, and been shaped by, our colleagues in the society. Since the 1970s we have known that our research needs to be framed creatively if we hope to reach anyone with it; in the twenty-first century, perhaps we need to become creative with our use of media as well. If "the medium is the message," as Canadian scholar Marshall McLuhan asserts, then utilizing video, websites, blogs, and social media creatively is the way we engage today.

The digital medium takes the place of the pithy, funny, interesting pre-colon title because the very fact that it is available in a creative online format is interesting in and of itself. With the medium carrying the pre-colon load, we are free simply to present our research to an ever-increasing collection of people and benefit from the research of wider base of scholars than ever before. In other words, we are free to experience our colleagues' post-colonism works.

Endnotes

1. Thank you to Robynne Rogers Healey for painstakingly walking me through our annual business meeting.

2. Christopher Norris, *Derrida* (London: Fontana, 1987), 79.

3. Joseph Campbell, *The Romance of the Grail: The Magic and Mystery of Arthurian Myth* (Novato, CA: New World Library, 2015), 18-19.

4. Rowan Williams, *Why Study the Past? The Quest for the Historical Church* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 7.

5. Arthur R.M. Lower, *Canadians in the Making* (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958).

6. Mark McGowan, "'We Endure What We Cannot Cure': John Joseph Lynch and Roman Catholic-Protestant Relations in Toronto, 1864-1875: Frustrated Attempts at Peaceful Coexistence," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1984): 89-116; and Norman Knowles, "'Fighting Manfully Onward': Masculine Christianity and Working-Class Religion in Canada, 1880-1930," Paper presented at the CSCH annual conference, 1996.

7. Sandra Beardsall, "The Three-Headed Calf: Triple Vision and the Canadian Society of Church History," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1999): 197-211.

8. Goldwin French, "The Political Ideas of the Methodists in British North America up to 1850," incorporated into Goldwin French, *Parsons and Politics: The Role of the Wesleyan Methodists in Upper Canada and the Maritimes from 1780 to 1855* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962); John S. Moir, "The Sectarian Tradition in Canada," in *The Churches and the Canadian Experience: A Faith and Order Study of the Christian Tradition*, ed. John Webster Grant (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1963), 119-32; and John Webster Grant, "Immigration and the Churches in the Age of Laurier," published as "The Reaction of WASP Churches to Non-WASP Immigrants," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1968): 1-15.

9. David Weale "God's Exiles: An Examination of the Doctrine of Anglo-Israelism Among the Immigrant Followers of the Reverend Donald McDonald in Prince Edward Island, 1830-1867," published as "God's Exiles: A Theology for Immigrants"; Wallace Mills, "The Fork in the Road: Religious Separatism vs. African Nationalism in the Cape Colony, 1890-1910," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church* (1978): 37-54; Richard E. Ruggle "A House Divided Against Itself: The Denominational Antagonisms of the Grand River Missions," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1978): 1-10; and Elizabeth Muir, "Petticoats in the Pulpit: Three Early Canadian Methodist Women," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church* (1984): 26-49.

10. A word on the methodology I am using to note popularity: this will not be ground-breaking nor overly insightful, but, as I combed through the fifty years of topics, I took special note of those ideas that occurred ten times or more as indicative of popularity.

11. "Church History and Historians" is a popular topic in that there were thirteen presentations in total. Of those, three were specific to Cook, and all of them were from 1986. Cook does not meet the popularity criteria established, but given the panel and that three different people wrote about his work, I thought it was worth noting.

12. Historiography is the fifth most popular theme of the society with a total of twenty-seven papers dedicated to this topic. Evangelical Protestantism also became a popular topic in the years following Clarke's panel as fifteen new papers were added to the list.

13. The presentation has already been noted: it was Muir, "Petticoats in the Pulpit."

14. A good article on this from May 2018 can be found at the following link: http://artmatters.ca/wp/2018/05/emily-carrs-church-in-yuquot-village/

15. John Lewis Gaddis, *On Grand Strategy* (New York: Penguin Books, 2018).