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Canadian Protestants, the Sudan Expedition, and the New Imperialism

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> "From that sacred sacrifice thousands on thousands have been inspired to live as heroes and die as martyrs in the cause of human freedom, so lived and so died General Gordon, his death was a sacrificial offering on the altar of humanity."[1]

On a cold Sunday evening in February 1885, congregants in First Baptist Church, Montreal, listened as the Rev. Dr. Wheaton Smith waxed on about the life and heroics of General Gordon, the British leader and popular hero who had recently been killed deep in the Sudan in the hot and dusty city of Khartoum. The text was John 12:24 "Verily, verily, I say unto you, except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit" (KJV). The application being made was that Gordon's death would spark an outpouring of imperial zeal that would lead to the eventual capture of the Sudan bringing in its wake the manifold blessings of British imperial rule. Smith proclaimed that "England had drawn the sword, and justice should be done to humanity. The talismanic name of Gordon would electrify the forces of mankind" and "regiments without number . . . could be enlisted to march to the Soudan and suppress the inhuman Madhi."[2] That same month, over a thousand kilometers to the east, Dr. Burns delivered a sermon on Gordon at Fort Massey Presbyterian Church, Halifax, a man he called a "Hero of the Age." Burns declared Gordon to be the "rarest incarnation of whatsoever things are true, honest, lovely and of good report," and one who sacrificed himself for the good

of others. He had died "at his post alone amid raging foes and merciless fanatics, rather than desert those whom he has sworn to defend."[3] Those across the Dominion who missed the Sunday sermons could learn about Gordon's exploits and death in articles, editorials, poems, and maps in the denominational press.[4] But what was Gordon doing in Africa? And why did it matter to those among Canada's Protestant churches?

When General Garnet Wolseley was faced with the daunting task of relieving Gordon in Khartoum, he was convinced that the best way to get there was to advance up the Nile. Remembering the aid he had received from Canadian voyageurs during the Red River Rebellion (1867-1870), he sent a letter to Canadian Governor General Lansdowne on 20 August 1884 requesting the assistance of voyageurs. The request was for boatmen, not soldiers, and the men were to take a strictly non-combatant role. Shortly thereafter, on 15 September 1884, 386 men departed Quebec City for Egypt. On 7 October 1884, the Canadians arrived in Alexandria, soon joined Wolseley and his 5,400 troops, and headed up the Nile.[5]

Despite the best efforts of the relief expedition, and the fact that they were just a few tantalizing days away from the besieged city, they failed to get to Gordon in time. On 26 January 1885, the defences of Khartoum were breached and Gordon was killed. The announcement of his death was a shock to people used to hearing about imperial victories and believing in the superiority of Anglo-Saxons over against supposedly inferior "natives." The news of his death in Britain led to passionate denunciations of the Gladstone government for its lackadaisical support for Gordon, and eventually it led to the government's downfall. His death also fueled war fever in Britain and parts of the empire. In Canada, there was a minor epidemic of volunteering for overseas service to recapture the Sudan and punish the Mahdi, but this abated relatively quickly when Britain decided to abandon the Sudan.[6]

While Britain had been involved in a number of imperial conflicts in the preceding years, this particular imperial engagement deep in Africa along the Nile was of special interest to Canadians due to the presence of the voyageurs. And reactions to their exploits on the home front in pulpit and denominational press indicate that the New Imperialism had support in the churches. What little has been written about Canada and the Nile Expedition deals primarily with either its political or military features, despite the fact that denominational figures had much to say about the venture,[7] and the reaction of the churches set a pattern and precedent for how they reacted to future imperial wars.[8]

The New Imperialism

Both Robert Page and C. P. Stacey assert that in the years immediately following Confederation English Canadians were loyal to Britain, but not at all excited about specific imperial ventures, and imperialism in general.[9] Yet a quick survey of post-Confederation reactions to events related to empire indicate a growing and passionate commitment to the New Imperialism among the churches. The South African War (1899-1902) may have led to the most ardent expressions of imperial zeal in Canadian history up that point in time, but, if the coverage and commentary in the religious press is any indication, New Imperialism had begun to capture the imagination of a number of Canadians more than a decade before Canadian troops embarked for their baptism of blood in South Africa.[10] And the rising sense of being Canadian in the new Dominion increasingly took on an imperial flavour in church rhetoric. While the Protestant churches had deep ties to Britain going back generations, the birth of the new nation coincided with the birth of the New Imperialism, and that confluence of births inevitably and inexorably intensified traditional loyalties and shaped imperial visions for the nation.

New Imperialism was marked by a dramatic intensification of imperial expansion and conflict between the end of the Franco-Prussian War (1870) and the start of the First World War (1914).[11] Its start date has often been linked to the Berlin Conference of 1884, where Europeans parceled out much of Africa. Protestant church commentary reveals a significant degree of support for the surging imperial vision and its assumptions regarding race, religion, civilization, and empire. As one commentator wrote regarding the conference:

> The blessing of civilization long bestowed in rich abundance in Europe and North America, and in measure in Asia and South America, seem now destined to overflow, flood with a new life and light the long oppressed, dark continent, with its swarthy races so long victimized by every nation possessed of ships and colonies. Never before in the annals of history of our race, has such a hopeful prospect exalted for the inhabitants of an uncivilized region brought for the first time into contact with strong and civilized peoples.[12]

Hopes were high and optimism abounded, for it was believed that through the spread of European empires injustices were to end, slavery was to be abolished, and “black men and whites” were to be “equal before

the law." For many Protestant Canadians, the empire most able to bring about such manifold blessings was the empire to which they already proudly belonged.

Sudan Expedition

The conflict in the Sudan was considered a fresh opportunity for the nascent nation to participate in the rapid expansion of empire, an exciting occasion to take part in a grand adventure of bringing the alleged blessings to the "natives" of Africa.[13] Or as the *Christian Guardian* portrayed it: "No military undertaking in ancient or modern times exceeds in romantic heroism the expedition for the relief of Khartoum."[14] Initial events surrounding the call for the expedition, the advance and conditions of the relief force, various battles, and the final outcome of the conflict were all covered in the denominational press, with some papers providing weekly blow-by-blow accounts.[15] In fact, the nature and degree of coverage would set a pattern for the churches in the nation's future wars.

Special services were offered by some churches, and formal prayers were prepared, offered, and published for the safety and success of arms in Africa.[16] As one local church reported: "Prayers were offered Sunday, 8th February, in the Mohawk churches for the success of the British forces in the Soudan, and allusions were made in the sermons to the Khartoum disaster."[17] Familiar themes and assumptions related to imperial discourse were woven into such services and in the commentary on the expedition one can see themes and assumptions that would shape the churches' discourse for the next two generations**.**

There were pragmatic political and military reasons for supporting the empire in general, and more specifically in the advance up the Nile, such as the loss of Britain's prestige and the concomitant unrest in colonies such as India.[18] However, the notion of trusteeship undergirded the churches' vision for imperial advance. More specifically, the British advance was deemed to serve a benevolent and higher purpose: the bringing of good government, the ending of injustice (especially the slave trade), and the advance of Christian missions. As one commentator confidently asserted,

> To speak of England, as so many do just now, as fighting against native rights, is wickedly foolish. The natives call to us for deliverance from a grinding tyranny, and the cry of the slave goes up to

> heaven for help against their infamous oppressors, a cry which Christian England, nay the Christian world, now hears ringing thro' the appeals of its hero, and so hearing, must answer by strong deeds for God and for freedom . . . From that sacred sacrifice thousands on thousands have been inspired to live as heroes and die as martyrs in the cause of human freedom, so lived and so died General Gordon, his death was a sacrificial offering on the altar of humanity.[19]

If Gordon had lived, the same author wrote, he would have been given "powers to suppress the slave trade, to stop the cruel oppressions under which natives suffered, and to establish the reign of justice and order, that is to give this region, so long full of the habitations of cruelty, the blessing of civilizations, by Christian laws and a Christian government."[20] As another commentator similarly declared:

> They see in it more than the rescue of one brave man, or of ten thousand men; they discern in it the laying of the foundation for a new and better order of things. The slave trade, with all its attendant horrors and abominations, is to be cut up by the roots. The inalienable rights of men – life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness – are to be asserted and vindicated; and this is to be done for the subject as well as for the ruling races.[21]

The point seemed obvious at the time – how could one not support the British advance when it would lead to such blessings? The trope of benevolent rule is widely recognized today as fundamental to British imperialism, and clearly there were those in the Canadian churches who imbibed it during the events in the Sudan. While the notion of trusteeship certainly provided a motivation and justification for imperial advancement, it also served the purpose of defending British actions against the claims of critics and quelling any pangs of conscience about conquest.[22]

Providence was considered to be the ultimate explanation for the rise of the empire and the ongoing British global expansion.[23] Late nineteenth-century providentialist readings of history saw God's hand in human affairs, guiding Britain's meteoric rise to prominence. It was considered an exciting time to be a part of the empire, and a great opportunity for a newly-minted Dominion to be associated with a grandiose divine plan foretold by the prophet Isaiah (Isaiah 19:21-25).[24]

Temporal and spiritual blessings were conflated, with the advance of Christianity and Western Civilization proceeding in a symbiotic

relationship. It was acknowledged that missionaries played an important role beyond preaching, for they aided in the work of advancing "civilization."[25] General Gordon himself acknowledged that fusion (for he believed the advance of empire and missions would help end the horrors of slavery), and he was praised at his death for making such a synthesis.[26] An integral - and arguably, for some, the most important - providential reason for the rise of the empire was the spread of Christian missions. The nineteenth century was the heyday of Protestant missions, what one historian calls the "great century of Protestant missions."[27] British Protestant denominations were at the vanguard of this missionary movement, sending 9,014 missionaries out of a total of 17,254 Protestant missionaries from all countries.[28] In fact, "by the middle of the nineteenth century, the 'missionary spirit' was being hailed by contemporaries . . . as the 'characteristic feature' of the religious piety for which the Victorians were rightly renowned."[29] Over the course of the nineteenth-century missionary societies were formed, funds were raised, and an increasing number of missionaries sent. The exploits of foreign missionaries and the call to missionary work were continually presented to the churches. Church life was marked by a vigorous commitment to personal conversion and evangelical missions, and the events of the late-nineteenth century fuelled that passion. One commentator supportive of the missionary work of the church pointed out what he deemed to be obvious during the British advance into the Sudan:

> The Church sees, or ought to see, even more than this in the drama which is being played in the valley of the Nile; it discerns, or ought to discern in it, the opening of another great field for missionary enterprise; another call to heroic and self-sacrificing effort for the subjection of the world to the dominion of Christ. It was the conviction that he was preparing the way for the spread of the Gospel that sustained Livingstone in his labourers and sufferings during his protracted and heroic work efforts to lay bare the heart of Africa. There is good reason to believe that Gordon has been supported by similar conviction, during all the dreary months that he has been shut up in Khartoum. It has been the settled belief that he is a factor in the accomplishment of the Divine purpose in respect to this vast equatorial region and the millions of its inhabitants. It is the conviction, too, that gives special interest, in our mind, to the fact that some of our own countrymen have the order of taking part in the Expedition ostensibly for the relief of Gordon and the garrison at Khartoum, but

> having for its ulterior object, as we believe - whether so intended by its projectors or not - the accomplishment of a far more important purpose."[30]

The link between British missions and empire is complicated and often ambiguous.[31] Missionaries advanced in the wake of empire or criticized the empire from within for its mistreatment of its subjects. They saw the empire as established by God for the spread of the faith, but those same missionaries could launch into a jeremiad for the empire's failure to live up to its high calling. As the above quote indicates, however, during the advance into the Sudan it seemed to some in the churches that the "more important" purpose of the advance of missions made a British victory imperative. The participation of Canadians in the expedition - even in a non-combat role - was also an indication of a sense of Canada's participation in God's plan, and a forming of a national identity that was decidedly imperial, and Anglo-Saxon.

It has become a truism that the assumption of Anglo-Saxon racial superiority was intrinsic to the formation of late nineteenth-century national and imperial identity in both the metropole and peripheries. Myra Rutherdale declares that the late-nineteenth century was "an age of classification" and that the "discourse of difference" was an everyday occurrence.[32] Terms like "race," "breed," "stock," "native," and the like were quite common and, for most, were considered to be inoffensive. Andrew Ross notes that by the end of the nineteenth century the idea of trusteeship had become very influential and that the idea of trusteeship shaped attitudes towards race.[33] What is apparent during the crisis in Africa is that notions of race fueled perceptions in the churches of British superiority, as well as the need for conquest. The discourse of racial superiority and trusteeship in the religious press's commentary on the Sudan - with expressions such as "teeming masses,"[34] "savage tribes,"[35] "barbarous life,"[36] "Dark Continent,"[37] a war between "barbarism and civilization"[38] implied an inferiority that justified and even necessitated imperial advance.

A passion for what Duncan Bell calls a Greater Britain was stoked by the news coming from Khartoum.[39] The events in Egypt led to a growing sense of the bonds of empire and Canada's political, ethnic, familial, and linguistic ties to the "Mother" country. For instance, there was positive commentary and celebration of the spread of English settlers and civilization from the seventeenth century to the present.[40] However,

what exactly was Canada's relationship to that empire? And what was Canada's role when an imperial conflict arose, such as in Egypt? There was commentary surrounding various notions surrounding some sort of imperial federation, but there was no enthusiasm for losing what Canada had already gained by way of Dominion status.[41]

Although coverage of the Nile Expedition continued into mid-1885, the events with Riel in the Canadian West, as well as the looming British-Russian war, began to eclipse interest in the Sudan.[42] The British evacuation of the Sudan after Gordon's death was also a factor in references to the Nile Expedition eventually disappearing from the press and pulpits. However, the absence of commentary did not mean that concern for empire had vanished. In fact, the imperial assumptions revealed in the brief flurry of reporting and preaching on the Sudan remained deeply imbedded within the discourse of Canadian Protestantism for generations and through a number of wars. For many, Canada's future could not be conceived outside of an imperial connection with Mother England.

Post-Sudan Imperial Commentary

The Sudan expedition ended, but passion for Britain's growing empire and Canada's imperial identity continued. The advance of mission work and church planting in western Canada was often couched, in part, with imperial aspirations and assumptions.[43] The progress of the Dominion was deemed to be an extension of the empire and a contribution to its growing strength. Racial assumptions associated with Anglo-Saxon superiority and empire were also an element of missionary discourse in the West. There is also evidence that during the domestic violence and unrest associated with Riel there were those in the churches that supported and propagated the alleged racial, religious, and cultural supremacy that was integral to Anglo-Saxon imperialism and civilization.[44] Yet it was during the two Jubilees that one can most clearly see the continued blooming of an imperial vision in the discourse of the churches.

Golden Jubilee 1887

A cursory look at church commentary during particular international events reveals even more clearly an ardent identification with Britain and empire, as well as an embracing of the ideals of imperialism. Queen

Victoria's Golden Jubilee (1887) was cause for celebration and special services throughout the nation, and imbedded within the commemorative commentary, prayers, poetry, official statements, and loyal addresses to the Queen there are glimpses of commitment to monarchy, empire, and imperialism that foreshadowed the late-nineteenth century zeal for imperialism most often associated with the war in South Africa. Themes such as the advancement of missions during the reign of Victoria, the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the spread of justice under the Union Jack were endemic in the imperial discourse.[45] As one Methodist commentary wrote, "The flag that floats from yonder flagstaff is nothing but a piece of colored bunting, but it is that and very much more. It represents the wealth, the culture, the energy, the power, the Christian civilization of the mightiest empire the world has ever seen. May Queen Victoria long be spared health and strength to rule over this extended empire."[46] The fact that Queen Victoria was dearly loved by most of her subjects in Britain in her later years seems to be beyond dispute.[47] The reaction to her Golden Jubilee indicates that her English-Canadian subjects were also quite enamored with her - perhaps even more so - and with the empire associated with her rule.[48]

Diamond Jubilee 1897

A decade later Britain had another opportunity to celebrate its greatness, despite a nagging sense of uncertainty and insecurity due to the rising power and ambition of nations such as Germany and the United States.[49] Between 19-24 June 1897 the empire was fixated on celebrating the sixtieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne. Tributes to the Queen flowed from friend and foe around the world, and Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier represented Canada during the festivities. The highlight of the Jubilee celebrations was on 22 June, when the royal procession, with 50,000 troops from the various regions of the empire, made its way from Buckingham Palace to St. Paul's Cathedral. The *Times* remarked: "History may be searched, and searched in vain, to discover so wonderful an exhibition of allegiance and brotherhood among so many myriads of men . . . The mightiest and most beneficial Empire ever known in the annals of mankind."[50] Poems, hymns, sermons, newspapers and new publications all extolled the virtues of the empire.

Canadian churches shared in the zeal for Queen and empire, with commentary and services surpassing the response to the Golden Jubilee.

Reporting of the Jubilee in the denominational press was extensive, providing readers with commentary, news, notes, and pictures of the celebrations.[51] Coverage in the *Wesleyan*, a Maritime-based denominational paper, is a good example of the lengths to which editors would go to satisfy public demand for news on the Jubilee festivities; the 23 June 1897 issue had eleven articles on some aspect of the Queen and Jubilee, not to mention numerous pictures to provide visuals for readers.[52] Poets created verse to praise the godly Victoria and her benevolent reign.[53] Special Jubilee church services were held across the country.[54] Denominations and clergy crafted loyal addresses, and prominent speakers exhorted the faithful to thank God for the reign of Victoria and the spread of empire under her rule.[55] For example, the Rev. Dr. Carman, General Superintendent of the Methodist Church, had paid tribute to Victoria during her Golden Jubilee, and a decade later was once again called upon to comment. He did not disappoint those who saw in her reign the providential blessing of God:

> All the chronicles of all the nations record nothing else equal to it. There has been removal of many ills and ancient disabilities, and the attainment and enjoyment of innumerable advantages and improvements. The shades of old barbarisms disappear, and brighter civilizations set the skin all aglow, and flash upward to the zenith […] A broadening and liberalized imperial policy, humanity, philanthropy, and religion shine forth with increasing radiance and strength, like the sun in the firmament […] And in her sovereignty, revered of all, brightest star is Britain's Queen.[56]

As this example of Carman indicates, discourse surrounding the Diamond Jubilee abounded with late-nineteenth century optimism. And that optimism was in no small measure due to what was believed to be the benefits of a rapidly expanding British imperial rule.

Themes related to missions, race, and justice that were expressed during the Golden Jubilee were reiterated in the Diamond Jubilee. Prominent Canadian imperialist George R. Parkin argued that one aspect of British superiority was the ability to govern: a "special capacity for political organization may, without race vanity, be fairly claimed for Anglo-Saxon people."[57] The racial superiority assumed in Parkin's statement was echoed in the churches' commentary regarding the Queen's Jubilee. The empire under Victoria's tenure was understood to have brought progress in literacy, communication, science, social reform,

transportation, electricity, canals, trade, religion, music and arts, tax reform, criminal laws, photography, and home comforts (e.g., soaps, glassware, sewing accessories, washboards). There was more than just material progress, however, for under the rule of Victoria the spread of missions had dramatically expanded. For churches enthused with the late-Victorian passion for missions, the fusion of imperial growth and missionary expansion was further cause for celebration. In other words, the empire advanced justice through its countless benefits and benevolent rule, and furthered missions through the safe conduct provided to missionaries.

Conclusion

On 2 September 1898, almost a decade and a half after the fall of Khartoum, Gordon's death was avenged when the British under the leadership of Major-General Kitchener captured the city. This battlefield success that made Kitchener a household name allowed for the expansion of previously-thwarted British imperial rule in the Sudan. As the following announcement of the victory indicates, it was believed that British control would better the lot of the Sudanese:

> Following the advance up the Nile and the capture of Khartoum and Omdurman, comes a proposition from the victorious General that a college and medical school be established at Khartoum in memory of General Gordon. The whole to cost about $300,000, which General Kitchener thinks the British public would gladly provide. Such a memorial would avenge the murder of Chinese Gordon in a spirit akin to his own, and would show the barbaric tribes of the Nile tributaries the great difference between the religion of Christ and the cruel fetishism of the Mahdi.[58]

By 1898, the New Imperialism, with its potent mix of imperialism, missions, national destiny, jingoism, providence, racism, Social Darwinism, the creation of the Other, providence, and social justice, was commonly expressed in the discourse of the churches and in their activities related to domestic and international events. There was no one view of imperialism, and there was no official church position on empire. Nevertheless, the churches did not escape the impact of this welter of events, passions, and beliefs, and imperial assumptions regarding missions, race, and justice had captured the imagination of many: the acquiring of Khartoum was just one more event that fit quite nicely into

the paradigm and providence of British advances and blessings. The following year would see Canadians themselves embark for South Africa to wage war against the Boers, and at that time imperialism among English Protestants was palpable and potent. And Canadians ardent for empire would be able fight for its expansion.

Endnotes

1. "General Gordon and the War," *Dominion Churchman*, 2 April 1885, 216-17.

2. "General Gordon," *Canadian Baptist*, 26 February 1885, 1.

3. "General Gordon," *Presbyterian Witness*, 21 February 1885, 60.

4. For instance, see "The Death of Gordon," *Christian Guardian*, 18 February 1885, n.p..; Rev. S. J. Douglass, "Khartoum," *Christian Guardian*, 4 March 1885, 138; "Chinese Gordon," *Christian Guardian*, 18 March 1885, n.p.; "Gordon's Letters," *Christian Guardian*, 18 March 1885, n.p.; "Another Voice from Khartoum," *Christian Guardian*, 15 July 1885, n.p.; Rev. M. R. Knight, "Gordon," *Wesleyan*, 2 April 1885, n.p.; "General Gordon," *Wesleyan*, 16 April 1885, n.p.; "General Gordon," *Presbyterian Witness*, 28 February 1885, 68; "Death of General Gordon," *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, March 1885, 281-83; "Ecclesiastical Notes," *Church Guardian*, 22 April 1885, 1; "Editorial Notes, *Evangelical Churchman*, 12 February 1885, 492; "British and Foreign News," *Evangelical Churchman*, 19 February 1885, 500; "The Late General Gordon," *Evangelical Churchman*, 19 March 1885, 559; "General Gordon and the War," *Dominion Churchman*, 2 April 1885, 216-17; "Tribute to General Gordon," *Dominion Churchman*, 9 April 1885, 231; "General Gordon Handkerchief," *Dominion Churchman*, 9 April 1885, 231; "General Gordon's Church Views," *Dominion Churchman,* 14 May 1885, 307; "Map of the Egyptian Soodan [sic] and Abyssinia," *Canadian Baptist*, 19 March 1885, 8; "A New Map of the Seat of the War," *Dominion Churchman*, 5 March 1885, 145.

5. For a discussion of the larger strategic position, especially in regard to India, see Adrian Preston, "Wolseley, the Khartoum Relief Expedition and the Defence of India, 1885-1900," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 6 (1978): 254-80.

6. Roy McLaren, Canadians on the Nile, 1882-1898: Being the Adventures of the Voyageurs on the Khartoum Relief Expedition and Other Exploits (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978), 129; Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1999), 109; C. P. Stacey, "Canada and the Nile Expedition of 1884-85,"

Canadian Historical Review 33 (1952): 325ff. The *Christian Guardian* noted the move to send Canadian volunteers, but did comment one way or the other as to supporting the idea. See "The Situation in the Soudan," *Christian Guardian*, 11 February 1885, n.p.

7. For instance, see Stacey, "Canada and the Nile Expedition of 1884-85," 319-40; C. P. Stacey, "John A. Macdonald on Raising Troops in Canada for Imperial Service, 1885," *Canadian Historical Review* 38 (1957): 37-40; C. P. Stacey, *Records of the Nile Voyageurs, 1884-1885* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1959); Michael Bumsted, "From the Red to the Nile: William Nassau Kennedy and the Manitoba Contingent of Voyageurs in the Gordon Relief Expedition, 1884-1885," *Manitoba History* 42 (Autumn/Winter 2001-2002): 19-26; John Boileau, "Voyageurs on the Nile," *Legion Magazine*, January/February, 2004 (Accessed: July 2010); Anthony P. Michel, "To Represent the Country in Egypt: Aboriginality, Britishness, Anglophone Canadian Identities, and the Nile Expedition, 1884-1885," *Social History* 39 (May 2006): 45-77; Peter Pigott, *Canada in the Soudan: War without Borders* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2009); Roy McLaren, Canadians on the Nile, 1882-1898: Being the Adventures of the Voyageurs on the Khartoum Relief Expedition and Other Exploits (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978). One article has been published on the churches and the Nile Expedition, see Gordon L. Heath, "The Nile Expedition, New Imperialism and Canadian Baptists, 1884-1885," *Baptist Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (July 2011): 171-86.

8. I have earlier argued that the churches' reaction to the South African War set such a pattern and precedent for Canada's future wars, but this reaction to the imperial advance up the Nile bumps that back to the conflict in the Sudan. See Gordon L. Heath, "The South African War: Prelude to the Great War," in *Canadian Churches and the First World War*, ed. Gordon L. Heath (Eugene: Pickwick, 2014), 15-33.

9. See Robert J. D. Page, *Boer War and Canadian Imperialism* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1987), 3; C. P. Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict, Volume One: 1867-1921* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 40-44. For French-Canadian views of imperialism, see A. I. Silver, "Some Quebec Attitudes in an Age of Imperialism and Ideological Conflict," *Canadian Historical Review* 57 (December 1976): 440-60. For Dutch views, see Timothy Nijhof and Catharina De Bakker, "The Dutch Community in the Kildonans (1893-1911): The English Churches and the War," *Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies* 26 (2005): 1-13. For Irish Catholic, see Mark G. McGowan, "The Degreening of the Irish: Toronto's Irish Catholic Press, Imperialism, and the Forging of a New Identity, 1887-1914," *Canadian Historical Association Papers* 24, no. 1 (1989): 118-45.

10. Perhaps not surprisingly, the Canadian response mirrored the Australian colonial response, although one important difference was that the Australians actually sent troops to the Nile. See K. S. Inglis, *The Rehearsal: Australians at War in the Sudan, 1885* (NSW: Rigby, 1985); and Malcolm Saunders, "A Case Study of Historical Inaccuracy: New South Wales and the Sudan Campaign of 1885," *Journal of Australian Studies* 8 (1984): 29-38.

11. Harrison M. Wright, ed., *The "New Imperialism," Analysis of Late Nineteenth-Century Expansion* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1961).

12. "The Results of the Berlin Conference," *Canadian Baptist*, 23 July 1885, 1. *The Wesleyan* printed an article a year later that described the scramble and what was taken in Africa and by whom. See "The Scramble for Africa, *Wesleyan*, 2 April 1885, n.p.

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14. *Christian Guardian*, 14 January 1885.

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John Webster Grant – John Moir
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"A Vital Christianity and A Genuine Democracy are Inseparable": Christian Democracy in the Canadian Protestant Press in the Second World War

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During the Second World War, Christian democracy was a major theme in the Canadian Protestant press. To twenty-first-century eyes this theme may seem something of a novelty, but for those who read the Anglican, Baptist, Presbyterian, and United Church denominational newspapers, Christian democracy was a familiar theme. It was also an important theme for three reasons. First, it was important because a majority of the newspapers' writers and readers believed democracy was the source of freedom for Canada and all Christian civilizations. Second, it was important because for Canadian Protestants, democracy, especially British democracy, was predicated on Christianity or Christian principles. This meant that anything that threatened democracy also threatened Christianity. In this way, the war was easily justified and construed as a righteous cause. Third, as I will demonstrate in this essay, democracy stood at the center of a web of interrelated assumptions and beliefs that informed the Canadian Protestant worldview and understanding of the war. In the Protestant denominational press, democracy was linked with the British empire, Canada's place in the empire, the Church's role and responsibility in Canada, Christian civilization, freedom, pacifism, the Royal Tour of

Canada of 1939, the war as a just and righteous cause, and God's providence and action in human history. In addition, there were numerous discussions that located the origins of democracy in the New Testament. In what follows I will show how democracy was connected to these various ideas and beliefs.[1]

In his survey of Canadian Church history since Confederation, John Webster Grant has suggested that, while the role of the Churches in the Second World War was similar to that of the First World War, there all resemblance ended. Appeals to aid the Motherland, and the hopes of a millennial victory, he noted, "were replaced by sober determination to finish a messy but necessary job."[2] It is true that the mainline Protestants did not respond to the Second World War in the enthusiastic and jingoistic manner in which they had to the First. However, Grant's statement and brief discussion of the Second World War leaves out a great deal. If the Great War had been the "war to end all wars," the Second World War was the war to save democracy and preserve Christian civilization against the threat of totalitarianism, Naziism, and Hitler. Grant is unable in his survey to show his readers that Canadian Protestants saw the war as a just cause in defense of Christian democracy and Christian civilization. Every element of their understanding of the war was in some way connected with this fundamental fact. Like Grant, my scope here has limits, so in this article I will survey a representative sample of the Protestant commentary on war and Christian democracy. I argue that the Protestant churches, generally, viewed the war as a just cause. They justified Canada's part in the war on the basis of a web of interrelated assumptions which all centered around, to varying degrees, their notions about Christian democracy.

Before proceeding it is important to clarify that this paper relies solely on the denominational newspapers of the United Church, Presbyterian Church in Canada, the Church of England in Canada, and Canadian Baptists. These were the four largest Protestant denominations with deep historical and cultural roots in Canada. Religious newspapers were a key feature of Protestant life in Canada between Confederation and the 1950s. Within their pages were not only editorials, denominational news, and sermons, but national and international news. As Gordon Heath has pointed out, the Protestant denominations had major influence and power in Canadian culture in the nineteenth century, and the denominational press was one of the tools by which that influence was disseminated.[3] This influence had begun to wane by the Second World War, but only

marginally. Numerous historians have noted that there exists between a newspaper and its readership a fundamental two-way relationship: the newspaper reflects the sentiments of its constituency, even if it is the organ of a denomination.[4] Given the widespread adherence to Protestantism in English-speaking Canada and these churches' cultural authority, the contents of the denominational press act as one window, among others, into the public opinion of a large constituency.

It should also be noted that I frequently refer to the Canadian Protestant "worldview." This term is uncommon in some circles, and even where it is frequently used it often remains vague. The term worldview is typically used to describe the sum of beliefs, assumptions, and ideas that shape how an individual perceives the world around them, regardless of whether the beliefs, assumptions, and ideas logically fit together. Indeed, it is inevitable that worldviews will contain tensions and contradictions. In this paper, though, worldview is used to refer to the broad collective outlook of Canadian Protestants. Specifically, certain ideas, beliefs, and assumptions that were widely held across the Canadian Protestant landscape. The subjects examined in this paper, such as Christian democracy, the British connection, pacifism, God's providence, and the war as a just cause, were all elements of the Canadian Protestant world-view. I realize this remains vague, but a worldview is somewhat nebulous at the best of times, and my purpose here is not to dissect the Canadian Protestant worldview and turn out its contents, but rather to show how important, interrelated components of that worldview shaped the Canadian Protestant view of the Second World War.

The Interwar Years

The years between the two World Wars has been called the "Decades of Discord" by historian John Thompson.[5] During these years Canadians were recovering from the horrific experience of the First World War, and also experiencing a lot of changes. The events of these two decades are the context in which the Second World War occurred and the setting in which Canadian Protestants understood the war.

It has been suggested, and widely agreed upon by historians of Christianity in Canada, that the English-speaking mainline Protestant denominations were deeply involved in and committed to nation-building. As Robert Wright has noted, the mainline Protestant denominations had preceded the birth of the nation and "identified deeply with Canadians'

emergent sense of nationality and community."[6] Phyllis Airhart has argued that the churches after Confederation became intimately involved in the twin challenges of creating His Dominion in Canada and winning the newly-opened western frontier for Christ.[7]

Canadian Protestants' involvement in shaping the nation was partially rooted by the largely evangelical Protestant culture that had developed in English-speaking Canada, especially Ontario.[8] Nation-building was also facilitated by this culture as it ensured that the churches had a long reach in shaping public opinion. Historians have also noted how, between the predominantly Christian culture, the churches' influence, and the churches' nation-building activity, a consensus arose between the largest of the Protestant denominations.[9] This consensus consisted in a shared presupposition about Christendom, a sense of destiny regarding Canada's place in the Christian British empire, a strong belief in the Church's responsibility for forming the nation through moral reform campaigns, a tendency to de-emphasize the differences of theology and polity between their respective denominations, and a strong optimism about their progress. This consensus provided the basis for interdenominational cooperation in social reform work, as well as the initial necessary groundwork for the church union movement. The Protestant consensus began to exhibit some strain around the turn of the century. Despite enthusiasm and optimism that the twentieth century would be Canada's century, the Social Gospel, theological differences and, most significantly, the First World War, challenged the consensus.[10] Both Robert Wright and John Webster Grant have claimed that the Protestant consensus began to crumble during the interwar period.[11] In the years immediately following 1918 a sense of the deep tragedy and horror of the Great War took hold and deeply held notions about the goodness and inevitable improvement of humankind crumbled. Disillusionment with democracy, capitalism, and Christianity was widespread. Robert Wright has noted that Canadian youth figured highly among the disillusioned, for they had been the ones forced to fight a war caused by the world of their parents. Consequently, Wright points out, the 1920s saw an unprecedented spirit of rebelliousness among Canada's youth.[12]

The Social Gospel movement, nebulous at the best of times, experienced success in the years immediately following the war as it responded to pressing social issues. However, as Richard Allen has noted, the movement began to decline in the latter half of the 1920s.[13] While the Social Gospel entered decline, the United Church of Canada was formed

in 1925.[14] During this decade too, Canadian Protestants experienced the collision of modernism and fundamentalism as it ripped apart the Canadian Baptist constituencies of Central and Western Canada.[15] However, though there were and continued to be divisions between conservative evangelicals and liberals, "all agreed that Canada ought to be fashioned into 'God's Dominion' – a Christian, democratic, and preferably British nation from sea to sea."[16]

The vision of Canada as the Lord's Dominion, which ran deeply in Canadian Protestantism, experienced a serious blow in the 1920s.[17] During the First World War the Protestants had claimed triumph when the Canadian Federal and Provincial governments passed prohibition legislation. The temperance movement, which had been heavily supported by the mainline denominations since before Confederation, was the grand cause of evangelicalism. The passage of prohibition legislation suggested to many Protestants that with this new law Canada had taken a huge step toward national holiness and moral purity, even if it had been passed primarily to aid the war effort. In the 1920s, however, one by one, each province repealed its prohibition laws. A sense of regression likely would have set in among many Canadian Protestants.

Concerns for a firm and lasting peace following the Great War were allayed by the creation of the League of Nations and a strong internationalism. Mission efforts around the world were redoubled in the belief that they were essential to developing and maintaining international harmony. At the same time, concerns hovered in the shadows over the new Soviet state in Russia, the rise of fascism in Italy, Naziism in Germany, the civil war in Spain, and, the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. Among Canadian Protestants, partially in response to these disconcerting international events and partially in response to the horrific experience of the war, pacifism gained widespread adherence. Tied to this particular brand of pacifism was a critique of capitalism, which, it was believed by many, had ultimately caused the Great War. Pacifism and social concerns seemed to go hand in hand, and socialism, even communism, looked appealing to some Protestants. The dim view of capitalism was furthered by the Great Depression, which hit Canada's labourers and rural communities harder than most.

In the turmoil of these two decades between the World Wars there were some events that would have been viewed by Canadian Protestants as small victories in a world where religion, particularly Protestant Christianity, appeared to have just entered a period of decline. The

creation of the United Church of Canada was one such cause for celebration, as was the formation of the League of Nations. The creation of InterVarsity Christian Fellowship, which distinguished itself from the Student Christian Movement, took place in this time, and both sought to inspire youth with Christian religion. The Oxford Group Movement, later called Moral Re-Armament, arrived in Canada in 1932 with an interest in fostering personal and pietistic religion among college students. There was also a brief resurgence of revival when the UCC brought Toyohiko Kagawa, a Japanese evangelist, to Canada in the early 1930s.

Despite these small victories, Canadian Protestants in the Interwar period lived in a world that appeared far less certain than it had before 1914. Democracies seemed to be failing, social issues were all too prominent, fascism and communism were on the rise, and a lack of interest in organized religion existed where it had not previously. The death of a strong king, George V, seemed to mark the end of an era, especially once his son Edward VIII abdicated in the midst of controversy, and in so doing seemed to denigrate the virtue of the monarchy. Notions of imperial loyalty and Canada's connection to Britain also suffered in the Interwar period.[18] In the midst of these macro-level changes, Canadian Protestants observed the rise of Hitler and Naziism in Germany and, by the mid-1930s, the idea of another war, though fervently hoped against, became a likely reality.

It is then not surprising that democracy should figure so largely in the denominational press in light of the anti-democratic clamour arising from Germany, Italy, and Spain in the 1930s. Indeed, many of the norms, patterns, and assumptions that had seemed to characterize Canadian life since the late nineteenth century were being challenged. The denominational press indicated a view of western democracy, and British democracy in particular, as embattled. And, as one would expect in denominational newspapers, the relationship of democracy to Christianity was a key theme. In what follows I will begin by showing how Christianity and democracy were conflated in the Protestant denominational press. Then, I will briefly consider how several other important elements of the Canadian Protestant worldview and interpretations of the war overlapped, to varying degrees, with notions of Christian democracy.

Christian Democracy versus Totalitarianism

Before the war even began the denominational press was replete with discussion of international events, the problems facing Jewish refugees, the likelihood of war, and the feasibility of pacifism, to name only a few of the issues facing them.[19] Concerns about totalitarian states like Germany were foremost among their considerations. An article in the *Canadian Churchman* from February 1939 admitted that fascism and communism presented a challenge to decent democracy. The writer went on, however, to state that "*They offer an essential challenge to Christianity*."[20] This article, and others like it, indicate a world view in which freedom and democracy were inextricably intertwined with Christianity. The writer emphasized that a successful and flourishing democracy depended primarily on Christian ideals. He quoted a resolution that he believed expressed the mind of "our Church leaders in this matter." The resolution recognized "the essential fact that political democracy and freedom can be secured for all, and retained by winning victories for Jesus Christ in better economic and social relationships."[21] The resolution itself stated, in part, "that the Council believes that the freedom we desire for all classes of our people can only be realized in the regulation of our economic and social relationships in closer harmony with the principles of our Lord Jesus Christ."[22]

Economic injustice was identified by the writer as the source of communism and fascism's reactionary forces. He claimed that "the only way to avoid the evils of either Communism or Fascism, or both, is *through Christian fellowship* to affect and direct Industry, Economics, and International Affairs. This Christian Fellowship is not merely a sentiment towards goodwill; it is goodwill, unselfishness and sacrifice in operation." As for the source of freedom and this seemingly all-important Christian fellowship, it was "a heritage of Christian tradition."[23] The key concept proclaimed by this author was the assumption that Christianity, freedom, and democracy were intertwined, and that Christian civilization, which included Canada, needed Christianity to strengthen the moral and economic fabric of the nation, in order to successfully face the threat of totalitarianism.

Another article in the *Canadian Churchman* assessed democracy in comparison to dictatorships. The author found that democracy had been seriously hindered by a severance of obligation from democratic citizenship. The writer argued that democracy, in its essence, required its citizens

to serve in times of both peace and war. Secondly, he pointed out, democracy required that such service be both excellent in quality and voluntary. Western democracies, he argued, in order to remain democratic and resist Hitler's Nazis, could only hope to maintain their democracy by changing their whole idea of life and living together. He wrote, "What chance is there of this until we change our whole idea of life; our whole idea of living together; and what's more, until we change it to a full Christian content. For our faith bids us give; it bids us serve; it bids us pull together."[24] Like the author of the previous article, this writer assumed a deep interconnection between Christianity and democracy, noting that democracy only worked well when its citizens lived by Christian principles. Again, as in the previous article, there was an idea of a revivified Christianity bolstering democracy. Put another way, it was the churches articulating their role. They believed they needed to call their flocks to renew their faith, and in so doing they would strengthen the nation.

The *Maritime Baptist* boldly equated democracy with rationality as it contrasted both with dictatorship, irrationality, and brutality. One article, describing the western democracies' attempts to avoid war, argued, "the democracies were most desirous to sit around a conference table in peace and let reason determine the issue."[25] Germany's choice to follow the course of brutality and invade Poland forced Britain either to declare war, or to admit to the world that "her plighted word was worthless, her honour a sham and her democracy meaningless."[26] Yet here was no reason to despair. The writer noted that even though nobody knew what the future held, "in this case, as in every other, faith in God and in the justice of our cause is the most powerful ally we can have, nationally and individually."[27] The writer further stated that "equally important is that those who take part in upholding and defending a righteous cause shall themselves be worthy of the cause they espouse."[28] Prayer, he suggested, was a practical way to aid the war effort: "Prayer taps the resources of the Eternal. It gives light on the dark path of duty and brings a clear and uncertain sense of right to those who seek to do God's will. It keeps patriotism pure and strong."[29] He concluded the article by reassuring his readers that "God has not forsaken His world . . . he will not forsake those whom He has entrusted with the establishment of His Kingdom on the earth."[30] Though avoiding a direct discussion of the Christian origins of democracy or a special relationship between the two, the article was forthright about the Allied cause being not merely righteous but reason-

able, assuring readers moreover that God was on their side for He had entrusted them, Protestant British Canadians, with the establishment of His kingdom on earth.

Another article in the *Maritime Baptist* claimed that totalitarianism was the greatest threat to the church since the fall of the Roman Empire. The writer stated that, "the claim that the need and the authority of the State must override every other loyalty is one which Christian men can never admit."[31] He also noted that the freedom that Americans loved and that Britons cherished was never guaranteed to remain: "less than a generation ago freedom seemed assured in countries in which it has now been swept away."[32] The author then came to his key point: "Are there now mutterings in our own countries from which we should take warning? Has America no people who dabble in Fascism, Nazi-ism, and anti-religious Communism? We shall do well to give heed to the signs of the times. *Wrong ideas can spread like a plague, and the Churches must meet them with the truth.*"[33] Thus framed Christian truth became the only effective response to Naziism.

The unique relationship between Christianity and democracy was further expounded upon in the *Canadian Baptist*, where it was argued that British democracy had its origins in the New Testament. One article, entitled "The Spiritual Foundations of Democracy," argued that democracy has "two main principles; the principle of freedom and the duty of considering others. The privilege we are all willing to accept but are we so ready to carry out the duty? Can we come to see this duty not as something burdensome, but as a joyous privilege? The privilege of loving our neighbour as much, that we want to help him in every way possible."[34] For this writer democracy's inherent privilege of freedom was the privilege of loving one's neighbour.

A writer declared in another article that, "Democracy then is a form of government which can be established and maintained only by those who have learned to govern themselves on a moral and spiritual basis, who have learned to think in terms of the greatest good for the greatest number."[35] This author connected this idea of the common good to the Christian theme of sacrifice, writing, "I like to think that democracy was born in the Garden of Gethsemane in that hour when the Master cried, 'Father . . .' In that hour the complete surrender of self-will and self-interest for the good of humanity was achieved."[36]

Yet another article, this one written by the influential President of the Baptist World Alliance, John Rushbrooke, proclaimed that "the perfect

democracy demands a fully Christianized society . . . it is a Christian concern to stand for democracy . . . where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."[37] Expanding on this theme of liberty another article stated the foundational belief that "a vital Christianity and a genuine Democracy are inseparable. The native air of Christianity is liberty . . . Liberty and the spirit of Jesus are one in the same."[38]

Some of these statements may appear extreme, especially in comparison with some of the statements from other newspapers, but it should be noted that the concept of Christian liberty was a key element of Canadian Baptist identity at this time. It was not unusual for Baptists to think of themselves as a fundamentally democratic denomination and to pride themselves on their emphasis on liberty (usually stated as soul liberty or religious liberty). Thus the war, with its strong overtones of anti-democratic power, became an occasion for Baptists to elucidate the Christian foundations of British-style democracy. Of course, this concern was evinced throughout the other Protestant press, and while democracy was of particular interest for Canadian Baptists, I have demonstrated here that it was cherished across the spectrum of Canadian Protestants.

Empire and the King of Canada

The idea of the British Empire was also deeply implicated in the Protestant connection between democracy and Christianity. In the two decades between the World Wars there appeared to be a cooling of imperial sentiment and the strong sense of connection to Britain and the empire that had characterized some of the rhetoric and thinking in the Great War and the Boer War. The Royal Visit in 1939, however, revived a sense of loyalty and imperial pride among many and underscored the relationship between British monarchs and democracy. Though British democracies might stand under a growing threat of totalitarianism, the Royal Visit provided reignited Canadians' pride not only in the monarchy but also in their longstanding connection with Britain, and, in their view, Canada's senior position within the British Empire.

A writer for the *Maritime Baptist* argued that the recent Royal Tour of Canada by His Majesty George VI and Queen Elizabeth had breathed new life into Canada and the Empire's democratic spirit. He suggested that it, "led the citizens of the Dominion to feel that we will join ourselves to no party that does not carry the flag and keep step to the music of the Empire."[39] He likened the Royal pair to the Roman Vestal Virgins who

tended the sacred fires of Rome, and who thereby "refreshed the fires of patriotism, which is the vital condition of national permanence."[40] This writer also affirmed the rational nature of democracy and the irrational nature of Nazism when he stated the now dashed hope that the

> science of destruction would flee before the arts of peace, and that human wisdom might withstand the assaults of blind prejudice and hate, it has been the fate of the statesmen of democracy to meet a situation in which honor and truth, the noblest values of the race, have been ruthlessly ignored; evil has been crowned as good, mendacity reigns in high places, and liberty for which millions have struggled and suffered has not only been counted as worthless dross, but its possession forbidden, and organized might has sought to drive it from the earth.[41]

He went on to praise the British statesmen who had exhausted every avenue of peace noting that they had "explored every avenue which contained the slightest possibility of peace, knowing it to be the masterpiece of reason." In this way the rationality, and by extension the superiority of British democracy, was affirmed. In this way the reasonableness of democracy reinforced the justice of the cause. He pointed out that British statesmen possessed the "confidence that the cause they champion is righteous and right shall prevail."[42] The writer then broadened his scope to embrace the whole empire while noting Canada's special place in it: "An implicit trust in their leadership and strong pride in it as well, characterizes the entire Empire from Cape Colony to the Antipodes, from New Zealand to the States of the Princes of India, from England, 'that brilliant star upon the crest of time,' to Canada the fairest jewel in the Imperial Crown."[43]

The *United Church Observer* echoed the *Maritime Baptist* in its view that the Royal visit had reinvigorated the democratic spirit of Canadians. "I feel this visit of our King and Queen will cement not only the ties of Empire and the *bon entente* between the two dominant races on this North American continent," observed on writer, "but will immeasurably strengthen the aims and ideals of democracy throughout the world."[44] The same writer further praised British democracy: "where else but in a democracy could a king and queen mingle so freely among the common people, unmolested and unafraid? It augurs well for the future progress of the democratic ideal of government when distinctions of Royalty and commoners are so lost sight of as to make them one – one desire to serve,

one in their will to achieve lasting good for all mankind, one in their whole-hearted co-operation to build the newer and better world order."[45]

The matter of royalty and Canadian loyalty were connected in a letter to the editor that claimed to be disgusted by the *Observer's* editorials, filled as they were with pacifist sentiments. The writer noted that pacifists, and apparently the editor, objected to "the association of allegiance to God with allegiance to King and country."[46] In response, he argued that pacifism always ended, logically, in disloyalty. He warned that the *United Church Observer* should take notice because "the vast majority of our church members will continue to regard loyalty to King and country as second only to loyalty to God."[47]

Empire, monarchy, and Canadian patriotism were thus unyieldingly equated by the Canadian Protestant press. Indeed, writers in the denominational press would on occasion move beyond implicit arguments to state outright the importance of Canada's relation to the rest of the empire. This led some to go so far as to assert that only when the claims of the state became one with the claims of religion, that is Protestant Christianity, would the state finally become what it was meant to be: "When the empire of men is in effect the empire of God: when the Kingdom of the spirit places its seal on the physical realm then shall come that free totalitarianism which we need, that free claim on the whole man which joins with a free offering of the whole man, in glad service and surrender."[48] Once this had been accomplished, "then the state will be what it was meant to be, the necessary structure through which the life of God finds its fullness in the wider ways of men."[49] This concept dovetailed with the nation-building ethos that pervaded many of Canada's largest Protestant churches and aligned with the Protestant belief that Canada was a Christian nation. The same writer stated that "it was [with] something like this in mind that our fathers named this land a Dominion. We hear a lot of 'Dominion Status.' True Dominion status will only be found when we read into our national life the words of the Psalmist that we have claimed as our own. 'His Dominion shall be from sea to sea.'"[50]

At the same time that arguments like this were being advanced, Protestant notions about Canadian identity and patriotism continued to be inextricably linked with a durable cultural connection to Britain. There was a strong sense of pride rooted in the belief that much of what was good in the world came from Christianity and British history. As one article in the *Canadian Baptist* stated:

> The best things in our British tradition and our Empire's life are the things that grow out of Christian elements in our past and present. British law and justice, British love of fair-play, British tolerance and liberty, and the strong humanitarian and philanthropic strains in our national life – these are all the products of the Christian faith of Christian Britishers . . . it is the bounden duty of every Christian citizen to do all in his power to strengthen and deepen such Christian elements in the nation's life . . . The nation and the Empire need YOUR contribution to its highest life.[51]

Democracy and Pacifism

As Gordon Heath has shown, pacifism found a widespread acceptance among Canadian Protestants in the wake of the First World War.[52] While the rapid rejection of pacifism among Protestants in the autumn of 1939 is beyond the scope of this essay, it is important to point out that pacifism not only endured within the United Church but even caused a controversy in October 1939. While pacifism was not the position of the majority in the United Church, it had sufficient influence to shape the General Council's statement in 1938 that war was contrary to the mind of Christ. For the entire year of 1939 there was an ongoing and heated discussion on the subject in the *United Church Observer* located primarily in the letters-to-the-editor. Pacifism as expressed in the United Church and its newspaper merits an essay, nay a monograph, on its own. What follows here is a brief overview of the way in which pacificism was connected to common Canadian Protestant ideas about Christianity, freedom, and democracy.

One article in the *United Church Observer* argued that freedom, democracy, and social institutions could not be defended by the rejection of Christ seemingly entailed by the pacifist position.[53] The need to defend democracy was further underscored in a sermon printed in a double-page feature entitled, "The Pulpit Looks at Church and War: From West to East our Ministers Face the Problem of What the Christian Attitude to War Should Be." This piece opened with the statement, "once more we are called to uphold the sacredness of pledges given, to fight for democracy."[54] This preacher recognized that some members of the UCC were doing some serious soul-searching over the war and the proper Christian response to it. He stated that "if when we come back from our waiting upon God, we take up arms for righteousness, like the knights of old, it will be with an abiding uncertainty that we are working for Him."[55] While thus seeming

to endow the nascent war with the religious significance of a crusade, the writer went on to argue that, "we all owe too much to our Empire, and to our nation, to stand aside at this time, and let others carry our burden."[56] And yet the same writer also called the church to safeguard freedom of conscience and all democratic liberties in the midst of the war. For this reason, he advocated that the church must not become entirely identified with the purposes of the State, as it had in the First World War. He concluded by stating that "the Church must teach and proclaim that God will defend the right . . . that though right is worsted, wrong cannot conquer."[57]

The *United Church Observer*, when compared to the other denominational newspapers, evidenced a kind of ambivalence toward the war as it became the only Protestant newspaper to consistently give voice to dissenting views while offering a space to critique the identification of Christianity with democracy. For example, one article that, though it critiqued pacifism, advocated caution "lest we be tempted to identify the cause of God with even such a desired form of government as democracy."[58] And yet, he wondered, "what will happen to democracy, what will happen to us, if we do not defend ourselves?" One of his answers was "if democracy be of God, God will" defend it. A brief analysis of the thirty-first chapter of Isaiah led him to conclude by asking "is not democracy also in His hands, or does He no longer rule the world?"[59] Even in critiquing the close identification of Christianity and democracy, then, this writer assumed God's intervention in human history to preserve and protect Christian civilization, which was, of course, democratic.

Although there were many pieces published in the *United Church Observer* that supported the war, there were many more that argued for a pacifist position. No doubt encouraged by the pacifist leanings of the editor, the pacifist position grew to occupy a place larger than life in the *United Church Observer*. Its presence was certainly disproportionate to the actual numbers of pacifists in the United Church.[60] It is not so surprising, then, that the "Witness Against the War Manifesto" printed in the *Observer* in October 1939, sparked such controversy.[61] However, by early 1940, the discussion had largely been laid to rest. Regardless of whether one held to pacifism or saw the war as a just cause, democracy and its deep connection with Christianity informed their views.

Yet support for the war effort could still be found in the *Observer.* One article described the discussion and decision about war reached by the

Oshawa Presbytery of the United Church. The viewpoint agreed upon in this discussion was one of regret "that the Christian ideal does not yet prevail in the world and confess our share in the failure of the Church to make it dominant."[62] Surely, had Christian ideas spread more fully and taken root more deeply, this war would not have occurred. Emphasizing God's fatherhood over all peoples, the statement went on to say that, "We deplore war; and while we recognize the sincerity of the pacifist, yet we must insist that Christian principles, upon which our democracy is based, must be upheld today, even at the risk of life itself."[63]

A statement from the National Executive of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order implied a similar understanding of the Christian origins of democracy. The statement outlined five tasks of the church in wartime which both the pacifist and the supporter of war could perform. The first task was "The Task of Interpretation." It noted that the government's professed aim was to defend democracy and to oppose fascism. This provided an opportunity for the church to "teach our people the true meaning of the democratic way of life."[64]

This brief survey of pacifism in the Protestant press has focused solely on the United Church. This is not because other Protestant churches lacked pacifists, but because the presence of pacifism in the denominational press was primarily located in the United Church.[65] Though the discussions surrounding pacifism in the *Observer* seemed to offer the only critique of identifying Christianity too closely with democracy, Christian democracy still played a foundational role in their view of the war and their discussion about how to respond to war.

Prayer and God's Providence

Christian democracy was also connected with ideas about God's Providence – understood here as God's actions in human history and human affairs. This had a practical outworking in Canadian Protestant spirituality. The church, for example, frequently called for days of prayer. In one such instance, the *Presbyterian Record* printed a call for a week of reconsecration "of the Canadian people to our cause" in October 1941. The proclamation stated "at the beginning of the third year of this war the leaders of democracy have re-affirmed their determination to continue the struggle until the evil of Nazi tyranny has been destroyed."[66] The proclamation also stated "and know ye further that we do also hereby ordain and declare this week as one of reconsecration of our lives and

principles which under Divine Providence have been our stay and help in the past, to the end that torment may be lifted from men's hearts and peace and safety come for all nations and peoples."[67] These denominational statements prized democracy over and against the totalitarian Nazi regime, and more importantly indicated the need for purity of life and principle before God, all while hoping that the war might end.

In early September 1939, the Governor General proclaimed a day of prayer and intercession for October 8, 1939. The statement, printed in the *Canadian Baptist,* noted that it would be a day "of humble prayer and intercession to Almighty God on behalf of the cause undertaken by Canada, by the United Kingdom and other Dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations."[68] The belief in God's Providence, and that God was active in human affairs came to the fore following the events at Dunkirk. The *Canadian Baptist* contained an article that not only stated the conviction that God acted at Dunkirk, but that this divine intervention was in response to a National Day of Prayer held in England the week prior to the miraculous event. While the events at Dunkirk were seen as a consequence of divine action, and as proof that God was truly on the side of the Allies, the Allied war situation looked bleak late in the summer of 1940. During this grim time a joint statement was issued that appeared throughout the Canadian Protestant press. It was signed by the leaders of each of the four mainline denominations and it called upon Canadians to hold fast in their confidence in God. It stated their collective belief, "that our cause is the cause of Christian civilization, and that Divine Power and guidance will be given to us to win victory for it," and it called on all who believed in God and righteousness to "give themselves to this sacred cause."[69]

King George VI issued an empire-wide call to a day of prayer and intercession late in the summer of 1940. The *Canadian Churchman* noted the upcoming day in an editorial and encouraged its readers to "respond eagerly because all our Empire will be joining with us. What a power of prayer will go forth that day. If we join with all our brethren in the Commonwealth and really and truly rededicate ourselves to Christ we can expect such a blessing in our national life that will surprise us."[70] Responding to the same appeal from the King for a Day of Prayer, the *Presbyterian Record* included a statement from the Moderator who expressed his hope that Canadian Presbyterians on that day would "earnestly supplicate God's help for the cause of freedom and civilization."[71] Prayer was one of the major responses to the war undertaken by

Canadian Protestants, and their efforts in this regard really seemed to intensify during 1940, when an Allied victory appeared unlikely. As a writer for the *Canadian Churchman* noted, "the power of prayer that goes to God from the civilized world at this time is truly wonderful."[72]

A Just and Righteous Cause

As this essay has already suggested, the close alignment and near conflation of democracy with Christianity, and the connection of these with Canada's place in the British Empire, necessarily resulted in a view of the war as a just cause. But the war was not merely a just cause. It was a righteous cause. One article that had praised the British leaders who tried so hard to avoid the war claimed a confidence "that the cause they champion is righteous and right shall prevail."[73] In the *Observer,* one United Church minister argued that it was the responsibility of the church to teach "and proclaim that God will defend the right, and though right is worsted, wrong cannot conquer."[74] A statement from the president of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec printed in the *Canadian Baptist* stated that "the time has come when a free enlightened people, patient beyond all precedent, has become grimly, resolutely determined that this unholy thing that has risen in the earth must be resisted and crushed."[75] In an editorial on the outbreak of war in the *Canadian Baptist*, the editor justified the war on the basis that "the lives and liberties of nations everywhere were threatened by the ruthless racketeer of the Rhine. So it is War."[76]

The *Canadian Churchman* didn't include an official statement outlining the justice of the cause, but it was strongly implied in various sermons and editorials. One printed sermon, which gave an extended outline of how the Church should respond to the outbreak of war, made the point that the war was really a fight to establish the ultimate peace: "In the days and weeks to come, many millions of men will march forth, going to war to fight for an ultimate peace," and that "through their noble action some contribution to the cause of an ultimate peace may be made."[77]

Canadian Protestants held a common belief that Christianity (read Christian democracy) was the direct antithesis of fascism and Naziism. Indeed, given the rhetoric surrounding "the cause," it is difficult to see how they could interpret the war as anything but a religious conflict – a war between good and evil. This led some Canadian Protestants to stray into the belief that the war "dreadful though it is, becomes a holy

crusade."[78] A similar sentiment described the Allied forces as being "soldiers of the cross which unites us with our fellow believers in the great fight under Christ's banner against all forces of paganism and irreligion in the life around us."[79] Views such as these inevitably led to the demonization of the enemy. A typical example identified Hitler as the Anti-Christ. One article declared that "to defeat this Anti-Christ we have the unfailing promises of God . . . we will, as Christ's Crusaders, meet the challenge."[80] Canadian Protestants' view of the war as a just and righteous cause based on Christian democracy had its logical conclusion in both support for the war and the demonization of the enemy.

Conclusion

This brief survey began by demonstrating the concept of Christian democracy in the Canadian Protestant press. From there it showed how various facets of the Canadian Protestant worldview were linked with, or overlapped with, a belief in Christian democracy. John Grant has argued that Canadian Christians held a presupposition of Christendom which shaped their worldview. I submit that this presupposition of Christendom assumed a Christian democracy in Canada and the British Empire. For Canadian Protestants, Christian civilization could scarcely be discerned from Christian democracy.

For many Canadian Protestants the origins of democracy were widely believed to be found in Jesus himself, or more vaguely, in general Christian ideals or principles. They thus believed that God himself would intervene in human history in defence of democracy. Discussions of pacifism, for or against, were frequently linked with democracy and Christianity. Democracy was also attached to ideas of empire, loyalty to the British empire, Canada's place in the empire, as well as the King and Queen, and especially their Royal visit in the spring of 1939. And, last, but perhaps most importantly, it was at the center of the depiction of the war as a just and righteous cause.

There were other important facets of the Canadian Protestant worldview that the confines of space and time prevent me from exploring here. One of these was the Protestant churches' ideas about its role in Canadian society as nation-builders and influencers of public opinion. The Protestant press exhibited this concern in its polemics against the "liquor traffic" and their desire to restrict commercial activity on Sundays to protect the sanctity of the Lord's Day. This and other concerns about

public morality were tied to the war effort. Sometimes it was conceived as a necessity for Allied victory, but more often it was connected to the enduring Protestant interest in establishing a lasting peace after the war in the form of a new world order built upon Christian principles. Indeed, the interest in establishing such a peace was evident in the Protestant press from the moment the war began. These elements of the Canadian Protestant view of the war, which require further research, will be explored in my forthcoming work.

What I have meant to demonstrate in this article is that the overlap of Christianity and democracy at the heart of the Canadian Protestant worldview was, (a) connected at a deep level to many other important ideas, beliefs, and assumptions, which, (b) together formed the framework or lens through which they viewed and interpreted the war. The central notion of Christian democracy and the other various elements of the Canadian Protestant worldview resulted in their interpretation of the war not merely as a just and righteous cause, but as a war between good and evil. The survival of Christian civilization was at stake.

Endnotes

1. The role of the concept of Christian civilization in Canadian Protestant support of the war effort has received limited analysis in Charles Thompson Sinclair Faulkner, "Christian Civilization: The Churches and Canada's War Effort, 1939-1942" (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1975).

2. John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Vancouver: Regent College, 1988), 151.

3. See Gordon L. Heath, "Forming Sound Public Opinion," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 48, no. 2 (2006): 109-59.

4. See Knudson, "Late to the Feast," §1-2, https://www.historians.org/publicationsand-directories/perspectives-onhistory/october-1993/lateto-the-feast; Also see Robert Wilkinson, "'To the Front': British Newspaper Advertising and the Boer War," in *The Boer War: Direction, Experience, and Image*, ed. by John Gooch (New York: Routledge, 2013), 203-12.

5. John Herd Thompson and Allen Seager, *Canada, 1922: Decades of Discord* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985).

6. Robert Wright, "Canadian Protestant Tradition 1914-1945," in *The Canadian Protestant Experience*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 151.

7. Phyllis Airhart, "Ordering a New Nation and Reordering Protestantism," in *The Canadian Protestant Experience*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 99.

8. Among others, this has been noted and studied by William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989); see also, Michael Gauvreau, "Protestantism Transformed: Personal Piety and the Evangelical Social Vision, 1815-1867," in *The Canadian Protestant Experience*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 48-97.

9. Airhart, "Ordering a New Nation," 99.

10. Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era*, 96. Grant claims that Canadians had a strong sense of destiny in the larger domain of the British empire.

11. Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era*, 113-21. This is Wright's thesis in "Canadian Protestant Tradition."

12. Wright, "Canadian Protestant Tradition," 145.

13. See Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

14. Allen suggests that, even though the church union movement and the social gospel seemed to be complementary causes, once the United Church had been formed, the realities of union, re-organization, and the temperance crisis indefinitely postponed the priority of social gospel goals. See Allen, *The Social* Passion, 263.

15. For an account of the controversy in the BCOQ surrounding T. T. Shield's and McMaster, see Clark Pinnock, "Modernist Impulse at McMaster University, 1887-1927," in *Baptists in Canada: Search for Identity Amidst Diversity*, ed. Jarold K. Zeman (Burlington, ON: Welch Company, 1980), 193-208. The impact of the controversy and resulting schism on the university has been studied by George Rawlyk, *Canadian Baptists and Christian Higher Education* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 31-62.

16. Wright, "Canadian Protestant Tradition," 151.

17. To see how deeply this vision persisted among Canadian Methodists consult Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996).

18. While part of this was because of disillusionment following the Great War, it was also further facilitated by the passage of the Statute of Westminster which changed Canada's legal standing from a semi-autonomous dominion, to a

sovereign and autonomous nation within the commonwealth. Canadian politicians had been instrumental in the passage of this act through British Parliament.

19. The Protestant response to the persecution of the Jews in Germany, while important, is beyond the scope of this essay. See, for example, Haim Genizi, *The Holocaust, Israel, and the Canadian Protestant Churches* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002).

20. "Christianity, Communism and Fascism: A Call to Thinking People," *Canadian Churchman*, 2 February 1939 (original emphasis).

21. "Christianity, Communism and Fascism."

22. "Christianity, Communism and Fascism."

23. "Christianity, Communism and Fascism" (original emphasis).

24. "Democracy," *Canadian Churchman*, 9 February 1939.

25. "War Forced Upon Us," *Maritime Baptist*, 13 September 1939.

26. "War Forced Upon Us."

27. "War Forced Upon Us."

28. "War Forced Upon Us."

29. "War Forced Upon Us."

30. "War Forced Upon Us."

31. "Christianity and the Totalitarian State," *Maritime Baptist*, 13 September 1939.

32. "Christianity and the Totalitarian State."

33. "Christianity and the Totalitarian State" (my emphasis). Note that despite the fact that the writer refers to America, it was written by a Briton (he refers to himself as this elsewhere in the article) presenting an address in the United States.

34. "The Spiritual Foundations of Democracy," *Canadian Baptist*, 2 February 1939.

35. "Where Democracy was Born," *Canadian Baptist*, 2 February 1939.

36. "Where Democracy was Born."

37. "Spiritual Freedom from Constraints of Earthly Authority," *Canadian Baptist*, 30 March 1939.

38. "Baptist Democracy in a World of Dictators," *Canadian Baptist*, 13 April 1939.

39. "The Statesmen of Great Britain," *Maritime Baptist*, 20 September 1939.

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44. "The Royal Visit," *United Church Observer*, 15 June 1939.

45. "The Royal Visit."

46. "Objects to Editorial," *United Church Observer*, 15 June 1939.

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48. "Democracy," *Canadian Churchman*, 9 February 1939.

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52. Gordon L. Heath, "The Rise and Fall (and Resilience) of the Peace Movement Among Presbyterians and the United Church in the Interwar Years, 1919-1939," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2019) 51-77; Gordon L. Heath, "'We Are Through with War': The Rise and Fall of Pacifism among Canadian Baptists Between the Two World Wars," *Baptistic Theologies* 9, no. 2 (2017), 37-53; and Gordon L. Heath, "Irreconcilable Differences: Wartime Attitudes of George C. Pidgeon and R. Edis Fairbairn, 1939-1945," *Canadian Society of Church History Papers*, 1999.

53. "What Should the Church Do About War," *United Church Observer*, 15 September 1939.

54. "What is the Message of the Church?" *United Church Observer*, 1 October 1939.

55. "What is the Message of the Church?"

56. "What is the Message of the Church?"

57. "What is the Message of the Church?"

58. "Pacifism," *United Church Observer*, 1 July 1939.

59. "Pacifism."

60. Ian McKay Manson, "The United Church and the Second World War," in *The United Church of Canada: A History,* ed. Don Schweitzer (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012), 61.

61. This document was published and signed by a group of pacifist ministers in the UCC. For an excellent account of this controversy and its origins see David R. Rothwell, "United Church Pacifism, October 1939," *Bulletin* XXII (1973-1975), 36–55.

62. "The Presbyteries Speak Out," *United Church Observer*, 15 October 1939.

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65. There was limited discussion of pacifism in the *Canadian Baptist,* but it tended to focus on the shortcomings of pacifism and discussing reasons not to be a pacifist.

66. "Reconsecration Week," *Presbyterian Record*, October 1941.

67. "Reconsecration Week."

68. "Governor-General's Proclamation: Day of Prayer and Intercession," *Canadian Baptist*, 28 September 1939.

69. "The Call of the Hour," *Presbyterian Record*, July 1940.

70. "A Day of Prayer," *Canadian Churchman*, 5 September 1940.

71. "Moderator's Message," *Presbyterian Record*, August 1940.

72. "Around a Common Mercy Seat," *Canadian Churchman*, 27 June 1940.

73. "The Statesmen of Great Britain," *Maritime Baptist*, 20 September 1939.

74. "What is the Message of the Church," *United Church Observer*, 1 October 1939.

75. "War," *Canadian Baptist*, 7 September 1939.

76. "War Again!" *Canadian Baptist*, 7 September 1939.

77. "The Price of Peace," *Canadian Churchman*, 7 September 1939.

78. "Christianity on the Fatal Spot," *Canadian Baptist*, 1 January 1940.

79. "The Church – Its Nature and Function," *Canadian Baptist*, 9 March 1939.

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The Changing Landscape of Denominational Christianity in Canada, 1980-2020

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This essay provides a preliminary overview of the changing landscape of denominational Christianity in Canada since 1980. It is based on a compilation of data and observations drawn from research done, in part, to help Statistics Canada overhaul the response list for the religious affiliation question in the upcoming 2021 census. In compiling a comprehensive list of denominations in Canada, it became clear that the denominational configuration of Canadian Christianity has taken a kaleidoscopic turn in the last forty years. The total number of denominations in Canada now exceeds 340, an increase of more than 120 denominations since 1980. More than sixty-five new denominations were organized in Canada during the last two decades of the twentieth century, and more than fifty-five since the turn of the century. The additions occur within Protestant, Catholic and Orthodox traditions.

My interest in mapping the denominational landscape in Canada began more than fifteen years ago, when I first worked at compiling a comprehensive list of Protestant denominations in Canada together with an organization called Outreach Canada. The primary goal was to gather membership and attendance information that could be placed alongside census affiliation data for the twenty-year period including the 1981, 1991, and 2001 census years. The goal was to provide a more accurate picture of the diversity within Protestant Christianity than was possible to obtain from census affiliation data, and to use denominational distinctions to provide a more nuanced supplement to the religious participation data collected by Statistics Canada in the General Social Surveys, by sociolo-

gists such as Reginald Bibby, and the more general thematic approaches to the study of religion that have become increasingly common.

Studying denominations is a way (not the only way) of making the diversity that is present in Christianity more visible, and it is a way (not the only way) to offer nuances that make broader themes and trends more understandable. As the distinctions differentiating denominations have become more porous, it has also become common to hear people declare the demise of denominationalism. The substantial increase in the number and diversity of denominations during the last forty years does not support such a verdict, but points rather towards the way denominationalism continues to change, not disappear.[1] The vast majority of Christians practice their faith in congregations that are connected in some way to larger organizational bodies; in my research I use the label "denomination" as a broad category to describe a range of ways by which groups of congregations organize units to serve, support or have authority over congregations. The most common form of denomination is a large group of congregations united by a common faith and name, organized under a single administrative and legal hierarchy.[2] Without giving some attention to the organizational structures that contribute to a sense of identity, that often define beliefs and convictions, and that guide the expression of priorities and practices, it is not possible to understand fully the diversity among Christians in Canada (and elsewhere). This is true of even the many so-called independent mega churches whose charismatic leaders sometimes decry denominations, but are often part of networks and associations that organize events, produce publications and media products (for example, Willow Creek Association). Even though organizational structures may not be as tactile an artifact as prayerbooks or as visible as the architectural aesthetics of a building, they are every bit as much a part of the "material culture" of Christianity, and are a vital part of the complex interplay between religious beliefs and the visible manifestation of religion.[3]

A move into academic administration in 2011 prevented me from doing much with the membership and attendance data I had initially collected, although it was used by organizations like Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, and some of it was incorporated into a chapter in *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, and in Brian Clarke and Stuart Macdonald's recent book *Leaving Christianity*.[4] When the invitation came to contribute to Statistics Canada's efforts to overhaul the list of options that were being used to sort the responses received from Canadians in

response to the religious affiliation question in previous census questionnaires, I thought that updating my list of denominations in Canada might be a helpful way to contribute.[5] The revised 2021 list of responses will increase the number of response options from 108 to about 280. While this change might not reach Holiness movement standards of sanctified perfection in that not every denomination will be included, this "second work of grace" on the part of Statistics Canada should ensure that census data provides a much more nuanced depiction of the religious demographics in Canadian society.[6] As for updating my list of denominations in Canada – that turned into a much bigger project than I had imagined, and resulted in some adjustments to my earlier approach to classifying denominations. The compiled list now makes it possible to update the initial membership and attendance data by both extending the denominational range and gathering membership and attendance data for the 2011 and 2021 census years, which would make it possible to do forty-year longitudinal studies. The goal of updating membership and attendance data still awaits to be completed, so this paper is a preliminary glimpse into a work in progress.[7] While there are many changes worth noting, one of the most significant is the way Canadian Christianity has become ever more culturally diverse, and how it has become a crucible of global Christianity reflecting changes taking places in other parts of the world. These recent changes in the denominational demographics represent a new chapter in Canadian Christianity.

Overview of Denominational Categories and Sub-Classifications

Before looking at some of the major factors that have contributed to the recent proliferation and diversification of denominations, I will offer a macro overview of the eleven denominational categories and sixty-plus sub-classifications that I am using,[8] along with several brief observations regarding the most significant changes that have taken place in each category. Each category is its own story, and deserves far more explanation than is possible here; the goal here is simply to present the aggregate totals to provide a high level, comprehensive overview of the changing denominational landscape in Canada. It is important to note that an increase in the number of denominations is ***not*** necessarily an indicator of overall numerical growth. I will include a count of the number of congregations that are a part of each denominational classification, which provides a preliminary sense of proportion, but this does not provide the

same kind of picture as membership and/or attendance data.

1. Anabaptist

The forty-five denominations with connections to the Anabaptist tradition, some of which have been present in Canada since the late 1700s, can be divided into six sub-classifications.[9] The most significant denominational additions have taken place among the more culturally conservative Mennonite groups, partly due to immigration and partly due to schisms from other Mennonite denominations that are culturally integrated. Notable also is the cultural diversification that is taking place within some Mennonite denominations (e.g., the Canadian Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches added twenty-five Chinese congregations in British Columbia during the past forty years).

2. Anglican

Present in Canada since the late 1500s the Anglican tradition has a longstanding reputation for managing considerable internal diversity and avoiding frequent schisms. In addition to an ongoing decline in membership, in recent decades the Anglican Church of Canada has experienced fragmentation which spawned a cluster of new Anglican groups, the largest of which are now a part of the Anglican Church in North America.

3. Baptist

There has always been a direct correlation between the strong emphasis on congregational autonomy among Baptists and the number of Baptist "denominations" or "fellowships" in Canada. While it has been common to talk about the five major Baptist "families" in Canada, this overshadows the fact that there are almost a dozen additional strands that have been a persistent part of the Baptist tradition in Canada.[10] One of the more significant recent shifts is the emergence of five new Baptist groups with a strong neo-reformed theological emphasis.

4. Catholic

By far the most prominent expression of Catholicism in Canada has been, and continues to be, the Roman Catholic Church. During the last

forty years there has been an influx of more than ten Eastern Catholic traditions from eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. Some of these parishes are extensions of a Catholic eparchy headquartered in other countries; in some instances a Canadian eparchy has been organized (e.g., Melkite Greek Catholic Church, and the Maronite Catholic Church). This influx of Eastern Catholic groups has added to the considerable cultural diversity that is already present within the Roman Catholic Church. Of interest also in this category is the formation of several Catholic groups using the Old Catholic tradition to establish their apostolic validity.

5. Lutheran

The Lutheran category represents a theological tradition that has also been present in Canada since the mid-1700s. Despite some division driven by theological conflict that has resulted in the formation of several new Lutheran denominations and networks (e.g., the Canadian Association of Lutheran Churches, and the North American Lutheran Church), this category is notable for its relative stability during the last forty years.

6. Methodist / Wesleyan (Holiness Movement)

Like the previous category, the Holiness movement represents a long established presence within Canada, and its various denominations have experienced relative stability during the last forty years. Particularly notable is the establishment of several new Korean Methodist bodies in Canada, and the organization of an association of nearly 100 Chinese churches within the Christian and Missionary Alliance (according to Canadian Chinese Alliance Churches Association, 2020).

7. Orthodox

Given the historic relationship between the Orthodox tradition and particular nationalities, this category has long been known for its cultural diversity in Canada. Notable is the recent influx of additional Eastern and Oriental Orthodox traditions from eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Africa, which has increased significantly both the variety and numbers of Orthodox Christians in Canada.

8. Pentecostal / Charismatic

The number and rapidly-changing diversity, as well as the lack of consensus among scholars about the best way to classify Pentecostal groups, makes this category a particularly daunting challenge.[11] The number of Pentecostal groups in Canada has doubled since 1980, and it has also become significantly more culturally and theologically diverse. Notable also are several aggressive church-planting initiatives (for example, Victory Churches of Canada), numerous personality-driven initiatives, and the emergence of several associations connecting independent Pentecostal congregations (for example, Association of Faith Churches and Ministers Canada).

9. Presbyterian / Reformed

This category represents a long established presence within Canada made up of two theologically related denominational clusters. A significant development among Presbyterians has been the formation and growth of several Korean Presbyterian denominations (the Korean American Presbyterian Church, and the Korean Presbyterian Churches Abroad). Within the Reformed tradition, notable has been the formation of the United Reformed Churches in North America in the mid-1990s as many disgruntled congregations left the Christian Reformed Church to create a federative unity that was later extended to theologically conservative congregations in other Reformed as well as Presbyterian denominations.

10. Other Protestant

This category is a collection of more than fifty groups that do not fit easily within any other Protestant category. The most significant change in this category is the emergence of more than a dozen new evangelical Protestant denominations. Some are extensions of American evangelical groups (for example, the neo-reformed Acts 29, and Grace Fellowship Canada); others are extensions of denominations from countries such as China (for example, the Association of Christian Evangelical Ministers) and Ethiopia (for example, United Oromo Evangelical Churches); and still others are associations of new congregations (for example, Global Christian Ministry Forum).

11. Non-Trinitarian

The final category is a collection of approximately thirty different groups that do not fit easily into the other categories. One of the few things they all have in common is that they do not affirm the creedal doctrine of the Trinity. The most notable change in this category includes the major fragmentation within what was once known as the Worldwide Church of God, a restorationist group started by radio and televangelist Herbert W. Armstrong in the 1930s, during the 1990s when leaders intentionally moved theologically in a more evangelical Protestant direction.[12]

General Category	***Sub-Classification***	***1980***	***2020***	***Churches***
Anabaptist		36	45	1,322
	Apostolic Christian Churches (ACC)	1	4	11
	Amish	5	5	36
	Brethren in Christ	1	1	64
	Hutterite	3	3	352
	Mennonite	10	15	354
	Mennonite-Evangelical	16	17	505
Anglican		3	11	1,813
	Anglican (Historic)	1	2	1,692
	New Anglican	2	9	121
Baptist		20	29	2,746
	Baptist (Historic)	4	4	1,000
	Conservative	5	5	837
	Eastern European	2	2	14
	Ecumenical	1	1	12
	Free Will	1	1	16
	Independent Fundamental	2	4	336
	Missionary	2	2	9
	Reformed	2	8	97
	Sabbatarian	1	1	2
	Southern	0	1	423
Catholic		10	25	4,153
	Old Catholic	5	8	33
	Independent	1	2	4
	Roman Catholic - Latin Rite	1	1	3,713
	Eastern - Alexandrian Rite	1	2	8

Eastern - Armenian Rite	1	1	2
Eastern - Byzantine Rite	1	6	343
Eastern - East Syriac Rite	0	2	23
Eastern - West Syriac Rite	0	3	27
Lutheran	10	15	955
Independent	3	6	91
Lutheran World Federation	3	4	537
International Lutheran Council	1	2	298
Confessional Evangelical Lutheran Conf.	1	1	12
Laestadian	2	2	6
Methodist / Wesleyan	16	19	1,350
Methodist	6	8	303
Holiness	10	11	1,047
Orthodox	16	25	804
Independent	1	3	29
Old Calendar	2	3	16
Eastern	10	12	610
Oriental	3	7	149
Pentecostal / Charismatic	26	63	3374
Charismatic	1	3	27
Classical - Finished Work	8	9	2,015
Classical - Holiness	4	4	233
Healing - Deliverance	1	1	14
Neo-Pentecostal	6	24	511
Neo-Pentecostal - International	1	15	254
Oneness	4	4	266
Prosperity - Word of Faith	1	3	54
Presbyterian / Reformed	20	24	1,208
Presbyterian	11	11	1,003
Reformed	9	13	205
Other Protestant	33	54	4,542
Adventist	5	6	602
Evangelical	14	17	484
Marthomite	1	1	9
Messianic Jewish	5	5	18
New Evangelical	0	15	176
Restorationist	7	9	537
Uniting	1	1	2,721

Non-Trinitarian	26	33	2,433
Christian Science	3	3	32
Doukhobor	1	1	4
Jehovah Witness	2	2	1,442
Native American	2	2	5
Restorationist - Armstrong	1	5	88
Restorationist - Morman	5	7	553
Swedenborgian	2	2	14
Quaker	1	1	26
Unitarian	4	4	217
Uniting	4	4	45
Miscellaneous	1	2	7
OVERALL TOTALS	216	343	24,697

Factors Contributing to Denominational Diversification

In this final section, I offer a number of preliminary observations regarding several features of, and factors contributing to, the recent denominational proliferation and diversification in Canada.

1. The Extensive Impact of Immigration

More than 200,000 immigrants have arrived in Canada each year since 2000. This influx is by far the most significant factor in the reconfiguration of the denominational landscape in Canada. The impact of immigration is a familiar trope within the history of Christianity in Canada, however immigration patterns began to change after 1980.[13] Not only has the number of immigrants from non-European locations increased, and not only has the proportion of immigrants from non-Christian religions increased, but recent immigrants have also brought a new multi-cultural diversity and vitality to Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant traditions in Canada. Various polls show that the newcomers to Canada are much more likely than those born in Canada to attend religious services regularly. Some Christian immigrants joined denominations already well-established in Canada, some started new denominations, and still others transplanted denominational extensions from other places in Canada thereby creating new transnational forms of Christianity.[14]

The Canadian immigration experience is a reflection of the major migratory patterns that have emerged from the Caribbean, Latin America, Asia, parts of the Middle East and Africa; these patterns have resulted in,

what Brian Stanley describes, "the transmission of southern or eastern styles of Christianity to urban locations in the northern and western hemispheres."[15] This transmission has resulted in a more bilateral kind of globalization[16] within Canadian Christianity, greatly diversifying the "tapestry of Christian life" in Canada. This transmission reflects the shift in the centre of gravity that has taken place within global Christianity during the latter part of the twentieth century.[17] Numerous Canadian scholars have examined the missionary connections between Canadian Christians and other parts of the world during the nineteenth and twentieth century and their attempts to create a world-wide church.[18] The remarkable expansion of Christianity in the global South along with recent immigration patterns has now reversed the direction of influence by bringing new expressions of global Christianity to Canada, which is fundamentally transforming the way Christians in Canada are connected to global Christianity. Examples abound: of the more than 440 congregations that are part of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, a denomination with roots in the nineteenth-century Holiness tradition, more than ninety congregations are involved in the Canadian Chinese Alliance Churches Association. In addition, the combination of the Canadian Presbytery of the Korean American Presbyterian Church, and the Korean Presbyterian Churches Abroad, have started more than 120 churches in Canada since the late 1970s.[19] Many congregations in Canada aspire to be intentionally multi-cultural in order to exemplify the globalized nature of Canadian Christianity, although few have achieved the level of cultural diversity that is present at Calvary Worship Centre, an intentionally multi-cultural Pentecostal congregation located in Surrey, BC. This congregation numbers about 1,800 and includes people born in over a 100 different countries.

2. Fragmentation of Historic Protestant Denominations

The challenges created by the dramatic decline in membership since the 1960s that were experienced by historic mainline Protestant denominations is well-known. This "discourse of loss" has been amplified by the internal conflict experienced by some of these denominations in recent decades. For example, the formation of the Canadian Association of Lutheran Churches, which was started in 1992 by a group of about thirty concerned Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada congregations. More dramatic has been the unprecedented realignment of Anglicanism in

Canada, a tradition that has historically managed to retain considerable diversity under one ecclesiastical roof. The intensely divisive conflict over same-sex blessings within the Anglican Church in Canada came hard on the heels of a near bankruptcy from the cost of litigation surrounding involvement in residential schools.[20] The conflict prompted numerous parishes to search for ecclesiastical oversight elsewhere. Some became part of the Anglican Mission in Canada; others organized the Anglican Network in Canada, which became one of the founding dioceses of the new Anglican Church in North America in 2009.[21] There have been at least eight new Anglican denominations organized in Canada since 1992.

3. Proliferation of Pentecostal and other Evangelical Protestant Denominations

Since the 1980s evangelical Protestantism has been the dominant ethos within Protestant Christianity in Canada. A significant part of this shift can be attributed to the rapid growth of Pentecostalism, and to the emergence of a constellation of new evangelical denominations many of which were formed by immigrants arrived in Canada during the first half of the twentieth century.[22] Although the growth of many of these early twentieth-century evangelical Protestant denominations has plateaued (and some have declined), a new constellation of Pentecostal and evangelical Protestant denominations have also emerged.

More than twenty-five percent of the almost forty new neo-Pentecostal denominations started since 1980 have been imported by immigrants from countries in the Carribean, parts of Asia, and Africa (examples include Jesus is Lord Church and Pentecostal Missionary Church of Christ (4th Watch), both from the Philippines; Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries, the Redeemed Christian Church of God, and the Living Faith Church Worldwide aka Winners Chapel International, all of which came to Canada from Nigeria; Lighthouse Chapel International started by Bishop Dag-Heward Mills, and Church of Pentecost Canada Inc, both from Ghana; C3 Global, started by Phil and Christine Pringle, and New Covenant Ministries International, both from Australia; and Mount Zion Apostolic Church of Canada, and the National Evangelical Spiritual Baptist Faith [also known as the "Shouter Baptists"], both from Jamaica).

Unlike the unbridled proliferation of Pentecostal groups that one sees in parts of Africa, which is often driven by intense intra-church conflict, some of the increase of Pentecostal denominations in Canada can

be attributed to the initiative on the part of aggressive and highly relational individuals who often claimed apostolic status (for example, George and Hazel Hill in Lethbridge, AB, founders of Victory Churches of Canada, Jim and Kathleen Kaseman, founders of the Association of Faith Churches and Ministries [Canada], and Peter Youngren, founder of Open Bible Faith Fellowship of Canada), and the curiosity piqued by the intense supernaturalism of public spectacles like the "Toronto Blessing," a revival and associated phenomena that took place during the 1990s at the Toronto Airport Christian Fellowship, which was part of John Wimber's Vineyard movement at the time).

4. The Emergence of Mega Churches in Canada

A phenomenon that has transformed American Christianity is the emergence of hundreds of mega churches in the latter part of the twentieth century, many led by individuals who have become prominent celebrities. To a much lessor extent, this phenomenon has also become a notable feature of more than a dozen evangelical Protestant denominations in Canada. Using the definition of mega church designed by the Hartford Institute for Religion Research, that is, congregations with a consistent weekly attendance of at least 2,000 people (including children), there are approximately thirty-five such congregations in Canada (in comparison to 1,700 in the USA).[23] All are located in urban centres, with many distributed over multiple "campus" sites (for example, the Meeting House in Ontario led by Bruxy Cavey, which has approximately twenty locations).[24] These congregations are often the ones experiencing the greatest numerical growth within their denomination, and sometimes have budgets that are significantly larger than denominational budgets.

According to American research, mega churches tend to grow rapidly, and reach their great size within a short period of time,[25] usually in less than ten years, and nearly always under the tenure of a (male) pastor with a charismatic personality. The sheer size provides increased visibility for Christianity within urban centres, defying the common perceptions of decline produced in part by the sight of historic buildings that are significantly underused. Large numbers, along with a clear mission and purpose, generates a sense of vitality, which makes it possible to raise impressive amounts of money for specific projects and programs. The darker side is that much growth often takes place by drawing people from smaller to medium-sized churches in the area that are not able to

offer the same diversity of programming. A majority of these churches (all but seven) are still connected to a denomination, but the ties are often weak, and generally not seen as important or beneficial (church budgets often exceed that of the denomination). Seven belong to the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, four to Canadian Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches, three to Christian and Missionary Alliance, seven are independent (20% in comparison to about 28% in the USA), and the remainder belong to various other evangelical Protestant denominations. Thirteen are located in Ontario, ten are located in British Columbia with all but one in the lower mainland, five in Alberta, four in Manitoba, one in Quebec, and none in the Maritime region. The Canadian cities with the most megachurches are Winnipeg and Toronto, each with three. Three are specifically Asian: two Korean, and one Chinese (all three have worship services in multiple languages). The cumulative attendance in these thirty-five churches is well over 100,000 people; their impact on their denominations, and on Canadian Christianity more generally deserves additional research.

5. Emergence of New Associations, Networks and Alliances

Ever since the unique development of religion in America prompted sociologists to describe America as a "denominational society," scholars have recognized the variety and dynamic nature of denominationalism. The last feature I want to highlight has to do with the emergence of new groups using labels such as fellowship, association, network, collective or alliance that illustrate the dynamic nature of contemporary denominationalism.[26] While some new groups quickly self-identify as denominations alongside older established denominations, others are reluctant to do so and perceive themselves as being an alternative to established denominations because of the negative perceptions associated with denominationalism despite performing many of the same functions as established denominations. The language of partnership and family is often used to highlight the priority of relationship, rather than organizational practices or particular theological distinctives. Still other groups insist that their only role is to promote a particular cause, or to serve existing denominations without undermining or usurping the role or authority of denominational bodies.

Some new denominations have been created by theological movements that transcend existing denominations. For example, the recent

resurgence of interest in neo-reformed theology has prompted the formation of new groups within Baptist, Pentecostal, and Other Protestant categories. Examples include the Reformed Baptist Network, Sovereign Grace Churches, Great Commission Collective, and Acts 29 (a family of churches started by Mark Driscoll, pastor of Mars Hill Church in Seattle).

Some new groups have been formed for a range of pragmatic reasons, for example, to provide a place for pastors of like-minded congregations to experience fellowship and professional development, to assist like-minded congregations with the administrative procedures necessary for legal incorporation, obtaining charitable status, for licensing and ordaining pastors, and to create an accountability structure. These more pragmatic kind of organizational units are common among clusters of independent congregations in multiple denominational categories. Examples include the Canadian Fellowship of Churches and Ministers, Christian Ministers Association, Association of Vineyard Churches, Lutheran Congregations in Mission for Christ, Northern Light Association of Churches, and Baptist Bible Fellowship International.

Yet another kind of organizational unit includes church-planting collaborations that are often active across a range of denominational groups. Examples include New Leaf Church Planting Initiative, which is rooted in the Free Methodist Church but includes people from other denominations; Via Apostolica, an Anglo-Catholic church-planting initiative started by Todd Atkinson in 2012 that considers itself to be a convergent movement with roots in evangelical, charismatic, historic church traditions, C2C Collective, which started as a Mennonite Brethren initiative in 2009 and within a decade became a non-denominational organization assisting church planters from multiple denominations; and several Neo-Pentecostal examples such as New Covenant Ministries, Association of Relational Churches Canada, and Christ Central Churches (a group of Newfrontiers Churches working together under the apostolic leadership of Jeremy Simpkins), all of which downplay their Pentecostal identity in order to emphasize a collaborative church-planting vision. These collaborative initiatives represent a response on the part of numerous evangelical Protestant denominations to the growing secularity of Canadian culture.

The emergence of different kinds of denomination-like organizations might well be signalling a new trend – what Brad Christerson and Richard Flory call "network Christianity," and which they believe will be the future of Christianity in America.[27] They argue

> that macro-level social changes since the 1970s, including globalization and the digital revolution, have given competitive advantages to religious groups organized as networks rather than traditionally organized congregations and denominations. Network forms of governance allow for experimentation with controversial supernatural practices, innovative finances and marketing, and a highly participatory, unorthodox, and experiential faith, which is attractive in today's unstable religious marketplace. As more religious groups imitate this type of governance, religious belief and practice will become more experimental, more orientated around practice than theology, more shaped by the individual religious "consumer," and authority will become more highly concentrated in the hands of individuals rather than institutions.[28]

While their research aptly describes the experience within many Pentecostal denominations, it is becoming more prevalent in other denominational groups as well.

Conclusion

As stated at the outset, identifying and classifying denominations in Canada is a massive undertaking. This paper is, therefore, an interim report on what is still very much a work-in-progress. Nevertheless, it hopefully provides a few glimpses into some of the trajectories within the rapidly changing landscape of denominational Christianity in Canada.

Endnotes

1. Despite the fact that scholars have long seen the category of "denomination" as a unique way of organizing the diversity among Christians in North America (Nancy T. Ammerman, *Everyday Religion: Observing Modern Religious Lives* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2006], 361-362), scholarly studies of denominations in Canada remain relatively uncommon. In part, this is due to the way that historical studies of denominations have often (rightly) been seen as parochial and providentialist. The common association between denominationalism with division and rejection of collaboration may also have contributed to disinterest. Fortunately there are some notable exceptions (see for example 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), and Michael Wilkinson and Linda Ambrose, *After the Revival: Pentecostalism*

and the Making of a Canadian Church (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020).

2. For a helpful discussion about the distinction between different types of religious organizations see Mark Chaves, "Religious Organizations: Data Resources and Research Opportunities," *American Behavioral Scientist* 45, no, 10 (2002): 1523-1549.

3. See Colleen McDannell, who argues that "religious meaning is not merely inherited or simply accessed through the intellect" (*Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995], 272).

4. Bruce L. Guenther, "Evangelical Protestants and Ethnicity in Canada," in *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, eds. Paul Bramadat and David Seljak (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 365-414; and Brian Clarke and Stuart Macdonald, *Leaving Christianity: Changing Allegiances in Canada since 1945* (Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 2017), 67-68, 75, 95, 115, 120.

5. I am grateful to Jarod Dobson at Statistics Canada for both the opportunity and for his willingness to share information that contributed to the compilation of a comprehensive list of denominations.

6. This is explicitly anticipated in Louis Cornelissen, "Religiosity in Canada and its Evolution from 1985 to 2019," *Insights on Canadian Society* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 28 October 2021), 2.

7. In February 2021 I received a TWU Provost Research Grant to hire a research assistant to help collect additional membership and attendance data (see https://countingchristians.wordpress.com).

8. I recognize that every attempt at classifying religious groups will be inadequate and will have some inherent problems. My approach has been to use a combination of historic connections, self-identification, and "family" resemblances including theological beliefs, to create categories. Despite significant similarities, my approach to classifying denominations is not identical to the classifications that will be used by Statistics Canada, which gives more consideration to labels recognizable at a popular level and less to the finer nuances of theological/historical traditions. My approach has benefitted considerably from the numerous guides that have been prepared by some denominational families, as well as the more comprehensive efforts by scholars such as Arthur C. Piepkorn, *Profiles in Belief: The Religious Bodies of the United States and Canada*, 4 vols. (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), Clifton L. Holland, "Toward a Classification System of Religious Groups in the Americas by Major Traditions and Family Types" (1993, revised in 2008);

Ron Rhodes, *The Complete Guide to Christian Denominations: Understanding the History, Beliefs, and Differences, Updated and Expanded* (Eugene, OR: Harvest House Publishers, 2015); and the work of the Association of Religion Data Archives (www.thearda.com), and Roger E. Olson, Frank S. Mead, Samuel S. Hill, and Craig D. Atwood, *Handbook of Denominations in the United States*, 14th ed. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2018), in the United States.

9. A helpful guide has been prepared by Margaret Loewen Reimer, *One Quilt, Many Pieces: A Reference Guide to Mennonite Groups in Canada* (Waterloo: Mennonite Publishing Service, 1983).

10. A helpful guide to Baptist varieties is Albert W. Wardin, ed. *Baptists Around the World: A Comprehensive Handbook* (Nashville: B & H Publishing Group,1995), which includes a section on Canada.

11. See Todd M. Johnson, "The Global Demographics of the Pentecostal and Charismatic Renewal," *Society* 46, no. 6 (2009): 479-483; Candy Gunther Brown, ed., *Global Pentecostal and Charismatic Healing* (New Yok: Oxford University Press, 2011); Clifton L Holland, ed., "Toward a Classification System of Religious Groups in the Americas by Major Traditions and Family Types" (The Latin American Socio-Religious Studies Program, 2011), 67-105; and Michael Wilkinson and Peter Althouse, *Winds from the North: Canadian Contributions to the Pentecostal Movement* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2010).

12. The denomination was accepted as a member of the National Association of Evangelicals in 1996.

13. Monica Boyd and Michael Vickers, "100 Years of Immigration in Canada," *Canadian Social Trends* (Autumn 2000): 1-13.

14. "Canada's Changing Religious Landscape," Pew Research Centre, 27 June 2013, https://www.pewforum.org/2013/06/27/canadas-changing-religious-landscape; "New Canadians are Injecting Vigour into the Country's Religious Life," *The Economist*, 25 July 2018, https://www.economist.com/ erasmus/ 2018/07/25/new-canadians-are-injecting-vigour-into-the-countrys-religious-life?; and "Faith and Immigration: New Canadians rely on religious communities for material, spiritual support," Angus Reid Institute, 9 July 2018, https://angusreid.org/faith-canada-immigration. Louis Cornelissen's research summary shows that those born outside of Canada are more much more likely than those born in Canada to participate in a group religious activity at least once a month, "Religiosity in Canada and its Evolution from 1985 to 2019," 8.

15. Brian Stanley, *Christianity in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 337.

16. Most definitions of globalization share in common the idea of interconnectedness created not only through communications technology and the ability to travel, but also the formation of multi-cultural communities, all of which contribute to the perception of interdependence among people living throughout the world.

17. Philip Jenkins, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

18. Robert Wright, *A World Mission: Canadian Protestantism and the Quest for a New International Order, 1918-1939* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); Rosemary R. Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Andrew Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1872-1931* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990); Ruth Compton Brouwer, *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); and Alvyn Austin, and Jamie S. Scott, eds. *Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); Alvyn J. Austin, *Saving China: Canadian Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom, 1888-1959*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986); and James Enns, *Saving Germany: North American Protestants and Christian Mission to West Germany, 1945-1974* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017).

19. This does not include the significant number of Korean immigrants who have joined the Presbyterian Church in Canada and the Roman Catholic Church (see Clarke and Macdonald, *Leaving Christianity*, 190-192).

20. An agreement with the Government of Canada in 2003, which shared the cost of compensation to plaintiffs, helped to prevent the complete bankruptcy of the Anglican Church of Canada (see Wendy Fletcher, "Canadian Anglicanism and Ethnicity," in *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, 162).

21. For helpful chronology of events that culminated in the formation of the Anglican Network in Canada, see www.anglicannetwork.ca/our-genesis

22. See Guenther, "Evangelical Protestants and Ethnicity in Canada," 365-414.

23. See the groundbreaking work done by the Hartford Institute of Religion Research (http://hartfordinstitute.org).

24. Peter J. Schuurman, *The Subversive Evangelical: The Ironic Charisma of an Irreligious Megachurch* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019).

25. Scott Thumma and Warren Bird, "Recent Shifts in America's Largest Protestant Churches: Megachurches 2015 Report," http://hirr.hartsem.edu/megachurch/2015_Megachurches_Report.pdf; and Scott Thumma and Dave Travis, *Beyond Megachurch Myths: What We Can Learn from America's Largest Churches* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2007).

26. The use of some of these labels is not entirely new. The word "fellowship," for example, has been used by a number of denominations to emphasize an ecclesiastical point, namely the autonomy of local congregations (examples include The Fellowship [formerly the Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches], and Nationwide Fellowship of Churches [Mennonite]).

27. *The Rise of Network Christianity: How Independent Leaders Are Changing the Religious Landscape* (New York: Oxford University Press 2017).

28. See https://crcc.usc.edu/the-rise-of-network-christianity-how-independent-leaders-are-changing-the-religious-landscape

Church History for Wider Publics

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Like many academics, I've shaped the contours of my career according to the expectations and values of the university world. I've taught courses for registered students, published articles and book reviews for scholarly journals, written books for university presses, and included in my CV my service to my college and to scholarly guilds. And because I've taught at a church-related institution, I've also written for church publications and church presses, and added denominational participation to my CV as well.

But it was only late in my career that I began to think about how my field of Christian history might usefully engage wider publics. In particular, my own area of interest, the historical engagement of settler and Indigenous Christianities in Canada, is in principle of quite considerable importance to wider publics in Canada in 2020. Our country is generally committed to following up recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of 2014, which raised questions about the churches and Indigenous peoples that are far more complex than they may at first appear. And it is not so easy for the public to find credible and useful information about this broad topic.

In seeking to engage wider publics on this issue, I believe that, like most church historians, I have some significant previous experience doing history outside my academic guilds and schools. Many of us, maybe most of us, who participate in the Canadian Society of Church History understand ourselves to be loyal, not in an institutional or hierarchical way but in a moral way, to our churches. For instance, many of us have spoken to non-expert layfolk about our subject, helped with an exhibition in a

church hall, or written a historical piece for a congregation or a larger denominational unit. And on these occasions I expect that we've all tried to summon both the "sympathetic imagination" that H.H. Butterfield recommended to historians, as well as the more critical skills, the temper of deconstruction, that our discipline has taught us. These skills and attitudes which we bring to our research and teaching in church contexts can also prepare us to be historians among wider Canadian publics.

The model (or set of interlocking models) that has commended itself to me for the exchange and mobilization of knowledge in this area is public history.[1] Here I want to share some thoughts about the attractions and challenges of public history for me as an academic church historian, and to say something about some of my own mistakes and discoveries in my recent modest steps along this path.

What's Public History?

From one point of view history was a public activity until the mid-nineteenth century. Recalling the past and telling stories about it publicly are what human beings do. Even if the story-tellers were constructing the past on the basis of a systematic and critical use of source material, as Herodotus apparently did, and as those who put together the historical books of the Hebrew Bible seem to have done, they were doing history with and for the public.

The rise of historical study as an academic discipline and scholarly guild in the western world in the mid-nineteenth century changed that landscape. It created credentialed historians whose work was certified by other credentialed historians as being appropriately respectful of the norms of their guild. Academic historians identified historiographical issues, located relevant primary source material, applied approved technical methods of evaluating and understanding evidence, investigated contexts, probed historical processes, engaged alternative interpretations, reached qualified conclusions, and were especially likely to earn a respectable reputation if they exploded traditional ideas and stories. Perhaps few of these traits appealed to a wide readership.

Without wanting to draw unrealistically tidy boundaries, we can identify two other kinds of historians since that time. There were (and are) the popularizing historians who typically stressed biography, generalized broadly about social contexts and forces, favoured simple historical explanations, slipped into anachronism, passed judgment freely, and

sought to entertain. And there were the conscientious amateur historians who usually worked with small-gauge topics such as family histories, parish histories, local histories, and organizational histories. Economics reinforced these differentiations. Credentialed historians published their work with the help of funding subventions (or else they wrote very expensive textbooks that thousands of students were required to buy). Popularizers wrote for trade publishers or mass-media magazines that required them to appeal to the marketplace. Amateurs self-published or were published by the groups they wrote about.

But there was indeed a fourth group, not so numerous, which in the 1970s began to be called public historians. In 1909 some talked about their vocation as "applied history."[2] Some people in this group belonged to academically based but democratizing community history projects. An early example was the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, established in 1915 by Carter Woodson and others; a later example was the History Workshop movement in Britain, launched in 1967.[3] And, beyond these, there were historians employed to give interesting talks, write accessible guides, and mount engaging displays for government-sponsored historical sites, or to curate museum exhibitions, or to produce documentary films, or to do research for heritage departments, or to consult on corporate histories. For these historians working outside the academy, the first academic program in public history was created in 1976 at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Now there are dozens of these programs, including at least four in Canada (Victoria, Western, Carleton, Concordia).

To this dual definition of a public historian – a credentialled historian working outside the academy, and a historian working collaboratively with a group to gather, interpret, and construct its own experienced pasts – some would add a third category, historians with sophisticated skills in research and writing who write for a wide market. Barbara Tuchman and Ron Chernow come to mind.[4]

Public History and the University

Canadian research universities, and the funding agencies that support so much of their work, want academics to be useful to the world, but they also want them to demonstrate their academic credibility. Doing both has become fairly common in some disciplines, including medicine, public health, engineering, the arts, and those sciences and applied

sciences where professors invent things that can be patented. In history, however, serving the wider world while also establishing oneself academically can be trickier.

Useful scholarship is important to the modern research university because it has forsworn the "ivory tower" model where a scholar focused on a topic so arcane that only a couple of dozen other scholars in the world understood it or could even take an interest in it. It has also repudiated the kind of unaccountable and strictly inhumane research that Vine Deloria, Jr., memorably, but bitterly, lampooned in his essay about the annual summer field research projects of the anthropologists in Indian country: "the fundamental thesis of the anthropologist is that people are objects for observation, people are then considered objects for experimentation, for manipulation, and for eventual extinction."[5]

Arcane "pure" scholarship, scholarship disengaged from the world, began to be reprehended in the 1970s. Ethnographers critiqued the colonial scholarship which studied non-white groups for the edification of whites, without practical outcomes for the objects of their investigation.[6] At the same time health professionals were recognizing that, in addition to treating medical symptoms in marginalized communities, they needed to work with local leaders to address the social determinants of health in community health centres.[7] By the 1990s the collaboration of scholars and communities in ethnography, public health, and some other areas came to be called community engaged research.[8] Also in the 1970s, administrators in the public sphere were advocating for partnerships between academic and non-academic researchers with a view to evidence-based public policy and professional practice.[9] Originally called "research utilization," this principle is now more often called "knowledge mobilization." Both community engaged scholarship and knowledge mobilization have become well established in the grant programs of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.[10]

In the academic discipline of history, however, single-authored, peer-reviewed publications that construct new knowledge and that are addressed to an academic audience remain the gold standard for demonstrating one's eligibility for promotion, tenure, distinctions, and awards.[11] Historians don't typically develop community partnerships, perhaps largely on the assumption that non-historians have no real expertise to contribute, other than to be informants for oral history – which many historians would in any event prefer to leave to the ethnographers, who are trained in it. Publishing in blog posts, on websites, and in popular journals

adds no value to a professor's publication record; these may even be seen as blemishes.[12] Teaching the world takes time away from teaching paying students.

There are, however, some openings in the high defensive walls that the history guild, and probably most humanities guilds, have erected around themselves. Many Canadian universities now recognize a teaching-stream professoriate, acknowledging what Ernest Boyer, a chancellor of the State University of New York, argued powerfully thirty years ago: that scholarship is not rightly restricted to discovering new things.[13] The advent of digital humanities has left disciplinary walls a bit more porous as well, partly because searches on Google and in journal databases will produce scholarship on any given topic from a variety of academic disciplines, and even from outside academia.[14] And some institutions have made room for "open peer review," promoted by Kathleen Fitzpatrick in *Planned Obsolescence, Generous Thinking: the University and the Public Good,*[15] and other writings, and practiced by her as well. This is a system where academic publications are reviewed after publication, not beforehand, and by anyone who would like to do it, not just by three anonymous people appointed by an editor. Fitzpatrick gives evidence that our current system of peer review has very uneven and undependable results. And she notes that it is not really necessary to select a small number of articles for publication, given huge amounts of available data storage. What we do want for our scholarship, she suggests, is the endorsement of trustworthy scholars, and the constructive feedback of knowledgeable people, but that can happen after publication. Fitzpatrick has found that open peer review can promote a sense of collaboration, and what she calls generous thinking, in contrast to the competitive, often negative, sometimes nasty process of anonymous pre-publication peer reviews.

In the end, however, the main reason why I feel free to spend a considerable amount of time working on a public website that I have created, one that is not peer-reviewed, not agency-funded, not catalogued in a library, not even stable from day to day, one that will not survive me, is that I don't need to demonstrate my academic respectability any more. I'm tenured and near retirement.

A Public History Website

Four years ago, I taught a course in the history of settler and Indigenous Christian encounter in Canada. It was easy enough to find

source materials to fill a semester course, but I wanted some kind of survey, or narrative spine, to give my students an overview of the topic. The only text of that ilk was John Webster Grant's *Moon of Wintertime.*[16] And I liked how he appreciated the sincere intentions of the settler missionaries while deprecating the profound ignorance of so many of them, and how he acknowledged their incapacity to separate their culture from their faith while recognizing that Christianity had its own appeal to Indigenous peoples. But the book, thirty years old, was so obsolete as to be unusable, given so many subsequent writings and oral testimonies that demonstrated hidden inculturations, Indigenous agency in evangelization, the thoroughgoing distortions of colonialism, and the resilience of Indigenous cultures.

So, I decided to construct a website. It would be a useful work in progress, not a finished authoritative product. Indeed, given the fluidity of scholarship in the area, and given my own limited perspective as a settler person, I could never expect to reach the point where I could say, "*This* is now ready to be published."

My website will never be finished. I keep revisiting it, and it keeps expanding. It's now, in respect of the number of words, the size of a modest-sized book, and it has come a little closer to covering the ground that I intended, but it always needs changes. It will never be complete, and since it's a website and not something printed on paper, it will never need to be complete.

And although only I can currently edit it, people visit it, read it, and critique it. As others correct me and offer additional information, it will gradually become a collaborative work. In other words, it's in process of growing into a website in public history. It has begun: it's publicly available at http://individual.utoronto.ca/hayes/indigenous; it's intended to be accessible to non-scholars, aesthetically inviting, readable.

Let me share briefly some challenges I've faced, some mistakes I've made, and some decisions I've reached. First, I had to decide where to put the website. The University of Toronto server was an easy choice; it was free to me, and it reflected my academic connection. But it has none of the built-in web design tools that commercially available websites offer. I had to learn some basic html coding and develop some familiarity with Dreamweaver, which, most people say, is the most functional and most flexible html program. Dreamweaver has a pretty steep learning curve, but there are quite a number of free resources on the web.[17]

Second, I wanted an attractive, inviting sort of design. Unfortu-

nately, I have very little taste. My original design was rightly the object of considerable mockery. But friends gave me good advice about putting clean readable fonts on a white background without vertical column lines.

Third, I wanted a writing style that was direct, clear, as free of jargon as possible, and friendly without being patronizing. Fortunately, my mother raised me on Strunk and White's *Elements of Style*, which is all about using fewer words to say more, putting verbs in the active voice, and writing directly. Even so, from draft to draft, I've found myself having to make lots of changes to keep things simple.

Fourth, I wanted to avoid large blocks of type. Whenever a paragraph begins to look long, I break it up into two paragraphs or I introduce indented commentary or bullet points. In addition, I insert images as frequently as I dare. (You can't cram too many pictures onto a webpage, because mark-up text shows up differently on different browsers, and if images are too large or too close together, they run this risk of producing a mess on some screens.).

Fifth, I try to use a lot of hyperlinks to other webpages. Some hyperlinks serve as citations, and some just help readers follow up points that interest them. Almost always the pages I choose to hyperlink are publicly available, such as Wikipedia, the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, open access journals, and primary documents available from sites like Canadiana Online, and national, provincial, and state archives. I don't hyperlink articles or books that are only available to people with university library accounts, but I identify them in a bibliography in the left-hand column. Also, on each of the pages of the website, I give a brief introduction to the sources.

Sixth, I've tried to avoid the all-knowing tone of a lot of textbook writers, acknowledging my fallibility and my dependence on elders, and the claims of alternative historical interpretations and perspectives. I think of the website not as a place where I tell people what's true, but a place where I share my uncertain process of learning. I do start with certain premises and with a "positionality" that I make clear, but one of these premises is simply that the interplay of settler and Indigenous Christianities is a complex thing not susceptible to generalizations (although there are recurring patterns). There are many varieties of Christianity, many distinct Indigenous cultures and subcultures, and many distinct settler cultures and subcultures, and no one can know much about even a fraction of them.

Finally, a principle reason why I think of this website as an attempt at public history is that it's oriented to the mobilization of knowledge. It

is intended to increase public understanding of the ongoing costs and hurts of settler colonialism and the treasures of Indigenous cultures in ways that, in some measure, will help move our churches, our society, our law, and our land towards decolonization. It is public history because, in a small way, it is intended to assist the peoples of this land towards a greater mutual understanding, and to give us the will to do justice. I want to do my small part in the direction that I've felt led to bring church history to wider publics.

Endnotes

1. Good general introductions to public history are Thomas Cauvin, *Public history: a textbook of practice* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), and James B. Gardner and Paula Hamilton, *The Oxford Handbook of Public History* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

2. Cauvin, *Public History,* 5 (quoting Benjamin Schambaugh).

3. On the history of the History Workshop, see their website, https://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/the-history-of-history-workshop, accessed September 15, 2020.

4. David F. Trask, "Popular History and Public History: Tuchman's *The March of Folly*," *The Public Historian* 7, no. 4 (1985): 79-85.

5. Vine Delora, *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1988), 81.

6. An example of such a critique is J.A. Barnes, "Some Ethical Problems of Modern Fieldwork," in *Qualitative Methodology,* ed. W.J. Filstead (Chicago: Markham, 1971): 235-251.

7. Dennise Albrecht, "Community Health Centres in Canada," *International Journal of Health Care Assurance Incorporating Leadership in Health Services* 11, no. 1 (1998): v-x.

8. Centers for Disease Control, *Principles of Community Engagement* (Atlanta: CDC, 1997), synthesized existing literature and established the commonly accepted understanding of community engaged scholarship.

9. Carol H. Weiss, "The many meanings of research utilization," *Public Administration Review* 39, no. 5 (1979): 426-431.

10. See, for instance, Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, "Guidelines for Effective Knowledge Mobilization," 16 June 2019, https://www.sshrc-crsh.gc.ca/funding-financement/policies-politiques/knowledge_mobilisation-mobilisation_des_connaissances-eng.aspx

11. See, for instance, Seth Denbo, "Whose Work Is It Really?: Collaboration and the Question of Credit," *Perspectives on History: The Magazine of the American Historical Association,* February 1, 2017, https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/february-2017/whose-work-is-it-really-collaboration-and-the-question-of-credit

12. Li-Shih Huang, "Whose Priorities Are We Working For?" *University Affairs,* September 19, 2012, https://www.universityaffairs.ca/opinion/in-my-opinion/whose-priorities-are-we-working-for

13. Ernest L. Boyer, *Scholarship Reconsidered: Priorities of the Professoriate* (Princeton: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1990).

14. Daniel J. Cohen and Tom Scheinfeldt, eds., *Hacking the Academy: New Approaches to Scholarship and Teaching from Digital Humanities* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013).

15. Kathleen Fitzpatrick, *Planned Obsolescence, Generous Thinking: The University and the Public Good* (New York: New York University Press, 2011).

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

17. The best that I found was by Christopher Heng at http://thesitewizard.com

"It's a slow process becoming a bridge": Jean Vanier, L'Arche, and the United Church of Canada

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This paper was delivered from Cowichan Bay on Vancouver Island, on land where the Coast Salish people have lived for more than 10,000 years. The theme of Congress 2020 was "Bridging Divides: Confronting Colonialism and Anti-Black Racism," and this paper was part of a session titled "Influential Individuals." I had the rather unique and dubious pleasure of presenting a paper about a *disgraced* influential individual.

In January 2020, I was excited to propose this paper. After a decade of work, my two books had both been published the previous fall: *Tender to the World: Jean Vanier, L'Arche and the United Church of Canada* (McGill-Queen's University Press) and *Sharing Life: Stories of L'Arche Founders* (Paulist Press).[1] But at the end of February, L'Arche International announced the results of an external investigation. Over nearly four decades, Jean Vanier had manipulated at least six women without intellectual disabilities into coercive sexual relationships, using disturbing theological justifications.[2] The title of my paper was designed to echo the theme of Congress 2020, quoting Vanier at the United Church's 25th General Council in 1972: "It's a slow process becoming a bridge."[3] By June 2020, it was clear that while it might be a slow process becoming a bridge, blowing up a bridge can happen fast.

Even though the panel was about individuals, this paper is about the shared history of Vanier, the United Church, and L'Arche communities. What intrigues me about church history is that it always, somewhere, links to deep human yearnings for the divine or at least something bigger, for

transcendent connection, for community, for a vision of society. Church history is full of imagining and dreaming a better world – and then that gets lived out in all the messy confusions of embodied social life, and the contradictions and complexities of a historical moment.

L'Arche began in 1964, before group homes or community living for people with intellectual disabilities existed, when Canadian philosophy professor Jean Vanier began sharing a house in a French village with men from a nearby institution and called it L'Arche – French for The Ark, a reference to Noah's floating community of rescue and mayhem. The L'Arche idea was timely – so much so that within twelve years, more than forty new L'Arche communities had opened in eleven countries. Today, L'Arche has more than 10,000 members in 175 communities in 38 countries on five continents.[4]

L'Arche in France was exclusively Roman Catholic, but L'Arche in Canada was ecumenical from its beginnings. October 2019 marked fifty years since five Protestants began L'Arche in Canada by moving into a large home for tubercular sisters given to L'Arche by Our Lady's Missionaries that faced the nearby Loyal True Blue and Orange Home on Yonge Street in Richmond Hill. Anglicans Steve and Ann Newroth were the first community leaders. As Steve Newroth explained:

> As we began L'Arche Daybreak, our vision could be expressed in two words: "Live with"! [. . .] "living with" was the work of L'Arche, it was the therapy of L'Arche – sharing life! When you have been born into a world that rejects you, when you have been shuffled to the fringe of society and someone says to you "I would like to share my life with you," that is the most life-giving therapy that can happen.[5]

The Congress 2020 Theme "Bridging Divides: Confronting Colonialism and Anti-Black Racism" and the Curious Case of a 1960s United Church New Curriculum Book

In 1967, United Church member and filmmaker Peter Flemington filmed Vanier in his original community in Trosly, France for the Canadian ecumenical "Religious Television Associates." At one point in the interview, Flemington, in a voiceover, says, "I mentioned jokingly that Canada's largest Protestant denomination now featured his life story as part of its church school curriculum. Did that make him feel like a kind of contemporary saint?" Vanier laughs and says: "Yeah, well, sanctity is shown after, eh? And there's a word in the gospels – Beware you who are

considered prophets in your own time – the idea being that the ones who are considered prophets and saints during their life are not normally the ones that are the real saints."[6]

Distracted by the problematic question of saintliness, it's easy to miss how Flemington introduced his question, telling Vanier "that Canada's largest Protestant denomination now featured his life story as part of its church school curriculum." That set me on a quest, and it turned out nobody – not even any United Church theological colleges or archives – remembered that Vanier had been included in any United Church New Curriculum materials. It took more than a year of scrounging church basements and asking everyone I knew to find the material to which Flemington referred.[7]

United Church minister Frank Morgan's Intermediate-age church schoolbook, *God Speaks Through People* was published in 1964, coincidentally the year that Jean Vanier began L'Arche. It had an initial run of 50,000 copies. Chapter 12 of the original version is titled, "It Happens Today: The Story of Two Modern Christians."[8] It includes short biographies of Martin Luther King, Jr, though that chapter actually begins with Rosa Parks, and Dr Mary Verghese, a surgeon and disability activist who was a member of the Syrian Christian Church of South India, in a wheelchair after an automobile accident left her paraplegic while she was in medical school.

The third printing of 42,000 copies was in 1967 and here the original chapter 12 was replaced with "Fox Hole Christian: The Story of Robert McClure," followed by chapter 13: "The Ark: The Story of Jean Vanier."[9] In other words, the 1967 version of *God Speaks Through People* replaced two women and one man – Black American civil rights activists and an Indian disability activist – with two able-bodied white Canadian men. This is interesting in light of the themes of Congress 2020: "Bridging Divides: Confronting Colonialism and Anti-Black Racism." I am observing, not judging. Both Vanier and McClure did commendable work building bridges between cultures and across various kinds of difference. I also note this for any fellow church historians – if you are ever researching the New Curriculum, find copies of every printing because there might be no indication of changes. I do not know whether archival records exist of discussions around the decision to change the content. I have never found a copy of the second printing.

More L'Arche / United Church Connections

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Jean Vanier regularly came to Canada to give public talks and lead retreats. In 1972, Vanier spoke to the 451 commissioners who comprised the 25th United Church General Council in Saskatoon (General Council is the highest "court" of decision-making in the United Church). UC General Secretary George Morrison got misty-eyed just anticipating it, according to an *Observer* article before the GC.[10] He wasn't disappointed. The December 1972 *United Church Observer* published a summary of Vanier's talk, prefaced with an introduction that began with the extraordinary sentence, "If you don't worship him, you don't know him."[11]

Vanier had arrived in Saskatoon from an interdenominational, inter-racial Jesus People "happening" in the streets of Cleveland.[12] Through his talk at the 1972 General Council, he connected the United Church members not only to L'Arche, but also to people marginalized by poverty, disability, racial discrimination, violence, and imprisonment, evangelical Christians of all denominations, the charismatic movement, the Jesus People who delighted him in Cleveland and elsewhere – as well as linking through his own person and heritage to the Roman Catholic Church and French culture. Vanier suggested that bridging social divides is not easy, saying,

> It is so difficult to bridge the gap. For myself, it is difficult. All my needs of security, all the values of my society, all my education – and then I discover that maybe the spirit of God is very different from the culture of our time [. . .] It's a slow process [. . .] becoming a bridge between these two cultures of those who have too much and those who have too little.[13]

The United Church responded generously to this new L'Arche vision. L'Arche began in Vancouver in 1973 because of a huge gift from the United Church: their newly-built home for unwed mothers in Burnaby. That community's first director, Judith Leckie, had grown up in the United Church before becoming Roman Catholic.[14] Soon afterwards, L'Arche expanded to Toronto when George Morrison rented to L'Arche a big house on Avoca St. behind the United Church offices downtown.[15] While initially part of L'Arche Daybreak, the Avoca House marks the beginning of what is now L'Arche Toronto.

Vanier's early "ecumenical retreats" had a quota of 400 Roman

Catholics and no more than 40 Protestants. These sometimes featured strange and painful misunderstandings, especially around the Eucharist.[16] But they also shaped leaders, such as future United Church moderator Bob Smith, who was a young minister at Richmond Hill United Church when L'Arche Daybreak began. Smith was asked to help plan one of the more genuinely ecumenical retreats, and was very excited because, as he said, this was big league with Vanier and all the "important people!" Then Vanier insisted that Smith make sure that people without money could afford to come, and that people marginalized by society had to be invited. Smith recalls that the sharing times on the retreat were the first time he had really seen the world through the eyes of people so different from himself, and it changed him for the rest of his ministry. Moderator Bruce McLeod was also profoundly affected. He found the retreat freed him to speak with and about Jesus in more intimate ways.[17]

The sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches took place in Vancouver in the summer of 1983. For two years, United Church minister Gordon How worked as the local organizer for the opening celebration, which featured Jean Vanier as speaker – it took place in the 15,000-seat Pacific Coliseum with a choir of 1,000 and a welcome from the Governor General, along with readers, liturgical dancers, and special staging. Lois Wilson welcomed Vanier to the stage. The event was televised nationally by the CBC, and although How had carefully timed Vanier's talk during a rehearsal, on the actual day Vanier spoke for so long that frantic CBC producers had to scramble to delay coverage of a football game. How laughingly says that the CBC never forgave him.[18]

Over the years, many United Church members, both with and without intellectual disabilities, have been part of L'Arche. A current example is Mary Hillhouse of L'Arche Vancouver. Hillhouse is a published poet, although she does not read or write. She is an active member of Jubilee United Church in Burnaby, and has served on the L'Arche Canada Spirituality Commission, whose members are selected from across Canada. Hillhouse believes that L'Arche could learn from the United Church, saying, "Definitely! We can learn to serve in the church and in the community." She further suggests that the United Church can continue to discover from L'Arche ways of "praying together, singing, and just being together."[19]

To sum up, although L'Arche is often assumed to be Roman Catholic, the United Church and L'Arche share ideals of social justice and inclusion with similar social imaginaries. Over the years, the United

Church has supported L'Arche with houses, people, property, and practical support. In turn, L'Arche has offered the United Church inspiration, counsel, committed members, retreats, prayer, and friendship. Sometimes painful mismatches have caused hurt and even ruptured relationships, with marginalized Protestants experiencing the kind of well-intentioned but oblivious exclusion that people with disabilities have often experienced.

As Church Historians Thinking about Bridging Divides, What Can We Make of the February 2020 Revelations about Jean Vanier?

In 2015, Jean Vanier received the Templeton Prize, an award given to influential spiritual leaders. As you already know, Vanier's reputation went up in flames at the end of February 2020. Although I considered cancelling this presentation and returning to my previous identity as a Shakespeare scholar, I decided there is still much to discuss, especially issues relating to an "influential individual." In the spring of 2020, is the whole idea of the "individual" and putting people on pedestals becoming increasingly problematic?

L'Arche International's public letter dated 24 February 2020 expressed appreciation to those who participated in the inquiry: "If the words of those who testified bring to light a troubled part of our history, their efforts give L'Arche a chance to continue on its journey, to become more aware of our history, and, ultimately, better able to face the challenges of our time. We understand that this was also their intention, and we are grateful for it." This was a striking response. I suspect few organizations facing news like this have been able to say they are grateful. L'Arche International added, "What we learn today is a huge blow and a cause of great confusion, but what we lose in certainty, we hope to gain in terms of maturity."

Around the world, people have been grieving the loss of the Jean Vanier they thought they knew. Denial, anger, depression, bargaining – responses have run the gamut. L'Arche offers the intriguing possibility that a loss of certainty could lead to greater maturity.[20] Pushing through my own circling anger and distaste while preparing this paper in May 2020, I suggest at least seven possible directions for future scholarship regarding Jean Vanier as an "influential individual." Given the problem at hand, I suspect any approach would benefit from a feminist lens.

1. Move beyond Jean Vanier as swiftly as possible. I am not talking about *cancelling* Vanier but recognizing instead that he had his moment

for more than five decades, and now it is time to pay closer attention to other voices and experiences.

2. Vanier's life has been revealed as much more messy and complex, but he was a friend not only of church leaders, but also artists such as poet Robert Lax.[21] Vanier admired Etty Hillesum, who in the 1940s wrote confidently about her sexual abilities, and had ongoing sexual relationships with both her psychoanalyst and her landlord. Might Vanier's life make more sense if seen in a wider context of other counter-cultural thinkers, writers and community experiments from the 1940s to the 1960s, especially in their exploration of sexual and spiritual connections?

3. What did people see and experience or project onto Vanier at particular historical moments through his long public life?[22] One could explore what about him moved so many people over many years before 2020, tracking how he was perceived, described, where he was respected, whose attention he caught and why, and how that changed over time. That would include how and why he continues to be put on a pedestal, whether that's to adore, critique, or revile.

4. Recognize that Vanier's sexually manipulative behaviour did not happen in a vacuum. This is a particular story of gendered power, of a leader revered to the point of cultishness, of the confusing ambiguity of consent, the manipulation of people at the point of their spiritual and personal vulnerability, the silencing of questions. Year by year, we gain more capacity to understand and hopefully transform the social conditions that allow for this kind of hurt.[23]

5. Acknowledge and explore that the influence identified as "Jean Vanier" was never purely individual. In 1964, Jean Vanier had been drifting around working on his doctorate until his mid-30s, supported by his parents, without becoming famous for his sense of fun or playfulness. The new companions who began living with him, Raphael Simi and Philippe Seux, had lived in both family and institutional settings without transforming their surroundings with joy. The founding of L'Arche's unique character was not due to any of the individual players, but rather the unexpected surprises of their lives together. Another direction for scholarship would be to consider what the collective, the women and men around Vanier, drew out of each other through sharing their lives.

6. The seemingly singular authorial voice of "Jean Vanier" includes insights of other writers and the community. Most of Vanier's books were not written solely by Vanier: many were works of collaboration with others, often women.[24] To discard Vanier's writings risks losing this

collective wisdom. His charisma and reputation overshadowed other contributors who didn't possess the narrative power given to Vanier, but he was never the sole author of L'Arche spirituality and philosophy. There are thousands of stories around the world of people taking up his compelling vision to reconfigure structures of privilege and celebrate diverse communities in a way that bridges every kind of divide.[25]

7. Although Jean Vanier influenced both the United Church and L'Arche, those two organizations now have a half-century history of their own. Many members of the UC have been involved in disability justice through L'Arche, developing ever more complex understandings of what the Manual calls "inclusive Christian fellowship." In the last section of *Tender to the World*, I analyze the remarkable closing session of the 43rd United Church General Council in 2018, when proceedings came to a standstill for nearly three hours as racialized commissioners stepped up to the microphones and told their fellow commissioners their painful stories of exclusion even at that event.[26] The United Church perseveres in its struggle to become a genuinely intercultural church: how could that identity continue to be enriched by its long alliance with L'Arche?

Endnotes

1. Carolyn Whitney-Brown, *Tender to the World: Jean Vanier, L'Arche and the United Church of Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019), and Carolyn Whitney-Brown, *Sharing Life: Stories of L'Arche Founders* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2019). Since presenting this paper, *Tender to the World* has been favourably reviewed by Alan Hall in the *Canadian Historical Review* (September 2020), Madeline Burghardt in the *Journal of Disability & Religion* (July 2020), and Michael Higgins in the *Literary Review of Canada* (June 2020). These reviews somewhat allay my fears that disgust with Vanier himself will eclipse the significance of many other worthwhile stories and experiences. See further endorsements on the McGill-Queens University Press page: https://www.mqup.ca/tender-to-the-world-products-9780773559127.php?page_id=73&

2. See L'Arche International News, "L'Arche International announces findings of Independent Inquiry," https://www.larche.org/news/-/asset_publisher/mQsRZspJMdBy/content/inquiry-statement-test.

3. Whitney-Brown, *Tender to the World,* 24. Excerpts from Vanier's speech to the General Council of the United Church in Saskatoon, SK, 19 August 1972 were published as "A Gentle Hallelujah: Jean Vanier Tells What the Good News Could Mean to You," *United Church Observer*, December 1972: 23-5,

48.

4. For more information about L'Arche around the world, see www.larche.org

5. Whitney-Brown, *Sharing Life*, vii, 38-39. See also Stephen Newroth, "Daybreak, Jean Vanier, and L'Arche" in *A Selective Overview of Jean Vanier and the Movement of L'Arche*, ed. Wolf Wolfensberger (Toronto: National Institute on Mental Retardation, 1973) 1-9.

6. Whitney-Brown, *Tender to the World,* 30-32.

7. My thanks to Megumi Saunders, who was retiring from First Metropolitan United in Victoria, BC and came across a large box of New Curriculum books. Her only condition was that I take the entire box, and thus I have a nearly complete set of New Curriculum materials. I thought seriously about a project exploring the impact of the New Curriculum on the generation of us who were raised on it – at the younger end people like me, and bit older, former Ontario premier Kathleen Wynn, Kingston writer Bronwyn Wallace and thousands more. Might the New Curriculum have been more successful and influential than has been recognized? Thousands of Canadians in public service, education, ministry and the arts were formed by the New Curriculum. I wondered also whether the New Curriculum was used in the residential schools. But when I tried to reread the books that I remembered enjoying as a child and teen, I found them simultaneously deadly boring and dishearteningly sexist, so I gave it up. I hereby offer this bright idea, along with a box of books, to any reader who needs a new project.

8. Frank H. Morgan, *God Speaks through People,* 1st ed. (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1964). Frank H. Morgan, "The Ark: The Story of Jean Vanier," in *God Speaks through People,* 3rd ed. (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1967), 225-33.

9. I offer a detailed analysis Jean Vanier's inversive humour in this early interview in *Tender to the World,* 26-30.

10. This article in the Summer 1972 issue of the *United Church Observer* interviewed Morrison as he looked ahead to GC25. I cannot determine the precise reference due to current library restrictions during the pandemic.

11. J.T. [James A. Taylor], Introduction to "A Gentle Hallelujah: Jean Vanier Tells What the Good News Could Mean to You," *United Church Observer*, December 1972, 22; cited in Whitney-Brown, *Tender to the World,* 16.

12. Vanier had arrived in Saskatoon from an interdenominational, inter-racial Jesus People "happening" in the streets of Cleveland. See Whitney-Brown, *Tender to the World,* 21-24.

13. Whitney-Brown, *Tender to the World,* 24.

14. Whitney-Brown, *Tender to the World,* 62-65.

15. Whitney-Brown, *Tender to the World,* 60.

16. Whitney-Brown, *Tender to the World,* 45-47.

17. Whitney-Brown, *Tender to the World,* 56-60.

18. Whitney-Brown, *Tender to the World,* 34-37.

19. Whitney-Brown, *Tender to the World,* 174-177.

20. I explore this in Carolyn Whitney-Brown, "'What We Lose in Certainty': Re-grieving Jean Vanier," *Critical Theology* 2, no. 3 (Spring 2020): 7-8.

21. The long friendship between Vanier and Lax is mentioned in Michael N. McGregor, *Pure Act: The Uncommon Life of Robert Lax* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017), 186, 379.

22. The adulation immediately after Vanier's death was enormous. I comment on it in "Jean Vanier: Remembering an Icon, Not an Idol," *Sojourners,* 20 May 2019, https://sojo.net/articles/jean-vanier-remembering-icon-not-idol.

23. Soon after the news broke, Madeline Burghardt offered some pointed insights and questions in "Jean Vanier was revered, but revelations of abuse and manipulation should not come as a surprise" *The Globe and Mail*, 27 February 2020, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/article-jean-vanier-was-revered-but-revelations-of-abuse-and-manipulation. Since then, Jane Barter, Natalie Wigg-Stevenson and others have also published feminist analyses of Vanier's behaviour.

24. For further discussion of Vanier's collaborative writing, see Carolyn Whitney-Brown, "Too Chicken to Cross the Road? Jean Vanier and Getting to the Other Side," *Critical Theology* 1 no. 4 (Summer 2019), and Carolyn Whitney-Brown, "Introduction to the New Edition," *Jean Vanier: Essential Writings* (London: Darton Longman and Todd, 2019), 10-11.

25. Both of my 2019 books, *Sharing Life* and *Tender to the World,* explore how people with and without disabilities took up the challenges and complexities of L'Arche as both a lived experience and as an ideal. I hope that stories like these do not get dismissed or overlooked because of deep disillusionment with Vanier himself.

26. I commented further in an online interview with *Broadview* magazine, 26 February 2020, https://broadview.org/jean-vanier-abuse-report.

The Creation and Expansion of the African Canadian Church

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Before the arrival of the Norse (around AD1000) and Europeans in the late sixteenth century, to what would eventually be called the Dominion of Canada, the lands' original occupants – the First Peoples – had tribes that each possessed a distinctive language, history, culture, mores, and traditions. This would change with the early colonization efforts of the French – with whom the First Peoples made their initial and most extensive contacts – and later with the English. By initially making allies of the First Peoples, these two empires slowly imposed a new order and reality upon the region.[1]

To implement this new order, they brought with them their pioneering spirit, religion, and African slaves who would become African Canadians.[2] How would the latter two (religion and African slaves) relate to each other insofar as the building of the African Canadian church? Pursuant to that, this paper will attempt to assess the creation and expansion of the African Canadian church in Canada; did it grow organically, like its southern counterpart, or was it an African American transplant? To assist in answering these questions, we must first gain an understanding of the extent of the African slave trade and ascertain the various conduits that supplied African slaves and free blacks to the country – paying particular attention to the religion they brought with them. We will endeavour to answer these questions by providing a brief overview of the origins of the Dominion starting with its First Peoples – as they may figure significantly in the African Canadian story.

The Dawn of the Dominion and Canada's First Nations

The cultures of the First Peoples were "based upon regular patterns that had evolved over thousands of years" and developed among these different cultures or tribes. These patterns grew out of an intimate knowledge of resources and the best way of using them. Anthropologist Robin Ridington has made the point that their technology consisted of knowledge rather than tools. That is, it was by employing their expert knowledge of the ecosystems and their ingenuity in using it to their advantage that the First Peoples were able to survive as well as they did with comparatively simple technology. Because of Canada's extended coastline and the great variety of geographical regions, there were many variations on one fundamental way of life for the First Peoples, that is, they were pre-state egalitarian societies of mostly hunter-gatherers. The estimates of the First Peoples' population ranged from 500,000 to nearly two million – principally concentrated in the Northwest, and Southern regions of the country.[3] Then the Europeans arrived.

First, there was the Norseman Leif Ericson (in AD 1000) who ventured to what is now Newfoundland.[4] Almost five centuries later, the Italian Giovanni Caboto (John Cabot) travelled to the shores of Newfoundland and Labrador in 1497. In 1534, Jacques Cartier followed Caboto by journeying down the St. Lawrence River to Stadecona (now Quebec City) and Hochelaga (now Montreal) where he, and Jean-Francois de la Roque de Roberval, would establish colonies – though both were failed endeavours.[5] On his second voyage back to France, Cartier abducted Chief Donnacona, the leader of the Stadecona village, his two sons, and seven other Iroquois; all ten died before Cartier's last trip to North America – an ominous portent for the eventual fate of the First Peoples. Colonization of what would become Canada would find success under the auspices of Samuel de Champlain (in 1603) when he established a settlement at Ile d'Orleans near Stadecona on behalf France.[6] Travelling with Champlain, as a member of his expedition team, was an African interpreter Matthew Decosta.[7]

Black Slavery in Canada: New France

Blacks have lived in Canada, or at least New France, for more than 400 years. The history of slavery in this part of the world dates back to 1632 and extends until 1834. It began with interpreter Matthew Decosta,

the first known black person to arrive in New France, and Oliver Lejeune, a six-year-old slave boy who became the first black resident of New France in 1628.[8] The New France black slavery experience was both similar to and different from that of the Caribbean and the American colonies. In all three regions, the elements of subjugation of one race by another, the exploitation of human labour, and the maximization of profits were present. Massive slave labour worked the sugar plantations of the Caribbean and the cotton plantations of the American colonies – the backbone of those economies. By contrast, in New France, slavery existed within a more diverse economy and on a smaller scale.[9]

Black slavery in New France became more significant toward the end of the seventeenth century when active labour shortages prompted the importation of blacks in larger numbers. At times, New France bought African slaves from the American colonies and the Caribbean for special projects. Although some slaves were used for agricultural, mining, and shipbuilding, the vast majority performed domestic duties for the elite (governors, doctors, prelates, and the merchant class).[10] The women performed a wide range of duties, including child-rearing, doing laundry, cleaning floors, and preparing meals, while the men worked outdoors gardening, caring for animals, and carrying water and firewood.[11]

By 1750, of the 120,000 African slaves that were sent to North America, only a small proportion, 1,400 people, came to New France. From 1681 to 1818, there were approximately 4,100 slaves in French Canada. Within the boundaries of present-day Quebec, there were 2,092 slaves from 1681 to 1759.[12] In the colony of Canada (Quebec, Montreal, and Trois-Rivieres), the majority of slaves (almost 2,700 or 65 per cent) were First Peoples (*Panis*), a stark contrast to that of the Maritimes (Ile Royal specifically) where 90 percent of the slaves were black.[13] Social status often dictated the race of one's slaves in New France, the elite typically acquiring black slaves while members of the working class owned *panis*.[14]

Official French policy towards slavery was established in 1685 through the *Code Noir* (Black Code) for the West Indies. This *Code* regulated the status of slaves even though slavery had been abolished in France.[15] Although loosely defined, slavery was given full legal backing in New France by 1709.[16] Reissued in New France in 1724, the *Code,* though never officially proclaimed in the colonies, was used as customary law. Comprising some 60 articles, it protected slave owners from slave revolt, theft, and escape but it also extended some protections and

privileges to the enslaved. Each slave was to be instructed, baptised, and ministered to as a Christian. Families were to be recognized, and freed slaves were to receive the rights of common citizens. Thus, at least in theory, the African could aspire to become a Frenchman. There was, however, a wide gap between theory and practise.[17]

In the colonies of Canada and Acadie (the Maritimes), the *Code Noir* was observed to the extent that slaves were baptised and were not to work on Sundays and Holy days. Ultimately, the *Code* was ignored in most French colonies. Some scholars, among them Gwendolyn Midlo Hall and Donald Meinig, maintain that French racial attitudes were not as harsh as that of the British or Dutch – citing as evidence miscegenation, acculturation, and manumission.[18] Donald Meinig argued that a burgeoning Afro-Catholicism, numerous mulattoes, the widespread acceptance of differing degrees of skin colours, and the example of the free black plantation owners with their own black slaves reflected the open, intimate, and vibrant nature of Creole society. This view is questioned by many scholars, notably Kenneth Donovan, Daniel H. Usner, and Joseph Mensah, on the ground that this picture reflects life in the French West Indies and that there is no evidence to suggest that these practices extended into Canada and the Maritimes. Similarly, there is also no evidence to show that slave society was less repressive in New France than it was in New England.[19]

The first black slaves to arrive in considerable numbers did so in the Maritimes in 1755 when former New England residents, French Acadians, settled in what would later be called Nova Scotia after their expulsion in the wake of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. In Nova Scotia – which at the time included New Brunswick – the slaves were tasked with building out the settlement at Halifax not knowing it would become a leading centre for the public auction of their fellow blacks. After the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the number of slaves grew significantly. By the time of the American Revolution, there were some 500 black slaves living in Nova Scotia.[20] After the conclusion of the Revolution, of course, these regions would also become home to thousands of refugees as part of the Loyalist migration north.[21]

Black Slavery in Canada: The British Loyalist and Slavery

At the conclusion of the Seven Years War,[22] France ceded all its North American territories east of the Mississippi (now known as Quebec

later to be the provinces of Ontario and Quebec) to the English under the terms of the Treaty of Paris.[23] The signing of that Treaty also had the effect of legally strengthening slavery in Canada by superceding the definitions outlined in the *Code Noir*.[24] On three separate occasions the British government explicitly guaranteed English slave owners that their property would be respected while at the same time adding the legal superstructure of English criminal and civil law to the informally observed *Code Noir* – effectively depriving slaves in Canada of the few protections that the *Code* had afforded them. The most important significant legal protection afforded to slaveholders by the British government, however, was contained in The Imperial Act of 1790 – an Act that encouraged the immigration of British subjects to British North America by permitting the free importation of all "Negroes, furniture, utensils of husbandry, clothing" into the colonies.[25]

Loyal subjects of the British Crown, black and white, would come to British North America most notably after the War of Independence and later the War of 1812.[26] The Loyalist's migration had a number of significant effects on the slave population: first, it increased the number of slaves in Canada significantly – causing black slaves to surpass the number of *panis* slaves for the first time; second, a number of well-informed advocates for the defense of slavery emerged; lastly, the variety of work done by slaves increased and, for the first time, free Negro Loyalists worked alongside black slaves – an example that black skin did not automatically mean servitude. Furthermore, many Loyalists found they could not afford to maintain large numbers of slaves (as they did in the south) for several reasons, not the least of which was its impracticality due to the climate and the absence of a need for field workers year-round. The harsh laws formerly used to govern slaves were softened as many slaves were baptized, some educated, and families allowed to stay together. A growing number of white Loyalists, moreover, began leaning towards anti-slavery positions as slavery became associated with the new Republic they had great cause to hate.[27]

Although white Loyalists initially increased the number slaves in what was to become Canada, within two decades those same Loyalists had all but ended the practice.[28] Even as slavery was on the decline, attempts were made to stabilize the system from within as many would-be Canadians fought to protect their right to have slaves even when the institution had proven unprofitable.[29] Approximately 3,000 free Negros went to British North America as a result of the Revolutionary War – the

majority to Nova Scotia. Most of the Negroes in Quebec were slaves of Loyalists who had fled the rebel colonies.[30] These Loyalists, mostly white settlers from the British Isles and Britain's American colonies, formed the basis of the dominant culture that took root in what would become the Dominion of Canada.[31]

In 1791, William Wilberforce introduced a bill in the British Parliament to stop the importation of slaves to the British colonies. That same year Colonel John Graves Simcoe became the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada (later Ontario). After becoming acquainted with the brutality of slavery still present in Upper Canada, he began working for its abolition. Within two years, Simcoe and the slave-holding Chief Justice Osgoode reached a compromise and passed "The Act to Prevent the Further Introduction of Slaves and to Limit the Terms of Enforced Servitude Within the Province." This provided for the freedom of the children of slaves after they reached the age of 25 and it prevented new settlers from bringing slaves into the province.[32] The Act resulted in a slow trickle of fugitive slaves from the southern United States crossing the border into Upper Canada, a trend that continued until the War of 1812.

After the War of 1812, the British government once again offered freedom to every American owned slave who would join the British.[33] By 1834 – and the abolition of slavery in the British Empire – Upper Canada's attorney general ruled that by virtue of being residents of Canada, black people were deemed free.[34] Fugitive slaves began trickling into Canada through escape vehicles like the Underground Railway. The American Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 making escape more dangerous and expensive. However, even with the spectre of the Slave Act looming, there was a dramatic increase in the free black population of Upper Canada – about 30,000 entered the colony between 1800 and 1860.[35]

Thus the African Canadian population grew from four sources: the blacks who entered New France via the Atlantic slave trade; fugitives slaves crossing into Canada by either the Underground Railway or other means; free or enslaved Loyalists through the Revolutionary War; and black refugees after the War of 1812.[36] What we have yet to ascertain is whether, prior to the American Revolutionary War, the African Canadian slaves developed an autonomous church like that of the slaves of the United States. Let us first take a brief look at the African American slave's religious story.

Slave Theology and the African-American Church of the United States

In the plantation system of the southern United States, the great mass of slaves would build for themselves the structure of an invisible society founded on a spirituality that put meaning into their existence.[37] The "secret service" arose when slaves were expressly forbidden from attending religious services. In response, secret religious meetings were held in hovels, arbors, and pits.[38] The slaves would discuss the events of the day and gain new strength from the communal reality of slavery.[39] These religious meetings emphasized and tightened the social bonds among slaves.[40] They would celebrate the maintenance of life in the midst of adversity and determine the communal strategies and tactics for continued survival, protest, and resistance.[41] Slave theology was formed by the confluence of reinterpreted white Christianity with the remains of African religion – specifically the Old Testament emphasis on spiritual and physical freedom.[42] Often called the "invisible institution," these secret meetings were the origin of what would become the modern African American church.[43]

The northern states were home to escaped slaves, slaves that were given their freedom for services rendered, and African Americans born to freed slaves.[44] These northern African Americans would build their institutional version of the "secret meeting" for many of the same reasons as their southern counterparts.[45] In 1787, pastors Richard Allen, Absalom Jones, and William White withdrew from the white St. George's Church in Philadelphia. They withdrew due in no small part to the white congregation becoming increasingly disturbed by the growing number of African Americans attending the church services.[46] This act led Allen to establish the Free African Society and the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) in 1816.[47] The free Negro found status in the African American church as it shielded them from the contempt and discrimination of white society.[48] The founding of these historic churches was the first African American freedom movement and would become pivotal in the battle against injustice in the United States.[49] Did this dynamic repeat itself in Canada or were there components to the Canadian story that would cause a divergence from its southern counterpart?

Was there a Nascent Black Church established in New France?

Though the Roman Catholic colony of New France had a significant

slave population in the 1600s, no indigenous black Catholic tradition would arise in Canada.[50] This was due to factors including the fact that the Catholic Church was less involved with humanitarian concerns, such as the plight of the Negro slaves and what they deemed their "temporary servile status," than with their souls;[51] that the church was directly implicated in the slave trade – religious orders of men, women, and diocesan priests were slave owners; the Catholic Church's aggressive political disfranchisement of emancipated black people, its contributions to the racializing of black people – relegating them to second-class status; and finally, though rich in ceremony, rituals, music, and incantations like African religions, the formalism of Roman Catholicism was daunting and constraining for the American/Canadian slave.[52] These and other factors made the Catholic faith less appealing to African Canadians in New France.[53]

There is evidence that slaves in New France, particularly in the Maritimes, would have known each other, and there is evidence they gathered together on occasions such as slave baptisms and weddings (slaves were entitled to the sacraments by the *Code Noir*).[54] However, there is no evidence to suggest that Canadian black slaves developed a distinct religion like their southern counterparts (an "invisible institution").[55] For example, if we use the sacrament of baptism as a catalyst from which a potential slave proto-religious culture might develop, we must also consider the fact that in New France the family members of slaves were rarely permitted to gather and observe the ritual.[56] Indeed, baptism was often perceived a demeaning ritual for the slave that was only performed at the behest or whim of the master.[57]

The lack of a distinct black Canadian religious culture may have been the result of various factors: first, the small number of black slaves per master compared to the American south meant that black slaves would simply accompany their master to church if the master was so inclined (the problem of too many blacks did not occur); secondly, though they served side-by-side with *panis* slaves, there may have been antagonisms between the two groups (at the very least there is no evidence to suggests solidarities might have evolved into a unified form of opposition to their oppressors); lastly, the majority of slaves were domestic rather than field labourers, giving them a more palatable existence relative to most slaves in the American south. Perhaps this had the effect of muting the spirit of rebellion? These, as well as other factors, may have contributed to the fact that a separate African Canadian church did not emerge in New France.

What then precipitated the creation and expansion of the African Canadian church?

The Black Church in Nova Scotia

On their arrival in Nova Scotia in 1783, black Loyalists, who were predominantly Anglicans, Methodists, and Baptists, found themselves relegated to second-class status in the church despite their belief that baptism in the Anglican Church would make them "one and equal with whites." Indeed, John Breynton, the rector of St. Paul's, Halifax, baptized hundreds of black people. And yet, although they could attend services and receive communion, blacks were segregated from white parishioners by being forced into galleries reserved for them as well as the poor and soldiers. By 1815, black worshippers of all denominations were kept behind a partition.[58] As the white membership increased, some black parishioners were advised to gather for worship in their homes. Nova Scotian blacks turned to their lay preachers and teachers in the segregated communities to meet their spiritual needs.[59]

The Black Church in Upper Canada

Having abolished slavery formally in 1834, British North American lands that would later become Canada provided a refuge for escaped slaves. In the 1850s and 1860s, Upper Canada (present-day Ontario) achieved new popularity among American blacks. By 1850, blacks born in, but who fled the, United States settled in and around the communities of Amherstburg, Sandwich (present-day Windsor), Colchester, and Wilberforce. Apart from those established settlements, whole immigrant frontier towns were founded.[60] Among these were Josiah Henson's British-American Institute in Dawn (later Dresden) north of Chatham, as well as the Elgin and Buxton settlements south of Chatham.[61]

Once the fugitive slaves reached freedom in Upper Canada, they immediately assembled for worship. Like their Nova Scotian counterparts, however, they found that as their numbers increased the white members of their churches grew increasingly uncomfortable. In *The African Canadian Church: A Stabilizer*, Dorothy Shadd Shreve writes, "Before 1840, individual blacks mingled with whites at church services. With the large influx of fugitive slaves in the 1840s and 1850s, it was obvious that white tolerance of social intercourse with their coloured neighbours, even

in the presence of God, was strained to the limit."[62]

At this juncture it would seem that the arrival of significant numbers of African Americans to Upper Canada and Nova Scotia put a strain on racial relations in the church. How did this affect the creation and expansion of the African Canadian church? We will see it is a situation that would ultimately lead to the formation of black churches in Upper Canada and Nova Scotia.

The Black Canadian Church: Segregation, Expulsion, and Transplantation

The church became an important institution in the black Canadian community, providing spiritual care, education, and the social and economic organization necessary for building new communities. Daniel G. Hill, in his book *The Freedom Seekers*, asserts: "The earliest and most important institutions in all black Upper Canadian communities were the churches."[63] We can see that the establishment of the black autonomous churches in Canada followed a pattern similar to the development of black churches in the United States – that is, it was given impetus by the exclusion of the black congregants from the white churches. The African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church founded in Philadelphia in 1816 by Absalom Jones and Richard Allen (after their departure/expulsion from the white St. George's Methodist Church) was transplanted to Upper Canada where it eventually separated from the parent body in the United States to create the British Methodist Episcopal (BME) church.[64] The first of these was Salem Chapel in St. Catharines in 1820. A BME church member explained the relevance of the church to the black community:

> Our association was organized in 1841. We were organized because of prejudice, and we decided to move away. As long as racism is alive and well in our communities, we are better able to support each other in our communities because we have a unique understanding of things. When I was a kid, everyone went to AME/BME [church] if you were black and that was the centre of our society. We did everything in our church.[65]

During the late 1830s, Jesse Coleman, a fugitive slave from Baltimore, founded the African Methodist Episcopal Zion church.[66] In 1847, black residents of Sandwich, Upper Canada, built a log church, the first structure owned by the community as a whole. Most congregants were

formerly enslaved and free African Americans who had fled to Upper Canada in search of freedom and a place where racial discrimination, while hardly absent, was at least not enshrined in law. These intrepid people had consciously chosen what is now Ontario as their home and had, in many cases, endured terrifying hardships in order to arrive there. Today, Sandwich Baptist church still sustains the black community of Windsor and has been recognized as a National Historic Landmark by the Canadian government.[67]

The First Baptist Church is Toronto's oldest black church – a haven for Toronto's nineteenth-century black community. Founded in 1826 by twelve former slaves who got together (informally) to worship after they found they were not welcome in white churches, its transnational roots are evident in the church's earliest fundraising history: Washington Christian, a former Virginia slave, was the principal financial agent behind the construction of the original building.[68] One of the oldest AME churches in North America is Grant African Methodist Episcopal Church (1833) in Toronto – founded just 17 years after Richard Allen had established the denomination in Philadelphia. Originally located on Richmond Street in the city's downtown core, the church moved to several different locations – staying 63 years on Soho Street – and finally ending at Gerrard Street where it stands today.[69] During the nineteenth century, both Grant AME and First Baptist Churches were mostly made up of African Americans who had fled slavery in the United States and their Canadian born descendants.

In Upper Canada, Canadian Christian missionary organizations became involved in outreach ministries by funding and encouraging the development of black congregations. While most of these organizations were Methodist and Baptist, Presbyterians and Congregationalists also supported the work among fugitive blacks. William King organized one church initiative near Chatham in 1849. Managed by the Elgin Association, the Buxton Mission provided fugitive slaves with land, education, and Christian education. The Presbyterian church also supported this mission and was responsible for strategic economic initiatives such as the construction of a brick factory and a sawmill.[70] In the province of Nova Scotia, the transplantation theme continued in the African United Baptist church. Another black congregation in Owen Sound was founded in 1854 by Richard Preston and Septimis Clarke on behalf of the British Methodist Episcopal church. The congregations of all of these historic black churches continue to thrive to this day.[71]

Conclusion

The legend of the Underground Railroad and the image of Canada as a promised land of freedom and equality for African American slaves remain pervasive in the Canadian imagination. This reinforces a sense of superiority among Canadians (especially when juxtaposed with their American counterparts). Yet this popular myth always fails to consider the actual experiences of fugitive slaves once they arrived in Canada – specifically, the discrimination they faced in their daily lives and their exclusion from social institutions such as schools and churches.[72]

The black church in Canada emerged as a central institution in the development of black cultural life in Canada. The socio-historical context of legalized racial segregation and the resulting political and economic hegemony based on whiteness influenced the development of the black church as a religious and social institution.[73] In Canada, the black church was committed to meeting the multiple and diverse needs of a population that was often dehumanized, excluded, and marginalized by the broader community. The African Canadian church provided members with resiliency against these wider inequalities.[74]

Historically, whenever the black church is described in a Canadian context, it is often (and not without cause) presented as a historical phenomenon brought to Canada by formerly enslaved black people who, under the harsh conditions of a racially segregated Canada, fell back on the religion created by the "invisible institution" of the antebellum south and that of the northern AME.[75] There is great evidence to suggest this was the case.

And yet precisely the same circumstances that led to the development of the AME in the United States did not exist in Canada. The aforementioned elements that occurred under a northern sun (not the least of which is the number of slaves) left no evidence of a separate African Canadian religion. However, what these two contexts did have in common was the fact that, as the black population grew, it was first segregated and then declared unwelcome in the white church. This was the impetus for the formation of black churches both north and south of the border. The transnational link between Canada and the United States has greatly aided the African Canadian community when it came to the establishment of the black church as an engine of black community formation and social change.[76] The African American church in the United States has a rich legacy of community uplift and social justice and the transnational nature

of the relationship between the two countries has greatly sustained and expanded the African Canadian church and community.

Endnotes

1. Barrington Walker, ed., *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada: Essential Readings* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2008), 15.

2. Discussing slavery, segregation, and discrimination in North America inevitably brings up issues of race and the terms used to describe each phenotype. To add clarity to my paper and eschew offense, I have opted to use black Canadian and African Canadian interchangeably to denote the group of people that belong to the Negro race; and white or European Canadian interchangeably for those belonging to the Caucasian race. However, every term is problematic, these included. In the Canadian context "black" and African Canadian, and "white" and European Canadian are widely used by advocacy groups, governments, and scholars. In this particular case using African Canadian as opposed to African American shows the distinction between two different cultural groups of the same Negro race – where only using the term "black" would promote confusion. Although its usage does nothing to avoid the debate between those Canadians who stress their African origin versus those who stress their Caribbean origin, the scope of this paper does not encompass the period after Canada's new immigration laws that saw a marked increase in immigrants from the Caribbean.

3. Olive Patricia Dickason, "Canada When Europeans Arrived," in *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada: Essential Readings*, ed. Barrington Walker (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2008), 17-18.

4. Roger E. Riendeau, *A Brief History of Canada* (New York: InfoBase, 2007), 18; and Walker, ed. *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada*,15.

5. Riendeau, *Canada*, 22-29; Cartier and Roberval would establish colonies near Stadecona and Cap Rouge respectively.

6. Conrad Black, *The History of Canada* (New York: McClelland and Stewart, 2017), 26-34; and R. Douglas Francis *et. al.*, *Journey: A History of Canada* (Toronto: Nelson, 2009), 51. New France was composed of five territories: Canada, the biggest and most developed (which included Quebec, Trois-Rivieres, and Montreal); Hudson's Bay; Acadie (Acadia); Plaisance; and Louisiane (Louisiana).

7. Harvey Amani Whitefield, *Blacks on the Border: The Black Refugees in British North American, 1815-1860* (Burlington, VT: University of Vermont Press, 2006), 11-12.

8. Robin W Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History*, 2nd ed. (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 1; Carol B. Duncan, "'Out of the Bitter Sea': The Black Church and Migration in North American," in *The Black Church Studies Reader*, ed. Alton B. Pollard, Carol B. Duncan (England: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), 239; and Denise Gillard, "The History of the Black Church in Canada," *The Presbyterian Record*, 123 (1999): 16-18.

9. Gillard, "Black Church," 16-18.

10. Joseph Mensah, *Black Canadian: History, Experience, Social Conditions* (Halifax: Fernwood, 2002), 46; and Gillard, "Black Church," 16-18.

11. Kenneth Donovan, "Slaves and their Owners in Ile Royale, 1713-1760," *Journal of the History of the Atlantic Region*, 25 (1995): 3.

12. Donovan, "Slaves," 5; Dorothy Schneider and Carl J. Schneider, *Slavery in America: From Colonial Times to the Civil War* (New York: Facts on File, 2000), 53; in contrast, the United States had an estimated 140,000 African slaves labouring in the plantation economy of the southern states in the same time frame – there was a total of 559,800 slaves in the American colonies at that time.

13. Donovan, "Slaves," 5; this most likely reflects the colony's close trade links with the French West Indies.

14. Donovan, "Slaves," 13.

15. Mensah, *Black Canadian*, 45; Robin W. Winks, "Slavery, the Loyalist, and English Canada 1760-1801," in *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada: Essential Readings*, ed. Barrington Walker (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2008), 28; Donovan, "Slaves," 5, 13; Royal Decrees of 1716 and 1738 stated that all slaves that set foot on French soil were free. Yet slavery had official recognition in the French colonies.

16. Mensah, *Black Canadian*, 45; Donovan, "Slaves," 5; Kevin Brushett, review of "Marcel Trudel Canada's Forgotten Slaves: Two Hundred Years of Bondage," *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, 28 (2015): 264; scholars, like Trudel, maintain that the *Code Noir* had no official standing in New France.

17. Donovan, "Slaves," 5.

18. Donovan, "Slaves," 5-6; and Mensah, *Black Canadian*, 45.

19. Donovan, "Slaves," 5-6; and Mensah, *Black Canadian*, 45. The fact that slaves lived short lives, *panis* just 19 years and blacks 25 years, is evidence of the rigors of the slave system.

20. Mensah, *Black Canadian*, 46.

21. Black, *Canada*, 4.

22. Black, *Canada*, 2. The French and Indian War was the North American theatre of The Seven Years War.

23. Winks, "Slavery," 28.

24. Winks, "Slavery," 28. By 1791 Quebec was divided into two provinces, Lower Canada and Upper Canada – they would become Quebec and Ontario respectively.

25. Winks, "Slavery," 28-29. The juxtaposition of Negro people and inanimate items like furniture and utensils gives some insight into the ideology of the time.

26. Walker, ed., *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada,* 14-17.

27. Winks, "Slavery," 30.

28. Winks, "Slavery," 30.

29. Maureen Elgersman, *Unyielding Spirits: Black Woman and Slavery in Early Canada and Jamaica* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 3.

30. Donald. H. Clairmont and Dennis W. Magill, *Africville: The Life and Death of a Canadian Black Community* (Toronto: McCleland & Stewart Limited, 1974), 32; and Winks, "Slavery," 33.

31. Walker, ed., *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada: Essential Readings*, 15.

32. Gillard, "Black Church," 16-18.

33. Clairmont and Magill, *Africville*, 33.

34. Walker, ed., *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada,* 15.

35. Gillard, "Black Church," 16-18.

36. Mensah, *Black Canadian*, 3; and Gillard, "Black Church," 16-18.

37. H. Beecher Hicks Jr., *Images of The Black Preacher: The Man Nobody Knows* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson, 1977), 27-28. The United States was a unique slave society; the slave population reproduced naturally, soon outnumbering African imports, whereas elsewhere in the New World deaths exceeded births and planters depended on continual imports from Africa to sustain their labour force and profits.

38. Andrew M. Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out: The Civil Rights Life of Birmingham's Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1999), 75-76; and Hicks, *Black Preacher,* 27-28.

39. N.D. Glenn, "Negro Religion and Negro Status in the United States," in *Religion, Culture and Society: A Reader in the Society of Religion,* ed. Louis Schneider (New York: John Wiley, 1964), 629.

40. E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Church in America* (New York: Schocken, 1964), 24-25.

41. George P. Rawick, "From Sun Up to Sun Down: The Making of the Black Community," in *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography Vol 1.*, ed. George P. Rawick, et al. (Westport, CN: Greenwood, 1972), 37.

42. Nathan I. Huggins, *Black Odyssey: The Ordeal of Slavery in America* (London, EN: George Allen & Unwin, 1979), 73.

43. Hicks, *Black Preacher,* 29.

44. Frazier, *Negro Church,* 35.

45. Leonard Gadzekpo, "The Black Church, The Civil Rights Movement, and The Future," *Journal of Religious Thought* 211 (1997): 97.

46. Cornelius L. Bynum, *A. Philip Randolph and the Struggle for Civil Rights* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 25.

47. Bruce L. Fields, *Introducing Black Theology: 3 Crucial Questions for the Evangelical Church* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2001), 17.

48. Frazier, *Negro Church*, 50.

49. Gadzekpo, "Black Church," 100.

50. Brushett, Review of *Forgotten Slaves*, 264; and Clairmont and Magill, *Africville*, 67.

51. Nicole Von Germeten, "A Century of Promoting Saint Peter Claver and Catholicism to African Americans: Claverian Historiography from 1868-1965," *American Catholic Studies*, 116 (2005): 30; and Brushett, Review of *Forgotten Slaves*, 264.

52. Huggins, *Black Odyssey*, 68-70.

53. R.L. Green, "The Politics of Prayer: White American Catholicism and "Negro" Sainthood," *Black Theology*, 15 (2017): 245; Cyprian Davis, "Black Catholic Theology: A Historical Perspective," *Theological Studies*, 61 (2000): 660.

54. Marcel Trudel, *Canada's Forgotten Slave: Two Hundred Years of Bondage*, Translated by George Tombs (Montreal: Vehicule, 2013), 149-53.

55. Present scholarship on the topic of black Canadian slave religious experience is woefully inadequate or virtually non–existent.

56. Donovan, "Slaves," 4; slaves were prohibited from enjoying each other's company at weddings or other gatherings because they might have included slaves from different owners – a situation to be eschewed.

57. Donovan, "Slaves," 6; Trudel, *Slaves*, 149-53.

58. The second wave of Blacks (Refugees) would primarily settle in Nova Scotia after the War of 1812.

59. Gillard, "Black Church," 16-18; and Clairmont and Magill, *Africville*, 33. As a consequence of this treatment, some blacks lost hope in Canada's ability to secure safe and viable communities for them; some emigrated to Sierra Leone (1793), a colony established by Britain for freed slaves, and later (1800) Trinidad, causing the loss of outstanding preachers and community leaders.

60. Paul Heike, "Out of Chatham: Abolitionism on the Canadian Frontier," *Atlantic Studies*, 8 (2011): 175-77; Sharon A. Roger Hepburn, *Crossing the Border: A Free Black Community in Canada* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 1-3. Other communities included Beech, Roberts, and Brooklyn.

61. Heike, "Chatham," 186-87; it is interesting to note that, in regards to the abolitionist movement, names like Mary Ann Shadd, Martin Delany, William King, John Brown, as well as Osborne Anderson and Samuel Ringgold Ward were among those whose paths crossed in Chatham in the 1850s; their interconnectedness allowed them to develop and discuss their ideas while engaged in abolitionist activism – each with a distinct view of the future of blacks in the Americas. Taken together, they present a complex and multifaceted image of black culture in Chatham.

62. Gillard, "Black Church," 16-18.

63. Gillard, "Black Church," 16-18.

64. Karen Carole Flynn, *Moving Beyond Borders: A History of Black Canadian and Caribbean Women in the Diaspora* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 61. Dorothy Shadd Shreve attributes this decision to political tension between Canada and the United States and the former fugitive slaves wanting to demonstrate their loyalty to the British institution that protected them from slavery.

65. Flynn, *Black Canadian*, 61.

66. Gillard, "Black Church," 16-18.

67. Karolyn S. Frost, "African American and African Canadian Trans- nationalism along the Detroit River Borderland: the Example of Madison J. Lightfoot," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 32 (2013): 78.

68. Duncan, "Bitter Sea," 241; City News Home Page. "First Black Baptist Church in Canada Celebrates Incredible Milestone." https://toronto.citynews.ca/2006/11/13/first-black-baptist-church-in-canada-celebrates-incredible-milestone/ (accessed 2019-02-15). Washington Christian was born in 1776, ordained in the Abyssinia Baptist Church of New York in 1822.

69. Duncan, "Bitter Sea," 241; and City News, "Black Baptist," para. 1.

70. Gillard, "Black Church," 16-18; and Roger Hepburn, *Border*, 1-3.

71. Duncan, "Bitter Sea," 241; and Clairmont and Magill, *Africville*, 67-68.

72. Kristin McLaren, ""We had No Desire to be Set Apart": Forced Segregation of Black Students in Canada West Public Schools and Myths of British Egalitarianism," in *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada: Essential Readings*, ed. Barrington Walker (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2008), 69-70; and Rinaldo Walcott, *Black like Who: Writing Black Canada*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Insomniac, 2003), 35-36.

73. Duncan, "Bitter Sea," 240.

74. Flynn, *Black Canadian*, 60.

75. Duncan, "Bitter Sea," 238.

76. Duncan, "Bitter Sea," 239-40.

A Critical Review of Archival Sources Relating to the Intersection of West Indian Immigrants and the Anglican Church in Toronto, 1950-1985

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> Resolved, That the General Synod of the Church of England in Canada recognizing the vital need of maintaining our British Connection, our British ideals and our British institutions and believing that the preponderance of continental over British immigration to Canada is likely to lower seriously existing standards of wages and living conditions, the maintenance of which is in the best interest alike of the foreign born and of those of British stock, desires to urge upon the Government of Canada the adoption of a quota policy to limit the number of certain classes of foreign born immigrants admitted during any year to not more than 50 percent of the British born admitted during the preceding year.[1]

That, beginning in the 1960s, the Anglican Church of Canada, alongside other mainline Churches, experienced a precipitous decline in Sunday attendance and the participation of members in traditional rites of passage is a phenomenon well attested to by historians and sociologists of religion.[2] Among the factors commonly cited is that an influx of immigrants from non-traditional sources, that is countries outside of the British Isles and northern Europe, changed Canada's fundamental character, including its religious make-up, where in 1961 94% of the population identified as Christian.[3] Nowhere is this more evident than in Toronto where the racial minority population rose from less than 3% in

1961 to 20.7% by 1986.[4] Of particular significance for the Anglican Church in Toronto was the growth of the West Indian community. Indeed, many West Indians arriving in Toronto already had an established connection to Anglican Christianity either through a parish church or school back home.[5] Beginning about 1965, the appearance of significant numbers of West Indians in several Toronto parishes disturbed long-established identities and patterns of worship.

How religious life and immigration informed each other in the post-World War II era has remained largely unexplored. Problems inviting further examination include what tensions did immigration bring to a Church already confronting significant demands for change, both external and internal? How did parishes welcome and incorporate immigrants in search of a new spiritual home and would that new spiritual home afford them an opportunity to maintain their traditional culture and identity? Did the process of interaction foster "Canadianization," and if so, how? Research in these areas would add granularity to our understanding of the significant transition that the Anglican Church underwent in the latter half of the twentieth century and would also provide important contextualization for understanding the Church's ministry to immigrants today.

In this essay I consider several important archival resources for anyone interested in exploring the intersection of the Anglican Church with the waves of newcomers to post-war Canada. Although the specific focus is the West Indian community and the Anglican Church in Toronto, the archival challenges that I identify – gaps, silences, and internal organization – have wide applicability for scholars. Thus, the collections examined are not intended to represent all the resources available but rather to illustrate key problems that a researcher is likely to encounter.[6]

The archives of the Anglican Church tell two stories. On a superficial level they document that over the course of a few decades in the mid-twentieth century the Church progressively moved away from its earlier support for racist and colonial immigration regulations toward non-discriminatory policies in which race and ethnicity were no longer factors in the admission of immigrants to Canada. Indeed, archival records show that the Church adopted a progressively activist stance, writing government officials concerning injustices in the present system, lobbying immigration ministers in person, and submitting briefs to Parliament in response to Green and White Papers circulated for public comment in addition to hands-on ministry to immigrants.

A more critical, contextualized reading of the same documents reveals remnants of the Church's racialized and colonial past and the resulting tension which disrupted established patterns and norms thus advancing the Anglican Church's transition toward being a less-closed, multi-ethnic community. The main collections consulted were the Anglican Church's General Synod Archives and the Diocese of Toronto Archives. I also turned to the City of Toronto Archives as well as the resources of the University of Toronto's Map and Data Collection Library and its Government Information Library to fill in the gaps.[7]

As Canada entered the second half of the twentieth century, Toronto's West Indian community was "infinitesimal."[8]Highly restrictive regulations, in place for a half-century, had largely excluded Black West Indians from immigrating to Canada. Most of those who were here in the 1950s – students, select labourers and female domestic servants – held some form of temporary visa.[9] Thus in the 1950s and early 1960s West Indians represented a small subaltern community whose voices from the margins were barely audible. As we shall see, census and immigration records relating to the nascent West Indian community are often thin and scattered, revealing gaps or silences indicative of colonial practices.

The cause of West Indian immigration, or to put it another way, the embarrassment of West Indian discrimination, was a concern championed by the Anglican Church beginning in the early 1950s. Before considering the holdings of the General Synod Archives, let us first locate the problem within the historiographical framework of colonialism and racialization. The historic relationship between Canada and the West Indies was a complex one grounded chiefly upon trading relationships going back at least to the eighteenth century. As British subjects, White West Indians moved freely between the islands and Canada, often forging commercial, familial, and professional relationships; the same was never true for Black West Indians. Blacks of West Indian origin, mostly attached to the households of British soldiers and government officials, were present in Toronto before the time of its founding in 1793. In the middle years of the nineteenth century the Black community in Toronto reached nearly one thousand, some of whom attained a substantial degree of wealth and prominence. In the latter half of the century, the community declined reaching a low of 408 in 1911.[10] The 1910 Immigration Act, followed by a clarifying Order-in-Council the next year, effectively banned all "Negro" immigration on the pretext of their supposed climatic unsuitability.

Although the order officially expired after one year, the precedent had been set and remained in practice until 1962.[11]

As Paula Hastings demonstrates in her article, "The Limits of 'Brotherly Love': Rethinking Canada-Caribbean Relationships in the Early Twentieth Century," the connection between Canada and the British West Indies has been characterized by a "Big Brother" paternalism which transcended racial lines.[12] Although once a colony itself, Canada has often adopted an imperial air, especially in its "encounters with populations not part of Canada's Anglo-Celtic majority." This latent colonial-racist attitude continued to inform Canadian foreign relationships throughout the twentieth century.[13]

The relationship of the Anglican Church of Canada with her sister Church in the West Indies has also suffered from a deeply entwined racialization and imbalance of power. For example, in the 1970s and 1980s the practice of recruiting Black clergy to serve Canadian parishes, which West Indian bishops viewed as poaching their best priests, continued by some Canadian dioceses even after the Church was requested to stop.[14] Today, when the emphasis in missiology is on mutual giving and receiving between equal communities,[15] Canadian Anglicans continue to support West Indian missions through traditional fund-raising organizations such as Canadian Friends to West Indian Christians thus perpetuating a top-down relationship. Ironically, the Anglican Church in the Province of the West Indies came into being in 1883 – ten years before the unification of dioceses which formed the Anglican Church of Canada.

Although the Anglican Church enjoyed the legal status of an established state church only in parts of the Dominion and lost any such official claim to power by the middle of the nineteenth century, Anglicanism was still for many members in the 1950s and 1960s an imagined community associated with values, institutions, laws, and symbols suggestive of the British Empire in general and England in particular.[16] A study of Toronto Anglicans in 1986 by sociologist Reginald Bibby revealed that over 80% of Church members continued to associate Anglicanism with discursive phrases or symbols of Empire such as the English Church, the Book of Common Prayer, the Queen and the monarchy, the British Commonwealth and the military.[17] It is no accident that Toronto's towering Anglican Cathedral is situated at the intersection of King and Church Streets.

The General Synod Archives is constituted along the lines of a state

archive, a *ius archivi* as described by Randolph Head, deriving its validity and authority from canon law.[18] Its mission as defined in Canon V is "To collect, arrange, describe, preserve and provide access to any documents, manuscripts, newspapers, books, graphic and audio-visual materials pertaining to the history and activities of The Anglican Church of Canada." In giving birth to the Archive, the delegates to the 1927 General Synod of the Church of England in Canada, as it was then called, were undoubtedly conscious of the Church's colonial past and the significant role it played in the nation's history, past and present, as well as its place among sister churches throughout the empire. In appointing an Archives Committee "to assist in preserving data relative to the past of our Church in Canada" the Church prescribed boundaries which assured the reproduction of the imagined community.[19]

The website for the General Synod Archives provides access to two online databases, one is comprehensive of all holdings in the archives and the second specific to mandated records of General Synod. The website also includes finding aids, links to forms, policies, contacts, and a wealth of other information. The General Synod Archives serves as both the official repository of specified records and as a voluntary reception centre for materials donated by individuals, parish churches and other ecclesiastical entities deemed to be of significance to the national Church.

Given the non-linear, relational structure of digitized records, databank searches can yield unexpected results as Jefferson Bailey describes in his article "Disrespect des Fonds."[20] A search of official General Synod records using the keywords "West Indian immigration" yielded no results. A search using simply "immigration" produced 292 records. Since the stated temporal parameters for this paper are the middle decades of the twentieth century, I applied the filter "before 1975" which dropped the responses to sixty-seven. A review of those sixty-seven records included publications often with innocuous titles but with chapter names or divisions such as "Alien Immigration," "Hong Kong Boys," "British Immigration," "Japanese Immigration," "Non-Anglo-Saxon Ministry," "Population Problems," "Communism and Christianity," "Bolshevism," "Lenin and Lincoln," "The Church of England and the Foreigner," "The Control of Immigration," "The Undesirable Immigrant," "Strangers Within Our Gates," "Immigrants and Criminality," and "Juvenile Delinquency and Immigration." Although a detailed review of these records was not undertaken, many of the titles are indicative of a

colonial and racialized worldview. Other titles point to the fear and fantasy combination which Ann Stoler describes as "disquieting for the colonial elite," suggesting the need for control of the Other.[21]

Perhaps even more revealing was a search of the full database which, in addition to General Synod records, includes Church-related newspapers, web pages, and journal articles. Despite what has been an area of active concern for the Anglican Church for many years, a search using the phrases "West Indian immigration" and "Caribbean immigration" brought no relevant results when filtered by the qualifier "before 1975." More surprising were the search results using just the keyword "immigration." Here 837 records were returned with many dozens of them related to the Indian residential schools operated by the Anglican Church up to 1969.[22] What do residential schools and ministry to immigrants have in common? An immediate response might be nothing. But residential schools, as well as other ministries to Aboriginal peoples, were overseen by the same agency, the Missionary Society of the Church in Canada, which was also responsible for foreign missionary activity as well as domestic work among immigrants. While knowledge of this indiscriminate approach to mission does not directly shine any light on the relationship of the Church to the West Indian community, it nevertheless serves as a stark reminder of the deeply held colonial and racialized practices of the Church throughout the period, and at the very least, re-enforces the need for a critical attitude when assessing these archival records.

Canada's low population in relation to its great size had long been a concern for the government, hence the need for pro-immigration policies – but policies which were racially discriminatory and nation-specific as evident in this review's opening epigraph.

In an article titled "Population Problems: Immigration and Increase," published in the October 1941 issue of the Church's quarterly *Bulletin*, Claris Simcox strongly echoed the government's long-standing exclusionary practices, viewing "with great concern the lessening proportion of the Anglo-Saxons to the non-Anglo-Saxons in the population of Canada" and urged that there should be continually "brought before our Anglo-Saxon people the privilege and opportunity to helping to preserve British ideals and influence in our country."[23] While explicitly expressing a preference for British immigrants, Simcox conceded the unlikelihood of a mass migration from Britain sufficient to meet Canada's labour needs. The answer to this conundrum lay in the recognition that the key point was

not that Canada remain ethnically British, but British in terms of its culture and political ideals. While positive in that race and ethnic origin are set aside as exclusionary factors in determining admissibility to Canada, the solution remains problematic in that it affirms an underlying hierarchical framework of colonial and racialized assumptions which continue to haunt us today.[24]

In December 1950, W.W. Judd, General Secretary of the powerful Council for Social Service, asserted in an article ironically titled "British Immigration":

> Likewise, the Church has fought the battle of minority groups – of the Chinese residents here in Canada, denied the entry of their wives and children, of the Jews, and their suffering people in Europe, of the East Indians and of Negro students and other individuals. There has been no racial discrimination in the Church's approach to the problem of immigration.[25]

Rather than simply dismiss Judd's assertion that the Church has shown no racial discrimination in its approach to immigration as selective amnesia, a blind spot or even a bald-faced lie, the remark can also be understood as representing the mindset of a type of individual that Canadian sociologist Sunera Thobani calls "the Exalted Subject," a person set on White dominance.[26] David Meren has argued that paternalism was by no means limited to Canada's colonial past but continued to inform the liberalism of the post-1945 period.[27] Dan Gorman adds, "Unlike in Britain, the arrival of non-white immigrants to Canada and the trauma of decolonization did not dramatically alter the domestic status quo in these [post-war] years. Canadians had not yet begun to interrogate their own history of internal colonialism."[28]

Although Judd's statement concerning "Negro students" lacked a specific context, likely he was referring to West Indian students who at the time were seeking easier access to Canadian universities.[29] If so, it would be one of the first examples in General Synod records, if not the first, of advocacy for a lifting of the ban on Black immigration. A resolution passed in 1951 at a joint meeting of the Council for Social Service and the Executive Committee of General Synod urged the federal government to undertake "more liberal arrangements and regulations allowing for migration among all member states of the British Commonwealth" and expressed the opinion that "considerations of race or colour should not be

allowed to dominate . . . Canada's immigration policy."[30]

Beginning in 1952 and continuing thereafter at triennial meetings of General Synod, resolutions were passed which urged the federal government to adopt "a more generous policy" of immigration concerning the "people of the British West Indies and all other parts of the Commonwealth."[31] The resolution passed at the 1955 meeting of General Synod added two reasons as to why West Indians should be "encouraged and permitted" to immigrate to Canada: 1) it was their right as British subjects, and 2) "as an aid to the economy of the West Indies."[32] The comment concerning aiding the economy of the West Indies remains enigmatic. Just how would the economy be aided – through remittances sent back home by immigrants or through acting as a pressure valve to decrease internal tensions? Could it be that immigration would benefit the Canadian economy as well? Curiously, at no time, in this or other resolutions, was there a suggestion that there may be humanitarian, moral or ethical dimensions to consider.

Minutes of the Committee on Immigration and other General Synod records demonstrate a continuing interest throughout the 1950s in promoting West Indian immigration. There was also mention of the need to permit entry on humanitarian grounds to the wives and children of Chinese men already in Canada and Chinese refugees from Hong Kong. A 1955 General Synod resolution advocated removing restrictions on Japanese immigration. Nevertheless, it was immigrants from the West Indies who received regular, ongoing attention. It was not, however, until the significant changes in immigration regulations, made by the federal government in 1962 and 1967, that the West Indian population of Canada, and especially Toronto, began to boom.

Let us turn now to the issue of counting the West Indian population in Toronto and a brief consideration of two special collections within the University of Toronto library system, the Map and Data Library and the Government Information Library. As sophisticated as these collections are, they cannot answer a core question, just how many West Indians were there in Toronto in the 1950s and 1960s? The fault lies not with the libraries, the technology, or the staff, but in the silence of records themselves and the colonial practices which created them. Census records are the chief source of mega-data when it comes to questions of population. In addition to the inherent problems of accuracy associated with individuals completing a standardized form, the data is also shaped and

circumscribed by the questions asked and those who formulated them.[33]

The "place of birth" options available in the 1961 Census for a person from the West Indies are limited to three choices: West Indies Federation, Other Commonwealth, or Other. The West Indies Federation was a short-lived political union which lasted from 1958 to 1962. It included Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Jamaica, and the various isles of the Leeward and Windward Islands. It did not include other British territories such as the Bahamas, Bermuda, Belize, and Guyana. Immigrants from these latter countries could choose the option of "Other Commonwealth" adding them in with newcomers from political entities around the globe. For residents of French or Dutch territories or independent countries such as Haiti, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic there was no option except "Other." By the time of the 1971 Census, the West Indies Federation no longer existed. The unhelpful categories of the 1961 Census were changed to different but equally unhelpful options, "West Indies and South America," and, of course, "Other."[34]

A possible work-around begins with immigration records, but here too one encounters categories indicative of the colonial era. The Canada Yearbook for 1950 includes the following options under immigrant birthplaces: West Indies (British); Continent of North America—U.S., Mexico, Central America, Other. For 1960 the qualifier "British" is removed from the category West Indies, and Central America is dropped. For 1965 the option West Indies does not appear at all! Possible choices for an immigrant born in the West Indies were: North America—U.S., Mexico, Other; South America; Other.[35] In other words, West Indians were not accorded the dignity and status of a nation-specific identity in the same way that Europeans were. As well as being insensitive to the island-specific cultural differences acknowledged by Caribbean people, the imprecise and changing language used by the Canadian government in its immigration and census reports make an accurate count of the West Indian population virtually impossible.

Such silences in the official record, particularly in colonial settings, is nothing unusual.[36] The holdings of the Map and Data and Government Information Libraries, being comprised mainly of official government records, offer few clues to fill in the population gap. We turn now to the City of Toronto archives. Spatially and organizationally the City Archive resembles Joyce's ideal public archive which helps to create an aware, knowledgeable public. At the same time, the City Archives derives its

mandate from civil authority and as the official repository for documents created by the city, it also functions to some degree as a *ius archivi*, advancing the purposes of the city.

Few, if any, documents relate specifically to the inter-relationship between the West Indian community and the Anglican Church. The archives' holdings do, however, provide a rich social and cultural context, and as we shall see, begin to fill in some of the gaps as to the size of the West Indian community. A search of the City of Toronto Archives database for categories related to "immigration" returned 380 entries. Somewhat surprisingly, the only ethnic-specific entries concerned Toronto's Portuguese immigrants. Searches using categories related to "West Indian" and "Caribbean" produced 127 items. Most results were associated with the word "Indian" signifying an Indigenous person or referred to a street in Toronto known as Indian Grove Road. Returns for "Caribbean" focused on food and cultural events such as Caribana. The database keyword categories thus, on the surface, lack the racialization and ethnic specificity that a contemporary researcher might expect in documents from the period as was evident in the General Synod Archives. A closer examination of the immigration-related documents reveals that only a handful of reports and studies relate specifically to the West Indian community. If mentioned at all, the community is usually discussed in a wider societal context alongside other immigrant groups.

A useful collection for providing a contextual framework for the West Indian community, particularly for the 1950s and 1960s, is an extensive set of documents related to Donald W. Moore. Born in 1895 in Barbados, Moore gained entry to Canada in 1911 to work as a railroad porter, one of the very few exemptions available to Black immigrants under the Negro ban. A community activist and organizer, Moore became the most prominent voice of the West Indian community in Toronto in this period. Although a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, archival records reveal a close relationship with Anglican officials.

Included among Moore's fonds is a copy of a letter from W.W. Judd, General Secretary of the Council for Social Service, to the Minister of Immigration. The letter endorsed a historic meeting in 1954 at which a delegation of the Negro Citizenship Association, headed by Moore, presented the Minister with a brief drawing attention to Canada's discriminatory immigration regulations that denied equal status to non-White British subjects. After explaining that it was the established practice

of the Anglican Church not to join with other Churches in such delegations, Judd endorsed the "stand taken," writing:

> [B]ecause the British West Indies are part of the Commonwealth and Empire, they should be treated on the same basis as the more favoured units of that Commonwealth and Empire . . . On humanitarian and cultural grounds the Church believes a far greater number of coloured folk from the British West Indies might be absorbed into the Canadian population without danger or difficulty.[37]

Again, Judd's language from a post-colonial perspective is problematic, exhibiting not only paternalism but a clearly racialized elitism. Perhaps out of a spirit of deference, Moore issued a warm letter of thanks for the Anglican Church's support. Two subsequent anniversary celebrations of the historic meeting and Moore's funeral were held at St. Anne's Anglican Church in Toronto, attended by several prominent Diocesan officials.

Board of Education records provide some of the few population estimates available for the West Indian community. In a March 1973 Report to the East York Board of Education, authored by John Roth, he quoted a 1970 study prepared for the Toronto Board of Education titled *In the Course of Discovery: West Indian Immigrants in Toronto Schools*. The report estimated the West Indian population of Canada to be approximately 70,000 in 1969. "Of these, between 50 and 60 per cent indicated on entry they wished to settle in Toronto."[38] Thus, Roth estimated the West Indian population of Toronto in 1969 to be between 35,000 and 42,000.

Roth's estimate is supported by the results of a quantitative study in the Toronto Archives authored by University of Windsor sociologist Subhas Ramcharan and later published in *The Canadian Review of Sociology* under the title "The Economic Adaption of West Indians in Toronto, Canada."[39] In it Ramcharan estimated the West Indian population of Metro Toronto in 1971 to be 49,118.[40] Both Roth and Ramcharan pointed out that the number of West Indian immigrants arriving annually began increasing dramatically starting in 1966. Roth stated that the number of West Indians in Canada more than doubled in the years from 1966 to 1968 and and Ramcharan estimated Toronto's numbers quadrupled between 1966 and 1971.[41]

At first, the date of 1966 for a spike in numbers seems unusual since the ban on Black immigration was lifted in 1962 and no further reforms were instituted until 1967. A possible explanation is found in the minutes

of the Church's Immigration Committee. Although the immigration policy changes were initiated in late 1962, during the following thirty-six months the Immigration portfolio was held by four individuals, not to mention a change of government from Conservative to Liberal. As well, committee members voiced complaints about the difficulty of gaining access to government ministers.

Minutes of the Immigration Committee also reflected complaints from the West Indian community that nothing was happening on the ground due to a lack of consular staff familiar with the policy changes.[42] While some lag time in implementation might be forgiven, the hard reality is that the Canadian government did not open any immigration offices in the West Indies until 1968,[43] and in overseas offices where applications from West Indians were received, Canadian immigration officials continued to employ their wide discretionary powers in refusing or blocking qualified applicants. Michael Molloy, a career immigration official, relates the case of a "well-qualified" Jamaican tool-and-die maker living in England who applied for the standard relocation loan to assist with his passage to Canada. When the loan was denied by the officer-in-charge, the junior official who initially approved the application asked why. The answer given by the senior officer, according to Molloy, was that everyone knew the regulations didn't apply to coloured people.[44]

Finally, I will turn attention to the Archives of the Diocese of Toronto which I expected to yield the richest collection of documents relating to the intersection of the West Indian community and the Anglican Church. But, as we shall see, these Archives presented several problems.

Much of what was said previously concerning how the General Synod Archives are constituted applies also to the Diocesan Archives. That is, the Archives operate under the authority of canon law (Diocesan Canon 38) primarily to serve the needs of the Diocese. Its collection policy mirrors that of the national Church except that in addition to diocesan records there is in place a retention policy which mandates what parish records must be forwarded to the Diocese for preservation.

Unlike the General Synod Archives, virtually no records are digitized. There is no database, finding aids, or card catalogue. The only open-access records available for searching are the annual synod journals. The researcher is therefore almost totally reliant upon the institutional knowledge and goodwill of staff for the retrieval of information. An archivist who held the position for over thirty-five years retired in March

2019. A new archivist and assistant archivist are now in place and an updating process is underway. The top priority for the staff is the assessment of parish records and the development of a retention policy for Diocesan records in preparation for producing finding aids. Digitization of records remains a long way off.[45]

A thorough review of committee minutes and annual reports for the period 1947-1965 revealed very little interest in immigrant ministry, except for British immigrants. Deaconesses assigned to downtown parishes regularly called on newly arrived immigrants but only made note of those who were Anglican. Typical is the notation made by the deaconess from St. Bartholomew's, "Visited 400 new families in Regent Park, except for 2 high rise buildings. 98 Anglican families."[46] More common were reports of declining urban Churches, "No longer is the church full; no longer do offerings cover expenses. The buildings are in disrepair." These changes were deemed to be "a result of the change from a predominantly home-owning Anglo-Saxon population to an increasingly cosmopolitan, shifting population."[47] A motion brought before Synod in 1957 by the Parkdale Anglican churches noted "the increasing numbers of non-Anglo-Saxon people . . . and that if necessary a Commission should be set up to find ways and means of effectively dealing with this problem."[48] Certainly the term "problem" is open to multiple interpretations, but however understood, the presence of non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants in large numbers clearly disrupted established social, economic and religious patterns resulting in a sense of malaise.

The wariness concerning the growing numbers of non-British immigrants and the paucity of resources, human and financial, invested in them needs to be contrasted with the investment in British immigrants. Chaplains at the main Canadian ports of entry welcomed British arrivals, and if Anglican, collected information which was then forwarded to local parish clergy about the immigrant's intended home in Canada. Beginning in the spring of 1957, British immigrants arriving at Union Station and Malton (now Pearson) Airport in Toronto were greeted by Church representatives. Later in 1957, an Anglican Information Centre for British Immigrants was also opened in Toronto, by now Canada's major receiving city for new immigrants.[49]

As noted above, the West Indian community in Toronto prior to the immigration reforms of the 1960s was very small. The only likely reference in the published diocesan records occurred in 1944 in the Report

of a Special Commission on Downtown Parishes:

> Mr. Walker of St. George's was present and told of some of the difficulties presented by the influx of a considerable group of coloured folk to his parish. He went on to say that perhaps a coloured deaconess could be commissioned for special work among the coloured Anglican families, centering her work at St. George's where the largest group seems to have settled down.[50]

No further mention of this "considerable group of coloured folk" or the "difficulties" they presented is to be found. Indeed, it is not until the early 1970s with the arrival of West Indians in large numbers in the city, and in parish churches, that the Diocese began to take a serious look at how to meet the needs of this burgeoning community, estimated to be approximately 2000 "regular church-going Anglicans" annually. Indeed, a 1972 study emphatically stated "More immigrants of the Anglican Church come from the West Indies than from any other country."[51]

The move away from the Church's Anglo-Saxon roots toward a more ethnically diverse community did not go unchallenged. In an undated memo, the then Bishop of Toronto, George Snell, recorded "some of the facts that came out" during a small gathering of clergy that he had convened. Among the "facts" was a warning that "black power has already appeared in Toronto and would continue to grow and we must expect trouble in the future."[52] The moderately racialized language and the general tenor of the memo was not uncharacteristic of Snell's generation. I submitted the memo, along with other documents, to be scanned and sent to me. The next day I received an email from the then, now retired, archivist declining my request for a copy of the memo, saying, "I feel an unease about copying this as while reflective perhaps of the thinking at the time it might be more inflammatory today."[53]

This incident reflects the critical role played by the archivist in the preservation and dissemination of data. Far from being a neutral, objective figure in the research process as is classically asserted, the archivist in this situation became a person of great power.[54] Here we find the archives creator, the institutional Church, asserting control over the master narrative to protect the reputation of the Church and its representatives, thus taking precedence over the public's right to gain a fuller understanding of an important transition in the making. Thus, we have an example of the archive asserting control over the master narrative to protect the reputation

of the Church and its representatives. Standing in stark contrast to Joyce's image of the archive as an open centre of learning,[55] one must reasonably ask what other secrets, however benign, does this archive hold and what other requests for information have been denied? As Patrick Geary reminds us, in deciding "what is to be hauled to the landfill and what is to be preserved, and, perhaps, as importantly, how it is to be preserved" – or in this case, what is to be buried so as not to be revealed to prying eyes – the archivist participates in the authorship of the document and the telling of history.[56]

I conclude this essay with a consideration of three documents from the early 1970s stored in the Diocesan Archives. Each document is worthy of consideration based on its own merit, but because of length and similarities of substance, they will be discussed as a whole. Taken together, they illustrate a significant shift away from the colonial and often racist thinking of the previous decades and point to a new approach toward immigrants in general and the West Indian community in particular. The documents are: 1) Brief Prepared From the Deliberations of a Committee of Clergy and Laity From Parishes With Numerous West Indians (1970), 2) Proposal for the Continuation of the West Indian Project Beyond July 1, 1972, and 3) The Anglican Ministry Among the Black Population of Toronto: A Study Prepared for The Incorporated Synod of the Diocese of Toronto (1973).

By 1970 three West Toronto parishes – St. Michael and All Angels, St. Stephen's-in-the-Fields, and St. Mark's, Parkdale – had become the major reception sites for West Indian Anglicans seeking a spiritual home. Together the parishes petitioned Bishop George Snell to take "special and unusual steps to make the fact of the Church's welcome to West Indians visible immediately." These were: 1) to procure Black clergy for parish ministry either through domestic ordinations or from other countries, 2) to send representatives of the Black community to the upcoming meeting of General Synod as special delegates, and 3) to encourage the election or appointment of Blacks to positions of responsibility within parishes and on diocesan committees.[57] The bishop to whom this brief was directed was the same person whose memo was deemed too sensitive to release. The archives do not give any indication concerning follow-up action. The salient point, however, is the recognition on the part of these three parish leaders of the pressing need for the Church's hierarchy to make significant accommodation if the Church were to meet the spiritual, pastoral and

social needs of these Anglicans. Also noteworthy was the distinctly different tone and approach evident throughout the document which recognized the dignity, worth, and contributions of West Indians, and the ongoing racial discrimination and injustices they faced.

In 1972 and 1973 studies concerning the West Indian community were presented to a newly consecrated diocesan bishop, Lewis Garnsworthy. The first study, produced by the Rev. Carl Major, was an outgrowth of Major's work with the Canadian Urban Training Centre. While an intern at the Centre, Major had secured government and diocesan funding to set-up a community social service centre located at St. Mark's Church, Parkdale, to serve the West Indian community. As part of a funding proposal to continue the program, Major authored a report focused on the difficulties experienced by West Indians as they sought to integrate into neighbourhood Anglican churches. The report was based primarily on personal experience and oral interviews of community centre clients. The second study by Maduka Nwakwesi, a Nigerian post-graduate student with a PhD in political science from McGill, also analyzed the incorporation process. His research methodology yielded a richer, more granular report. Although very different in style and format, both studies underscored the systemic racism experienced by West Indians on a daily basis at work, in schools, the market place, and in local churches. Both reports made specific recommendations for action by the Bishop. Nwakwesi ended his assessment with these cautionary words:

> Unless the Anglican Church can creatively help the Black man to resolve his identity crisis, unless it can be more sensitive to the special handicaps of the Black man in Canada, I dare say that the Black man's involvement in church activities will remain at best segmental, at worst non-existent.[58]

The last three documents that I have considered illustrate that by the early 1970s the Anglican Church in Toronto and its leadership had begun the process of confronting past policies of neglect, imperialism, and racialization with respect to the now significant West Indian community in Toronto. Following the new government policy of multiculturalism announced in 1971, the Church began to shift its focus away from immigration to a broader consideration of the role of the Church in a pluralistic society. Within the next few years Bishop Garnsworthy appointed a Multiculturalism Committee, required clergy to attend a three-

day residential conference on multiculturalism, and took the lead in sponsoring three national conferences on ministry in a multicultural context. In November 1980 Arthur D. Brown, the priest who a decade earlier had authored the petition to make special accommodation for West Indians, was elected a suffragan bishop along with a Barbadian priest, Basil Tonks. By the end of the 1980s when the Diocese celebrated its sesquicentennial, the Anglican Church in Toronto had made significant progress toward becoming a multicultural community. By that point, Garnsworthy, now assisted by West Indian and Chinese suffragan bishops, had been diocesan bishop for seventeen years and had firmly put his stamp upon the Diocese. Many Anglicans did not remember or perhaps even know that only a few decades earlier the Anglican Church in Toronto had been a highly Anglo-centric institution, firmly wed to its colonial past.

In this essay I have illustrated how the several archival collections consulted have both helped and hindered the quest to understand the interplay of the Anglican Church and the West Indian community in Toronto during the four decades following World War II. Despite gaps and silences in the official record, one point is clear: West Indians were regularly the objects of discriminatory policies which served to sustain traditional dominance. These prejudicial practices were sanctioned, implicitly and explicitly, by the Anglican Church, the federal government, as well as Canadian society in general. The removal of racial barriers to immigration in the 1960s enabled the growth of the West Indian community in Toronto, which in turn significantly impacted the established norms of the Anglican Church.

A half-century later, elements of Canada's colonial and racialized past remain embedded in society including the fabric of the Church community. If nothing else, post-colonial studies have taught us that decolonization is not an event but an on-going process. Nevertheless, progress can be claimed. Today, in many parishes across the Greater Toronto Area, West Indians exercise significant leadership roles and in some parishes constitute a plurality of the membership. The full, and sometimes difficult, story of the Anglican Church's evolution from being "the English Church," as it was often called, to being a multicultural community where today, on any given Sunday in Toronto, Anglican worship is conducted in more than a dozen languages,[59] is an important lesson for Anglicans to remember as they continue to welcome newcomers and work to incorporate them into the life of the community.

Endnotes

1. Minutes of General Synod, 1927, *Journal of General Synod*, Anglican Church of Canada Archives, http://archives.anglican.ca/en/ permalink/official6563

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3. José Eduardo Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945-71* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 16-62; Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 350-375; Frances Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 19-30, 148-166; and Howard Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century," in *Immigration in Canada: Historical Perspectives,* ed. Gerald Tuchinsky (Toronto: Copp, Clark, Longman, 1994), 297-333.

4. Michael J. Doucet, *Toronto in Transition: Demographic Change in the Late Twentieth Century* (Toronto: Joint Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement, 1999), 8.

5. Henry, *The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto*, 1994, 148-157; "Proposal for the Continuation of the West Indian Project Beyond July 1972," Carl Major, West Indian File, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Toronto.

6. The research processes described in this paper are based upon pre-Covid 19 practices and assume that at some point researchers will again have access to archival collections.

7. Two other institutions of note, especially with respect to contextualization, are the resources of the Ontario Multicultural Society with its strong oral history collection and the Metro Toronto Reference Library.

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9. Paul Hébert, "Immigration Policy, the West Indies, and Canadian Black Activism in the 1960s," *Black Perspectives*, published by AAIHS, accessed 2 August 2020, https://www.aaihs.org/immigration-policy-the-west-indies-and-canadian-black-activism-in-the-1960s.

10. Dan Hill, "The Blacks in Toronto," in *Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945*, ed. Robert Harney (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985), 102.

11. "Canadian Immigration Acts and Legislation," Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, accessed 28 March 2019, https://pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/canadian-immigration-acts-and-legislation.

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14. Colin R. Johnson, Archbishop of Toronto, email message to author, 18 February 2019.

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16. Alan Hayes, "'Hold on to Your Hats': Vatican II and *Aggiornamento* in the Anglican Church of Canada," in *Vatican II: Canadian Experiences*, ed. Michael Attridge, Catherine E. Clifford and Gilles Routhier (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2011), 140; and William J. Danaher, "Beyond Imagination: 'Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence in the Body of Christ' and the Reinvention of Canadian Anglicanism," *Anglican Theological Review* 93, no. 2 (2011): 224.

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21. Ann Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: University Press, 2009), 116-117.

22. "Historical Sketch for Anglican Residential Schools," Anglican Church of Canada website, https://www.anglican.ca/tr/schools

23. Claris Simcox, "Population Problems: Immigration and Increase, *The Bulletin* (October 1941), 9.

24. Simcox, *Population*, 7.

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John Webster Grant – John Moir
Graduate Student Essay Prize Runner-Up 2020

From Humiliation to Honour: The Cross of Christ as a Symbol in the Modern Western World

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Introduction: Showing the Cross

Although George Stevens's 1965 film *The Greatest Story Ever Told* may not do justice to the claims of its title (as it has a 41% rating on the website *Rotten Tomatoes*), it does have a number of striking images.[1] Stevens's film is an adaptation of the Gospels. Early in the film, Mary and Joseph are returning to their home country, after hiding in Egypt to escape Herod the Great's slaughter of the innocents in Bethlehem.[2] They are greeted by a sobering sight: as they look at the road ahead of them and see hundreds of crucified men from a Jewish insurrection, the crosses stretch far into the distance.[3] The image of all the crosses serves to foreshadow the eventual fate of Christ, while also reminding the audience that many people were crucified in the ancient world. Nonetheless, in a later interview, the film's star Max von Sydow recalled:

> The fact that Mr. Stevens had the courage to show this line [of crosses] … that raised a lot of criticism because, as you might have noticed, in pictures of Golgotha, nobody is supposed to be crucified like Christ, in order to give people the idea that he was the only one

> who really was crucified. So showing all these hundreds or thousands of people being crucified, that was something which was rather bold.[4]

Today, it might seem surprising to think that in 1965 it was controversial or "bold" to show people other than Jesus being crucified. In any event, the meaning of the "Cross" as a symbol changed over time as it became so closely identified with Jesus. It is the argument of this paper that because the cross became synonymous with Jesus Christ, it changed from a symbol of humiliation to a sacred symbol, but as this change occurred, the cross also changed from a symbol of dishonour to a symbol that was *capable of being profaned*. This essay will follow the trajectory of the cross as a symbol across the centuries and examine a number of modern situations where the cross was used symbolically and even became a source of controversy. Still, the significance of the cross has diminished in the modern western world even since George Stevens's film was released in cinemas. Although a controversial use of crucifixion imagery will still provoke strong reactions from Christians in the modern western world, Christ and his cross do not hold the same power in wider culture as they used to.

Early Christians Did Not Make Artistic Representations of the Cross

Long before George Stevens's film, crucifixion was a fact of life in the ancient world, but not a positive one. Christian apologists are fond of observing that the word "excruciating" was invented (in the original Latin) because there was no word that could do justice to the pain of crucifixion.[5] Even so, the American comedian Lenny Bruce used to say that if Jesus was executed in the twentieth century, "Catholic school children would be wearing little electric chairs around their necks instead of crosses."[6] Despite that claim, in the early centuries of church history, the cross itself was not widely depicted in Christian art; as Robin Margaret Jensen writes

> apart from very rare examples, Christ is represented as triumphant over death, but not undergoing it. Contrary to the dominance of the crucifix in both Byzantine and medieval iconography, early Christian art seems to have deliberately avoided any graphic presentation of the savior's death.[7]

Many scholars think "that early Christians, still relatively close to the actual event, might have been averse to representing their divine savior

suffering so shocking or gruesome a death."[8] The cross was a symbol of humiliation in the ancient world. Nonetheless, Eduard Syndicus writes that "pictures of the Passion and the crucifixion did not begin late because Christians had to be gradually educated to regard the symbol of shame as the symbol of victory."[9] Christians still *respected* the symbol of the cross. Although he was probably exaggerating, the third century theologian Tertullian said that Christians made the sign of the cross on their foreheads "at every forward step and movement, at every going in and out, when we put on our clothes and shoes, when we bathe, when we sit at table, when we light the lamps, on couch, on seat, in all the ordinary actions of daily life."[10] Walter Lowrie concluded that "the cross was never held in greater honor" than in the early centuries of church history.[11] Conversely, even if the cross was held in honour by Christians, that does not mean they necessarily would have wanted to portray this gruesome form of death artistically – particularly given how the wider culture viewed crucifixion. Lowrie says that "we can understand that Christians were loath to depict the common patibulum or gallows upon which the worst criminals suffered. This would make them subject to the cruellest misunderstanding."[12] The Christian understanding of the cross was a source of confusion among their contemporaries; the early Christian theologian Origen had to defend Christians from the odd criticism that they worshipped Jesus *because* he was crucified, and some pagans were under the mistaken impression that Christians worshipped anyone who got crucified.[13] Similarly, "as early as the second century, pagans accused Christians of praying to a cross,"[14] while some third century Christians had to fight the charge that Christians worshipped "the cross in the same way that pagans worship idols."[15] When Christians did not represent Jesus on the cross in art, it may have been related to "public relations, propriety and even safety," because, before Emperor Constantine's time, "Christians had reason to fear the scorn and misunderstanding of their neighbors."[16] Misconceptions about the cross opened up the Christians to misunderstanding from their contemporaries because the cross did not have positive connotations.

In the early centuries of church history, Christians found ways to visually represent the cross by proxy, using other symbols, or "crypto-crosses."[17] They could use anchors, axes, plows, ships' masts, trees, or the Greek letter *tau* to fill this role, or substitute images of the lamb, or Abraham sacrificing Isaac to convey the same point.[18] Robert Milburn thinks that "motives of reverence or conservatism" had made artists want

to represent the crucifixion symbolically rather than "openly."[19] Put differently, Christians found other ways to convey the idea of the cross.

Eduard Syndicus thinks that early Christian artists would have been hesitant to depict the cross artistically because "the sublime idea of redemption could not be made into the act of execution with which fourth century Christians were still familiar from their own experience."[20] To put that idea another way, as long as crucifixion was a common practice, an image of crucifixion could not convey the truth of redemption to an audience that was familiar with it, and it was a gruesome thing to portray. Syndicus adds: "The paradox of the idea of the death of immortal God either forbade any attempt at portrayal or else necessitated more symbolism than art had hitherto employed."[21] Granted, Syndicus also argues that the early church "did not locate the redemptive work of Christ so exclusively as we do in the Passion, but rather in his earthly life as a whole, in his teaching, his miracles and the sacraments he instituted."[22] On this point, Syndicus's argument seems unconvincing in light of Paul's letters. In 1 Corinthians, Paul says: "but we proclaim Christ crucified, a stumbling block to Jews and foolishness to Gentiles,"[23] and Paul also said: "For I decided to know nothing among you except Jesus Christ, and him crucified."[24] Regardless, portraying Christ on the cross was related to "the problem of idolatry" as well, because the problem was "not only whether one can represent the incarnate deity visually, but also how one does it respectfully and truthfully."[25] As Jensen says,

> The possibility that such representations would have been so graphic as to seem to almost profane a holy mystery appeals to the power of imagery and the deep emotions it can stir. A static portrayal of Jesus crucified would seem to 'freeze' the episode in an untenable way, undercutting Christian emphasis on the resurrection by concentrating on the crucifixion. Such a view would account for artistic presentations of the passion that skip from the carrying of the cross to the empty tomb.[26]

Beyond that, there are other reasons why the crucifixion was not portrayed in art. Some scholars have theorized that the cross was not depicted in art because it was taboo to depict such a sacred mystery; admittedly, this is not an especially strong explanation.[27] Anna D. Kartsonis suggests that various Christological controversies about the two natures of Christ made artists unwilling to depict Christ crucified because there were complicated theological questions to take into account regarding how Christ's

sufferings should be presented.[28] Still, in spite of all of the explanations that have been put forward, it is more important to emphasize the *stigma* of crucifixion. Crucifixion had humiliating connotations because of the types of people who were crucified; as Jensen observes, "Crucifixion was a barbaric mode of execution reserved for slaves, foreigners, or low-class criminals and traitors."[29] It was a punishment used almost exclusively for the lower class or brigands and was very rarely used for high-ranking Roman citizens; in fact, if "a prominent citizen was crucified, it could become a legal point against the governor responsible for the edict."[30] Christians did not have much legal status or social status, and it may have been "too much to ask that Christians openly represent the instrument of shame in times of persecution and ridicule."[31] As Jensen writes,

> ironically, among the rare extant examples of a crucifixion is the . . . graffito found on the Roman Palatine Hill that depicts an ass-headed figure affixed to a *tau*-cross and the inscription: "Alexamenos: worship god." If we conclude that the cartoon was drawn by pagans in order to mock the Christian religion, the lack of other kerygmatic images of crucifixion may be understood by contrast.[32]

F. van der Meer says that as long as crucifixion was practiced, the earliest Christians would not have wanted to portray something as horrifying as the act of crucifixion; by way of comparison, he notes that ancient images of the Massacre of the Innocents in Bethlehem never directly show the soldiers touching a child.[33] On a similar point, Harris writes that "crucifixion was, quite simply, a form of public execution, a horrible judicial torture. To an onlooker, crucifixion conveyed not only agony but disgrace."[34] As a parallel,

> if in the days of public hanging a religious sect had adopted the gallows, with one of its members swinging on it, as their symbol, it would have struck eighteenth- and nineteenth-century society as a deliberate affront, an assertion of lawlessness. Christians in the early centuries were subject to spasmodic persecution. Moreover, we know that from as early as the New Testament, they wanted to present themselves as respectable and responsible citizens of the Roman world, identifying with the best elements within it [. .] So there was little motive to display Christ on the Cross and every social reason why this should not be done, even though of course the Cross was a central element in Christian preaching of the period.[35]

To conclude, the cross was not portrayed artistically in the early years of church history because it had humiliating and dishonourable connotations, although those connotations may have been stronger for *non-Christians* than the Christians themselves. The Christians were not *embarrassed* by the crucifixion, but crucifixion was a symbol of embarrassment in the wider culture and could cause misunderstandings. André Grabar writes that "it is often said that the image-makers did not dare to approach the subject of the Crucifixion, but this is a gratuitous affirmation, particularly in view of the fact that the theologians of the same period treated it constantly."[36] Despite these words, being able to reflect on the theological significance of a humiliating execution is different than wanting to represent it artistically – especially when that humiliating form of execution was still practiced. When crucifixions stopped being performed, it became easier to depict them in art.

The Cross Becomes a Symbol of Honour

In the fourth century, the cross began to be understood differently and to be honoured and respected in different ways – because Christianity became dominant. The cross became a symbol of victory, as Emperor Constantine associated it with a vision he had before his victory in the Battle of the Milvian Bridge.[37] Constantine turned the cross into "the public emblem of victory, and put it in the hand of the statue of himself erected by the citizens of Rome."[38] Therefore, "Constantine and his successors . . . promoted the cross as a sign of victory and success, not of humiliation and failure."[39] In addition, Constantine discontinued crucifixion "as a form of capital punishment," and this decision helped eliminate the stigmas and connotations associated with the punishment.[40] It should also be noted that in Constantine's time, pilgrims began to travel to Jerusalem to see "the true cross of Christ;" as a result, Jensen believes that the emergence of the cross as an image in Christian art "significantly coincides with the widespread practice of making pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and when there to visit the sacred places (*loca sancta*) that marked episodes in the life of Christ . . . Tours of the most sacred of all shrines, the Holy Sepulchre, must have countered any reticence about representing the historical actuality of the crucifixion."[41] Be that as it may, the outlawing of crucifixion and the removal of the negative connotations of crucifixion itself was probably more important. Christianity became ubiquitous in the Roman world after the time of Constantine, and around the same time,

crucifixion lost its stigma when it ceased to be a popular form of execution, and the meaning of crucifixion changed. After Constantine, the church had more power in Roman society and the popular stigmas about crucifixion likewise changed in the wider culture as a result.

The point to take from this discussion is that *after* the early fourth century, the cross eventually began to be depicted artistically more and more often, and eventually it ceased to be a symbol of humiliation the way it had been before. For example, by the time of John Chrysostom (349-407 CE), Chrysostom could write the following in his commentary on Psalm 110:

> Consider the cross itself, how much power it symbolizes. In former times, you see, this cross was a death with a curse on it, a death of ignominy, the most shameful of all deaths. Now, on the contrary – lo, it has become more honorable than life itself; more resplendent than a crown, everyone wears it on their forehead, not only ashamed of it no more but even taking pride in it. Not only private citizens but even crowned heads wear it in preference to the crown – and rightly so: it is nobler than crowns beyond number. The crown adorns the head, after all, whereas the cross protects the mind. The cross is a safeguard against the demons, it is a panacea for the soul's ailments; it is an invincible weapon, unassailable rampart, insuperable protection; it overwhelms not only assaults of savages and enemy raids but even the forces of the fierce demons [. . .][42]

From these words, it is clear that Christ's cross was revered. Furthermore, although the precise dating of some of these stories is unclear, one can also see that Christ's cross had a uniquely honourable status in Christian martyrdom accounts. Various later traditions hold that Saint Andrew asked to be crucified on an X-shaped cross because he did not think he was worthy to be crucified in the same way as Jesus.[43] St. Jerome (347-420 CE) recorded that Simon Peter had asked to be crucified upside down, "asserting that he was unworthy to be crucified in the same manner as his Lord."[44] Having said this, before Jerome's day, in the second-century apocryphal text *The Acts of Peter*, Peter gives a different reason for wanting to be crucified upside down, as he says:

> For the first man, whose race I bear in mine appearance (or, of the race of whom I bear the likeness), fell (was borne) head downwards, and showed forth a manner of birth such as was not heretofore: for it

> was dead, having no motion. He, then, being pulled down who also cast his first state down upon the earth established this whole disposition of all things, being hanged up an image of the creation . . . the figure wherein ye now see me hanging is the representation of that man that first came unto birth . . . For it is right to mount upon the cross of Christ, who is the word stretched out, the one and only . . . For what else is Christ, but the word, the sound of God? So that the word is the upright beam whereon I am crucified. And the sound is that which crosseth it, the nature of man. And the nail which holdeth the cross-tree unto the upright in the midst thereof is the conversion and repentance of man[45]

Peter sees himself in the place of Adam, who sinned and fell, but in a metaphorical representation of salvation, Christ is the "upright beam," and the nail holding up the cross signifies repentance. One can see why Jerome's simpler explanation caught on instead! Jerome's explanation fits with the trajectory of treating the Cross as a symbol of honour.

At a much later date, the history of hot cross buns also testifies to how crosses came to be regarded differently because of their association with Christ. With hot cross buns, the cross on the buns obviously represents Christ's cross, but the bun's spices recall the spices that were brought to Christ's body, and the sweet fruits signify that Christians do not have to keep eating plain foods (as Lent ends).[46] In 1592, during the reign of Elizabeth I, the London Clerk of Markets publicly forbade people from selling breads like hot cross buns except for Good Friday, burials, or Christmas; if one did not comply, the hot cross buns were given to the poor.[47] When James I ruled England (1603-1625), further efforts were made to limit the sale of hot cross buns; as a result, for some time, people mainly made hot cross buns in house kitchens.[48] Nonetheless, because of their association with the cross, hot cross buns baked on Good Friday have various powers in folklore. It was believed that hot cross buns would not grow mouldy, would have healing powers, would ensure long-lasting friendships, would prevent shipwrecks or house fires, or, if hung in the kitchen, would guarantee that other breads would come out perfectly.[49] In these cases, the cross was not just a positive symbol, but a symbol of mystical power – and ultimately, this point can be traced to its association with Jesus specifically.

In any case, the symbol of the cross came to be regarded much more positively after Constantine outlawed crucifixion. Constantine's particular use of the cross as a symbol of victory is confined more to his time and

place, but the cross ultimately received honour because it was closely identified with Jesus – who was the central figure of what became the dominant religion in the Western world.

The Meaning of the Cross and the Sacrifice of Christ in the First World War

The cross of Christ – and equally so, the *sacrifice* of Christ – had particular associations during and after the First World War because it came to be associated with fallen soldiers. During the First World War in Britain, there was a contentious issue between the church and the wider culture: what was the theological meaning of the sacrifice of young British soldiers?[50] The historian Adrian Gregory notes that there was a popular print in Britain during the war that "showed Christ taking a soldier in his arms."[51] Sir James Clark made a print that juxtaposed the crucified Christ above a fallen soldier.[52] Gregory concludes that "the informal civic religion of wartime Britain" was "the redemption of the world through the blood of soldiers."[53] Gregory observes that this posed a problem for the churches because "it was a heresy."[54] One British theologian wrote: "Let the Church preach sacrifice at all sorts of services, but let her – at any cost of numbers – keep the Holy Sacrifice as her central mystery and glory."[55] As many soldiers died and families sought to find meaning in these deaths, the church still had to be careful not to conflate the deaths of fallen soldiers with the death of Jesus. An evangelical organization in Britain published a pamphlet strongly articulating that the death of a soldier was no substitute for Christ's sacrifice.[56] The official Church of England was in an uncomfortable position; the Church did not want to promise that fallen soldiers would automatically go to Heaven, but it was against the public mood to say so.[57]

These issues went beyond Britain. A stained glass window in Burford, Ontario linked Christ's suffering to that of a fallen soldier as well, as "the sacrifice of the infantryman became one with the sacrifice of the lamb of God in atoning for the sins of the world."[58] An artist named Charles Sims made a painting called *Sacrifice* that depicted "Christ on the cross overlooking representatives of the Canadian population" both on the home-front and on the battlefield.[59] Canadian and British people needed to make meaning out of the colossal suffering of the First World War and the sacrifice and cross of Christ became a way to do so – even though it could create some dubious theological associations.

To a similar end, although it seems unlikely to have happened, "one of the most repeated and widely recorded atrocity stories of World War I" was that the Germans had crucified a Canadian soldier at the Second Battle of Ypres in April 1915.[60] The story was exploited for propaganda purposes. When the United States entered the war, this story was depicted in an image to sell liberty bonds; the image showed the Canadian being nailed to a tree by a German, accompanied by the words "Your Liberty Bond Will Stop This."[61] The story was portrayed visually "to lift the public out of complacency and into battle."[62] Francis Derwent Wood made a bronze sculpture of the alleged event in 1918; the sculpture was called *Canada's Golgotha*, and it showed "a soldier nailed to a barn door surrounded by German soldiers jeering at him."[63] As Suzanne Evans says, "the story presented the death of a soldier in the religious framework common to a majority of the fighting men."[64] The Canadians could not verify the story; even at the time, Canadian general Arthur Currie did not believe the story of the crucified Canadian, and Canadian press censor Ernest Chambers suggested that the story "had been invented in a certain sector of the state of New York . . . for recruiting purposes."[65] More recently, the historian Desmond Morton said: "It was a remarkably useful story. In a Christian age, a Hunnish enemy had proved capable of mocking Christ's agony on the cross … providing a means of transforming casual colonials into ruthless fighters."[66] Whatever the origins of the story might be, part of the reason it had value was because of its implicit association *with the revered cross of Christ*. A significant point to emphasize is that, again, the cross of Christ became a way to make meaning out of the war.

After the war, the cross became the dominant graveyard symbol to represent the sacrifices of fallen soldiers. In parts of England, using the "crucifix" for war memorials was contentious for iconoclastic Protestants.[67] Although those iconoclastic Protestants may not have liked the use of the cross as a visual symbol in this connection, their views did not carry the day. Following the war, "The Cross of Sacrifice" became the dominant symbol for Commonwealth war cemeteries; in the design, this cross also has a sword enclosed within it. Sir Reginald Blomfield made the design and said he wanted

> to make it as abstract and impersonal as I could, to free it from any association with any particular style, and above all, to keep clear of any of the sentimentalism of the Gothic. This was a man's war far too terrible for any fripperies, and I hoped to get within range of the infinite in this symbol of the ideals of those who had gone out to die.[68]

Allen J. Frantzen believes that Blomfield's cross was "antireligious," because even though it shows a cross, it "focused on the spiritual" but avoided "the contemporary of recently fashionable language of piety."[69] Despite Frantzen's claim, it must still be emphasized that The Cross of Sacrifice derived its meaning from the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. Without Jesus, the cross would be a symbol of humiliation rather than martyrdom.

Overall, the Great War was unlike anything that had preceded it, and the sacrifice and cross of Christ became an essential way to make sense of it. The fact that the cross of Christ became identified so closely with the war is a testament to the power that the cross held in the public imagination – especially given the scale of the suffering in this war. For people trying to interpret the horrors of war, the cross of Christ became one of the only things that could do justice to these experiences. The use of the cross as a wartime symbol further testifies to how its meaning had changed over the previous two thousand years.

More Recent Conflicts Involving the Cross

The following point must be emphasized: *as the cross became a symbol of honour, it also became a symbol that could be profaned*. Even so, in the modern Western world, the cross does not carry the power it did at one time. Although Christians would criticize what they perceived as dishonourable use of the cross, their protests do not always make that much difference in the wider culture. It has already been observed that George Stevens's film earned some criticism for daring to show people other than Christ getting crucified, but other cases are more overt. There are other recent examples where crucifixion imagery was controversial in modern culture and these are instructive.

In 2006, the pop singer Madonna included a segment in her world tour where she would wear a crown of thorns and perform "while suspended on a gigantic cross."[70] Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox churches complained about Madonna's concert tour and described it as blasphemous.[71] Madonna said publicly that her performance was "no different than a person wearing a cross or 'taking up the cross' as it says in the Bible. My performance is neither anti-Christian, sacrilegious or blasphemous. Rather, it is my plea to the audience to encourage mankind to help one another and to see the world as a unified whole."[72] Madonna claimed that the set piece with the cross was meant "to bring attention to

the millions of children in Africa who are dying every day (or) are living without care, without medicine and without hope. I am asking people to open their hearts and minds to get involved in whatever way they can."[73] She also said, "I believe in my heart that if Jesus were alive today he would be doing the same thing."[74] Whether Jesus would choose to be a pop singer is unclear.

As part of the tour, Madonna performed in Rome, near Vatican City, and Catholic, Muslim, and Jewish leaders in Rome all condemned her show.[75] From one of the churches in Rome, Father Manfredo Leone said: "Being raised on a cross with a crown of thorns like a modern Christ is absurd. Doing it in the cradle of Christianity comes close to blasphemy."[76] A cardinal named Ersilio Tonino said: "This is a blasphemous challenge to the faith and a profanation of the Cross. She should be excommunicated. To crucify herself . . . in the city of popes and martyrs is an act of open hostility. It is nothing short of a scandal and an attempt to generate publicity."[77] A Vatican bishop named Velasio De Paolis said: "How this woman can take the name of the mother of Christ, I don't know. Her show represents the rotten fruit of secularism and the absurdity of evil."[78] Collectively, these strong words attest to the fact that the cross had changed from having humiliating connotations to becoming something that could be profaned *because it was specially identified with Christ*. Instead of being a humiliating form of execution, the cross itself could now be profaned. After all, Madonna did not desecrate an image of the crucified Christ; she simply put *herself* in crucifixion imagery, but the symbol of the cross itself was strong enough that it was a problem. Still, these protests hardly made a dent in the overall success of Madonna's world tour. Although NBC had been uncertain about whether to show the crucifixion segment in a television broadcast, at the time, Madonna's tour was "the highest-grossing tour ever by a female artist."[79] Hence, it must be emphasized that although the cross was a symbol that could be profaned, in the twenty-first century, even if Madonna really did profane it, there were no dire consequences either.

In December 2006, a different kind of crucifixion made headlines in Metchosin, British Columbia.[80] A local artist named Jimmy Wright attracted attention when he put a cross in his front garden – but instead of Christ, he crucified a figure of Santa Claus![81] Wright was criticized by people in his neighbourhood, including a local woman named Jennifer Blair, who said that children "think Santa's at the North Pole getting their toys ready, not on a pole in Metchosin."[82] Another woman said: "I think

it's an evil way. Kids see things like that and children – they see that on the front page – think that's terrible."[83] Wright commented: "Santa represents frivolous consumption. That's all he is. He shot Jesus right out of the saddle. He's the focus of Christmas."[84] Thus, Wright said, "I don't know how it came into my mind but I thought I'm going to take Santa Claus and I'm going to crucify him."[85] This story attracted news attention at the time, but in the grand scheme of things it did not have that much importance. In this case, it is worth noting that the objections seemed to revolve around the fact that *Santa Claus* was involved rather than the connection to the crucifixion of Jesus.

In another controversial story involving cross imagery, "in 2011, four self-professed Christians entered an exhibit displaying Andres Serrano's photograph *Piss Christ*. Arriving with hammers, they threatened the guard, smashed the protective glass, and slashed the image."[86] Natalie Carnes compares this destruction to the Islamic response when the French magazine *Charlie Hebdo* published cartoons about the Prophet Muhammed; two gunmen murdered twelve people at the magazine's offices.[87] In the artist's own words, Serrano's picture *Piss Christ* shows "a plastic crucifix submerged in urine."[88] In an op-ed piece, Serrano defended both the picture and the freedom of expression, but said that when he originally created his photo in 1987, he had not expected it to be so controversial.[89] Yet his photograph would be vandalized multiple times through the years, and Serrano had received threats.[90] Serrano's work was vandalized in Australia and Sweden as well.[91] Serrano denied that he had blasphemous intent, saying:

> For me, *Piss Christ* was always a work of art and an act of devotion. I was born and raised a Catholic and have been a Christian all my life. As a child and especially as I was preparing for my Holy Communion and confirmation, I often heard the nuns speak reverentially of the "body and blood of Christ." They also said that it was wrong to idolize representations of Christ since these were only representations and not holy objects themselves. My work was, in part, a comment on that paradox. I am neither a blasphemer nor "anti-Christian," as some have called me, and I stand by my work as an artist and as a Christian. Where the photograph has ignited spirited debate, that has been a good thing. Perhaps it reminds some people to question what we unthinkingly fetishize (and thereby often minimize) in lieu of pondering seriously what the crucifix actually symbolizes: the unimaginably torturous death of Christ, the Son of God.[92]

Serrano had said he did not tolerate blasphemy.[93] He believed that his picture offered a critique of the "billion-dollar Christ-for-profit industry" and that it provided a "condemnation of those who abuse the teachings of Christ for their own ignoble ends."[94] Even so, Jean-Pierre Cattenoz, the Roman Catholic bishop of Avignon, called the piece "odious," and wanted it removed.[95] Back in 1989, the Republican senator Alphonse D'Amato originally described the picture as "shocking, abhorrent and completely undeserving of any recognition whatsoever," and added that "millions of taxpayers are rightfully incensed that their hard-earned dollars were used to honor and support Serrano's work."[96] A 1989 editorial in the *Arizona Republic* asked*:* "What if it were the image of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. in that jar of urine?"[97] One might ponder what the question reveals about the status of Martin Luther King Jr. in comparison to Christ in modern Western culture. Regardless, Carnes observes that ironically, both Serrano's picture *and* Christ himself (in the first century) were understood as blasphemous.[98]

Ironically, Serrano – and to a lesser extent Madonna and the man who crucified Santa Claus – was being iconoclastic about his society, but trying to make a point about the crucifixion of Christ in a culture that had come to take it for granted. Although the way Serrano made his point might not be for all sensibilities, and it is debatable whether he was successful in his end goal, Serrano seems to have wanted to depict the cross as he did so that people would be quickened to its scandalous implications anew. The cross was formerly a symbol of dishonour, and it became a symbol of honour that could be "profaned" in the eyes of the faithful – because it was so closely tied to Christ himself. Yet the meaning of the cross also became something that Christians (and society) could get *complacent* about.

On this point, there might be a fruitful comparison between images and words about Jesus. Dorothy L. Sayers adapted the Gospels for the BBC in a series of radio plays in the 1940s and was harshly criticized for not using the old English of the King James Bible, but Sayers later said: "The slight shock of hearing a familiar statement rephrased quickens one to the implications of the original: that is why *The Man Born to Be King* startled quite a lot of people into realizing what the Gospels were actually saying."[99] Similarly, C.S. Lewis compared J.B. Phillips's *modern* English Bible translation to "seeing a familiar picture after it's been cleaned."[100] Even further in that direction, when Aldous Huxley wrote a book about theology, he deliberately *avoided* quoting the King James Bible because

"familiarity with traditionally hallowed writings tends to breed . . . a kind of reverential insensibility . . . [and] an inward deafness to the meaning of the sacred words."[101] For *The Man Born to Be King*, Sayers wrote: "Tear off the disguise of the Jacobean idiom, go back to the homely and vigorous Greek of Mark or John, translate it into its current English counterpart, and there every man may see his own face."[102] This effect can be compared to Serrano's already-quoted words about his picture: "Perhaps it reminds some people to question what we unthinkingly fetishize (and thereby often minimize) in lieu of pondering seriously what the crucifix actually symbolizes: the unimaginably torturous death of Christ, the Son of God."[103] When the cross of Christ is not recognized as a humiliating scandal, the full implications of the Gospel story are lost. Having said this, to varying degrees, one can understand the position of the people who objected to Serrano's picture, Madonna's concert, or the hundreds of crucified people in the film *The Greatest Story Ever Told*. These objections point to the fact that for Christians, the cross was a revered symbol.

The issues surrounding representations of the Cross relate to other forms of art. In different mediums, across the centuries, there have been questions about whether Christ can be represented artistically without breaking the Ten Commandments. The first play adaptation of the Gospels is from roughly the fourth century – a Greek play called *Paschon Christi* – and after this play, "the Passion was not to be staged again for nearly a thousand years."[104] The famous Oberammergau Passion Play did not begin until the seventeenth century. Scotland banned biblical plays in 1575, and after King James VI of Scotland came to England, in 1606, he forbade English actors to say the names of or act as any person of the Trinity; it was considered blasphemous.[105] The Puritans were against *all* forms of theatre, although Charles II did not share those sentiments. Even in 1902, Laurence Housman asked Edward Gordan Craig to produce a Nativity play, but the play had to be done *privately* because it showed "the holy family" on stage.[106] Hence, at a press conference for Sayers's Bible plays in the 1940s, James Welch said that Jesus had not been depicted in any popular British plays since the medieval period.[107] For that matter, in a different medium, in 1844, when Elizabeth Barrett Browning used God's name and made Christ a character in one of her poems, in her preface she felt compelled to defend herself against charges of irreverence.[108] The discussions about representing Christ's crucifixion in art should be understood with this wider context in mind.

In any event, the meaning of the cross has changed over time.

Instead of a symbol of shame, Christians saw it as a symbol that could be profaned because of its connection to Christ. Yet for most of the twenty-first century Western world, it is neither, but a symbol that generates indifference because it is familiar.

Conclusions: The Cross as an Image

G.K. Chesterton once pondered how Jesus cried on the cross, "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?" (Matthew 27:46; Mark 15:34).[109] Chesterton called it "the cry which confessed that God was forsaken of God," and reflected that "God seemed for an instant to be an atheist."[110] At its core, the cross is about emptiness. It is meant to be a scandal that these things would happen to God himself. In the early years of church history, Christians did not depict the cross artistically because the cross itself still carried certain stigmas. As time went on, it became more acceptable to depict it, and it became a symbol of honour. As it became a symbol of honour, it also became a symbol that could be profaned – at least, in the eyes of Christians. In doing so, did the idea of the cross itself become like an idol? Such questions are difficult to answer. Regardless, the examples studied in this essay show that the cross held power even in the twentieth century. The cross was an essential symbol during the First World War in various ways because it became tied to the sacrifices of the war itself. Alternatively, when George Stevens made a film about Jesus, it was controversial to show people other than Christ being crucified, even if inspired by the historical circumstances of the first century. In any event, the work of Madonna or Andres Serrano demonstrate multiple things. *Images of the cross were no longer considered problematic because of the humiliation of crucifixion itself, but because of the association with Christ*. In addition, though more so in the case of Madonna, despite the protests of certain Christians, the opposition to these images was still not earthshaking in society as a whole, and that can be taken as evidence that, in many quarters, the modern West does not revere the cross as it once did (or is not as "passionate"). It should not be understated that Madonna's controversial tour was still incredibly successful, and Serrano's work still got displayed all over the world, even with opposition. To a similar end, the 1979 Monty Python film *Life of Brian* was harshly criticized by church organizations for allegedly mocking Jesus's crucifixion because near the end of the film, a group of crucified men sing the song "Always Look on the Bright Side of Life."[111]

Despite those criticisms, the film has still gained a reputation as one of the most successful comedy films in history.[112] It is debatable whether all of these examples really profaned Jesus's crucifixion, but they do show that for certain Christians, the cross could be profaned. Therefore, the cross went from a symbol of humiliation, to a symbol of great honour (by virtue of its association with Christ), to a symbol that – in the overall context of twenty-first century culture – no longer holds the power it once did. Still, the cross became a revered symbol because it was identified with Jesus.

Endnotes

1. *The Greatest Story Ever Told*, directed by George Stevens (Beverly Hills, CA: United Artists, 1965). For the Rotten Tomatoes score, see "'The Greatest Story Ever Told' (1965)." *RottenTomatoes.com*. https://www.rottentomatoes.com/m/ greatest_story_ever_told/#!reviews=all

2. *The Greatest Story Ever Told*.

3. *The Greatest Story Ever Told*.

4. *He Walks in Beauty: The George Stevens Production* The Greatest Story Ever Told, directed by Michael Arick, disc 2, *The Greatest Story Ever Told: Special Edition* (Beverly Hills, CA: United Artists, 2001).

5. See Lee Strobel, *The Case for Christ* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1998), 197.

6. Stephen Mansfield, "The Torture and Killing of Jesus," December 12, 2014, *HuffingtonPost.com*, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/stephen-mansfield/torture-and-the-killing-o_b_6313722.html

7. Robin Margaret Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 130. See also, Eduard Syndicus, *Early Christian Art*, Faith and Fact Books 116 (London: Burns & Oates, 1962); Walter Lowrie, *Art in the Early Church*, revised ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1969); Robert Milburn, *Early Christian Art and Architecture* (Aldershot, UK: Scolar Press, 1988); C. Pocknee, *Cross and Crucifix in Christian Worship and Devotion* (London: Mowbray, 1962); Anna D. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986); Masset H. Shepherd, Jr., "Christology: A Central Problem of Early Christian Theology and Art," in *Age of Spirituality: A Symposium*, ed. Kurt Weitzmann (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 101-20; Thomas F. Mathews, *The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993); F. van der Meer, *Early*

Christian Art, trans. Peter and Friedl Brown (London: Faber & Faber, 1967); André Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins*, Bollingen Series XXXV (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968); and Richard Harries, *The Passion in Art* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004).

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9. Syndicus, *Early Christian Art*, 103.
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11. Lowrie, *Art in the Early Church*, 110.
12. Lowrie, *Art in the Early Church*, 110.
13. *Contra Cels.* 247. See Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art*, 134.
14. Syndicus, *Early Christian Art*, 103.
15. Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art*, 134.
16. Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art*, 134.
17. Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art*, 136-37.
18. Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art*, 137.
19. Milburn, *Early Christian Art and Architecture*, 109.
20. Syndicus, *Early Christian Art*, 104.
21. Syndicus, *Early Christian Art*, 104.
22. Syndicus, *Early Christian Art*, 103.
23. 1 Cor 1:23 (New Revised Standard Version)
24. 1 Cor 2:2 (New Revised Standard Version)
25. Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art*, 134.
26. Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art*, 133. See also, Pocknee, *Cross and Crucifix in Christian Worship and Devotion*, 38.
27. Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art*, 133-34.
28. Kartsonis, *Anastasis*, 34-35.
29. Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art*, 134.

30. David W. Chapman, *Ancient Jewish and Christian Perceptions on Crucifixion*, WUNT 2. Reihe 244 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 44.

31. Shepherd, Jr., "Christology," 112.

32. Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art*, 134. See also, Lowrie, *Art in the Early Church*, 110; Harries, *The Passion in Art*, 12; Shepherd, Jr., "Christology," 112. For the idea that this image is a *Christian* rather than a pagan image, see Mathews, *The Clash of Gods*, 48-50.

33. Van der Meer, *Early Christian Art*, 120.

34. Harries, *The Passion in Art*, 12.

35. Harries, *The Passion in Art*, 12.

36. Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 132. Grabar thinks that artists were concerned with representing Christ's victory over death, rather than the death itself.

37. Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art*, 148.

38. Syndicus, *Early Christian Art*, 104.

39. Shepherd Jr., "Christology," 112.

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41. Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art*, 154.

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50. Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 153.

51. Gregory, *The Last Great War* 156.

52. Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 40-41.

53. Gregory, *The Last Great War*, 156.

54. Gregory, *The Last Great War*, 156.

55. Quoted in Gregory, *The Last Great War*, 157.

56. Gregory, *The Last Great War*, 157.

57. Gregory, *The Last Great War*, 185.

58. Vance, *Death So Noble*, 40.

59. Suzanne Evans, *Mothers of Heroes, Mothers of Martyrs: World War I and the Politics of Grief* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 58-59.

60. Evans, *Mothers of Heroes,* 52-53. See also, Maria Tippett, *Art at the Service of War: Canada, Art, and the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 81-87; Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 118; and Arthur Ponsonby, *Falsehood in War Time: Containing an Assortment of Lies Circulated throughout the Nations during the Great War* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2005). There are conflicting versions of the story.

61. The picture was by an artist named Fernando Amorsolo. See "Your Liberty Bond Will Help Stop This – Sus Bonos de la Libertad Ayudarán á Dar Fin Con Esto," *Library of Congress*, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2002722586

62. Evans, *Mothers of Heroes*, 75.

63. Evans, *Mothers of Heroes*, 52. See also, Tippett, *Art at the Service of War*, 81-87.

64. Evans, *Mothers of Heroes*, 52.

65. John Ward, "Grotesque War Story Is a Legend That Lives On," *The Globe and Mail*, 20 July 2001, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/grotesque-war-story-is-a-legend-that-lives-on/article4150816

66. Ward, "Grotesque War Story Is a Legend That Lives On."

67. Gregory, *The Last Great War*, 258. Although Gregory observes this point, he does not think it is the *most important* reason why there were comparatively few sculptures in post-war Britain.

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82. "Crucified Santa Makes Some Cross."

83. "Crucified Santa Makes Some Cross."

84. "Crucified Santa Makes Some Cross."

85. "Crucified Santa Makes Some Cross."

86. Natalie Carnes, *Image and Presence: Christological Reflection on Iconoclasm and Iconophilia*, Encountering Traditions (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2018), 2.

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88. Andres Serrano, "Protecting Freedom of Expression, from Piss Christ to Charlie Hebdo," *Creative Time Reports*, January 30, 2015, http://creativetime reports.org/2015/01/30/free-speech-piss-christ-charlie-hebdo-andres-serrano

89. Serrano, "Protecting Freedom of Expression, from Piss Christ to Charlie Hebdo."

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91. Angelique Chrisafis, "Attack on Blasphemous Art Work Fires Debate on Role of Religion in France," *The Guardian*, 18 April https://www.theguardian.com/ world/ 2011/apr/18/andres-serrano-piss-christ-destroyed-christian-protesters

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93. David Ng, "A Survey of Heated Rhetoric on Andres Serrano's 'Piss Christ,'" *Los Angeles Times*, 19 April 2011, http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/culture monster/2011/04/memorable-quotes-on-andres-serranos-piss-christ-through-the-years.html

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95. Ng, "A Survey of Heated Rhetoric on Andres Serrano's 'Piss Christ.'"

96. Ng, "A Survey of Heated Rhetoric on Andres Serrano's 'Piss Christ.'"

97. "When Art Imitates Garbage," editorial, *The Arizona Republic*, May 11, 1989.

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99. Barbara Reynolds, *The Passionate Intellect: Dorothy L. Sayers' Encounter with Dante* (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 1989), 123. See Dorothy L. Sayers, *The Man Born to Be King: A Play-Cycle on the Life of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1946).

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101. Aldous Huxley, *The Perennial Philosophy* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1957), 4.

102. Sayers, *The Man Born to Be King*, 23.

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104. See Lynette R. Muir, "The Trinity in Medieval Drama," in *The Drama of the Middle Ages: Comparative and Critical Essays*, eds. Clifford Davidson, C.J. Gianakaris, and John H. Stroupe (New York: Amos Press, 1982), 75-76. Most medieval Latin plays preferred to dramatize the Adoration of the Magi and Visit to the Sepulchre (76). The famous Oberammergau Passion Play did not begin until the seventeenth century.

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112. Wilson, "One Holy Hullabaloo!"

Chronicles and Connectedness of Canadian Church Music Composers

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Although Canadian Sacred Music repertoire is limited from a historical time deficit in comparison to that of the overarching body of European Sacred Music, Canadian contributions to Church Music in the last two-hundred years have reflected strong European influence. When one considers the major Canadian Sacred Music composers British-born and Toronto-dweller, Healey Willan, and Quebecois Ernest Gagnon likely come to mind. Since a large amount of energy has been devoted to researching such names, the scope of this paper allows for a thorough examination of a lesser-known Canadian Sacred Music composer, Sister Theresa Hucul, and honourable mention of another, Hattie Rhue Hatchett; there is more content of value than is currently canonic. An analysis of selected vocal works by Sister Hucul points to this. Inspiration from European Sacred Music (a broad label which houses several types of musical structures including Masses, anthems, oratorios, motets, organ music, canticles, hymns, carols, chant, vocal music with instrumental ensembles, and various chamber and ensemble vocal and instrumental works), is seen in biblical text setting, structure, and use of poetic interpretation. These elements are identified from examining text, style, and structure of selected Canadian solo voice and choral pieces against European selections of the same variety. All four composers discussed were influenced by both instrumental, vocal, and liturgical aspects of European Sacred Music. The choice to focus the analysis primarily on a successful female composer is intentional and this is the first scholarly

article to discuss Sister Hucul's music. She is deserving of a place among the authorities. Focusing on composers from the regions of the Maritimes (Sister Hucul), Québec (Gagnon), and southern Ontario (Hatchett and Willan), congruently reflects the nature of Canadian diversity, within the bounds of a common compositional style.

While these individuals represent different Canadian demographics and cultural backgrounds, they share an appreciation for European Sacred Music, evidenced in their vocal works discussed. Sister Hucul, Willan, Hatchett, and Gagnon created choral music sacred to their Canadian communities, with major inspiration from European predecessors. Willan and Gagnon serve as pillars of European inspiration in Canadian music – Willan the foundation for traditional Anglo-Catholic music and Gagnon for traditional Franco-Catholic music. Their reputations precede them, and the choice was obvious to include the pair. Building on the seminal research of fellow York University scholar, Richard Stewardson, I chose to briefly include Hattie Rhue Hatchett, noting specifically her hymns and spirituals.[1] While reading her biography, I was drawn to her life story – her escape from slavery in the United States and profound impact in Buxton, Ontario. I first discovered Sister Hucul's music when my father gave me the vocal score to *Harvesting* (which I discuss later) after he stumbled upon it accidentally at the Saint Paul University library in Ottawa.[2] I was intrigued by her creativity and, of course, by the fact that she is a Canadian composer.

Healey Willan (1880-1968)

Healey Willan remains recognized as the Dean of Canadian Composers, not only among Canadian Anglo-Catholics, and devoted decades of service at St. Mary Magdalene's Church in Toronto. His sacred choral compositions range from choral works with orchestra, carols and hymn tunes, hymns, services, motets, choral anthems transcribed for organ, and unaccompanied choral works. Although Willan emigrated to Canada in 1913 from England, he is defined as a Canadian composer, especially since the bulk of his composing occurred during his time in Toronto. Among the important compilations of Willan's choral works are those featured in Vol. V: *The Canadian Musical Heritage Hymn Tunes* edited by John Beckwith, with assistance from Helmut Kallmann, Frederick Hall, Clifford Ford, and Elaine Keillor. The scope of this collection is limited to the period of 1801-1939 and includes the following

hymns: "Veni Creator," "Eternal Light," "Stella Orientis," and "St. Michael." However, Beckwith acknowledged that a large portion of Willan's hymn tunes were excluded from the chosen timeframe.

There is no new discovery regarding European inspiration in Willan's choral church music. The research gathered represents a congruent depiction of Willan's sacred music writing style, compositional qualities, and his inspiration. Kallmann discussed the Renaissance as a key influence in Willan's writing:

> Because he was attached to the choral and religious tradition of his native country, Willan's religious works came under the extremely strong influence of the polyphonic works of the Renaissance. If he seems sensitive to the mystic and meditative polyphonies of William Byrd or Palestrina, the harmonic results of his counterpoint nevertheless remain modern. It is not rare to find archaic parallel organum effects in *Apostrophe to the Heavenly Hosts* and in the motet *Hodie Christus Natus Est.* However, in the manner of certain English polyphonists of the Renaissance, he weaves a counterpoint quite independent of vertical sonorities which lend his style a peculiar and archaic charm.[3]

In addition to his original compositions, Willan has a large catalogue of plain-chant arrangements (one of these is "Veni Creator" as mentioned), enforcing Kallmann's statement. Timothy McGee reiterated the same notion presented by both Kallmann and Peaker, while adding that Russian church music was also a major influence. Beckwith noted that "the opening of 'Eternal Light' recalls a classical instrumental model – Schubert's "Moment Musical" and then "after the announcement of the opening rhythm, a counterpoint of plain and dotted half-notes creates dissonances."[4] Additionally, Willan set this tune to the text of English poet, Thomas Binney. Clearly, Willan paid homage to his European predecessors and contemporaries, and resurrected European plain-song in the Anglican Church in Canada.

Ernest Gagnon (1834-1915)

Ernest Gagnon, prominent Roman Catholic French-Canadian organist and composer, shaped both the Cathedral-Basilica of Notre-Dame de Québec and Saint-Jean-Baptiste Church in Québec City. As Kallmann noted, "French Canada with its older traditions produced musicians long

before English Canada." Continuing, he presented Gagnon as an advocate for French-Canadian musical heritage during a time of reliance on European music structure:

> Regrettably, though perhaps naturally in a newly-opened country, musical taste tended to follow traditional European lines and composition was imitative of the sophisticated music of Europe. The folk music brought by the early settlers and still alive at that time, on which a national art might have been based, was ignored. Only in French Canada did music have an intimate link with patriotism, and folk song was not entirely forgotten there.[5]

This quote addresses Gagnon's role in cataloguing popular French-Canadian music; additionally, Gagnon was a trailblazer for French-Canadian sacred music. Clifford Ford expands on the notion that aside from two pieces ("Ave, maris stella" and "Ave Maria"), the selections found in *Cantiques populaires du Canda français* are in French:

> Perhaps of greater historical significance is Gagnon's collection *Cantiques populaires du Canada français.* The first striking feature is the use of the vernacular. Although texts in the vernacular were not banned in the nineteenth century, their use did meet with considerable resistance by both clergy and laity. The use of the vernacular, of course, had a long history: by the ninth century, Latin had ceased to be intelligible to the majority of people and, by the twelfth century, *cantiques* (religious songs in the vernacular) were appearing in the churches of France.

Gagnon established a French-Canadian niche for Québec Catholics prior to the Second Vatican Council, and while still honouring the European values from which his sacred music is birthed. Ford indicates that Gagnon's "*cantique* collection represents an extension of Gagnon's work in folklore" and that "at times, the musical and textual material is quite elementary. Notwithstanding, these quasi-folk songs belong to a period in church history which greatly influenced French-Canadian society of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and may be compared to naïve folk art such as wood carving."

Hattie Rhue Hatchett (1863-1958)

Hattie Rhue Hatchett lived a remarkable life that deserves attention. Her hometown of Buxton, Ontario was a refuge for escaped slaves through the Underground Railroad. The Canadian military valued her work by selecting her 1915 hymn "That Sacred Spot" as the official marching song of the Canadian troops during World War I. Although Canada was and is a safe place for African Americans, the choice of a black woman's composition to represent the military was nonetheless a monumental decision at the time. Her musical awareness grew out of US hymnbooks, which features a blend of European and American compositions. "Her hymns, for instance, are compared to those found in hymnals with which she was familiar, *The Baptist Standard Hymnal*, *Gospel Pearls*, *Tabernacle Hymns, No. 2*, and *Inspirational Melodies*."[6] A common compositional method she employed was to make European Sacred Music more approachable to her congregation. An example of this is found in the original poetry of her hymn "Sinner, Jesus Calls You" – a redacted, simplified version of Charles Wesley's "Sinners, Obey the Gracious Call" text, seen below.[7]

"Sinners, Obey the Gracious Call" Charles Wesley	"Sinner, Jesus Calls You" Hattie Rhue Hatchett
1 Sinners, obey the gracious call, Unto the Lord your God return, The dire occasion of your fall— Your foolishness of folly mourn. Sin only hath your ruin been; In humble words your grief express, Turn to the Lord: Your shameful sin, The burden of your soul, confess.	Sinner, Jesus calls you From the paths of sin All is dark around you All is dark within Hear his gentle whisper To your inmost soul Why not let him guide you Give him full control
2 God of all power, and truth, and grace, All our iniquity remove, Spare and accept a fallen race, God of all power, and truth, and love, Take all, take all our sins away, Nor guilt, nor power, nor being have, Forgive us now, Thine arm display, Thine own for Jesus' sake receive.	Your way is so cloudy His is clear and bright Yours eternal darkness His eternal light Everything that sparkles In your path you'll find

3 So will we render Thee the praise,
With joyful lips and hearts renewed,
Present Thee all our sinless days,
A living sacrifice to God.
So will we trust in man no more,
No more to man for succor fly,
The works of our own hands adore,
Or seek ourselves to justify.

4 Not by an arm of flesh, but Thine,
We look from sin to be set free;
O Love, O Righteousness divine,
The helpless all find help in Thee.
"Surely in me," your God replies,
"The fatherless shall mercy find,
Whoe'er on Me for help relies,
Shall know the Savior of mankind.

5 I (for my Son hath died to seal
Their peace, and all My wrath remove)
I will their sin-sick spirits heal,
And freely the backsliders love.
I will My sovereign art display,
To perfect health their soul restore,
And take their bent to sin away,
And lift them up to fall no more.

6 In blessings will I then come down,
And water them with gracious dew,
And all My former mercies crown,
And every pardoned soul renew.
Israel shall as the lily grow,
As chaste, as beautiful, and white,
Yet striking deep his roots below,
And towering as the cedar's height.

7 His branching arms he wide shall
spread,
And flourish in eternal bloom –
Fair as the olive's verdant shade,

Are but fading baubles
just to keep you blind

And its end death lingers
Death, eternal death
Come back to your Saviour
While you've life and
breath

He will give you pardon
For your wicked ways
And your heart will gladly
Sing and shout his praise

Only listen to Him
He is calling now
Turn your back on Satan
And to Jesus bow

Hear Him sweetly whisper
To the soul oppressed
Come, ye heavy laden
I will give you rest

Take my yoke upon you
Grace will make it light
And He'll walk beside you
Everyday and night

He will keep your footsteps
In the narrow way
If you let Him guide you
Thro' night and day

Fragrant as Lebanon's perfume.
Whoe'er beneath his shadow dwell,
Shall as the putrid corn revive,
A mortal quickening virtue feel,
And sink to rise, and die to live.

8 Their boughs with fruit ambrosial
crowned,
As Lebanon's thick-clustering vine,
Shall spread their odors all around,
Grateful to human taste, and Mine.
Ephraim, my pleasant child, shall say,
'With idols what have I to do?
I cannot sin: get hence away,
Vain world! I cannot stoop to you.'

9 "God, only God hath all my heart,
My vile idolatries are o'er,
I cannot now from God depart,
For, born of God, I sin no more."
Whoe'er to this high prize aspire,
And long My utmost grace to prove,
I heard, and marked their heart's desire,
And I will perfect them in love.

10 Beneath My love's almighty shade,
O Israel, sit, and rest secure,
On Me thy quiet soul be stayed,
Till pure as I thy God am pure.
Surely I will My people save;
Who on My faithful word depend
Their fruit to holiness shall have,
And glorious all to Heaven ascend.

Although a fair amount of her biographical information is available and there exists the Buxton National Historic Site and Museum in Chatham, Ontario, included in the Virtual Museum of Canada, it is nearly impossible to access her music recordings and scores. Without these materials, further analysis of Hatchett's solo voice and choral church music (particularly her hymns) is incomplete in revealing European influence from prominent hymn-writers such as John and Charles Wesley,

Isaac Watts, William Cowper, and Sarah Flower Adams.

Sister Theresa Hucul (c. 1930)

Sister Theresa Hucul serves the Roman Catholic Sisters of Charity of the Immaculate Conception (SCIC) in Saint John, New Brunswick with beautiful Mass settings, hymns, songs, choral works, and psalms, many of which feature descants and unique instrumentation. She has spent her adult life in Saint John and the surrounding area of New Brunswick as a devout nun with a proclivity for expressing her creative mind through song, poetry, and visual artwork. As it stands, Sister Hucul's musical works are not included in the Canadian Catholic Book of Worship or other widespread national publications; it seems her collections are known mainly by local churches within the Diocese of Saint John. She focuses her compositions on solo voice and choral music and engages congregational singing under a unified purpose of Catholic worship. While she primarily relies on biblical text for her settings, she also applies her own poetic interpretations and original poetry. When considering European impact in Sister Hucul's compositions, it is important to note that she primarily writes Roman Catholic Mass and devotional settings, adhering to the liturgy and structure centred in Vatican City. Most of her music is suitable for any Protestant denomination though; it need not remain exclusive to Catholic use.

Sister Hucul's untitled four-volume series, published over the course of a decade include *Harvesting* (1987), *All Praise* (1991), *Companion God* (1994), and *Sorrow and Wings: Songs of Transition* (1996).[8] They progressively include her original poetry with each successive publishing while still undoubtedly adhering to its origins across the Atlantic. The first two volumes, *Harvesting* and *All Praise*, primarily include antiphons, hymns, and verse and refrain songs; simple melodies are rhythmically harmonized in chordal or two-part structure with works for the entire church calendar. "Summer" from *Harvesting* is reminiscent of the hymn "King of Love My Shepherd Is" (1868) by Henry W. Baker to the old Irish melody of "St. Columba." Her hymn is Aeolian and both melodies are in triple metre, not surprisingly, as music of the Maritimes tends toward a Celtic lilt. The emphases fall on either beat two or the 'and of one' beat, typical of an Irish diddy. Sister Hucul's title hymn from *All Praise* sounds an homage echoed from countless European hymns, to name a few: "Turn Your Eyes upon Jesus," "Angels We Have Heard on High," "Good

Christian Men, Rejoice," "Hark! the Herald Angels Sing," "Lo! How a Rose E'er Blooming," a German carol, and "Once in Royal David's City."

Sister Hucul included a variety of antiphons in each of her volumes. In *Harvesting*, they are "In the Beginning," "Marana Tha," "Holy is Your Name," "You are a Love Song," and "My Father has Blessed You." Based on Genesis 1, "In the Beginning" is a two-part antiphon for treble voices with a modest descant. This structure represents the Universal Roman Catholic standard of Cantor and responsorial verses. Her antiphons align with those heard in the Catholic church vernacular around the world. Whether Italian, Spanish, French, German, or Latin set to the tune of Sister Hucul's compositions, the congregations would not likely notice a difference from the usual weekly Psalm tones and Responsorial tunes. The final volume *Sorrow and Wings* includes no antiphons. One may deduce that the repertoire included within this volume is not suitable for a Mass setting, or at least not at a High Mass. She indicated that these songs and refrains are intended for church settings yet shies away from a traditional musical Mass setting, such as the antiphon.

While almost all the songs in *Harvesting* include biblical text, Sister Hucul ventured to incorporate five songs, out of twelve, with her original poetry in *All Praise.* By the third volume of her series, *Companion God*, each song includes her original poetry, except for a standard memorial acclamation set, and two songs indicate optional dancing to enhance the musical experience. In the final volume, *Sorrow and Wings: Songs of Transition*, only two songs are based solely on biblical text, include eleven songs of her original poetry, and encourage dancing to accompany two songs. Also worth mentioning is the instrumentation development over the course of the series – *Harvesting* and *All Praise*, together, feature unique instrumentation in a total of seven songs but *Companion God* and *Sorrow and Wings* include sixteen, collectively. Both characteristic of her provincial demographic surroundings and indicative of the European influence (particularly Irish) in New Brunswick, is her use of the Celtic harp in two of the songs, "Tapestry" (Vol. III) and "The Dance" (Vol. IV). The chart on the following page details the choral songs from the entire series.

Vol. I: *Harvesting* (1987)

1. In the Beginning ~+
2. Marana Tha !~+
3. A Child is Born ~+
4. The Glory of Yahweh !~+
5. Longing for God ~+
6. Holy is Your Name ~+
7. You Are a Love Song ~+
8. Blessed Are You ~+
9. Only the Spirit Knows ~+
10. Summer ~+
11. Autumn *#!~+
12. Such Is My Beloved ~+
13. Unless a Grain of Wheat !~+
14. My Father Has Blessed You ~+
15. Simple Faithfulness #~+

Vol. II: *All Praise* (1991)

1. All Praise *#~+
2. I Call You Friend ~+
3. Finest Wheat ~+
4. The Lord Is My Shepherd !~+
5. Song of Tenderness #!~+
6. Your Saving Love ~+
7. A God of Gentleness ~+
8. Transfiguring Love ~+
9. The Secret of Winter *#~+
10. How I love Your Word ~+
11. Seasons *#~+
12. Incarnation #!~+

Vol. III: *Companion God* (1994)

1. Companion God #!~+
2. Passover #~+
3. A Time of Love #!~+
4. As Oil Poured Out #~+
5. Anyone Who Loves #!~+
6. Song Of Joseph #~+
7. Soul-Maker #!~+
8. Tapestry #!~+%
9. Jesus By Your Cross and Resurrection ~+
When We Eat This Bread ~+
Dying You Destroyed Our Death ~+
Christ Has Died ~+
10. Behold The Beauty *#!~+
11. Follow The Wind *#!~+%
12. Out Of The Depths #!~+

Vol. IV: *Sorrow and Wings: Songs of Transition* (1996)

1. The Dance *#!%
2. With All My Heart *#!~+
3. Mother Earth *#!~+
4. Solstice #~+
5. Alone *#~+
6. Sudden Rain #~+
7. Heart of God !~+
8. Sorrow and Wings #~+
9. Together #!~+%
10. Mourning Doves *~+
11. Sheltering Wings #!~+
12. Always My Heart Waits *#!~+
13. Rising Wings: Reprise *#~+

Key

* Nature is heavily emphasized, likely inspired by Canadian nature
# Original poetry
! Uses unique instrumentation (anything other than keyboard or organ)[9]
~ Suitable for Mass congregational singing (soprano-alto-tenor-bass chorus or soprano-alto chorus)
+ Suitable for Mass or other formal small ensemble settings (likely in convents in soprano-alto chorus or duet)
% Useful for non-formal group singing (soprano-alto chorus) and with dancing

A comparison of "Like as the hart desireth the waterbrooks" from *Four Anthems* (1941) by Herbert Howells and "Longing for God" (1984) from Volume I: *Harvesting* of a four-volume series by Sister Hucul proved to highlight striking textual setting decisions. Howell's work was based on Psalm 42:1-3, while Sister Hucul's was based on Psalm 42 in its entirety, as well as Song of Songs 2:10 & 14.[10] Whereas Howell's choral work aligns nearly verbatim with the biblical translation of Psalm 42:1-3, Sister Hucul's piece thematically fits the biblical premise of the same text but is dramatically poetic almost to the point of obscuring the textual origin. Of course, one must consider that Sister Hucul's interpretation is motivated by both the Psalm passage and Song of Songs 2:10:14 – even still – Sister Hucul largely varies her text setting of this passage blended with the Psalm. Considering the 40+ year gap between the compositions, Howell stayed true to English church music composition traditions by setting the biblical text as written, and Sister Hucul felt free as a Canadian church music composer to create new poetry (based heavily in Canadian nature), merely enthused by the two biblical passages. Sister Hucul's work does not sound obscure in the context of Howell's piece. It seems clear that Sister Hucul built her compositional style from a European sacred music foundation, while taking creative liberties that, in turn, evoke a new flavour of church music but does not entirely break loose from it.

The book of Psalms has proven a popular textual setting by many European and Canadian Sacred Music composers. This practice appears often in sacred songs wherein European composers employ literal biblical text interpretation and Canadian composers create a new text with the same intention as the original. Whereas European composers use hymn writing primarily to poetically interpret the Bible, Canadian sacred music composers tend toward a poetic display of biblical text over a literal one

in most compositions (aside from Masses). Many European Sacred Music choral works requires a high level of vocal aptitude whereas Sister Hucul's is approachable for common congregational singing.

The research on Healey Willan, Ernest Gagnon, and Hattie Rhue Hatchett is seasoned. However, the new findings presented on the works of Sister Theresa Hucul will perhaps lead to further scholarly, historical, and clerical inquiry. Sister Hucul will hopefully gain greater recognition among the ranks of Willan and Gagnon, and the music of Hatchett will ideally become accessible to the masses in print and recording.

Endnotes

1. Richard George Stewardson, "Hattie Rhue Hatchett (1863-1958): An Interdisciplinary Study of her Life and Music in North Buxton, Ontario," PhD dissertation, York University, 1994.

2. Theresa Hucul, *Harvesting: Songs of Theresa Hucul* (Saint John: Sisters of Charity, 1987).

3. John Beckwith, *Hymn Tunes* (Ottawa: Canadian Musical Heritage Society, 1986).

4. Timothy James McGee, *The Music of Canada* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1985).

5. *Historical Anthology of Canadian Music* (Ottawa: Canadian Music Heritage Society, Clifford Ford Publications, 2003).

6. Stewardson, "Hattie Rhue Hatchett (1863-1958)."

7. John Rutter and Robert Kind, eds., *English Church Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

8. Hucul, *Harvesting;* Theresa Hucul, *Sorrow and Wings* (Saint John: Sisters of Charity, 1996); Theresa Hucul, *Companion God* (Saint John: Sisters of Charity, 1994); and Theresa Hucul, *All Praise* (Saint John: Sisters of Charity, 1991).

9. Theresa Hucul, "Marana Tha" (trumpet), "The Glory of Yahweh" (trumpet), "Autumn" (cello), and "Unless a Grain of Wheat" (flute), in *Harvesting,* v. 1; Theresa Hucul, "The Lord is My Shepherd" (flute), "Song of Tenderness" (flute or violin), and "Incarnation" (cello) in *All Praise,* v. 2; Theresa Hucul, "Companion God" (oboe, flute, and cello), "A Time of Love" (cello), "Anyone Who Loves" (cello), "Soul-Maker" (cello), "Tapestry (Celtic harp, recorder, and cello), "When We Eat This Bread: Acclamation 3" (cello),

"Behold the Beauty" (oboe and flute), "Follow the Wind" (oboe or flute, and cello), "Out of the Depths" (cello) in *Companion God,* v. 4; Theresa Hucul, "The Dance" (Celtic harp, drum, cello, and flute), "With All My Heart" (cello), "Mother Earth" (flute), "Heart of God" (flute and cello), "Together" (flute), "Sheltering Wings" (cello), and "Always My Heart Waits" (cello) in *Sorrow and Wings: Songs of Transition,* v. 4.

10. Rutter and Kind, eds., *English Church Music,* 126.

Bridging Divides between Theological Studies and Feminist Studies

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While feminists within the field of gender studies challenge the capitalism, patriarchy, and colonialism that they identify in the field of theological studies, theologians argue that approaches such as Marxist feminism cannot be applied to theological teaching principles. As a result, these two academic fields are treated as mutually exclusive. In order to bridge the divide between these two disciplines, this paper engages in an interdisciplinary study between theological and feminist studies. I intend to conduct archival and library research on the overlap between Christian missionary history and Chinese and Japanese women's history. Evidence of this overlap can be found in the memorandum *The Story of Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries* published by Toyo Eiwa Girls' Academy in 2010 in memory of Methodist women's missionary work in Japan. Annual reports housed in the United Church Archives clearly document the history of how Canadian home missions rescued Chinese slave girls and received Japanese picture brides upon their arrival in Canada, and of how Canadian foreign missions spread Christian teaching abroad. In contrast, Tani E. Barlow – a Chinese feminist critic – in *The Question of Women in Chinese Feminism,* explores the history of Chinese feminism and its connection with Japanese and western feminism. In 1975, a Japanese countryman whispered the story of Yamada Waka (1878-1956) to Tomoko Yamazaki, a researcher of Japanese women's history, and in 1978, she wrote in Japanese *The Song of an Ameyuki Girl: The Vicissitudes of Yamada Waka's Life*. Moving beyond a literature review of these

primary and secondary sources, I aim to unearth a common culture between theological studies and women's studies in China, Japan, and North America. I argue that finding the common culture between theological studies and women's studies can bridge the divide between these two disciplines. The interdisciplinary study reveals that these two disciplines can mutually benefit one another in regard to their knowledge production and knowledge mobility.

Historiography of Missionary Work in Japan

In the mid-sixteenth century, Jesuit missions to Japan were initiated by Francis Xavier. In addition, Portuguese Jesuit Luís Fróis was influential in these missions insofar as he laid the groundwork for translation as a skill to spread the teaching of Christianity. Fróis documented his accounts in *The History of Japan* and oversaw a golden age of Jesuit missionary work from 1569 to 1582. However, as soon as the general who supported Christians – Oda, Nobunaga – died, all Jesuits were suppressed by two other generals: Toyotomi, Hideyoshi and Tokugawa, Ieyasu. Finally, after the Shimabara Rebellion (1637-1638), Christianity was banned from Japan despite the attempt of Correa, a Portuguese Jesuit, to refute the idea that Christianity had been the peasant rebellion's instigator.[1]

The Rise of Christian Women in Church Organizations

After the Jesuits – whose missions were largely successful prior to Japan's seclusion circa 1640 – were driven out, religious feminism within Christianity emerged at the end of the nineteenth century. The feminization of the Christian religion seemed to be a catalyst for more women to engage in the work of social gospel.[2] Subsequently, the Methodist women at the Woman's Missionary Society (hereafter WMS) began working with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and took an interest in women's social gospel issues. Institutionalizing Christian female leadership, the WMS of the Methodist Church of Canada (hereafter MCC) was established in 1881. Subsequently, more Christian women rather than solely Christian men were sent to Japan to engage in missionary work. For example, in 1884, the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church in Canada (WMSMCC) sent the first Protestant woman missionary – Martha Julia Cartmell (1845-1945) – to Japan.[3]

Protestant Women Replaced Jesuit Men in Japan at the End of the Nineteenth Century

Cartmell managed more than $400,000 of the WMSMCC budget at the time and further had an impact on Japanese female populations in the late nineteenth century. Just like Fróis, Cartmell learned the Japanese language in order to communicate directly with the Japanese people. Before long, Cartmell was able to interpret at the Sunday school, attend women's associations, and visit Japanese patients at hospitals. Consequently, Cartmell provided Japanese students the job skill of translating English texts into Japanese texts and influenced her Japanese students to engage with literary feminism. At the time, some Japanese girls did not go to school because their education was not considered important by their parents. Cartmell advocated gender equality and self-esteem for Japanese girls through her education at the missionary school. In particular, two well-known graduates from Toyo Eiwa Girls' Academy testify to Cartmell's legacy: Muraoka Hanako (1893-1968) who translated Lucy Maud Montgomery's 1908 Canadian novel *Anne of Green Gables*, and Katayama Hiroko (1878-1957) who translated many pieces of Irish literature.[4]

Historiography of Missionary Work in China

Just as the principals of the Toyo Eiwa Girls' Academy had inspired their Japanese students, North American missionaries also had an impact on Chinese female populations from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century.[5] Minnie Vautrin (1886-1941), an American missionary, played a pivotal role in rescuing many Chinese during the Nanjing Massacre in 1937. She dug trenches, performed air raid drills, set up shelters, got ambulances for the wounded, and visited the injured in hospital.[6] Born to United Church missionary parents in China, Katharine Boehner Hockin (1910-1993) was among a number of Anglo-American student volunteers for overseas missions. With the formal ordination of Christian women at the United Church in 1937, Hockin did not purposefully pursue ordination but simply aimed to be as competent as her male colleagues. She went to China in 1940 as a Canadian foreign missionary and left China in 1951; on her return to Canada, she took the initiative to reassess the home and foreign missions of the church in her advocacy for multicultural approaches to ministry in the context of a new global outlook. At the time, this multicultural approach was termed "pluralism"

in theological studies. Hockin contributed to the embodiment of a theological feminism whose goal of religious equality was informed by biblical insights.[7] As a result, one of the Chinese girls, Sophia Zhang, was influenced by Christian missionaries in China and became, according to Ying Hu, an iconic premodern Chinese feminist just like Mulan.[8]

Sophia Zhang/Zhang Zhujun (1867-1964): The Mulan Archetype in 1911

Hua, Mulan (386-581) has been a figure for feminism in classic Chinese literature since the fourth century. However, Mulan was thought to be a merely fictional character in *The Ballad of Mulan* in the collection of the Music Bureau (*Yuefu*). In order to obtain archeological evidence to prove the historical existence of Mulan, Xinlu Zhang collected archival data and engaged a field study at Mulan's birth place of Wuhan Huangpi. In North America, the 1998 and 2004 Disney cartoons, the 2018 or 2020 Disney film, and Maxine Hong Kingston's 1976 *The Woman Warrior*, represented Mulan as an icon of women's power and an embodiment of Chinese feminism. Even now, the phrase of "*jinguo burang xumei*" (women will not concede to men) reminds us of Mulan's bravery in going to the battlefield.[9]

Just like Mulan, an iconic premodern Chinese feminist, Sophia Zhang is a Chinese feminist. Hu suggests that after Mulan's military achievements, she returned to the spindle to weave and served as a good daughter. After Sophia Zhang completed her Red Cross missions on the battlefield of the 1911 Revolution to take care of the wounded revolutionary soldiers, she returned to her normal life as a lady doctor.[10] Having been treated in an American missionary hospital after she contracted polio as a child, Sophia Zhang later studied western medicine at the Hackett Women's Hospital. Eventually, she opened her own hospital of western medicine in Guangzhou City of Guangdong (Canton) Province circa 1900.[11] It was said that she did not charge medical fees to any poor patients. In addition to having established the first Chinese girls' school, she was also involved in an anti-Qing revolutionary association (*Tongmenghui*). Subsequently, she organized the Red Cross to rescue injured revolutionaries such as the *Huanghuagang* martyrs and became a heroine herself in the Chinese 1911 Revolution. Zhang set up makeshift chapels in her hospitals in order to spread the teaching of Christianity.[12] For her Christian evangelism and her medical aid work in China, Zhang was

respected as a religious feminist. However, despite recognizing Sophia Zhang's female power, Barlow does not classify Zhang as a Chinese literary feminist figure.

Ding, Ling (1904-1986): the Progressive Chinese Feminist of the 1920s-1930s

Tani Barlow claims that she cannot write about the progressive Chinese feminism of the 1920s-1930s without referring to the work of Ding, whose feminism embodies Maoist revolutionary theory.[13] Following Maoist revolutionary theory, Ding supports neither non-communist Chinese nor Soviet communist politics. In China, Sophia Zhang was well-known for her heroic deeds in the Chinese Revolution of 1911. In Russia, Sophia Perovskaya was famous for her heroic deeds in the Russian Revolution. Because Ding does not recognize the 1911 Chinese Revolution or Soviet Revolution as Maoist revolutions, she created characters named Sophia in her stories to present non-revolutionary womanhood. The Sophia character in Ding's stories often represents a merely unstable, deficient, and regrettable female subject.[14] Following Ding's formulation of Chinese feminism, Barlow emphasizes Maoist theory and, therefore, does not acknowledge Sophia Zhang as a Chinese literary feminist.

Chinese Feminist Sexual Conduct

As a Chinese literary feminist, Ding poses a question about the nature of women's social problems in her story "In a small room on Qingyun Alley." When a young prostitute needs to decide between continuing in sex work and accepting a marriage offer, the prostitute chooses the former and explains why she makes the choice. Because she considers that there is no difference between marriage and prostitution, she chooses sex-work, which can give her freedom to experience sexual variety, over marriage. Barlow represented Ding's paradigm as individual sexual freedom.[15] While Ding might have written this story to express her sexual fantasy as a feminist, this individual sexual freedom can be seen as secular feminism.

As a Christian feminist, Zhang would make a distinction between marriage and prostitution based on the sexual morality commanded by Scripture. For a devout Christian, a marriage is about mutual trust and cooperation between two partners who can lie naked together without

feeling ashamed. Prostitution is merely a bodily sexual transaction between two unrelated persons who do not commit to partnership with each another. People who participate in this immoral sexual behaviour cannot inherit the Kingdom of God.[16]

Adhering to Scripture, the Christian feminist group opposes absolute freedom for prostitution but espouses disciplined freedom for the forming of a family. However, according to today's definition of secular feminism, everyone is entitled to claim their individual sexual freedom: sex workers can opt to stay or leave the sex trade of their own free will. Nevertheless, according to Scripture, once prostitutes confess and pray, they will be forgiven for their sins.[17]

Li, Xiaojiang: the 1980s Market Feminist

In the field of Chinese literature, women's studies began with the creative work of another Chinese literary feminist Li, Xiaojiang in the 1980s. Barlow contends that Li's 1980s feminist discourse of the "sex gap" addresses the difference and inequality between men and women. Li's market feminism takes economic reform and macroeconomics concerning surplus labour into account. Similar to Marxist feminism, Li's "sex gap" theory is not entirely "essentialism," a kind of feminism based on the sexual differentiation of men and women. It also addresses the capitalist exploitation of the working class and advocates for social responsibility, including caring for the poor. Therefore, Barlow suggests that Li's "sexualist" theory intervened in the national economic development debates that culminated in June 1989 and predicted the establishment of Chinese neoliberalism. Opposed to Chinese neoliberalism, Li's "sexualist" theory belongs to the theory stream of Ellen Key, who advocates for state financial support of "professional" mothers, and whose theory was still Christian-based in 1873.[18]

Parallel to Li's "sex gap" theory, Zhang requested that all of her twenty adopted children call her "father."[19] Owing to the fact that she preferred to remain celibate and was dedicated to her Christian preaching mission, she adopted children instead of getting married. However, she also believed that children could not be well disciplined without a father; therefore, Zhang asked her children to call her "father." Subsequently, Zhang aspired to take over the father's traditional duties in order to better educate her children as a single mother.[20] Even though she was "merely a woman," Zhang wanted to be as powerful as a man. This was Zhang's way

of fighting for gender equality. Similarly, Li used her theory of the "sex gap" to invite public acknowledgement of women's double burden of having to do both unpaid house work and paid work.

Dai, Jinhua: the 1990s Chinese Poststructuralist Feminist

In her book on the history of Chinese literary feminism, Barlow refers to the catachresis of women: she cited Ding's work as the foundation of a progressive Chinese feminism that reflects Maoist nationalism.[21] Ding had drafted Chinese feminism in a way that suited Mao's political project; however, as soon as Ding questioned Mao's definition of "woman," Ding was jailed for two decades. After all, gender equality and women's freedom were not seriously addressed in China before 1966, the beginning of the Chinese Cultural Revolution.[22]

Consequently, women lost their sexual identity as "women" when they tried to behave like "men." The argument of Meng, Yue, cited by Barlow, seems to echo the research of Min, Dongchao, the director of the Centre for Gender and Cultural Studies at Shanghai University, on Chinese feminism.[23] Min critiqued the All-China Women's Federation (ACWF) for intending to achieve the aims of "feminism" by taking part in the Communist Party – Chinese Marxism. To the great disappointment of the Chinese Marxist feminists, the national interests had switched to a neoliberal agenda.[24]

Barlow compares the Mulan archetype expressed by Dai, a 1990s Chinese feminist critic, and Huang, Shuqing, a filmmaker. Dai interviewed Huang in 1993 about Huang's 1987 film – *Woman, Demon, Human* – in which the female protagonist, Qiu, Yun, plays herself, a woman who plays male characters in Beijing opera performing masculinity. In 1995, Dai published a book called *Breaking out of the Mirror City* arguing that disguising a woman as a man does not make her a feminist. No matter what gender women intend to perform, they will find it hard to be able to break through the simulacrum of the symbolic man. Dai often presents herself as espousing 1990s Marxist feminism, which is both her "basic position and research method." Dai argues that Huang's film depicts the impossibility of using the performance of "man" to "liberate" a woman who cannot be seen "as a real man" by a "real" man.[25]

Even though Barlow saw Huang trying to reconfigure the Mulan archetype in her film, I contend that Mulan did not try to liberate herself to be a feminist or to be as strong as man. Mulan disguised herself as a

man and went to war because she did not want her aged father to fight in the battlefield. However, Mulan demonstrated herself to be as strong as a man: no one was able to distinguish Mulan from a man on the battlefield. Huang's reconfiguration of the Mulan archetype in her film failed to represent Mulan's agency in her desire to save her father. Mulan's filial piety is reminiscent of the family values espoused in much of Christian Scripture, distinguishing itself from Huang's feminist advocacy of essentialism and Dai's anti-essentialist poststructuralism.

Comparison between Dai's Poststructuralism and Hockin's Pluralism

In many ways, Dai's poststructuralism parallels Hockin's pluralism. Similar to Susan Strega's feminist poststructuralism, which deconstructs binaries, Dai encourages an approach that eschews the blind belief in Maoist structuralism that prevailed for a long period of time. Dai supports Marxist feminism or social economic theories to shorten the economic distance between the poor and the rich. She fights against capitalism and neoliberalism, which only make the poor poorer and the rich richer. Dai pursues ideas that foster sharing economic profits among the poor. While Dai's poststructuralism focuses on social economy, it shares with Hockin's pluralism an attention to the need for diverse approaches to social issues. In addition to caring for Church finances, Hockin envisioned a multicultural Church foreign ministry that would care for the multiple ethnicities attending the church.[26] The pluralism that Hockin advocates was desperately needed to deal with the Asian child prostitution problem in Chinese communities in the early twentieth century.

Chinese Slave Girls

In Sophia Zhang's time, many young girls who were sold into slavery by their parents to relieve financial burdens were called Chinese slave girls. Mary Louise Fellows and Sherene Razack's interlocking analysis explains the race, class, and gender perspectives that shaped these Chinese slave girls' demography.[27] These intersecting factors construct their respective social group, which interdependently coexisted with the economic and political forces in China. China was the victim of foreign colonization, and its economic resources were squeezed dry by multiple colonizers. Impoverished Chinese families had no other option but to sell their daughters. In regard to this gender discrimination, I contended that

rather than the teachings of Confucianism, the contemporary feudal system in China from the end of the nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century placed women beneath men in terms of their social class.[28] Some Chinese slave girls were either trafficked or kidnapped by the secret society in China and taken to brothels on the west coast of North America, specifically in San Francisco, California or Victoria, British Columbia.

The Oriental Home (a.k.a., the Methodist Chinese Mission) in San Francisco

Reverend Otis Gibson and Mrs. Eliza Chamberlin Gibson brought Methodist women to work at the Oriental Home to rescue Chinese children and women.[29] John Endicott Vrooman Gardner (1863-1943) first volunteered at the Oriental Home in San Francisco and later came to Victoria in January 1885. He saw the plight of the Chinese slave girls who were trafficked. Gardner then appealed to Methodist women, such as Cartmell, to make them understand the need for a home mission and advocated for the establishment of the Oriental Home in Victoria, British Columbia.[30]

The Oriental Home (a.k.a., the Chinese Rescue Home) in Victoria

Other than Christian teachings of moral standards for family formation and sexual conduct,[31] the Home instructed its girls in the skills they needed to make a living without returning to prostitution. Following the policy of the Home in San Francisco, the Home in Victoria made its residents defray their living costs by sewing and cooking; the Home also taught its girls how to read and speak English and Chinese as extra living skills. Because these Home girls needed to work in order to stay at the Home, they were required to declare whether they wanted to stay at the Home or continue their lives as prostitutes. The majority of those who chose to stay at the Home were encouraged to establish their own Christian families; some of them were offered opportunities to enter public schools in order to be trained to serve as a home or foreign missionary.[32]

Having been given the opportunity to train as a missionary, Victoria Cheung (1897-1966) escaped gender discrimination that limited access to higher education for women and broke through racial discrimination characterized as the "yellow peril." In 1931, 98.2% of the women admitted to nursing schools in Canada had Caucasian ancestry. This was a "white

world" phenomenon, and Cheung would not have been able to pursue her studies had she not joined the missionary program at the Home. Cheung's parents were devout Christians who immigrated to Canada in the 1880s. Her mother, a Bible woman and a doctor, taught at the Home, often brought her friends to the Home church, and left her two children with the daycare at the Home. Cheung graduated from Medical school at the University of Toronto in 1922 and went to the Marion Barclay Hospital in China as a foreign missionary in 1923. Knowing that the Great Depression halted many church programs, in 1930 she gave back her scholarship to the WMS in order to make it available for someone who needed it more than she did. When Canadian missionaries were not allowed to stay in China during the Second World War, the civil war, and Mao's rule, Cheung became an invaluable WMS missionary in China. She obtained more funds from the WMS to better manage her Kongmoon project. After the war, although she was wrongfully accused of working as a foreign spy to steal funds, she was later exonerated by the government. She then donated the fine she paid, returned by the state, to her project. The state named her a working-class model and national heroine even though she refused to join the Chinese Communist Party.[33] In contrast to Cheung, Agnes Chan came to the Home as a slave girl from China but eventually shared the same glory as Cheng's colleague. Chan returned to China as a medical foreign missionary.

In addition to having overcome racial and gender discrimination similar to that faced by Cheung, Agnes Chan (1904-1962) also faced class discrimination. Chan was sold by her impoverished parents to Canada as a Chinese slave girl. She also helped her sister escape the fate of prostitution so that her sister too could live an honourable life. Having escaped to the Home, the Home secured financial aid from Manitoba to pay for her boarding fees from 1908 to 1911. Chan excelled in her studies and scored the highest mark on the provincial high school entrance exam among the other 346 successful students who passed. In 1917, the WMS of the Presbyterian Church in Toronto lent her money to rescue her sister who was sold as a slave girl and placed her sister in a school in China while she interpreted for the missionaries in Chinatown. She received training as a nurse in Toronto in 1921 and graduated from the Women's College Hospital in Toronto in 1923. As the number one student of the Obstetrics Department, later in 1924, Chan went to China as a nurse missionary and in 1929 attended an International Congress of Nurses in Montreal. She established the Springfield orphanage in Fatshan, China and rescued many

abandoned children. Agnes was fond of saying, "I wish to have 24 hours instead of 12 hours; I wish to have 10 hands instead of 2 hands to work every day."[34] Chan's name was also mentioned at Denise Chong's 2013 book launch in the Chinese community by one of her adopted children. Chan accepted Christian feminism by using her intellectual abilities to spread the teachings of Christianity.

Chan, Cheung, and Zhang all challenged the Christian tradition of male leadership and are rightly remembered as a group of religious feminists who lived up to Christian values.[35] Cheung broke through race and gender inequality; Chan broke through race, gender, and class inequality after she was sold as a slave girl from China to Canada and again overcame discrimination in her early life in Canada; and Zhang broke gender inequality barriers in her time in China. This same interpretive lens can be applied to Japanese child prostitutes.

Sidney Xu Lu posited that the nation-building project of Japan and its accompanying transition from the Tokugawa *bakufu* (Shogunate) to the Meiji era impoverished its populace.[36] To relieve the economic hardship experienced by the populace, organizations involved in the Japanese sex trade expanded into the overseas markets. The fate of child prostitutes can be explained by Mary Louise Fellows and Sherene Razack's interlocking theory of gender, race, and class. Japanese young girls were burdened with the baggage of Japanese culture and social structure. Born female in impoverished Chinese and Japanese households, young girls were sold into prostitution to save their families from financial ruin.

The Anti-Prostitution Program by Christian Organizations

Tomoko Yamazaki, a Japanese researcher who wrote the history of Japanese overseas sex workers, exposed the hidden truth that Japanese child prostitutes were sex-trafficked from Japan to the South Pacific in the early twentieth century. Sidney Xu Lu further reported how Yamamura Gumpei (1872-1940), a Japanese Salvation Army leader, strategized a social-reform program to replace Japanese sex workers with Japanese *tairiku* (continental) brides. Gumpei placed Japanese sex workers in the homes of Japanese families in Manchuria or American families in California to perform domestic work. In addition to addressing the shortage of housemaid services in Manchuria or America, this change in work helped alleviate the spreading of venereal disease in the Japanese communities.[37] Yamamuro even went one step further to propose

transforming Japanese prostitutes in North America by classifying them as Japanese picture brides. This is where Canadian Christian home missions – the Oriental Home – came into play: to promote the program of Japanese picture brides.[38]

The Cameron House: From Prostitution to Salvation

The picture bride program, under the auspices of the Christian organizations, had the unintended effect of pioneering feminist thought at the turn of the twentieth century in the Japanese communities on the west coast of North America. As an anti-prostitution social reform movement, it provided an escape from the sex trade, allowing sex workers to present themselves as picture brides. It also allowed pimps to abduct or trap young Japanese women. Waka Yamada, a young woman who met the wife of a successful Japanese business man, was impressed by the riches in America described by the woman, and crossed the Pacific Ocean sometime after 1895. Having arrived in Victoria, Yamada was taken to Seattle and worked as a prostitute. In 1903, she escaped to the Donaldina Cameron House (sometimes referred to as the Chinese Missionary Homes) in San Francisco. The Cameron House was operating during the same period as the Oriental Home in San Francisco and Victoria. Here she learned the language skills necessary for economic independence: speaking and writing English. Then, she married Kakichi Yamada in either 1904 or 1905. After the earthquake in 1906, Waka left for Japan with her husband.[39] Yamada's experience unexpectedly served as a catalyst for her becoming a Japanese literary feminist.

From Salvation to Feminism

From the perspective of feminist thought, Yamada opted to follow the Christian teachings on sexual behavior and moral standards for forming family. Because she had benefited from being rescued by the Cameron House, Yamada applied the Christian teachings that she had learned there to the women in need in Japan. Yamada was one of the leaders of the Japanese feminist movements from the 1910s to the 1930s. Soon after Yamada returned to Japan, she joined the *Seito* (Bluestocking) group (1911-1916) with other prominent Japanese feminists such as Hiratsuka Raicho and Yosano Akiko. Following the demise of the Bluestocking magazine in 1916, Yamada participated in the Association

of New Women in the 1920s, continuing to fight for women's rights, social reform, and childcare. She wrote as a columnist for the *Asahi* Newspaper's "personal advice columns," similar to the popular "Dear Abby" column, in order to help Japanese women solve their personal problems including what to do if you were raped by a burglar and got pregnant. She also increased the newspaper's circulation to two million.[40]

Yamada was influenced by the theory of protective motherhood and childcare advocated by Ellen Key (1849-1926), a Swedish feminist. Key considered that motherhood should be professional and proposed public financing for women to raise their children.[41] Key's paradigm of "maternalism" can be seen in the memorandum that she wrote in 1893: "if he (Jean-Jacques Rousseau) raised his own five children, he would not have written *Emile*." Ronny Ambjörnsson, a Professor Emeritus in History of Ideas and Science at University of Umeå Sweden, commented on Key's statement: "The books became Rousseau's children. One could probably say the same of Ellen Key." Based on his comment, Ambjörnsson seems to hint that neither Rousseau nor Key had a child.[42] Key further wrote about Rousseau that "the absence of venting" his "feelings in action made the feeling of the ideal so passionately intense."[43] This explains why Key, unable to have a child, desired one. Similarly, Yamada was unable to conceive and desired to have a child. Therefore, Yamada agreed with Key's "maternalism" and advised the pregnant woman to keep her child regardless of the circumstances in which it was conceived. In this way, I argue that Yamada supports Key's advocacy of state financial support for professional motherhood.

The Transnational Feminism in China and Japan: The Maternalism

Similarly, Ambjörnsson's words can also explain why Yamada adopted her niece and her husband's nephew as her own children.[44] Chan adopted many children at the Springfield orphanage; Cheung adopted one son to continue her family-line; Zhang adopted 20 children even though she never married.[45] Everyone in this Christian feminist group adopted children and seemed to be invested in Key's paradigm of "maternalism."

However, Yamazaki points out a dispute between *Seitō*'s members regarding Key's "maternalism" while Barlow treats Hiratsuka Raichō and Yosano Akiko's theories as belonging to the same stream. Relying on Key's concept of "maternalism," Yosano urged Japanese women's absolute economic independence while Hiratsuka defended her interpreta-

tion of Key's "The Renaissance of Maternity," as a state sponsorship for Japanese "professional" motherhood. As a consequence, Kikue Yamakawa accused Hiratsuka of communist revisionism and Yosano of being a capitalist unconcerned about the plight of poor mothers.[46] Meanwhile Barlow made no distinction between Key, Yamakawa, and Yosano's theoretical approaches. Barlow pointed out that the progressive feminism of Gao Xian and his contemporaries established interlocutory relations with Key, Yamakawa and Yosano. And by translating Yamakawa and Yosano's literatures, Chinese theorists effectively treated Yamakawa and Yosano as though they were part of the same school.[47]

Although Yamada concurred with Key's "maternalism," Yamada also advocated a women's right to live an independent life away from prostitution by establishing the Hatagaya School. After her school was burned down during an air raid in 1945, the Hatagaya Girls School was rebuilt in 1947. Yamada aimed to have women learn skills that would make them employable, such as dressmaking or knitting, to start a new life. However, some Hatagaya women surrendered to their material desires and dropped out of the school. Some of them stole from the school, taking sewing machines, which were hard to replace. According to the Welfare statistics, 92 women in 1948 were admitted but only 21 resumed an "honest" life. Nevertheless, her school successfully converted Noda Ineko, a Japanese girl who was arrested a number of times after being forced into prostitution, into a bride after three years in the program.[48] Yamada espoused the prohibition of prostitution and established a rescue home for mothers and children in Tokyo, similar to the Cameron House, to provide a way for women to avoid prostitution.

Conclusion

Key's maternalism was influential for the foundation of Chinese communist progressive feminism and Japanese socialist feminism in the 1920s and 1930s. According to Barlow and Yamazaki, Key's feminist idea of motherhood was welcomed by the members of Japanese feminist group *Seito*, including Yamada.[49] Yamada distinguished herself as a Japanese literary feminist. After World War II, she also set up facilities to limit prostitution and help children and their mothers. According to Hu, Zhang was seen to follow a Chinese primordial Mulan archetype, despite the fact that American missionaries had travelled to China to convert Zhang to Christianity. After embracing Christianity, Zhang asserted her female

power in the 1911 Chinese Revolution. Chan and Cheung continued to demonstrate Chinese filial piety toward their natal families.[50] Initially, Chan and Cheung had travelled to Canada and experienced cultural contacts with Christians. Eventually, both of them repatriated to China as Christian missionaries. Moreover, all of them followed Christian teaching on family formation and sexual conduct. Although none bore their own children, they all endeavoured to play a role of quasi-or ersatz- mother. These liberated Chinese and Japanese women, in turn, influenced women's rights in China, Japan, and North America. Through their feminisms, they rescued Asian people in China, Japan, and North America and gave them the chance to enjoy a better life and equal opportunities transnationally.

In the high middle ages, many devout Christian women addressed Jesus as a mother in their feminine imagery.[51] The maternal quality of this earlier Christian devotion is paralleled by the Protestant women missionaries who protected Asian victims of sex-trafficking and led them to a life of Christian faith. These rescued women expressed their gratitude by sharing this piety with their respective societies and communities in Asia, acting in maternal figures. In this way, North American missionary societies contributed to the formation of international maternal feminism as it was established by Chan, Cheung, Yamada, and Zhang.

Without understanding the context of Christian missionary history, the feminism of Christian women such as Chan, Cheung, and Zhang might be difficult to understand inasmuch as it does not conform to the model of literary feminism. Chinese Christian feminists were not considered Chinese literary feminists because they did not participate in the theorization of Chinese feminism and were not recognized by subsequent Chinese literary feminists, despite their contribution to their local communities through their social work.

Although Makau W. Mutua, a Kenyan-American law professor, argues that a human rights movement cannot succeed unless it stops working with the savage-victims-saviors (SVS) metaphor, matrons at the Cameron house and the Oriental Home seemed to reproduce the salvation model.[52] The church organizations in San Francisco, California and Victoria, British Columbia not only spread Christian teachings but also rescued many Chinese and Japanese women from sex-slavery, undoubtedly helping those destitute and abused women.

Canadian foreign missionaries initially established women's education to foster self-respect among local Chinese and Japanese women in Japan and China. Also, home missionaries in North America instructed

Home girls in living skills and the moral standards derived from denominational teaching so that the Home girls did not have to depend on prostitution to survive. Repatriated foreign missionaries such as Chan and Cheung were able to receive Canadian funds to continue their missionary projects in China when all of the Canadian foreign missionaries were driven out of China. Meanwhile, local orphans, refugees, and patients in China benefitted from the repatriated Canadian foreign missionaries through their medical expertise and familiarity with specific Chinese dialects. After all, foreign and home missions proved to be fruitful in the fostering of Chinese and Japanese feminists and established good examples for others to follow.

The institutional principles of Yamada's Hatagaya Girls School, the Oriental Home, and the Cameron House parallel Hockin's pluralism in its employment of a diversity of approaches for serving the multiple ethnicities who attend church. The legacy of Chan's orphanage, Cheung's Kongmoon project, and Zhang's big family of 20 adopted children also parallel Hockin's pluralism. Moreover, Hockin's pluralism parallels Dai's Chinese Marxist feminism (poststructuralism), grounded in social economic theory. Thus, a common culture of transnational feminism existed in Asia in the 1920s and 1930s defined by a motherly love that nurtured the generations to come. These historical examinations of gender studies have also benefitted theological studies by providing additional accounts that nuance an understanding of church history. The feminism that Chan, Cheung, Zhang, and Yamada promoted, rooted in home or foreign missionary teachings, demonstrates the reciprocal relationship between theological studies and women's studies.

Endnotes

1. The Board of Editors of Toyo Eiwa Girls' Academy, *Kanada Fujin Senkyōshi Monogatari [The Story of Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries]* (Tokyo: Toyo Eiwa Jogakuin [Girls' Academy], 2010); Tomoko Yamazaki, *Ameyuki-san no Uta: Yamada Waka no Sūkinaru Shōgai [The Song of an Ameyuki Girl: The Vicissitudes of Yamada Waka's Life]* (Tokyo: Bungeishunjū, 1978); Tomoko Yamazaki, *The Story of Yamada Waka: From Prostitute to Feminist Pioneer*, trans. Wakako Hironaka and Ann Kostant (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1985), 24-159.

2. Ellen M. Umansky, "Women in Judaism: From the Reform Movement to Contemporary Jewish Religious Feminism," in *Women of Spirit*, eds. Rosemary Ruether and Eleanor McLaughlin (New York: Simon and Schuster,

1979), 334; Beth Profit, "Christianizing the Social Order: The Roles of Women in the Social Gospel Fiction of Nellie McClung and Ralph Connor," *Toronto Journal of Theology* 12, no. 2 (1996): 201-3, 205; Phyllis D. Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 10, 21, 124, 126, 186; Diakonia of the United Church of Canada, "The Martha Cartmell Story," https://www.ducc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/The-Martha-Cartmell-Story-founder-of-Methodist-school-in-Toyko.pdf; Woman's Missionary Society, *Annual Report of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church in Canada for the Year 1881-2*, 30.

3. Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment, and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 29-30, 59, 63, 100, 107, 111, 205, 208. Phyllis D. Airhart, "'Sweeter Manners, Purer Laws': Women as Temperance Reformers in Late-Victorian Canada," *Touchstone* 9, no. 3 (1991): 22; Woman's Missionary Society, *Annual Report of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church in Canada for the Year 1881-2,* 30.

4. Board of Editors, *Kanada Fujin,* 18, 22-23, 26-27, 51. *Anne of Green Gables* is well known for its use of scriptural references.

5. When Hanako Muraoka studied at the Toyo Eiwa Girls' Academy, she was under the supervision of Blackmore, the school principal at the time. Muraoka was also with Hiroko Katayama at the Toyo Eiwa Girls' Academy. See Board of Editors, *Kanada Fujin,* 40-51.

6. Suping Lu, ed., *Terror in Minnie Vautrin's Nanjing: Diaries and Correspondence, 1937-38* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), xix-xxi, xxiii-xxxvii, xxvii-xxviii.

7. Phyllis D. Airhart has documented Hockin's achievements as a theological feminist. See Airhart, *A Church with the Soul of a Nation*, 69, 99, 241, 254; Katharine Hockin, "My Pilgrimage in Mission," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 12 (January 1988): 23-28, 30. Linda Ambrose also considers women in Pentecostalism in her new new book with Michael Wilkinson *After the Revival: Pentecostalism and the Making of a Canadian Church* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020).

8. Guangzhou Shawan Ancient Town Tourism Development Co. Ltd., "Famous Figures in Shawan," http://www.shawanguzhen.com/en/content/?161.html. Ying Hu, *Tales of Translation: Composing the New Woman in China, 1899-1918* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 150.

9. Xinlu Zhang, *Detailed Explanation of the Mulan Poem* (Taipei: Zhizhi Xueshu Chubanshe, 2015), 13, 16-7, 35, 42, 52-3,168, 177; Qing Yang, "Mulan in China and America: From Premodern to Modern," *Comparative Literature*: East & West 2, no. 1 (2018): 49-50, 55-6.

10. Hu, *Tales of Translation,* 147, 150.

11. Guangzhou Shawan Ancient Town Tourism Development Co. Ltd.

12. Hu, *Tales of Translation,* 145-8. Lily Xiao Hong Lee and A.D. Stefanowska, eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women: The Qing Period, 1644-1911* (Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 1998), 310-3.

13. Tani E. Barlow, *The Question of Women in Chinese Feminism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 357.

14. Barlow, *Women in Chinese Feminism,* 150.

15. Barlow, *Women in Chinese Feminism,* 133.

16. *The Harper Collins Study Bible: New Revised Standard Version* (San Francisco: Society of Biblical Literature, 1989), 1938-9; Lee and Stefanowska, *Biographical Dictionary,* 312.

17. *The Harper Collins Study Bible,* 2055; Jas. 2.25-6, 5:15-6 NRSV; Lisa C. Ikenmoto, "Reproductive Rights and Justice: A Multiple Feminist Theories Account," in *Research Handbook on Feminist Jurisprudence*, eds. Robin West and Cinthia Bowman, (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2019), 249-263.

18. Barlow, *Women in Chinese Feminism,* 282, 295-7, 302; Yamazaki, *The Story of Yamada Waka*, 120, 122-3, 129; Barbara Miller Lane, "An Introduction to Ellen Key's 'Beauty in the Home,'" in *Modern Swedish Design: Three Founding Texts*. (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2008), 19-31.

19. Barlow, *Women in Chinese Feminism,* 296, 302, 307, 355, 357. Lee and Stefanowska, *Biographical Dictionary,* 313.

20. Lee and Stefanowska, *Biographical Dictionary, 311*.

21. Barlow, *Women in Chinese Feminism,* 127-252.

22. Ding was incarcerated for questioning the subject of women in Chinese feminism, charged with political crimes in 1958, and held for twenty years. See Barlow, *Women in Chinese Feminism,* 189, 194, 253-4.

23. Barlow, *Women in Chinese Feminism,* 275; Yue Meng, "Female Image and National Myth," in *Gender Politics in Modern China: Writing and Feminism*, ed. Tani E. Barlow (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 118-36.

24. Dongchao Min, "Toward an alternative traveling theory," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 39, no. 3 (2014): 586-7.

25. Barlow, *Women in Chinese Feminism,* 302, 335-9.

26. Peter S. Li, ed., *Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press Canada, 1990), 6; Airhart, *A Church with the Soul of a Nation*, 69, 99, 241, 254; Phyllis D. Airhart, Marilyn J. Legge, and Gary L. Redcliffe, eds., *Doing Ethics in a Pluralistic World: Essays in Honour of Roger C. Hutchinson* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2002).

27. Mary Louise Fellows and Sherene Razack, "The Race to Innocence: Confronting Hierarchical Relations among Women," *The Journal of Gender, Race & Justice*, 1 (Spring 1998), 335-6, 339, 352.

28. Gender inequality existed everywhere, especially in the feudal society, which placed women beneath men. This phenomenon is represented in the *The Book of Poetry* as it depicts the customs of feudal society. Gender inequality had nothing to do with Confucianism, which only made up a small part of academic thought in Confucius' time. See Barlow, 87-9; Xinlu Zhang, *Detailed Explanation of the Mulan Poem*, 177; and Benson Tong, *Unsubmissive Women: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 41.

29. Jeffrey L. Staley, "'Gum Moon': The First Fifty Years of Methodist Women's Work in San Francisco Chinatown, 1870-1920," *Journal of the San Francisco Museum and Historical Society* 16, no. 1 (2005): 1-2, 5, 15; and Tong, *UnSubmissive Women,* 62, 73, 188.

30. S. S. Osterhout, *Orientals in Canada: The Story of the Work of the United Church of Canada with Asiatics in Canada* (Toronto: General Publicity and Missionary Education of the United Church of Canada, 1929), 76; Ngai, *The Lucky Ones: One Family and the Extraordinary Invention of Chinese America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 250; Marilyn Färdig Whiteley, ed., *The Life and Letters of Annie Leake Tuttle: Working for the Best* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999), 66; and Rosemary R. Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

31. Gen. 1.27, 2.18, 2.24, 2.25 NRSV; Lev. 18:1-30 NRSV.

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44. The child of Waka's adopted child refused to admit Waka's past experience as a prostitute; he felt the shame even though his adoptive grandmother was forced to do prostitution. See Yamazaki, *Story of Yamada Waka*, 40.

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47. I assume that Barlow's Chinese stream of sexuality theory is about heteronormativity because she thought that "woman's contribution to national development is her reproductive labour" and Barlow questioned whether women and men's "drive to bisexual species propagation [could] be blunted." See Barlow, *Women in Chinese Feminism,* 66, 85-7, 101.

48. Yamazaki, *Story of Yamada Waka*, 155-7.

49. Torborg Lundel, "Ellen Key," 352; Yamazaki, *Story of Yamada Waka*, 120, 122-3, 129; and Barlow, *Women in Chinese Feminism,* 64-6, 86, 114, 145.

50. Daubs, "They Said I was too Tall"; and Price and Ningping "A True Trailblazer . . ."

51. Professor Phyllis D. Airhart was sympathetic in her understanding of the difficulty of doing research during the COVID-19 pandemic. She was kind enough to make her personal collection at Emmanuel College available to me. Among the books obtained from Professor Airhart for this paper was Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

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CSCH President's Address 2020

Of Piety and Pandemics: The Canadian Society of Church History Enters its Sixties

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I'd like to begin by acknowledging that I am speaking to you from the traditional ancestral unceded territory of the Sto:lo people. The majority of you will probably be listening from a different Indigenous ancestral territorial location. Take a moment to acknowledge your location. As you take that moment – and especially if you are a Canadian – ask yourself what actions you are taking to move towards reconciliation with indigenous Canadians. Patricia Victor, our University Siya:m (a Sto:lo word for respected elder) at Trinity Western University reminds us often that Indigenous protocols and land acknowledgements are not hoops to jump through; they are one aspect of learning to walk well together. In a time of tremendous global upheaval, Congress 2020's theme, "Bridging Divides: Confronting Colonialism and Anti-Black Racism," has given us an opportunity to confront our own colonialism and anti-black racism. May we learn and act in ways that promote justice.

Friends, if you are listening to this virtual presidential address "live" (as opposed to reading it after printing), I want to pause at the outset and give us a few minutes to congratulate ourselves on making it to the end of the Virtual CSCH 2020 Annual General Meeting. The Canadian Society of Church History's sixtieth birthday is one for the record books. Let us consider, momentarily, that our little society did it! Granted, we would never have been able to accomplish this significant feat were it not for the

incredible support of the Federation of Humanities and Social Sciences and the work of our program chair, Bruce Douville. Back in March, which feels like years ago, when I attended the Federation meeting where the announcement was made that Congress 2020 would be virtual, I assumed that we, like most other scholarly associations, would cancel our conference this year. I believe I said as much when I called a meeting of our executive. Bruce, however, encouraged us to consider the possibility of moving our annual general meeting online. With the extensive support of the Federation, we have done something remarkable, something worth a rousing three cheers and a stirring huzzah.

I think it is important for us all to acknowledge the current historical moment. In the past few months each of us has undergone a tsunami of emotions and experiences as we "pivoted" from life as we knew it to our present state. We could fill a dictionary with words like pivot – or unprecedented – that we did not think would ever get as much use as they have in the past three months. Many, though not all, of us have undertaken the mammoth task of moving our classes from face-to-face to online delivery (I should add that I am very aware that I speak from the incredibly privileged position of being a tenured professor). In our haste to act quickly without upsetting the semester too much for our students, we raced to figure out Zoom, our campuses' Learning Management Systems, HyFlex learning, multi-access learning, and how to un-mute ourselves when it is our turn to speak on Zoom. Suddenly we were spending more time in front of our screens than ever before.

Overnight it seems, our lives became virtual as our daily commute became much shorter, moving us from one room in our home to another, or perhaps only from one end of a room to the other. We learned to wash our hands; we learned that we touch our faces far more than we thought we had; we learned that two metres is the wingspan of an eagle, the length of a moose, a caribou, a snowmobile, a hockey stick, the space occupied by four ravens, one mountain lion, three Canada geese, or two arm-lengths (although that is an ageist and ableist measurement if you're a child, a little person, or physically disabled). Across the country we could tune in daily at 1100 Eastern to monitor the growth of Justin Trudeau's hair. We can probably all name our own chief provincial health officer. How many of us could have done that at the end of 2019?

And the cancellations. We can all itemize multiple cancellations. One after the other, we watched conferences get cancelled. Graduations, too, were cancelled or postponed until such time as it will be safe for us to

gather in large groups again. Research trips have been cancelled. Family gatherings and face-to-face coffees, dinners, and drinks with friends have been cancelled. And I have not even touched on sports, theatre, concerts, and major summer fairs and festivals. Some of us have lost loved ones during this pandemic. Whether those deaths were due to COVID-19 itself or another reason, our capacity to say goodbye in person, or to gather and mourn our loss, has been hampered by necessary public health limitations brought on by this pandemic. So many of the rituals with which we mark the passage of time each year have been cancelled or changed in ways that make them almost unrecognizable. As much as possible we have moved everything we can online, including this conference. I would like to thank each and every one of you who has given a paper, attended a session, or participated in any way in this conference. Your commitment – your faithfulness – to this society and its annual gathering is evidence of the strength of our community. Those of us who have been around the Canadian Society of Church History for a number of years will attest to the warm sense of community that draws us back together year after year.

Here we are celebrating the sixtieth birthday of the society. We are not gathered physically in London, Ontario where we might even have been able to share a candle-less birthday cake ("in these times of COVID" as my eight-year-old granddaughter says, we cannot have people blowing on anything someone else might consume). Instead, we are spread across the country trying our best to recreate the sense of community that replenishes us each year at our annual conference. We are tired. It turns out that Zoom calls and staring at screens day in and day out is exhausting. We do not even need a study to give us evidence for this truth, although these studies exist.[1] We know this truth; we feel it in the deepest part of our being. If you are like me, you have not really paused since the beginning of March when our lives changed so drastically. We moved our courses online. We met contracted deadlines for publications, or we did not meet them but worked hard to get there anyway. We stumbled over the finish line for the semester. But it did not stop there. In addition to our regularly programmed summer research and writing, we now face the certainty that the academic year ahead will also be virtual. Any suggestion otherwise is unrealistic.[2] If a COVID-19 vaccine is successfully tested and deployed, it is possible that we *may* be back in the physical classroom in late 2021/early 2022.

We will never be back to "normal." As historians we know that. We know that the worlds before and after watershed events are different. They

may be similar, but they are not the same. And, for all the blustery talk of back to normal, or back to normal but better, that we are hearing from some politicians today, we as historians know that the normal of December 2019 is not going to re-materialize. We are not going back in time. The economic and psychological impact of the COVID-19 pandemic will be with us for some time.

For my presidential address, then, I hope you will indulge me as we do something a bit different. Like CSCH presidents before me, I have read previous presidential addresses. It was both pleasant and enlightening remembering past conferences along with their presidents' addresses and learning from those that pre-dated me. Alas, I have no insider memories of our founders to offer, nor after this past semester do I feel equal to the task of recounting our society's history. While I do think I have a unique perspective about historical actors on the margins, I have no unique methodology to offer. I have neither the wisdom nor gravitas of presidents who have preceded me, although like Sandra Beardsall, I do not intend to be a disappearing past president. I have nothing catchy to add: no Methodist circuit riders with books or guns, no three-headed calves, and no post-colon-ist witticisms (a la Jaime Robertson). If ever there was a time that we have been forced to "adjust the sails," using Marilyn Färdig Whiteley's term, this year has been it.

Given the age of our society and the format of our conference as well as of this address, I thought it would be a good time to slow down for a moment, to pause and reflect on our society at sixty. What can we say about our sixty-year-old society, other than that, by virtue of age alone, CSCH is entering a period in which it is at higher risk for complications from COVID-19? What we can learn from this moment as we look forward to post-pandemic CSCH conferences?

I would like to begin with an interactive exercise, just to make sure you're still out there. On your computer or handheld device, please go to www.menti.com and enter the code on the screen. I have two menti interactive exercises and we will take a few minutes to work through these.

> Menti.com – what are you grieving? These are things unrelated to CSCH directly.
> Menti.com – what are you missing, or did you miss, most about CSCH this year?

We are feeling our losses. They hurt. As we have identified the things we have missed most about this year's conference format, we have identified what we value most about our scholarly association. As we move into the future, we need to keep these values in mind as we consider things we *must* change and things we *might* change.

We know from multiple studies by higher education strategists that universities are going to be changed by the current health and economic crisis. In a recent op-ed in *University Affairs*, Ken Steele, who runs eduvation.ca, suggested a number of consequences of the pandemic on planning for delivery of course material in this upcoming academic year.[3] They are: 1) equity and inclusion will be major challenges; 2) pedagogical innovation will accelerate; 3) university finances will be in crisis; and 4) the university will endure. Let us consider Steele's final point first – "the university will endure." Steele contends:

> Pandemics have disrupted higher education in centuries past, driving scholars from campus and depressing enrolments, but the academy ultimately survived, and emerged transformed by the experience. Academic communities remain essential to our society and economy, advancing knowledge through the interplay of intellect and ideas. This crisis may have stripped away many rituals and traditional trappings of campus life, but it has also cleared our calendars and our minds, reinvigorated our pedagogy and relaxed unnecessary policies, giving us an unprecedented opportunity to rethink our work and reinvent our institutions.

History and the humanities in general (including theology and religious studies) have been under serious pressure since the economic crisis of 2008. History departments across North America have watched enrollments dwindle. According to an American Historical Association study, "of all the major disciplines, history has seen the steepest declines in the number of bachelor's degrees awarded."[4] While we have no clear statistical study for Canadian universities, the attrition is similar.[5] At large public universities as well as at small private liberal arts universities, where history should be at the heart of the curriculum, we find ourselves under increasing pressure to justify our existence. Most recently, in a shocking example of short-sightedness, a private Christian university in Virginia, Liberty University, eliminated its philosophy program. Not that Liberty University is an example that the majority of reasoned scholars would want to emulate, but for those of us who teach at faith-based institutions, we cannot help but wonder if the outright cancellation of humanities programs is the canary in the coal mine in a landscape of incredible economic uncertainty.

But this pandemic has shown the world what we historians already know: history matters, historians matter, the history of religion matters. Historians around the world have offered blog posts about past pandemics to provide context for the current one.[6] Church historians like us have used those fora to reflect on Christian responses to the current and past pandemics. As John Fea, our International Keynote Speaker two years ago has commented in his book *Why Study History: Reflecting on the Importance of the Past*, historians might "alert us to potential present-day behavior by reminding us of what happened in an earlier era."[7] Much of this behaviour has been inspiring. Today, as in the past, individuals and groups have stepped forward in service to one another, to our communities, and to our country. Those who have been unable to donate their services have often donated money. All of these acts of service have reminded us that "we are all in this together."

Even so, historians remind us that citizens and governments have not always responded sympathetically to horrendous public health crises. Jim Downs recalls for us the lack of intervention in the smallpox epidemic of the 1860s that killed more than 49,000 Americans in southern states. He also points to the lack of political intervention in the 1980s AIDS epidemic, arguing that some political leaders "barely acknowledge[d] its existence." When these epidemics ravaged minority groups – African Americans and gay men, respectively – "racial discrimination, homopho-

bia, stigma, and apathy" determined the public response.[8]

As church historians we know that Christians have not always responded charitably in times of pandemic. The bubonic plague, that endemic pestilence that became pandemic seventeen times between its first appearance in 1347-50 and its last in 1664-67,[9] was often interpreted as God's wrath poured out on both the righteous and unrighteous. Quaker leader George Whitehead's memoirs described the situation in 1665 plague-ridden London during a time of extreme religious persecution against dissenters, especially Quakers:

> God was pleased even then, in the year 1665, to hasten his heavy judgment and sad calamity of the great plague, or raging pestilence upon the said city, and some other places in the land, whereby many thousands of the inhabitants died . . . Though the calamity was common to all classes, yet were the righteous taken away from the evil to come, and it went ill with the wicked; but for all this they would not return to the Lord; neither would the cruel persecutors repent of their abominable cruelties, but persisted therein as far as they could; disturbing our meetings and imprisoning, until they were frightened with the plague . . . As the contagion and sickness increased, many of our persecutors were so terrified, that their hands were for some time weakened; yet still many of them were so hardened that they were resolved to proceed against us unto banishment: as when Pharaoh saw there was respite, he hardened his heart, so did our persecutors.[10]

London city records tabulate 68,596 deaths from the epidemic. Scholars suggest that deaths exceeded 100,000 out of a total population estimated at 460,000.[11] While a 22% death rate in the final pandemic of bubonic plague was less than half that of the 1347-50 pandemic, which killed 50% of the population of Europe, 22% is a considerable number. Those confined to jails, or living in mean conditions, would have experienced considerably higher mortality. It is little wonder that Whitehead titled his 1665 epistle to Friends, *This is an Epistle for the Remnant of Friends and Chosen of God, Whom He Hath yet Preserved to Bear Testimony in and about the City of London.*[12] In his epistle, Whitehead assured "the remnant" of Quakers (or perhaps he was trying to convince himself) that, "God who hath given us strength and courage to stand in an evil day over Hell and Death and the Devil with all his fiery assaults against the Righteous, and that the Lord hath yet spared, and will

spare a Remnant to bear his mark and name upon Earth, and to hold forth a living testimony for his glory and praise amongst the Sons of men."[13]

Historians know that the historical actors who live through pandemics often interpret them differently than the historians who come afterward with the benefit of hindsight, distance, and more than a single perspective. As a dissenter who had experienced tortuous persecution at the hands of the Church of England, Whitehead situated the pandemic within a particular set of religious beliefs. Non-dissenters approached the plague in the same way with a different set of religious beliefs.[14] We see similar religious responses to today's COVID-19 pandemic. John Piper, council member of the Gospel Coalition, "a group of pastors and churches in the Reformed tradition that put the gospel of Jesus Christ at the center of all activities,"[15] runs a blog called *Desiring God*. Recently Piper invited Rosaria Butterfield to write a guest post on his blog. Butterfield is a former English professor at Syracuse University; she is an ex-lesbian who converted to conservative evangelicalism, married a man, and became a parent. In her guest post, Butterfield suggested that the current pandemic is a "surprising answer to prayer." She reasons thus: churches have rallied to support the elderly and immunocompromised with meal preparation and delivery or shopping for essentials, God has destroyed "idols . . . both national and personal," and for the first time in years there will be no gay pride parades in June.[16] Butterfield concludes that God has answered the prayers of faithful cis-gender, straight Christians against queer people – Christian or not – by depriving them of an "affirming audience who can sway others to its side," and "denying them the oxygen that this particular fire [of sexual identity] needs."[17] As someone who actively and consistently advocates for LGBTQ+ students at a private Christian university that staked its reputation on a "traditional" definition of marriage, I disagree with this particular interpretation. Just as I do not think God brought plague to London to kill off religious enemies on both sides of the dissenting divide, I do not think God caused the current pandemic to cancel Pride.[18] As historians, we seek more complex explanations for such catastrophic events.

History – the practice of studying and analyzing the past, not the past itself – saves us from myopia. Historical inquiry forces us to confront our own limited perspective and abilities as we wrestle with the complexity of the past. As John Fea writes, history requires humility, not pronouncements; "perhaps more than any other discipline, [history] teaches this sense of limits."[19] We also require empathy in order to understand, but

not excuse, the people of the past. History can help us respond to the present crisis more thoughtfully. A longer view of events whose causes are complicated but knowable, and whose consequences are serious, but difficult to predict, can help us to determine our way forward in the difficult months ahead. Moreover, as Fea has contended, historians can help cultivate the habits and traits of citizenship, "necessary for a thriving democracy." Habits and virtues like "empathy, humility, and selflessness" are badly needed in our present world.

History requires that we think critically about the world around us. Done properly, we evaluate information and its sources, whether the source of that information is from scientists, journalists, political leaders, or social media connections. As Samuel S. Wineburg has argued in *Why Learn History (When It's Already on Your Phone)*, proper lateral reading is not part of being a digital native. Gen Z and all those who come after them may be completely at home in a digital environment; that does not mean they can navigate its pitfalls without properly learning the importance of lateral reading and critical thinking.[20] As Wineburg says, "historians have a crucial role in helping young people navigate the shoals of unreliable, solid, false, true, dependable, and rickety information that confront us. The connections between the historical thinking that we've developed in print sources, and the kind of historical thinking that we need to engage in digital sources, those connections are inchoate but are begging to be developed." Importantly, "[t]he future of the past may be on our screens. But its fate rests in our hands."[21]

We cannot go back, but how do we go forward? Let's consider again the three areas Ken Steele identified as certain challenges for universities and those who populate them in the academic year ahead: 1) equity and inclusion; 2) the necessity of pedagogical innovation; and 3) the crisis of university finances. As a scholarly society that is dependent on those who populate universities, the Canadian Society of Church History will certainly feel the impact of these challenges. What does this mean for our small sixty-year old society? Undoubtedly, our small size may have worked in our favour this year as we moved our conference online. As a small association, we had the capacity for nimbleness to move into a virtual platform not afforded to the larger societies for whom the logistics would have been overwhelming. Moreover, as a small society dependent on the labour of volunteers, we have not had to face the financial impact of maintaining an administrative office in straitened circumstances. One the one hand, in addition to Congress itself, I am sure many of us have

born witness to the casualties of large conferences being cancelled. In this way, then, our small size has provided us with the capacity to be flexible.

On the other hand, without the support of the Federation we would never have been able to pull this off. From Swoogo to Zoom to streaming to YouTube to IT support from AV-Canada, the technical and technological infrastructure support for this conference has been immense. With the benefit of all this support, we have been able to innovate. It has been a steep learning curve, but we have done it. Are we prepared to carry this innovation forward into future conferences and between conferences? Once we are permitted to gather in large groups again, are we prepared to commit to including digital conferencing mechanisms as a central part of our annual general meeting in order to expand attendance to those who are unable to travel whether that is because of age or financial resources? I know we have had Skype presentations or papers read in absentia in the past, but this was always a reactive not proactive approach. If equity and inclusion matter to us, how will we act to make CSCH more equitable and more inclusive beyond the face-to-face conferences? Integrating more accessible digital platforms for our conference and ensuring accessible e-commerce functionality on our website will require some changes. It will be a lot of work and some – perhaps even many, if not all – of us are uncomfortable with change.

The Canadian Society of Church History has stood the test of time. At sixty years of age, we have a few aches and pains, but this conference has shown us that we are not too old that we are unable to change. We must confront colonialism and anti-black racism. We must readjust our lives to account for COVID-19. We may need to change some things, but it is going to be okay. We've got this.

Endnotes

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