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A paper that was presented to the Canadian Society of Church History in 2018 and accidentally omitted in *Historical Papers 2018* is being included in this issue. We apologize to the author for any inconvenience.

Please Note

The following papers were presented to the Canadian Society of Church History in 2019, but were not made available for publication: Ryan Lux, "Churches for Sale: A Social History of Church Closure in Quebec, 1960-present"; Ji-il Tark, "Frank W. Schofield and the Korean Independence Movement in 1919"; Sheng-Ping Guo, "The Rise of Charismatic Network in

God Goes Underground: The Involvement of Churches in Early Twentieth-Century Cape Breton Labour Disputes

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> On 30 July [1909, United Mine Workers] supporters marched in a parade from Glace Bay to the neighbouring coal town of Dominion . . . Here the town council had favoured the calling of troops, and when the UMW parade was announced, the town council had passed a by-law prohibiting parades without proper permits. As the parade proceeded through downtown Glace Bay, past several collieries and on towards Dominion, there were some 3,000 people in the line of march. President Dan McDougall, mounted on a white horse, led the way. Flags and banners were held high, and songs of the strike filled the air.
>
> Along the boundary line between Glace Bay and Dominion there ran a small creek, crossed by a wooden bridge. On the far side of the creek on a small height of land commanding the roadway, stood the Church of the Immaculate Conception. The soldiers were there in force, standing at attention with fixed bayonets. On the steps of the church the soldiers had mounted their guns. The parade stopped. A town councillor came rushing up to McDougall, breathless with information: "For God's sake, Dan, don't come any further. The soldiers have been ordered to shoot but to shoot low."[1]

The Bishop was unaware that Father Charles Macdonald had given permission for the militia to mount its machine gun on the church steps and

Father Macdonald found himself transferred from this parish in rather quick order.[2]

In 2019, many organizations, including churches, are commemorating the centenary of the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike. Names such as Woodsworth, Bland, Pidgeon, Ivens, and Gordon are being lifted up for their support of labour struggles during this strike and during the tumultuous time of postwar employment issues in Canada. While the nation's attention was focused on Winnipeg events the tensions between miners and the mine owners (most notably Dominion Coal Company) were rising. Several work slowdowns, work stoppages, and complete strikes of different lengths occurred. Events in the Cape Breton area led to government inquiries and commissions that resulted in changes to labour legislations. However, most Canadians outside the Maritime area are unfamiliar with these events and mention of church reaction and involvement is negligible.

Clergy served in the pastoral charges. Regional ecclesial governance bodies knew what was happening. Did they care? What did they say? What did they do?

Starting to Dig

Labour disputes between coal companies and miners in Cape Breton existed for most of the twentieth century. This paper focuses on the era between 1905 and 1925. The year 1905 was shortly after the consolidation of the Dominion Coal Company and the beginning of its domination of the Cape Breton coal industry, as well as the year John Moffat became Grand Secretary of the Provincial Workmen's Association (PWA). The year 1925 was shortly after the British Empire Steel and Coal Company (BESCO) came into existence, uniting the coal and steel industries; it was also the year the Duncan Royal Commission was convened and the United Church of Canada was formed.[3] Each of these events resulted in significant changes in both work life and church life. Dominion, Cape Breton, was the headquarters for the PWA and Glace Bay for the UMW, so it seemed logical to focus on these two communities and their immediate surrounding areas.

The two best-known writings about this era are John Mellor's *The Company Store* and David Frank's *J.B. McLachlan: A Biography*. Mellor's book is no longer considered to be historically accurate. It is, however,

quite passionate, provides "jumping off points" and contains interviews with people who remembered both strikes. Frank's book is a biography that has a narrow focus and being written fifteen years after Mellor's, has fewer interviews of people alive during the strikes. Most of the interviews contained within its covers are from the second era of labour unrest. Frank's book is much more accurate. Other scholarly chapters and papers from sociological, political, economic and labour studies perspectives are also available. However, studies from the perspective of the church or pertaining to the involvement of the church could not be found.

There are many primary sources available. Primary sources include mine records, government documents; diaries; newspapers, both secular and faith based; and Conference, Presbytery, and Synod records for the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches.[4] There were so many of these documents that, in the length of time available to research this paper, they could not be reviewed adequately. Unfortunately, clergy and their families are not good at submitting personal papers and sermons to archives. Pastoral charges are also somewhat remiss in submitting records, especially financial ones. As these limiting parameters became apparent it was necessary to expand the geographic area of study.

Methodist District and Conference minutes, at least in Sydney District and Maritime Conference, usually did not attach reports and so, in many cases, the minutes contain motions without explanation, and very rarely include financial records. Fortunately, many of the local clergy and some of the governance body officials did write articles or columns for local papers and so some sense of their positions on the labour disputes is available. One of the best resources for the Presbyterian church's response to the disputes is *The Presbyterian Witness*, a Nova Scotia Presbyterian newspaper published weekly from the mid-1800s until 1925 when the United Church of Canada formed.

Mining the Information

Dissatisfaction within the ranks of miners had existed for a long time before the first major work actions took place. There had been a variety of localized actions in various mines and finally, with the formation of the PWA, it seemed there might be some opportunity to negotiate for better conditions, in the same way as was beginning to happen in the UK.

In 1908 Kier Hardie, a Scottish labour activist and the first Labour

MP in Westminster, visited Cape Breton. It was with his visit that the local miners got their first sense of how the church responded to labour organization. Hardie was to give a lecture on the Sunday afternoon of his visit and space had been rented in St. Andrew's Church Hall in Sydney Mines. "According to the account in the *Sydney Post*, 'the arrangement was cancelled when the lessees learned the nature of the meeting to be a labor demonstration' As a result, the assembly was forced to move to an open field near Trinity Church on Queen Street, where Hardie addressed a big crowd from the back of a wagon."[5] Shortly after the event occurred, Rev. Don Gillies of Glace Bay wrote, "Of late it has not been unusual to hold political meetings on the Lord's Day. A few Sabbaths ago a distinguished member of the British Parliament addressed a Labor Mass-Meeting in one of our mining centres. To the credit of the Christian people of the town, no building in their community could be got for the purpose of the meeting."[6]

In 1909, the miners of Cape Breton who affiliated with the UMW downed tools to demand the right to select their own union. They believed that the PWA was a "yellow" or company union. Whether or not workers should be allowed to select their own representatives became a matter of debate in several circles, including the church.[7] On 10 August 1909 the *Glace Bay Standard* published a column headline that read "Rev. Father John Fraser Condemns Slanderous and Lying Statements and Urges Miners to Stick Together." The priest at St. John's, Glace Bay, in a sermon encouraged miners to stick together but also to preserve the peace. He concluded his sermon "pointing out how shameful and outrageous was the action of the company in attempting to force its employees into belonging to a labor organization that was of no service or help to the men, but on the other hand, a plaything of the company."[8] On 7 October 1909 the same newspaper reported Bishop Sbarretti, Apostolic Delegate and priest at the Church for Dominion Coal No. 2, forbade Father Fraser from making any more comments on the strike.[9] The same disagreements about whether the union should choose its representatives or the employer select with whom it could negotiate played out in opinion pages of newspapers throughout the province, including the *Presbyterian Witness*.

On 6 July, the day the strike was called, the Riot Act was read at Colliery No. 2 and the militia was called in. This was the first of the six times that the coal company called for the militia between 1909 and 1925 and all but one time the militia was sent. On at least one occasion the

militia was sent against the wishes of the mayor and town council.[10] The incident reported at the beginning of this paper occurred during the third week of the 1909 strike. On the same day as the machine gun incident, the Dominion Coal Company began to evict people from their homes. The company owned all homes and a condition of the lease was that at least one resident held company employment. Striking miners and their families were evicted during their dinner, while they were sleeping at night, and sick individuals were removed with their beds. A tent city began to grow on the edge of Glace Bay.[11]

In its 31 August 1909 minutes, the Presbytery of Sydney recorded:

> A letter given in by Mr. N. McQueen resigning his pastorate of St. Luke's Congregation, Dominion No6, was read. The reason given for the resignation was the changed state of calling conditions there resulting from the Miner's [*sic*] strike. The parish thus ceasing to be self-supporting Mr. McQueen stated that announcement – that the resignation would come before Presbytery had been made on Sunday from the pulpit – and that a Congregational meeting subsequently held Messrs Duncan McLeod, Norman Robertson and Donald [illegible] had been anointed to appear before Presbytery in the Matter. It was agreed to hear these communications. They testified to the sound work done by Mr. McQueen whose pastorate had been in every way most satisfactory to all concerned, but stated that under the circumstances, and until a change for the better in Colliery affairs took place there could not be a self-supporting parish, and though very sorry to have to part with him they could not oppose the accepting of Mr. McQueen's resignation.
>
> On Motion of Dr. Pringle, seconded by Mr. Al McMillan, Mr. McQueen's resignation was accepted, his pastorate to conclude with Sunday next, September fifth, and that Mr. Mc[illegible] act as Moderator for the Kirk-session of St. Luke's church pastorate. [Illegible] asked the practical sympathy of the Presbytery with the congregation of St. Luke's church Dominion No. 6 in its trying circumstances, and requested advice [illegible] the [illegible] of its suffering.
>
> Whereupon on motion of Mr. John Macintosh it was agreed to appoint a committee to consider the question and report. The Moderator named Messrs. D.H. McKinnon, D.N. MacKae, and J.W.

> McPaxil as such committee, and leave was granted them to meet during session of Presbytery that they might report before adjournment.

Later at the same meeting, it was reported:

> Mr. D.H. McKinnon reported from the committee appointed to consider the question as to the pastoral suffering for St. Luke's Church in Dominion No. 6, recommending that said congregation "be for the present [illegible] placed on the Home Missions list, as a Mission Station and that the moderator [illegible] of the congregation, assisted by ministers of the neighboring [*sic*] congregations be authorized to arrange for such suitable supply as can be obtained for the winter months. This report was on a motion of Mr. John MacKinnon adopted.[12]

This Presbytery's minutes and the Presbytery's reporting of its action to the Synod are the only references to the strike that could be found in any of the official church documents for 1909 and 1910 reviewed to date. Through the whole winter of 1909-10 families lived and died in canvas tents. The strike concluded in April 1910 with Dominion Coal still refusing to recognize the UMW, but the miners were beaten.

At the Presbyterian General Assembly immediately following the strike, the Moral and Social Reform Committee reported on its work in Nova Scotia. The major portion of their report pertained to Temperance and its success in that the entire province, with the exception of three counties, was under prohibition and none of those counties had obtained new licenses.[13] The report continued about Gambling, Sabbath Observance, The Social Evil and finally Industrial Problems where the record states "Even in the case of industrial centres where problems are recognized, according to the reports the problems are not numerous, widespread, alarming or even serious. It would seem that only to a very limited extent are working men out of sympathy with the Church, excepting those who have recently come from the Mother Country, or the Continent of Europe." A few lines down the committee reports, "From Cape Breton comes the report that Socialism is making perhaps slow but steady progress among the masses and among the limited number who are intelligently studying industrial and social problems, but that it is not of the anti-church or anti-religious type, and by no means to be deprecated. From the other end of the

Dominion, namely, at the Pacific Coast, comes the report that the prevalent type of Socialism in the extreme West is distinctly anti-church and anti-religious and that it is not making very rapid or alarming progress."[14]

Digging Deeper

Some church voices in the west of Canada were beginning to be outspoken. They were influencing seminaries, church meetings, and in 1918 influenced the Methodist Conference of Canada to proclaim:

> Without committing the church to any definite social or economic programme we aim to co-operate whenever practicable with labor unions, employers' associations, and other bodies interested in industrial problems, with a view to securing better conditions in the labor world . . . We are always urgent for legislation that will decrease the suffering of the toilers and their families and improve their general well being.[15]

The national Methodist church had stated it wanted something different for workers and church voices were heard, particularly in Manitoba. They were heard in the pulpits, in the media, in Union Halls, in meetings, in political settings in the streets, but they were not heard in Cape Breton except, on occasion, in the Union Halls.

Following the execution of the Russian Czar and his family, "the rise of Bolshevism" and the Winnipeg General Strike, Canadian corporations saw socialism, communism, sedition and danger in anything that resembled equity for all people, including labour organization. After the disruption of the First World War and the lesser labour disturbances prior to 1920 the government of Nova Scotia was particularly concerned about communism and coal worker stoppages. When the miners again downed tools to support the steelworkers, who were on strike to improve working conditions, the churches were almost invisible. The coal and steel dispute(s) of the 1920s were some of the worst labour conflicts in Canadian history. Four generations removed it is still frequently referred to in Cape Breton as "The Big Strike."[16] When the UMW first downed tools the response of the companies was to reinforce the company police; the response of the provincial government was to establish a special

provincial police force; and the response of the federal government was to reinforce the militia, and send in the RCMP.

The strike was just a couple of weeks old, and by all accounts quite calm when, on 1 July 1923, "the Provincial Police charged the crowd through the subway and Victoria Road, with the result that quite a number of strikers and other people were injured."[17] Various reports are much more dramatic and terrifying than this official report of the RCMP. It was this incident that led to the miners laying down tools in support of the Sydney Steelworkers.

Church responses appear to have been mixed. To date no record has been found that indicates any official denominational stance to the various disruptions, at least up to the end of 1922. It must be remembered that concurrent with the Cape Breton coal and steel strike the Methodist Church book steward, Samuel Fallis, was representing all the publishers in the Toronto district during the typographical strike. There was sufficient hand wringing, complaint and embarrassment over the church's position during the printers' strike situation after the 1918 "Methodist Statement" without becoming involved in the coal and steel issue in Cape Breton.[18]

Rev. Donald M. Gillies, who had served the congregation of St. Paul's in Glace Bay through the 1909-10 strike was still there during the beginning of labour disputes and the strike of the 1920s, and he wrote an article for the *Presbyterian Witness* that was similar in tone to one he had written in 1908.[19] At the same time, pastoral care was being offered to striking miners and their families who were once again being kicked out of their homes. The UMW had arranged with truckers (horse and cart) to pick up the furniture and take it to new quarters. Some were sheltered in parish churches, halls and glebe houses. One man, Nod McPherson, told Joseph Steele, the economist, that he was given rooms in the Glebe House, and added that he was "not Catholic at all." Steele's own family was among those who found shelter in a parish hall divided into four quarters to house miners' families.[20] Due to time constraints the events of 1923 is where the research for this paper concludes.

Follow the Money

Unlike Winnipeg, the board directors of coal companies did not live in the same community as the workers. Only one director lived in Nova Scotia. The rest were in Boston, New York, Montreal, Quebec City, and

England. The economic realities of mine life were unseen by most of them.

The financial realities, as reported by John Mellor, were quite unique to Cape Breton:

> Living in company towns and company houses, forced to buy food and other necessities of life from company-owned stores, worshipping in churches where the collection was deducted along with other debts from their weekly pay envelopes, miners and steelworkers in Cape Breton felt they were in grave danger of being subjugated into a medieval form of serfdom that could eventually prove as oppressive as that experienced by the lower classes in Britain during the Middle Ages.[21]

As well as the records of the Dominion Coal Company, the Beaton Institute Archives has hundreds, if not thousands, of pay envelopes, sheets, and slips. These slips prove Mellor's words were true. Joseph P. MacLean picked up his pay packet on 16 July 1909 (probably from his last pay period before the strike). He had worked 3.5 days for $1.49 a day giving him $5.21. He mined 16.5 tons of coal at 10 cents a ton and so received an additional $16.50. From this $21.71, a total of $13.50 was deducted for his debt to the company, which left him with $8.21 for fifteen days of work. From this the powder and oil for work were deducted at 30 cents, the doctor's insurance was 40 cents, the weighman's bill was 25 cents, cash owed the store was 20 cents, the relief fund 25 cents, and finally the church deduction was $1.50.

Because no congregational financial records have surfaced, it is difficult to know how the congregations received the money. There was no income tax in Canada until 1917 and, therefore, no need for the mining companies to inform the churches if the money was from individuals from the company. This practice of deducting for the church continued until 1930 when income tax began to allow for charitable deductions.

The financial relationship between the churches and the mines was interesting and complex in other ways. Glace Bay, Dominion No. 2, Dominion No. 6, and other locations dependent on mining often needed financial support to keep the church operating, even when there were no strikes or lockouts. Many of the Social Service and Home Mission reports mention the support given to hospitals and chaplaincies in various places in the Maritime region, but Cape Breton is not listed. Is this because the

companies supplied the hospitals and doctors, for which the workers paid from their deduction? And in the 1918 General Assembly minutes of the Presbyterian Church in Canada the Home Mission Board, Eastern Section, reported their delight that all but one or two of the stations had been supplied the past summer. "The President of the Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Company generously financed Wabana."[22] In fact, one cannot help but wonder if Rev. Gillies lack of strike support was influenced in part by his father-in-law, one of Cape Breton's most successful and influential businessmen, and in part by concern for his own income.[23]

Hitting the Mother Lode

There is so much information available and very little has been mined. The diaries of the various miners are filled with stories, financial records, prayers, news, drawings, newspaper clippings, world coal prices, information that is heartbreaking and amusing. These diaries tell of a community of people whose lives were built on coal and they were proud of what they did. The files of the coal companies are immense and demonstrate a determination to use what were regarded as sound economic practices to improve efficiency and profitability. The files of the labour unions and the union leaders demonstrate a determination to educate the miners and their families in civics, politics, and philosophy, and to represent the union members in order to improve their conditions and their lives. There are also at least three more denominational archives to visit, as well as further newspapers and government documents to review. Even though most congregational records have not yet been found, and not all minutes have reports attached, responses and statements of individuals give some indication of the churches' activities in the labour disputes of Cape Breton.

Certain realizations have emerged while doing this research. Due to the absence of congregational and ministerial records, it would be better to look at the records from a shorter period of time but a larger geographic area in Cape Breton and perhaps even Pictou and Cumberland Counties. Following the First World War and the creation of British Empire Steel and Coal Company, it is better to look at the church's involvement with both steel and coal issues. With further investigation it may be possible to establish a better understanding of the relationship between the mining companies, the churches' governance bodies, and the individual congrega-

tions within the mining communities. Finding a congregational financial statement from the era would be finding the mother lode.

Endnotes

1. David Frank, *J.B. McLachlan A Biography* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd., 1999), 100-1.
2. James Simpson, "Strikes to Be Ordered in Two Other Coal Centres," *The Toronto Daily Star*, 3 August 1909, 7.
3. The Royal Commission on Maritime Claims chaired by Sir Andrew Rae Duncan included in its mandate the well being of coal mining in the Maritime area. His findings resulted in changes between Maritime provinces and the Dominion that had an impact on the working conditions, wages and relationship between mine owners and miners.
4. Due to time, weather, and other constraints, the relevant Baptist, Roman Catholic, and Salvation Army archives were not visited, nor was the national United Church of Canada Archives.
5. David Frank, *J.B. McLachlan A Biography* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd., 1999), 85.
6. *Presbyterian Witness* (Halifax: The Presbyterian Witness Co. Ltd, 1908), 11.
7. Joseph Steele, "The Big Strike," Unpublished thesis as partial fulfillment of the requirements to complete a M.A. in Economics (Angus L. Macdonald Library: St. Francis Xavier University, 1960), 31.
8. Paul Steele, "Fr. Fraser Fights for, the Miners in 1909," *Cape Breton's Magazine* 59 (1 January 1992): 43.
9. Steele, "Fr. Fraser Fights for, the Miners in 1909," 43.
10. Frank, *J.B. McLachlan*, 99-100.
11. Frank, *J.B. McLachlan*, 103.
12. "Sydney Presbytery Minutes" (St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Sydney: Sydney Presbytery, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1909), 34.
13. *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada 1910* (1910), 272-3.
14. *Acts and Proceedings*, 283-6.

15. Department of Evangelism and Social Service Methodist Church (Canada), *Methodist National Campaign: "That is Getting Down to Business"* (Toronto: Methodist Church [Canada], 1919), 12.

16. When searching archives at the Beaton Institute Cape Breton University various people referred to this time as "The Big Strike." There were, in fact, 58 smaller labour disruptions between 1919 and 1925. However, they are frequently referred to as one.

17. Frank, *J.B. McLachlan*, 302.

18. M.J. Perry, "The United Church of Canada as an Employer: A Brief History of Employment and Workplace Practices," A paper submitted to Marc Talouse in partial completion of the course Religion and Public Life in Canada (Toronto, 2016), 15ff.

19. "The Presbyterian Witness," Nova Scotia Synod Weekly Paper in *Presbyterian Witness* (Halifax: The Presbyterian Witness Co. Ltd, 1920), 8, 1-8.

20. Steele, "The Big Strike," 70.

21. John Mellor, *The Company Store* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1983), 11.

22. "Home Mission Reports," in *Acts & Proceedings of The Presbyterian Church in Canada General Assembly* (Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1922), 61.

23. A report on the death of the wife of Rev. D.M Gillies of St. Paul's, Glace Bay in the *Presbyterian Witness* states that she was the daughter of William Urquhart, Esq, and was from Richmond Co. Her family was a very prosperous one. See *Presbyterian Witness* (Halifax: The Presbyterian Witness Co. Ltd, 1909), 5.

The Vocation of the Laity: Canada's Contribution to the Ecumenical Conversation

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"The ministry of the laity is to be the Church in the World."[1] So says Hans-Ruedi Weber in his 1963 booklet *Salty Christians*. "The ministry of the laity views the whole being and work of the Church under a particular aspect, namely the aspect of the Church meeting the world, the Church participating in Christ's ministry *in and for the world*."[2]

The vocation of the laity is a huge topic. Interestingly, its postwar emergence as a significant priority for Protestant churches in Europe and North America contains many connections to the work of the Student Christian Movement (SCM). In previous papers presented at the Canadian Society of Church History (CSCH), I have explored some specific instances of the Canadian Student Christian Movement's contribution to the vocation of the laity or Christian faith in daily life, particularly through the SCM summer work camps[3] and then Howland House.[4] In this paper I explore another instance in Canadian church history led by another SCMer, Lois Wilson, which was an exciting initiative in civic and lay education in Canada's Centennial year, 1967, and very much connected to the wider ecumenical movement to lift up the vocation of the laity. But first some background.

The Ecumenical Movement and the Vocation of the Laity

The 1948 creation of the World Council of Churches (WCC) from the joining together of the "Life and Work" and "Faith and Order"

Movements of the early decades of the twentieth century was a foundational event which helped lead and support this emphasis on the vocation and role of the laity in the postwar Protestant church. The "Life and Work Movement" focused on the implications of Christian faith for the political and economic realities in which Christians lived. The first "Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work" met in Stockholm in 1925, the same year as the United Church of Canada (UCC) was formed, and the 1600th anniversary of the Council of Nicaea. The second Conference was in 1937 in Oxford and J.H. Oldham expressed its emphasis on the role of the laity in these words:

> If the Christian witness is to be borne in social and political life it must be through the action of the multitude of Christian men and women who are actively engaged from day to day in the conduct of administration, industry and the affairs of the public and common life.[5]

The "Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches in Process of Formation" created at the Oxford Conference led to the creation of the World Council of Churches (WCC), although the Second World War delayed its creation for a decade. When the WCC was formed in 1948, "Life and Work" along with "Faith and Order" became permanent Commissions.

Many theologians have written on the vocation of the laity during the ecumenical height of the churches in Europe and North America. Hendrik Kraemer's 1958 book *A Theology of the Laity* is seminal. Kraemer, who served the Netherlands Bible Society in Indonesia from 1922 to 1937, was a prisoner of the Nazis in Holland during the Second World War before becoming the first Director of the World Council of Churches Ecumenical Institute in Bossey, Switzerland, from 1948 to 1955.

Hans Ruedi Weber, another key leader in the vocation of the laity in the mid-century ecumenical movement, was General Secretary of the Swiss SCM and WCC Staff for the Department of the Laity from 1955 to 1961. Author of *Salty Christians*, along with over twenty other books, Weber helped prepare and then implement the formative actions of the Second World Council of Churches General Assembly in Evanston, 1954, where the Commission's "Report on The Laity: The Christian in His Vocation" was adopted along with many other church-shaping directions.

In *A Theology of the Laity*, Hendrik Kraemer acknowledges that the opening to the "Report on the Laity" contains the elements of a genuine theology of the laity:

> Clergy and laity belong together in the Church; if the Church is to perform her mission in the world, they need each other. The growing emphasis in many parts of the world upon the function of the laity since the Amsterdam Assembly is not to be understood as an attempt to secure for the laity some larger place or recognition in the Church, nor yet as merely a means to supplement an overburdened and understaffed ordained ministry. It springs from the rediscovery of the true nature of the Church as the People of God.[6]

Kraemer argues, however, that the Christian understanding of work in the "Report on the Laity" was a distraction from the necessary ecclesiastical rethinking that a true appreciation of the vocation of the laity would require.[7] In *A Theology of the Laity,* Kraemer traces some of the history of the laity in the Church. He observes their consistent role as initiators of reform and change in the church from the monasteries to the Reformation and more recently the missionary movement. He observes that much of this lay ferment has taken place through organizations alongside the church, not within the church.

His book suggests that the emergence of the ecumenical movement and its exploration of Church doctrine is an opportunity to rethink the ecclesiology of the church and return the laity to its appropriate place alongside the clergy. This would reclaim the Biblical understanding of laos as the whole church, a royal priesthood, rather than the hierarchical and institutional meaning that has separated clergy and laity.[8] Kraemer challenges the Church to embrace the Bible's witness to God's burning concern for the world and its needs as the location of God's self-disclosure. His vision is of a missional and ministerial church sent to the world and intended for service in the world. The key for Kraemer is the conversion of the church to the world, the place of God's self-disclosure, and not its own institutional survival.

Evanston General Assembly

The second General Assembly of the World Council of Churches at

Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, 15-31 August 1954, was a watershed moment for this commitment to Christian engagement in everyday life. Among other things, the General Assembly declared that:

> the real battles of faith today are being fought in factories, shops, offices and farms, in political parties and government agencies, in countless homes, in the press, radio and television, in the relationship of nations. Very often it is said that the Church should "go into these spheres," but the fact is that the church is already in these spheres in the person of its laity.[9]

Much has been written about the impact of this General Assembly, held in North America for the first time and taking place in the height of the McCarthy period. The preparatory documents were many and widely circulated, introducing the Assembly to topics such as "Ecumenical Studies," with an opportunity for input prior to the Assembly: "Faith and Order: Our Oneness in Christ and Our Disunity as Churches"; "Evangelism: The Mission of the Church to Those outside her Life"; "Social Questions: The Responsible Society in a World Perspective"; "International Affairs: Christians in the Struggle for World Community"; "Intergroup Relations: The Church and Racial and Ethnic Tensions"; "The Laity: The Christian in his Vocation."

The Report of the Assembly was shared in its entirety in *The Evanston Report- The Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches*, published by the SCM Press in 1955 and other books such as *Evanston: An Interpretation* by James Hastings Nichols and *Evanston Scrapbook* by James W. Kennedy. Almost 1300 people attended the Assembly. Of the 500 delegates there were forty-four women and seventy-five lay people, along with the clergy representing 132 member churches in forty-two countries. There were almost an equal number of accredited visitors as well as consultants, fraternal delegates and observers. The Assembly was covered by 646 press people almost half of whom represented the secular press. Dr. Kathleen Bliss chaired Section VI on The Laity, the only woman chair of six sections or any committees of the General Assembly, and the only woman on the Message drafting group of nine members.

The Canadian Student Christian Movement

The training and engagement of the laity of the church for ministry in the world was a consistent theme throughout this era, as the hegemony of Christendom diminished and the overseas missionary movement was curtailed and rethought in the face of national independence movements and a growing awareness of Christianity's alliance with imperialism and colonialism.

At the time of the WCC's second General Assembly in Evanston, these ecumenical conversations and the activities that grew from its theology were well underway in the Canadian SCM. The denominations and ecumenical movement in Canada were influenced by and contributed to this global ecumenical conversation through many concrete initiatives and experiments. The connection between worship, work, and learning was a key theme in these efforts. The Lay Education and Training Centres established in the 1940s, 50s and 60s were a direct response to this understanding of church. The connections between Europe and Canada were embodied in many individuals and opportunities for exchange. For the Canadian SCM, Lex Miller and Bob Miller were key in this period. Lex Miller was a New Zealand SCMer who directed the first work camp in Welland, Ontario, in 1945 as the Second World War was drawing to a close. The SCM work camps themselves, in the case of Bev Oaten, founder of the Five Oaks Christian Worker's Education Centre in Paris, Ontario, had connections to the Work Camp movement in Europe after First World War and then the establishment of the Lay Education and Training Centres in Canada.[10] As Director of the SCM's first work camp, Lex Miller helped create the framework for Canadian SCM summer work camps, building on the principles of the Cooperative movement and including the radical "wage pool" concept where people's summer earnings were pooled and people left at the end of the summer with a share, based on what they needed for the coming year, not on what they had earned.

As Dorothy Beales observed in her December 1945 article in *The Canadian Student* about Lex Miller's impact on the Canadian SCM, the question on the lips of many SCM students was "What shall I do with my life?" Lex's challenge was to resist seeing ministry as the only specifically Christian option. In "The Christian at Work in the World," Lex Miller suggested that, "the challenge to undertake foreign mission work which

created the Student Volunteer Movement should be broadened to awaken Christian students to the urgency of service in every secular calling."[11] In his 1959 book, *Christian Vocation and My Job,* he stated: "This gives us our starting point when it comes to the Christian choice of a job. The test is, not our own satisfaction in the first place – far less our own financial or social advancement – but social service in terms of our own capacity to *give* service. That's what it means to talk about *vocation* at all."[12]

Bob Miller returned to Toronto from post-graduate theological studies in Europe in 1951 to join the Student Christian Movement's national staff as Study Secretary. No relation to Lex Miller, Bob brought the next ingredient to shape the Canadian SCM's engagement with Christianity and daily life: books by German theologians and an experience of the Evangelical Academies established by the German Protestant churches after the war.

In his memoir of Bob Miller, *The Messenger*, Douglas John Hall observes that, "Bob Miller was among the first intellectuals in Canada to have read the works of scholars who, during the remainder of the century and beyond, would dominate the Protestant theological scene in the West."[13] In a letter to Doug Hall, prior to his return to Canada, Bob asserts:

> There have to be much more radical experiments in the life of the church than there have yet been. Some of us have to get onto the frontier, where there are no beaten paths of how or what to do . . . The "other" world of the working man that has grown up here in Europe is completely isolated from the church . . . God will have us where the people are, with them in their life and work . . .[14]

For Bob, the decision to establish a permanent "industrial mission" after the 1953 Bathurst St. United Church work camp in Toronto, later known as "Howland House," was a start. The SCM Summer Work Camps and "Howland House" were strategies to address and support people's personal vocational choices.

"Town Talk," initiated by Lois Wilson, an SCMer who had never attended a work camp, also had its roots in Europe and the postwar commitment to empowering and mobilizing the laity to be the church in the world. It is a companion to the theme of personal discernment and vocational choice of the 1940s and 1950s as it inspired the church to mobilize civil society in conversation and dialogue about key community

and urban issues. This exciting experiment in "saturation evangelism"[15] on the northern shore of Lake Superior had its roots in the Evangelical Academies that sprang up in occupied Germany in 1945.

Evangelical Academies

The Evangelical Academies grew out of a devastated landscape, literally and spiritually. While much of the German church retreated into its own world during Hitler's rise to power and the Second World War, the "Confessing Church" declared its opposition and resistance to the National Socialist government of Adolf Hitler in the 1934 Barmen Declaration. Many Christians in Germany and throughout Europe were imprisoned and executed during the war, with theologian Dietrich Bonheoffer among the most famous. As the allied forces gained victory in Germany, the liberated "Confessing Church" leaders initiated actions which created spaces for Germans to discuss and discover what had happened and why and what could be a way forward. To quote one of the Evangelical Academy Directors:

> The spiritual and political catastrophe of the Third Reich and the end in 1945 had destroyed all continuity so that a simple resumption of the form of life before 1933 was not possible. It was necessary not only to create anew political and economic forms but to find new self-assurance, a sensible judgement about oneself. To help establish these and with the standards of Christian revelation to guard against both arrogance and dejection, were the tasks in which the Academy took part.[16]

Eberhart Mueller and Helmut Thiecke, members of the "Confessing Church" and both imprisoned during the war, are considered the founders of the Evangelical Academies. With the support of church leaders in Wurttemberg they planned a two week conference in October 1945 entitled "Justice in Social and Political Life" to bring together lawyers, economists and others for free discussion about what had happened in their country and what was the way forward. The American occupying force supported such initiatives as part of the "de-nazification" of the country and provided an old Resort Hotel at Bad Boll as the venue for 150 to gather. With no telephones or postal service, invitations were delivered by hand.

The structure of this first encounter became the model for future Academies. The day included opening worship, Bible study on a specific theme, presentation on a topic by experts, open discussion and evening worship. There was plenty of un-programmed time during the day to allow for informal conversation and recreation. It is astonishing to conceive of this vision taking shape and reality months after a devastating war, defeat, and occupation. But it did and it set in motion a whole new role and relationship between the German churches and their communities. The purpose was:

> not to convert participants to Christianity or to expound the Christian viewpoint against all challenges, but to spur exchange of opinion in a friendly, neutral atmosphere – between right and left; between the tradition-bound and the emancipated; above all between the church and the estranged. The result is honest probing for workable solutions, therapeutic reconciling of differences, stimulation of respect . . . Throughout all this, however, there is a pervasive religious aura, neither self-consciously inserted, nor compulsory.[17]

In her 1960 book about the Academy Movement, *Bridges to Understanding*, Margaret Frakes reported that there were eighteen Evangelical Academies in Germany, including four in the Soviet Zone. On an average they sponsored about 600 conferences a year with a total attendance of 48,000. Through the Evangelical Academies, Christians engaged with their communities in addressing and understanding community issues with the institutional resources of the church. In his 1964 book, *Church and World Encounter*, Lee J. Gable called them a "halfway house where church and non-church feel free to meet and where each will hear the other."[18]

The Story of Town Talk

Lois Wilson, a Winnipeg SCMer, was inspired to transpose the German Evangelical Academy experience to northern Ontario. Lois and her husband Roy arrived in Fort William, Ontario, in 1960, ten years after her graduation from the Faculty of Theology at the University of Winnipeg where her father, E.G.D. Freeman, was Dean, and ten years after her marriage to fellow classmate, Roy Wilson. When Roy was called to serve

First United in Fort William, it was a return home for Lois whose parents had served the neighbouring community of Port Arthur when her father was minister at St. Paul's United from January 1930 until September 1938, the years of the depression and her childhood. The return to the Lakehead ushered in formative years for Lois and her ministry. Their son Bruce was born in November of that year, rounding off their family of four, born in the span of eight years.

A few years later, Lois approached the Church Board at First United with the suggestion that she could work with Roy in a part-time position with an emphasis on working in the community. This was in the midst of the United Church's heyday. The congregation had a Sunday school of 700 and Lois reported and Roy was in great need of assistance. But congregational ministry was not her passion, although she led many congregationally based programmes including Bible studies with 200 women in attendance. Her canoeing and camping ministry with teenage girls is recounted in her book *Streams of Faith*. The congregation agreed that her formalized part-time ministry as a lay pastoral assistant could focus on connecting to the community.

In her thanks to the congregation when she and Roy left for a team ministry in Hamilton in the spring of 1969, Lois Wilson stated:

> Instead of expecting me to fit into a pre-determined position, First United left my part of team ministry in a fluid state so I could respond to any demands that seemed appropriate. Some must have wondered from time to time, what on earth I was attempting to do as it became more and more appropriate for me to spend more time in community activities than in congregational events. Yet I always felt support from all of you as we worked together to make the Christian presence visible in all areas of the city.[19]

As a theologically educated laywoman, daughter of the manse, and steeped in prairie social gospel theology, Lois was committed to empowering laity to live their Christian faith in their daily lives. Her University of Winnipeg experience in the Student Christian Movement reinforced this formation:

> For me, the SCM was and remains a foundational orientation for my life, with its emphasis on Biblical literacy, spirituality, global international perspective, inclusion and equality of all genders and

> races in community, openness to the faith and spirituality of others, and social and economic justice, particularly for the poor and marginalized.[20]

An article in *TIME Magazine* describing the work of Loren Halvorson in the Lutheran Church in the United States (US) became the catalyst for mobilizing Lois to put her theology and vision of the vocation of the laity into action.

Loren Halvorson, an American Lutheran was a contemporary of Lois. He graduated from Luther Seminary in 1953 and returned to teach there as Professor of Church and Society from 1959 to 1992. In a 2010 Luther Seminary *Story* magazine article following his death, Gary Koutsopoulos wrote, "Professor Halvorson was a man of great vision, peace and commitment to the community. He foresaw the need of pastors to one day be 'worker/priests,' both in partnership with all humankind and in affinity for those who practiced their lives, faith and vocations in one humble movement."[21]

Halvorson worked with the Lutheran World Federation in Europe after the Second World War to find homes for Baltic refugees and came in contact with the Evangelical Academies. He wrote his 1958 doctoral thesis for the Divinity School at the University of Chicago on the Evangelical Academies entitled, "German Protestantism in dialogue with the world: The development and significance of the German Evangelical Academy."

In 1960, Dr. Halvorson was appointed Associate Director of the Board of College Education for the American Lutheran Church and was able to try out an adaptation of the approach of the Evangelical Academies. He launched the Minnesota Project, which understood the development of lay adult education as its primary function. The work of the project, "is to help the church understand the actual world of the laity, to equip them for their ministry, and to develop permanent strategies for the education and involvement of the laity in their vocational and social communities."[22]

After reading the *TIME Magazine* article about a week-long "Faith in Life" Dialogue in Fargo-Moorehead, Lois heard from Rev. Ray Hord, Secretary of the Board for Evangelism and Social Service of the United Church of Canada, about an opportunity to observe a weeklong Duluth-Superior "Faith in Life Dialogue" in 1965.[23] She was able to inspire five others from the Lakehead to join her, and following that experience they were galvanized to try something similar in Fort William-Port Arthur.

They gathered small denominational groups to test the idea and build energy and consensus. The commitment was sealed following a gathering on 28 May 1966 where Loren Halvorson addressed about 150 people and then met with an enlarged Steering Committee. "Centennial Town Talk," often shortened to TOWN TALK was adopted as the name for this month-long Canadian city-wide dialogue planned for November 1967.

"[We] created a public forum in the two cities where questions of urgent social concern could be aired. We used almost every known means of communication, and worked through every existing private or public agency in the community."[24] This was a risky, innovative, and brilliant example of what can be achieved when a community and all its resources are identified and empowered. A mother of four working part-time along with a Steering Committee of twelve composed largely of lay church members from all denominations accomplished this over eighteen months.

The strategies that contributed to its success included seeking the support of Presbytery and support of the civic hierarchies. "Centennial Town Talk in November promises to be an excellent opportunity for all our citizens to reflect and converse responsibly on the most vital issues of the community," said Fort William's Mayor Reid.[25] "Frank and open discussions on factual material can remove barriers of misunderstanding and bring people into a new sense of community. Since Centennial Town Talk embraces this concept, I can readily commend it to all our citizens" Mayor Saul Laskin of Port Arthur declared.[26]

The intention was to mobilize all the existing church and community organizations and networks to buy into the intention to have the month of November focus on issues of concern to the community. The first step was to invite two representatives from each organization to a meeting at Lakehead University in May 1967 where the topics would be identified. More than 600 invitations were sent to community and church organizations and individuals as well as simultaneously circulated in newspapers, television, radio, church bulletins, and community newsletters. Lois Wilson recalled that they sent the invitation to the formal head of each organization as well as to a church member and asked them to ensure it made it to the agenda and to support it when it did.[27] It worked. Three hundred and fifty people arrived at the Great Hall at Lakehead University on 3 May 1967 to participate in The Town Talk Assembly, an innovative process of table group discussion identifying issues and shared on overhead projectors.

This massive exercise in bottom-up education and decision-making was facilitated by Rev. John Klassen, Secretary for Christian Education for the Manitoba and Northwest Ontario Conference of the United Church of Canada. He had followed Lois at United College in Winnipeg before being settled with his wife, Betty Jean (BJ), at Sioux Lookout in 1954. Both Lois and John, in separate interviews, observed that without the amazing response of that 350-person gathering at the University to identify important civic issues, TOWN TALK would not have succeeded. From where did this large group pedagogy come?

The 1950s and 1960s in the United Church and elsewhere were a time of educational ferment and experimentation. Christian Education represented a large sector of the Church's investment in both children and adults. With the postwar baby boom, many denominations, including the United Church, were building Sunday school wings and, in 1952, the UCC General Council agreed to produce a new Sunday School Curriculum. This was a massive project, following the three-year Lectionary and publishing hardcover books for all ages, starting with Don Mather's book for adults, *The Word and the Way* in 1962. Many scholars, ministers, and teachers were involved in developing and testing the curriculum. Olive Sparling, of the national church's Board of Christian Education, initiated Observation Practice Sunday Schools across the country, inspiring and training the laity to understand their faith and use the most effective pedagogical approaches to share it with children and youth.

After their time in Sioux Lookout, John and BJ had gone to Union Theological Seminary in New York in 1958. John's focus was preaching and BJ's Christian Education. They were both influenced by Christian Education Professor Mary Tilley and BJ's experience of going out as pairs into field placements. Professor Charles Dinnett taught a course in human relations, a form of experiential education originally developed after the Second World War for use in industry to help people understand group processes and their role and impact on others when working on common projects. The United Church and others picked this up and offered weeklong residential Human Relations Labs at the Lay Education and Training Centres across the country. John Alvin Cooper, also national staff with the United Church's Board of Christian Education, was a key instigator of this new, intensely personal, and transformative education. John Klassen recalls more than one minister saying that the Human Relations Lab experience changed their lives.[28]

As Conference staff for Christian Education, John was able to draw on all these resources and energies to design a large group process that would lift up and affirm the experiences and concerns of ordinary citizens. He recalls that it took several of them two or three days following the Assembly to organize the many pages of input from the gathering into six main areas of concern and thirty-nine topics for discussion in November.

The next step was to invite all involved to contribute to the resourcing of these discussions. The University's Convocation speaker, the library's book displays, the Church's national resource people, the government's citizenship branch, the Rotary Club's business expert – all were mobilized to contribute to the resources for the focused discussions in the month of November. TOWN TALK's purpose and invitation were published in all the papers, radio, and TV media. The schedule of events for each week was widely distributed and the sixty-page Discussion Manual with resources for each topic was available in bars, grocery stores, and barbershops. Phone-in-radio discussions following the TV screening of films was one of the most innovative initiatives. Rev. Ken Moffat, another United Church minister in the city, was a key contact and facilitator of the media connection. The theological touchstone was Jeremiah 29:4-7.

Lois's description in the 1968 *Town Talk Report Back* captures something of the scope and energy:

> The "talk" took place in every conceivable setting: on radio hot lines; over television; in 20 mixed citizen's discussion groups; regular meetings of service clubs; university and high school classrooms; meetings of professional groups, sororities and church organizations; and at special open forums which drew a wide cross-section of citizens.[29]

> TOWN TALK was intended to precipitate concern about basic social issues rather than to save souls; to explore with members of religious communities the implications of their private convictions in a public setting, rather than to discuss doctrine. "The care of the city" was the theme, not "The care of the churches."[30]

Lois reflected in a May 2019 interview that her experience engaging the whole city in a month-long dialogue about critical issues converted her to a future of ecumenical ministry engaging the world. She wrote her

Bachelor of Divinity thesis on the process and experience in 1969: "TOWN TALK: A Case History in Lay Education." In it she observed:

> TOWN TALK came about because of the social partnership of civic groups, churches, educational resources and mass communication media. Only such a partnership of existing sectors, pursuing what they "saw in it" for themselves and thereby fulfilling their proper "role," provided the dynamics that stimulated an entire community to involvement.[31]

Her leadership of TOWN TALK and the connections she had made to people doing similar work in the USA and Europe, resulted in many invitations to tell the TOWN TALK story, including at the Canadian Council of Churches and the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, her first travel to Toronto and Ottawa respectively. In 1972 she was invited to the WCC Consultation on "Centres of Social Concern and Related Christian Movements in Crete." Lois wrote to her sister that, "the meetings were eighteen times better than she expected."[32] The contacts she made and the profile she gained in the world ecumenical movement led her to many opportunities, including her election as one of the eight Presidents of the WCC at the Sixth Assembly in Vancouver in 1983.

Vocation of the Laity Today

Is the church today continuing this conversation about the vocation of the laity and the church's engagement in the world? Grappling with our own complicity in colonialism and our relationship with First Nations in Canada has caused the church to rethink its appropriate place as an institution of Christian power and privilege in an inter-religious and secular world. While churches still believe their members can be leaven in the world, institutional preservation and adaptation of structures to reflect reduced numbers and resources appears to be dominating the self-understanding and actions of the Canadian churches. Kairos: Canadian Ecumenical Justice Initiative remains the ecumenical expression of the Canadian churches' engagement in, with, and for the world. But the mobilization of Canadian Christians around local, national, as well as global economic and social issues is greatly diminished.

Churches can still be a catalyst in their communities. They have

space, staff, history and experience. Even though the church's former unchallenged authority is contested as the human limitations of our imperial Christianity is evident, churches and church leaders and members still have lots of power and can place it at the service of continuing efforts for free and open exploration of ideas and the choices we make as citizens and community members. The Evangelical Academies were a remarkable response to the history of Germany in the first half of the twentieth century. It is so important for the church to continue or recommit to be a place, in partnership with others, where the conditions of respectful dialogue, debate, and discernment can take place as together we build a common vision of justice, peace, and abundance, rooted in many religious and faith traditions and none. With such a commitment, the church can help to resist the scarcity and fear rhetoric growing in our politics as we transition to the new green and knowledge economies. "God so loved the world, not the church," Lois Wilson is fond of saying and as an invitation to worship, "I greet you in the name of Christ, whose body you are."

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Taking God into the Suburbs: Canadian Presbyterians and New Church Development in the Toronto Area, 1945-1965

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In January 1945, the presbytery of Toronto appointed the Rev. J.B. Thomson to serve as the full-time presbytery church extension worker. Thomson had served as minister at Dufferin St. Presbyterian church, a congregation with around three hundred and fifty members and a church school of two hundred and fifty at that time. This appointment did not mark a beginning of church extension work in the presbytery. That work, as the presbytery minutes indicate, was ongoing; indeed, the presbytery was working with an emerging congregation in Leaside and was taking steps to purchase land in the Kingsway. What this appointment indicates was that as the Second World War drew to a close, the presbytery was anticipating that there would be a need for new Presbyterian congregations and was taking a determined step to ensure that these congregations were developed. The Presbytery of Toronto took this important step for the simple reason that the development of new congregations was their responsibility. Church extension did not become the responsibility of the denomination with central coordination until the first national director of church extension was appointed in 1963. Thus, as the Second World War came to an end, it was up to the presbytery (the equivalent of a bishop) to do the challenging task of finding land, renting space, appointing a minister, purchasing the land, constituting a congregation and a session, providing a building, and all of the other steps that were required to create

a new congregation. Local initiative was key. Local decisions drove the process. The denomination provided assistance through the synod ministry convenor and the national home missions committee, but it was up to the presbytery to take these key steps, in whatever order fit the particular situation (and this does seem to have varied considerably). The major expectation of the national church was that it would provide "men" (ministers for these new congregations) and "money" (essentially seed money to begin, with the local congregation paying this back over time). It is worth pausing to recognize the challenge of funding the capital costs as well as the operational expenses. The stipend (salary) of a minister had to be paid. Land had to be purchased. Buildings needed to be constructed. New church development requires considerable investment. While the denomination struggled in the 1950s and early 1960s to raise the capital they believed was necessary, presbyteries throughout Canada still retained the responsibility for beginning new work. As in the case of the presbytery of Toronto, they vigorously took up this challenge.

Canadian Presbyterians were not alone in facing this challenge of building new congregations after the Second World War as new houses were constructed in what had once been farmland. As surprising as it may seem, the topic of how Canadian denominations expanded into the suburbs has yet to receive serious study. This has also not been a major area of research for denominations in the United States. There have been studies of limited aspects of new church development (in particular what happened when this ground to a halt), but more has been written on the supposed psychological impact of the suburbs on faith than has been written on the process of taking God into the suburbs by staffing and building new congregations.[1] The recent publication of Roberto Perin's book, *Many Rooms in the House*, fortuitously for my research about religion in one part of Toronto, is very helpful.[2] But this is an exception to the general rule that not a great deal has been written about congregations and how they developed, and in particular about how new congregations were developed in Canada's growing suburbs after the Second World War.

One reason for this may be the perception that building these new congregations was foolish. As many of these congregations, built in the aftermath of the war, struggle today to survive or are closed, it is easy to imagine that one would be considering a misplaced and an over-enthusiastic response of churches to their situation.[3] Initial research in this area conducted over fifteen years ago made it clear that establishing an overall

understanding of Canadian Christianity in the postwar period was one crucial task that had to be undertaken before we could look at new church development in that same period. Without establishing what was happening in Canada at this time, it seemed that any discussion of the building of new churches would immediately bog down into questions of whether denominations overbuilt congregations, whether growth in the 1950s was illusory, and similar questions. The result was the book coauthored with my colleague Brian Clarke, *Leaving Christianity: Changing Allegiance in Canada since 1945*.[4] While there will always be local variations, it now seems beyond all doubt that the immediate postwar years were ones where religious identity increased among Canadians and that all indicators of religious health were moving in a positive direction. This only changed, Brian Clarke and I argue, in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The fact that we can now identify this shift allows us to analyze church decisions with a clearer understanding of the shifts in Canadian religiosity. Churches were not incorrect to build these new congregations, and their experience of rapid growth was not illusory. Those times were different from our own – remarkably so – and this difference can now be recognized and treated seriously.

The Presbyterian Church in Canada established new congregations in the period after 1945. This is unquestionable. But how many churches did they build? Where did they build them? How many succeeded, and how quickly? Did any fail? Were more built in Toronto than in Montreal? What about in British Columbia, or Alberta, or even the Maritimes? These are all important questions that have remained stubbornly difficult to answer. The fact that the process was locally driven has meant that no central repository of information was created at the time. Instead, decisions are scattered across presbytery minutes, synod minutes, the national home missions committee, and other records. The reports made each year to the national General Assembly, and reported in the yearly *Acts and Proceedings,* give an overall sense of expansion, but not the kinds of details for which one would hope. One of the few attempts to summarize this work came in a 1970 report where it was confidently asserted that the Presbyterian church established one hundred and eleven congregations in the 1950s and another forty-one in the 1960s. Nothing was said about how many congregations were established in the period between 1945 and 1950, nor were details given as to which congregations these were, where they were located, or whether any failed. No list of congregations established in this

period exists; and despite several attempts, it has not proven possible at this time to create a comprehensive national portrait of new church development in the Presbyterian Church in Canada. The quantitative information is there in the yearly listing of the denomination's congregations.[5] The challenge is that while Presbyterians were busy establishing new congregations, they were also involved in closing congregations, often in rural settings, or amalgamating charges. One cannot simply look at national or regional totals and extrapolate from these how many new congregations were begun. The national totals give the net results as congregations continued, new congregations were started, and older congregations were closed. Another source with potential has also proven challenging. A myriad of photos appeared in the official monthly magazine of the denomination, the *Presbyterian Record*, showing vacant lots where a future Presbyterian church would be built, of sod turnings, of new Sunday school buildings and new sanctuaries. This gives invaluable information, but it has become clear that a new building did not always mean a new congregation. As will be noted below, existing congregations also expanded in these heady days of growth. Attempts to create a national overview of new church development in the Presbyterian Church in Canada have so far proved unsuccessful. What does seem more profitable, although still challenging, is a regional study, specifically a case study of church extension in the presbytery of Toronto.

The choice of the presbytery of Toronto was made reluctantly. One could argue that too much of Canadian history has been written from the center, with the assumption that the rest of Canada fits into this pattern. This is a caution that needs to be taken seriously. At the same time, the reality is that Toronto was Canada's second largest city in 1945 (Montreal being the largest), and was greatly affected by suburbanization in the postwar period. This was one of the areas that saw the greatest concentration of new church development. For a study of this nature, Toronto also had the advantage of having had a history of West Toronto presbytery produced as well as several published congregational histories. Ongoing research has also made it clear how valuable the presbytery minutes are. Thus, while it does not yield a picture of church extension that will be valid for all of Canada, studying the presbytery of Toronto will give some invaluable insights into how new congregations developed in this particular part of Canada. It is hoped that other regional studies can also be undertaken to balance this portrait.

In 1946, the Presbytery of Toronto stretched from Oshawa to Oakville, north almost to Lake Simcoe, and was centered on what was at the time Canada's second largest city. There were eighty-five congregations (including mission stations) in total within this presbytery, some rural as well as large and moderate sized urban congregations. The response to the increasing urbanization within Canada was a heavy responsibility for the presbytery. The presbytery of Toronto was divided in 1949 into two presbyteries, East Toronto and West Toronto, which cover the areas described in their names with the *caveat* that the dividing line between the presbyteries was not Yonge Street (as one might anticipate) but Bathurst Street. West Toronto presbytery was itself divided in 1965, with the westernmost congregations being joined to selected congregations from what had been the presbyteries of Orangeville and Guelph, to form a new presbytery, the presbytery of Brampton. The presbytery of Toronto (and its successors) established fifty-one new congregations in the period from 1945 to 1985. Of these, two did not succeed as planned (as will be discussed), which gives a net gain of forty-nine new congregations. This article will focus on the thirty-six established in the early period (1945-1965) which is roughly the period before the denomination took responsibility for new church development in 1963. Of these thirty-six, nine were established in the period up to 1951, another twenty-two in the 1950s (1952-61), and another seven in the period up to 1965. It is worth noting there were an additional fifteen congregations established over the next twenty years, in the period from 1966-1986.

Initial research on the period from 1945 to 1965, when local initiative was the driving force behind new church development, has made several things clear. First, and unsurprisingly, new congregations followed the expanding suburbs outwards. The first congregations were established in what we might consider the inner suburbs, as the suburbs themselves continued to move out from the center of Toronto. For example, in the period from 1946 to 1951, congregations were established on the western edge of Toronto including Logan Geggie Memorial (1950), Kingsway (1945), St. Giles Humber Valley (1950), St. Andrew's, Humber Heights (1948), and Pine Ridge (1951). These congregations were situated in the area between the Humber River and Islington Avenue, and are listed south to north.[6] A similar pattern can be found in the east of the city, with Fallingbrook established in 1947 at the corner of Kingston Road and Wood Glen Road, Westview established in 1950 in the St. Claire East and

O'Connor Drive area, and Kitchener Park being established in 1949 in the Eglinton Avenue East and Danforth Road area. Two congregations were also established in this period in the northern part of the expanding city, in the Bathurst and Lawrence area (Coldstream, 1949) and in the Wilson Avenue and Avenue Road area (Armour Heights, 1950). Finally, a new congregation was established outside of Toronto in Oshawa. This pattern of expanding out from the center continued in the next period (1952-1956). Considering just the western portion of Toronto, Alderwood (Browns Line north of Lake Shore Blvd.) was established in 1952, Hillview (Martin Grove and Rathburn area) in 1955, and Rexdale at (Islington and Rexdale) in 1953. Park Lawn, which was established in 1952 to the east of Royal York Road and south of Bloor Street, would be an exception in terms of being closer to the core of Toronto than some previously established congregations. This pattern continued throughout this period. As one might expect, the church was following Canadians as they moved outward into the suburbs. It is also clear that Presbyterians established congregations in neighbourhoods. In the descriptions above major intersections have been provided as a convenience to the reader, but in many cases the congregation was imbedded in a neighbourhood. Hillview, for example was on Ravenscrest Drive, across from Glen Agar Park. This was not a major intersection but a winding street in a neighbourhood.[7] Presbyterians also built a lot of congregations. They did not anticipate (nor perhaps should they have) that regional congregations with larger parking lots might be a different option.

While Presbyterians built new churches in the suburbs, the suburbs also came to surround existing congregations in what had, until then, been rural areas or small-town communities. Indeed, what we might assume to have been new church developments were in some cases existing congregations transformed as the suburbs expanded. Two congregations from the north of Toronto illustrate this point. In 1946, Westminster (Willowdale) was a small congregation of one hundred and four members and a church school of one hundred and forty-three situated on Empress Avenue to the east of Yonge Street. As the congregation continued to grow, reflecting the growth in the area, serious decisions needed to be made. A lot was purchased on Ellerslie Ave, west of Yonge Street, and a new sanctuary constructed there, followed by a Christian Education Building. The name of the congregation also changed as it became Willowdale Presbyterian Church. Membership grew dramatically until, in

1966, the congregation had a membership of six hundred, making it the fifth largest congregation in the presbytery of East Toronto.[8] Similarly, Thornhill Presbyterian entered the postwar period with a membership of only thirty-seven and an additional thirty-three recorded in the church school. This congregation also moved locations, constructed a new building, and grew dramatically. By 1966, the membership was over four hundred. These are only two examples of congregations that were transformed as the suburbs expanded. While a new building thus does not necessarily mean a new congregation, it has also become clear that an older building does not necessarily mean an older congregation. Erindale Presbyterian, an extension congregation in Mississauga established in the late 1950s, purchased on old Methodist building where they continue to worship. This was a period when existing congregations added a Sunday school hall, remodeled their sanctuary, or in some other way transformed themselves, particularly if the expanding suburbs provided them with the opportunity. The establishment of new congregations was only one part of overall denominational growth and expansion.

Did every project succeed? The answer is "no"; however, in the case of Toronto presbytery, only two instances have been discovered in this period where a congregation was started only to be amalgamated with another. The first, Kingsway Presbyterian church, was, as already mentioned, one of the first pieces of property to be purchased by the presbytery. This congregation was eventually merged with the rapidly growing St. Giles Humber Valley to form St. Giles-Kingsway, which continued as a very successful extension congregation. The second example of a congregation begun but soon amalgamated was the congregation of Park Royal. The development of this, and three other congregations begun at around the same time, give great insight into how church development was being done in the late 1950s as suburbs expanded in the areas to the west of Toronto – specifically Oakville and the small towns which eventually became the city of Mississauga. This work was done by the presbytery of West Toronto, under the leadership of the minister responsible for church extension in Toronto, a position funded by this presbytery and the presbytery of East Toronto.

At a time when national finances were a challenge, new congregations to the west of Toronto were established aggressively.[9] On 11 December 1956, a decision was made to rent Orr Public School in the South West of Oakville. At the next presbytery meeting, January 1957, a

decision was made to establish four other congregations, including one in the Clarkson Area. In March, two graduating Knox College students were appointed. T.H. McKennell was appointed to Hopedale, the name given to the congregation that would meet in the Orr Public school, and Malcolm Summers was appointed to the Clarkson area congregation. Services at Hopedale had already begun that month with ten attending the first Sunday, twenty-five the next, thirty-five the subsequent Sunday, and eighty the final Sunday of March. Given this progress, the presbytery appointed an interim moderator, a minister from another congregation to oversee the session of the new congregation, and appointed elders from Knox Presbyterian church Oakville to serve as an assessor (temporary) session until the congregation was established. McKennell began his ministry in May, the same month the presbytery gave permission for four building lots to be purchased, and on 16 June 1957 the new congregation of Hopedale Presbyterian Church was formed with forty-three charter members. Plans for the congregation in Clarkson continued, with their minister appointed and ordained, and services began in Hillcrest on Sunday, 15 September 1957 with thirty-five adults and children present.[10] In October the presbytery noted that, thanks to a grant received from St. Andrew's, Port Credit, they had purchased land (1.21 acres) in a development to be known as Park Royal, an area about one and a half kilometers to the southwest of where the congregation was gathering in a school. The minister and elders of St. Andrew's, Port Credit, were given responsibility for the congregation at Hillcrest, with the understanding that there was presbytery permission to establish them as a congregation at the appropriate time.

As 1957 drew to a close, the presbytery thus had established two new extensions projects along the shore of Lake Ontario and both seemed to be doing well. One indication of this was the fact that McKennell, who had been serving only half-time at Hopedale since May (the other half working at Parkdale Presbyterian in Toronto's west end), was appointed full-time minister of the new congregation.

Establishing worshipping communities was one task. Agreeing where that congregation would be located was another. Hopedale had purchased land. Land had also been purchased in Clarkson to the east of Southdown Road. In January 1958, the presbytery of West Toronto began to grapple with the issue of where these new congregations were to be situated and how many congregations they might actually be establishing. Two motions were approved. The first gave permission to Hillcrest to stay

in their own area west of Lorne Park Road and to purchase land in the vicinity of Clarkson Road. At the same time, the presbytery thanked St. Andrew's Port Credit for another grant of $1,500 to help buy land in the Park Royal area and agreed that a congregation should be organized there when "sufficient number of people" moved into the area.[11] The presbytery had agreed that they were now planning two congregations about two kilometers apart, one to the east (Hillcrest) and one to the west (Park Royal) of Southdown Road. It is also worth noting that St. Andrew's, Port Credit was crucial in supporting each of these ventures, having oversight through its session of Hillcrest and providing the money to purchase the land in Park Royal. In May, another decision around land was made, this time in relation to Hopedale. Presbytery approved a change in site, giving them permission to sell the land they owned and purchase a different parcel of land of the same size. Hopedale continued to expand and grow. By 1961, it had a membership of four hundred and thirty, and a Sunday school of two hundred and eighty. Five years later, and less than a decade after its founding, it had become the fourth largest congregation in the newly established Brampton Presbytery with a membership of five hundred and eighty-five and a church school of almost three hundred.

In the Clarkson area, the new minister found himself with two worship points in September 1958, Park Royal and Hillcrest, which had outgrown the school of that name and was now worshipping in Lorne Park Secondary school. This arrangement continued for one year, until the Rev. Stephen Ho was appointed to Park Royal, which was holding services at Willow Glen school. Meanwhile, the Hillcrest congregation had not only been established as a congregation with its own Board and Session, but had changed its name to Clarkson Road Presbyterian, and had pledged to become completely self-supporting by 1 January 1960, a goal which they achieved. Land was purchased in 1959, construction began in 1960, and a new building was dedicated in 1961.[12] That year the congregation had a membership of one hundred and fifty-eight and a church school of one hundred and thirty-five. The congregation at Park Royal was not much smaller, with a membership of one hundred and three and a church school of one hundred and four. At the same time, the presbytery minutes indicate some challenges, with *in camera* discussions, additional funding for money owed to the national pension fund, and a change of minister. The congregation of Park Royal was by this time worshipping in a portable church on the site that had been purchased. In 1963, a recommendation

was made to presbytery that the congregation be amalgamated with Clarkson Road. No clear reasons are given in the presbytery minutes, which nonetheless speak of this as a move that was supported by both congregations. The timing of the decision may have been encouraged by the decision of the minister to move to another extension work, thus opening an opportunity for the amalgamation to take place.[13] Other reasons may be discovered; however, the optimism of Canadian Presbyterians in establishing two congregations so closely together, as well as a third (Erindale in September 1957) less than four kilometers to the north, indicates their belief these congregations would all succeed. We see, as well, a focus on establishing neighbourhood congregations. It is worth noting that the amalgamated congregation at Clarkson Road, continued to grow, reading a membership of four hundred and nine and a church school of two hundred and eighteen by 1966.

The growth, and at times remarkable growth, of congregations in the suburbs was accompanied by a different urban reality, namely the hollowing out and closing or amalgamation of many congregations closer to the center of Toronto. When one considers church closures in the period from 1945 through to 1965, one tends to focus on rural churches, noting the depopulation of the rural areas as families moved to cities and suburbs. But neighbourhoods within cities were changing as well. In the process of looking at church extension in Toronto, the reality of the decline of many of Toronto's major Presbyterian churches has become apparent. In 1946, there were six Presbyterian congregations in central Toronto with memberships of over a thousand (with often large sized church schools on top of this): Calvin (1,063 members; 219 church school); Knox (1,403; 369); Parkdale (1,070; 347); Riverdale (1,706; 850); St. Andrew's (1,222; 224); and, Victoria (1,076; 315). There were another ten congregations with memberships of over five hundred including High Park (750; 299), Cooke's (810; 203) and Queen Street East (615; 315). Twenty years later (1966), there were no congregations in central Toronto over a thousand and those with over five hundred members had also declined. Knox Presbyterian was the strongest with a membership over eight hundred (861; 386) while Riverdale, once the largest, was now about a quarter the size it had been two decades earlier (460; 197). The decline of membership of three churches in roughly the Christie Pitts and Wychwood Avenue areas (between Dufferin and Bathurst and between College and St. Clair) from 1946 to 1966 illustrates the challenge: St. Paul's (566 members in

1946, 275 in 1966); Dovercourt (657 to 311); and Davenport (544 to 350). The loss of members from these congregations was dramatic and makes sense as the neighbourhoods they were in changed dramatically in terms of their religious composition. The larger congregations were now, in many cases, those in the suburbs, including extension congregations. St. Andrew's Humber-Heights, with a membership of over seven hundred and fifty, and a church school of almost four hundred and seventy, and St. Giles-Kingsway (577 and 186 respectively), had emerged as major congregations in their own right. The numerical decline of many churches in the inner core of Toronto that occurred in the first two decades after the Second World War was followed in the next decades (1965 to 1985) by amalgamations and closures.

The Presbyterian Church in Canada, like many denominations, built new congregations after the Second World War. As Canadians moved into the suburbs, so the denomination took God – or at least churches – into these situations. Fifteen years ago, after some very preliminary research in this area, I proposed the following rather revisionary idea: "The building of new congregations by Canadian Presbyterians in the period after the Second World War was appropriate and important, even crucial to the evolution of the denomination. Without these new congregations the denomination would be much different." After returning to this question and conducting detailed research in this area, the evidence for this proposition seems even clearer. It is important that we move out of a narrative, based upon more recent developments, that "denominations built too many churches." This may be true; but was it too many congregations, or too many neighbourhood congregations?

How else might a denomination like the Presbyterian Church in Canada have responded to the clear needs for churches in Canada's expanding suburbs? There are many legitimate research questions we need to pose and consider. Research across denominational lines focused on a particular city or area would be fascinating. Questions around finance and how effective denominations were in marshalling their resources for expansion need to be considered, as do the phases and different models of new church development. Was it better to rely on local initiative, or was centralized administration and planning more effective? These are all important questions. What initial research into new church development in the first two decades after the Second World War suggests is that these decisions were vital for the future direction of the Presbyterian Church in

Canada. It is striking how many of the congregations established in this period or renewed as the suburbs expanded to their doorstep played a vital role in denominational developments in the 1960s and 1980s. Clarkson Road, Willowdale, Thornhill, Hopedale, St. Andrews Humber Heights, St. Stephen's (Scarborough), Armour Heights, and many more, provided leadership and resources to the denomination. They are names that come up in various ways time and time again, while Chalmers Presbyterian, Dovercourt Presbyterian, and many others which had been dominant in 1946, faded from influence and memory. The church itself was transformed as these new congregations were established or transformed by suburban growth. These became the congregations that provided children for church camps, leadership for church programs, innovative ideas, and even served as recruiting ground for clergy. The kind of stereotyping of these congregations as faithless, conformist, social clubs, which was occasionally voiced in either books or denominational reports or publications, seems inadequate, if not untrue. These newly established congregations became positive places of worship and faith; it was a new frontier, even if a crabgrass one. Suburban development transformed Canadian society. It also transformed Canadian churches. It is a topic worthy of our serious study.

Endnotes

1. Stuart Macdonald, "The Presbyterian Church in Canada and Extension Work, 1945-1985: Initial Findings," *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* (2003): 34-48, contains a discussion of the existing literature. Critiques of the suburbs is described well in James Hudnut-Beumler, *Looking for God in the Suburbs: The Religion of the American dream and Its Critics, 1945-1965* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994). Patrick Allitt, *Religion in America since 1945: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), is an excellent survey of developments in the United States in this period, but the limited discussion of suburban expansion is an indication of the reality that this has not been an area of major research.

2. Roberto Perin, *The Many Rooms of This House: Diversity in Toronto's Places of Worship since 1840* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017).

3. Reginald W. Bibby, *Fragmented Gods: The Poverty and Potential of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: Irwin, 1987) suggests this in his discussion of the postwar Protestant churches.

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

5. The information is given each year, organized by synods going east to west across Canada, and is published in the proceedings of denomination's annual General Assembly, *The Acts and Proceedings* (hereafter, A&P). I am indebted to Anne Miller, who undertook a project that took congregational information for the entire denomination and placed it in spreadsheets in five-year intervals. These five-year snapshots – chosen to coincide with the census, so on the "1s" and the "6s," i.e., 1951, 1956, 1961, etc. – are invaluable. These have been adapted and modified in this research project to allow for computer mapping. Additional geographical information has been added to allow for locating congregations on maps. These maps are helpful both in analysis and presentation and provided invaluable tools in doing this study. Information on congregational membership and church school membership is taken from the A&P as complied in this resource.

6. One of the challenges of this research is determining when, precisely, a congregation is founded and what that even means. Should we date this by the first survey of the work, the first worship service, or when the congregation is formally established? What do we do with the frequent changes of names? It is anticipated that further research may alter some of the dates when congregations were founded, or standardize how we record this information.

7. As noted, the A&P gave the data from which the computer-generated maps of congregations were produced. This information was confirmed using William J. Adams, "The Presbytery of West Toronto: Historical Sketches" (Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1999).

8. Ivor Samuel, "Time Was: Willowdale Presbyterian Church," A&P, 1975. This congregational history was invaluable for providing crucial details noted in the text.

9. This is account is based upon the minutes of the presbytery over these years: 11 December 1956 to 12 November 1963. Presbytery of West Toronto Minutes, 1977-3012-1-4, 1977-3012-2, 1977-3012-3, Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, Toronto.

10. Additional details can be found in the congregational history of Clarkson Road Presbyterian Church: "Fulfilling the Dream: A History for the Millennium, 1957-2000" (Mississauga: Clarkson Road Presbyterian Church, 1999).

11. 14 January1958, minutes of presbytery, 37. Presbytery of West Toronto minutes, 1977-3012-2. Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, Toronto.

12. "Fulfilling the Dream," 22-28.

13. October 1963, minutes of presbytery, 7, and 12 November 1963, minutes of presbytery, 20-3. Presbytery of West Toronto minutes, 1977-3012-3. Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, Toronto. There is a brief discussion of the amalgamation of Park Royal in "Fulfilling the Dream," 35-7.

The Rise and Fall (and Resilience) of the Peace Movement Among Presbyterians and the United Church in the Interwar Years, 1919-1939

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The post-war years were uncertain and filled with angst. Nations clashed, democracies fumbled, and economies struggled. The Western world was in perpetual crisis, and countless book titles with words such as "decline," "decadence," "catastrophe," and "sickness" expressed the sense of uncertainty and alarm for the future.[1] Long held views on economics, morals, art, politics, and religion were in flux, including views related to war.[2] Canadians were not immune to the uncertainty, and, during the interwar years, Presbyterians and United Church members (and, for a brief time, Methodists)[3] experienced a dramatic shift in discourse surrounding war, and radical revisions were proposed as ways forward in a war-torn world. During and immediately after the Great War those denominations were – at least in their public statements – firmly in the just war tradition. However, throughout the twenties and thirties an increasing number grew disenchanted with notions of a "just war" and were quite vocal in advocating against supporting any war for any reason. Others, though, were not as enamoured with pacifist notions. The outbreak of war yet again in 1939 was met with a unified just war response by the Presbyterian Church of Canada (PCC), but the United Church of Canada (UCC) was deeply divided over support for the war.

This paper explores the trajectory of and motives for that fluidity between the two world wars (1919-1939), as well as identifying the

reasons for very different reactions as war loomed in 1939. Before church union in 1925, attention is directed to Presbyterians and Methodists, and post-union the focus is on the PCC and the UCC.[4] The sources for this research are the official denominational statements of the UCC, PCC, and Methodists, as well as the denominational magazines *Christian Guardian* (Methodist), *Presbyterian Witness*, *Presbyterian Record*, *New Outlook* (UCC), and *Observer* (UCC).[5] One difficulty with sources is that after 1925 the PCC was in survival mode, preoccupied with its survival after losing two-thirds of its members. Not surprisingly, in the years following 1925, significant attention in the denominational press and meetings was paid to issues related to church struggles, with little time and space for other issues such as international affairs. That being the case, there is still enough material to provide glimpses of PCC attitudes to war and peace.

A comment on the term "pacifism" is in order. As Thomas Socknat notes, Canadian pacifism was a widely diverse movement, with both religious and secular motivations.[6] There was also a spectrum of Christian opinion, from sectarian pacifists (historic peace churches, or anyone who would not support the use of force for any reason) to liberal reformist pacifists (who were elated with international developments for peace, but were willing to support the use of force as a last resort). To distinguish between the two in the following analysis, the expression (absolute) pacifist will refer to the former and (internationalist) pacifist to the latter. Pacifism simply refers to both.

A few preliminary words are also necessary on the role of the press. This paper explores the range of views among the PCC and UCC primarily through the pages of their denominational periodicals. The religious press played a unique role in the life of the churches besides providing news and devotional material for the faithful. While it is difficult to know just how representative the papers were when it came to views in the pews (or pulpits for that matter), what is certain is that they embraced their role as a nation-building medium, seeking to shape views of events to inform and motivate Christian engagement on pressing issues.[7]

The range, fluidity, and diversity of UCC and PCC responses to war and peace during the interwar period reflects the optimism and pessimism of the age, as well as important differences in denominational trajectories and traditions. The UCC and PCC shared similar impulses for peace, as well as an internationalist vision for the role of the church in developing conditions conducive for peace, but there were also dissimilarities.

Interwar pacifism had broad appeal because it was a widely diverse movement, with (absolute) pacifists sharing the euphoria of outlawing war with (internationalist) pacifists. Their rhetoric and methods had much in common, and thus initially both had wide appeal, but, as war with Nazi Germany loomed, the differences among pacifists became more apparent with every German annexation. Support for (internationalist) pacifism was evident in both the PCC and UCC, but (absolute) pacifism only found fertile soil in the UCC. An amalgam of diverse ideas, traditions, and assumptions within the UCC created an identity marked by theological innovation and diversity that directly contributed to support for (absolute) pacifism, while church union in 1925 made for a conservative and relatively uniform PCC, unwilling to adjust or abandon its core Presbyterian identity associated with the just war tradition.

I. What They Shared

The following are areas of common experience, where the PCC and UCC shared similar discourse and trajectories.

Support for the First World War

By the autumn of 1914, nearly all of Canada was "enthusiastically dedicated" to the cause against the Central Powers.[8] Following a pattern and precedent established during the South African War just over a decade earlier,[9] most Canadian churches responded "without hesitation to the national cause" and supported the war effort.[10] The lofty goals of the war were to save civilization from German militarism and stop the Turkish genocide of the Armenians. It was also hoped that the sacrifice of the war would lead to a future without war.[11] On the home front, the social gospel agenda and war effort were amalgamated, and it had been hoped that the war effort would contribute to social reform and the Christianization of the nation.[12] As the role of churches shifted from providing wartime motivation to post-war consolation, religious services and memorials contributed to the construction of memory, meaning, and myth that provided comfort for the grieving.[13] Post-war Methodists and Presbyterians continued to proclaim support for the war effort, and key dates such as Armistice Day or battle commemorations were natural times for statements of support.[14]

Postwar Disillusionment

In the years immediately following the war, it became obvious that the "war to end all wars" had not solved the blight of warfare; in fact, the world remained a dangerous place of vicious conflicts that vexed those seeking peace. Reporting could swing from one extreme to another.[15] However, despite initial optimism,[16] the trend was towards pessimism. In the words of one commentator: "That Canada, in common with other nations affected by the war, is facing one of the most critical periods of her history no sane observer can for a moment doubt."[17] The papers reported on a plethora of conflicts, and, not surprisingly, every new conflict eroded the initial postwar optimism. And with that erosion of confidence came questions about the efficacy and morality of any war, even one deemed to be "just."

"A Creed for Believers in a Warless World," published by the Commission on International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches, was indicative of the winds of change in the early 1920s. That ten-point creed calling for a warless world summarized the beliefs of a growing number who were distressed by the war's failure to live up to its promises, and movements for peace and even the abolition of war began to be birthed.[18] In Britain, there was widespread discontent among churches over their unabashed support for the Great War, and in the 1920s religious discourse mirrored much of the anti-war *zeitgeist*, whether secular or religious in origin.[19] By the end of the twenties, in the spirit of bestsellers like *All Quiet On the Western Front* (1929) and *Goodbye to All That* (1929), PCC and UCC members expressed their growing discontent with war and its supposed results, and they were supported by a growing pacifist movement within Canada,[20] as well as in liberal Protestant reform circles.[21]

The trend in church discourse was towards an internationalist vision, inspired by notions of international brotherhood and organizations that transcended nationalist tribalism. That internationalism had inherent tensions, for in its ranks were (absolute) pacifists who desired international peace but who would never take up the sword for any reason, and (internationalist) pacifists who likewise desired international peace but who would – as a last resort – support the use of the sword to stop aggressor nations.[22] Nevertheless, both groups of "pacifists" were elated with trajectories and organizations for peace in the 1920s. Their rhetoric for peace was virtually the same, making it difficult throughout the interwar years to identify who belongs to what camp.

Commentators in the 1920s were acutely aware of the complex issues

related to the origins of armed conflict. The veritable flood of articles in the denominational literature in the twenties that questioned or outright rejected traditional notions of a just war and embraced pacifism were motivated primarily by the social gospel and the experience of the First World War. Views were in flux, and the just war tradition was increasingly questioned.[23] There were occasions for advocating for the outlawing of war, such as the tenth anniversary of the outbreak of war.[24] The defections from the just war tradition of two prominent proponents of the allied cause in the Great War – S. D. Chown, Methodist Superintendent, and William B. Creighton, editor of *Christian Guardian* – gave further impetus to the pacifist trajectory. The open promotion of pacifism in the pages of the *Christian Guardian* in early 1924 led to relief for pacifists but alarm for those who sought to defend the just war tradition.[25] While the discourse of the war against the Central Powers was often infused by the social gospel vision for justice, by the mid-twenties the social gospel perspective had evolved to see war as a primary cause of injustice. The movement had a range of perspectives within its ranks – conservative to radical – and what many, especially the radical wing, were convinced of was a wholesale rejection of the war system. Informed in no small measure by the social gospel's analysis of economic systems, war was increasingly understood to be a result of wide-ranging factors: nationalism, unresolved social ills, an unjust economic order, failure to apply Christianity to social and political affairs, a war mentality, human greed, divided Christendom, the portrayal of war as glorious, and the arms race.[26] Those causes of war were quite similar to those noted in *The Christian and War: An Appeal* (1926), authored by a group of Montreal clergymen,[27] as well as in *Toward the Christian Revolution* (1936), a collection of essays by those sympathetic to the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order.[28]

Driving the evolution of views on war even further was the cost of the past war, and fears of yet even further devastation. The cost in human lives had been staggering: over eight million dead and twenty-one million wounded, out of sixty-five million mobilized.[29] Those numbers do not include the genocide of over one million Armenians at the hands of the Ottoman Turks or the tens of millions who died in the post-war Spanish Influenza. Canada eventually sent close to 620,000 troops (roughly eight percent of the population) and experienced 60,000 dead and 173,000 injured.[30] The effects of technological advances on the battlefield, as well as the commitment of total war, had made war more destructive than ever imagined or experienced. The waging of the next war consumed considerable military attention and haunting visions fuelled

popular fears.[31] War needed to be avoided at all costs, for, in the words of commentators, if "another world war comes . . . European civilization will be almost obliterated from the earth,"[32] and it would "far eclipse in its desolating effects the wildest dream of the militarist."[33]

Growing Optimism for a Warless World

Optimism was palpable by the mid-to-late 1920s. It seemed a perfect storm of events had developed that gave hope to those longing and advocating for a warless world. Perhaps the "war to end all wars" would finally live up to its promise, and war would be no more.

A primary cause for growing optimism was the birth of the League of Nations, with one commentator bemoaning that "If there had been such a League in 1914 we suspect that even Germany, with all her preparation, would hardly have dared to declare war."[34] Chown called it "the most outstanding political achievement related to the Kingdom of God that the world has ever seen."[35] Others also extolled the league, and hoped that it would bring order and peace to the international order.[36] Canadian churches were exhorted to be a "powerful ally" of the League, and "an extensive campaign should be inaugurated at once" to support its work.[37] Distress was expressed over the USA's refusal to ratify joining the League.[38]

Concomitant with the maturation of the League of Nations were positive developments moving nations toward disarmament and the outlawing of war. By the mid-twenties, growing optimism about the future was evident due to international developments such as the Washington Conference (1921-22) and the Locarno Treaty (1926). Nations burdened by war debt and the ongoing costs of the military could find relief from rapidly escalating costs, and a never-ending cycle of war preparations could be broken by disarmament and treaty limitations of weaponry.[39] However, it was the Kellogg Peace Treaty (1928), or "The Pact of Paris," with its outlawing of war as a means of resolving disputes that was considered "the greatest international gesture towards peace which the world ever witnessed."[40] It was also a turning point for outright renunciations of support for any conflict.[41]

The Role of the Church in Making Peace Possible

What was ultimately required for peace to take root was the work of the church to Christianize people, organizations, and economic systems. The way

forward was a symbiotic relationship between international organizations like the League of Nations and the church. The Kingdom of God was deemed to transcend national identities and prejudices, and thus the spread of the Kingdom was the ideal way forward in creating a willingness to make peace and live in unity with a universal brotherhood.[42] World missions were deemed to be able to provide much needed assistance in quelling international tensions.[43] For instance, the most effective way of keeping Japan from "becoming totally drunken with the lust for power and conquest" was by spreading the gospel in Japan.[44]

Such expansive notions of Christianizing the international order required an intensive effort by local churches. As Chown stated, "The League of Nations . . . lays the duty upon the Church to turn the hearts of all peoples unto Christ as the only means of escaping an impossible future."[45]
Churches were to "enter on a new Crusade" to educate their members for peace through sermons, Bible studies, and special services.[46] For example, in the days before the Washington Conference it was suggested that churches make Sunday, 6 November 1921, "a day of special prayer and pleading for world-wide peace."[47] A year later, churches were encouraged to designate 24 December 1922 as World Peace Sunday.[48] Church members were also encouraged to talk to their friends, encourage their pastors to preach on peace, work with the local church to organize peace events, and basically use all the means at their disposal to nurture a will to peace that could undergird efforts to make peace possible.[49] The UCC especially embraced a vision for a new world order based on Christian principles.[50] The need for the churches to do their part for international peace only intensified in the 1930, especially as the actions of Japan in China, Italy in East Africa, and the escalating demands of Nazi Germany threatened to undo any gains towards outlawing war. It was hoped that even last-ditch efforts could avert a disastrous war, such as when around the crisis over Czechoslovakia the UCC committee The Church and International Relationships provided an extensive to-do list for "Peace Education" and "Peace Action."[51]

Growing Alarm in the "Dark Valley"

The appeal of pacifism and the possibility of outlawing war was put to the test as international tensions rose precipitously in the next decade, a period aptly described as a "Dark Valley."[52] By the mid-1930s there were contradictory trends. On the one hand, there continued to be a bevy of articles (mainly

in the UCC denominational press) calling for the outlawing of war, and the arguments remained basically the same as they had been in the twenties: war was considered to be contrary to Christianity, settled nothing, and threatened civilization and Christendom.[53] An unholy economic trinity of the financial costs of war, the economic system (capitalism), and the "war system" (collusion of militarism and industrialists) was determined to be a primary cause of war.[54] The role of the church in the transformation of individuals (and thus society) was still considered to be critical if pacifism, democracy, and freedom were to prevail.[55] Such appeals seemed even more urgent with war clouds looming.

On the other hand, international tensions undermined pacifist aspirations. Pacifism in Britain was being abandoned, American pacifists were divided over whether or not some war could be justified, and pacifism in Canada was "severely shaken" by world events.[56] John Webster Grant rightly claims that the rising tensions "broke the unity of the movement irreparably."[57] By 1936, the Treaty of Versailles, the Locarno Pact, and the League of Nations, were basically dead.[58] It was a tumultuous and anxiety-filled political landscape; Italy and Japan were in an expansive mood, Germany had openly begun its re-armament process, and the western democracies were paralysed as to what to do.[59] As pressures mounted, and war seemed more likely, pacifists faced even more pressure to defend a position that was increasingly seen by some to be untenable. In the months before the outbreak of war in Europe, prayers were urged, repentance was called for, and hope was offered, for another war seemed certain.[60]

II. Where They Differed, and Why

Not surprisingly, the PCC and UCC shared in much of the *zeitgeist* of the day related to optimism for peace and the outlawing of war. Interwar pacifism was a widely diverse movement, with (absolute) pacifists unwilling to support any war for any reason sharing the euphoria of outlawing war with (internationalist) pacifists willing to do all they could to end war – but not willing to renounce war as a last resort. Their rhetoric was often similar, but as war with Germany loomed, the differences among pacifists became more apparent with every German annexation. The responses of the UCC reveal a mix of absolute and internationalist pacifists, whereas the pacifist impulse in the PCC seems to have been primarily of the internationalist type. The outbreak of war was the catalyst for those differences to surface.

PCC Never Abandoned the Just War Tradition

A close reading of PCC commentary on the rise of pacifism and calls for an outlawing of war reveals that, while there was optimism for arbitration, disarmament, and the outlawing of war, there remained a grim realism about the possible need for war as a last resort.[61] During the years of optimism, when it looked like the League of Nations would be able to forge a way for disarmament to become a reality, support was expressed for efforts to help make conditions that would further the cause of peace. Yet, becoming an absolute pacifist was considered to be beyond the range of acceptable options. As one commentator wrote:

> There can be no doubt about the deepening conviction in all branches of the Christian Church that war as a means of settling international disputes is not only contrary to the will of Christ and foreign to His spirit, utterly futile as a means of securing permanent peace. [However, despite some presbyteries moving towards pacifism] the *Church does not take the position that no circumstances can justify armed resistance to unlawful aggression or inaction in the face wrong and suffering inflicted upon the weak and defenseless.* But it reiterates with all its power and passion that war is not Christ's method of bringing in His Kingdom, and that it is fundamentally alien to the spirit of brotherhood which he came to establish on earth.[62]

Elsewhere it was stated the aggression of Germany and its allies in the Great War had taught the obvious lesson that sometimes war was needed to stop bellicose nation.[63] Those same convictions remained in the church's discourse into the 1930s.

Alarmed by the voices advocating for churches to renounce war no matter the cause, especially in the context of rising of fascism, the editor of the *Presbyterian Record* directly addressed the issue. In 1934, he printed verbatim the words of James Snowden, editor of the US *Presbyterian Banner* (Pittsburgh), making it clear that the Presbyterian position on the issue had already been settled:

> Pacifists in the current sense of the term are not simply lovers of peace and haters of war, for we are all that, but are those who are opposed to the use of any force in the defence of the country. Presbyterian ministers and elders who take this position and help to rush through the General

> Assembly resolutions declaring that they "break with the war system" and will "cross no boundary" in defence of the country *should remember that they subscribed to a different doctrine when they accepted our Confession of Faith*.[64]

Reference was made to Chapter XXIII of the *Confession Faith* that detailed the role of the magistrate to use the sword for justice. In other words, novelty was out; to be a faithful Presbyterian was to be committed to the just war tradition. A summary of the Fifteenth General Council Alliance of Reformed Churches that met in Montreal in 1937 gives further evidence of the appeal of pacifism, as well as reactions against such a drift. The council made it clear that it supported moves towards peace and disarmament and the Pact of Paris and League of Nations, and decried the arms race, but at the same time it could not entirely renounce war (despite the fact that some, so it seemed, wanted to).[65] After commentary on the contents of the council, the *Presbyterian Record* editor chimed in to let readers know of his disapproval of some of the council's choice of words that sounded too pacifist.

It is noteworthy that the PCC General Assembly in the 1930s did not pass a single statement renouncing war. The UCC, on the other hand, published four.[66] That said, renouncing war did find support among some Presbyterians. For instance, in 1932, John Service extolled the aims and accomplishments of the League of Nations, as well as echoed the call from others for the church to make the work of the League possible. He denounced war in language that mirrored that of absolute pacifists:

> War is the Maddest Folly of the Ages. The empires of the old world have always been founded on or by means of force, and in the long run their power has depended on the sword. BUT WHAT CAN WAR EVER PROVE? You may compel men's bodies by force, but you cannot so convince their minds. To win in war is no more a sign that right has triumphed than it is a sign that a man is a follower of Jesus because he is a millionaire, or that a man is a scoundrel because he is poor. WAR IS THE GREATEST OF ALL MISTAKES, AND WE NEED A LEAGUE TO DELIVER US FROM THAT. The Kingdom of God is to extend over the whole world; but Jesus would not found it on force. It is a Kingdom based on love, and a true League of Nations must rest its power on brotherhood.[67]

Another example of pacifism came from Saskatchewan. The Synod of

Saskatchewan brought an overture to the PCC Assembly in Montreal in 1935, entitled "Desire for Peace among the Nations."[68] The "principle of the prayer" in the overture was approved, while the entire item was referred to the Committee on Evangelism and Church Life and Work.[69] A year later, in the PCC General Assembly in Hamilton, the Committee gave a report on its deliberations regarding the overture. While it supported in principle the goal of cooperating with others for peace, it was also decidedly pessimistic of the League of Nations and critical of other nations' willingness to work for peace. The circumstances of 1930 led to a reappraisal of liberal optimism and a return to Reformed "realism."[70] And that note of realism is obvious in the Committee's response.[71] Apparently, the actions of Japan, Italy, and especially Germany, had shattered much of the longed-for international cooperation for peace. It was hoped, however, that vigorous evangelism would change enough hearts to create conditions that would make calls for disarmament and a love of neighbor possible. That was the first and last overture for peace in the PCC.

There are a number of questions surrounding the resiliency of the just war tradition among Presbyterians. Did the social gospel remain a significant shaper of Presbyterian theology in the years following church union?[72] How all-consuming was the "survival and reconstruction" mode in the post-union years, and did that focus on rebuilding after the devastating losses of 1925 detract from theological innovation and speculation.[73] And just how conservative were the remaining members of the PCC?[74] At the moment, there does not seem to be a consensus on answers to these questions. But what is clear is that a significant reason for the PCC not embracing (absolute) pacifism revolved around the issue of identity, which in the 1920s and 1930s was fused to the crisis of church union.

Perhaps the most significant factor as to why the PCC did not embrace (absolute) pacifism lies in the intersection of pacifism with historic Presbyterian identity, an identity under duress. Despite the optimism for peace, it is not entirely surprising that (absolute) pacifism did not take root in the PCC. There was no significant pacifist movement in the reformed tradition, and thus the surging peace movement did not resonate with a pre-existing body of Presbyterian pacifists. But more importantly, (absolute) pacifism directly contradicted the creeds of the church, something commented on a number of times. As noted above, the editor of the *Presbyterian Record* made sure he reminded readers that loyalty to the Presbyterian church required loyalty to the creeds of the church: "Pacifists . . . *should remember that they subscribed to a different doctrine when they accepted our Confession of Faith*.[75] Those

creeds, it was noted, affirmed the state's legitimate use of the sword. The issue of loyalty to the creeds was all the more pressing due to the recent loss of members to the UCC. Those Presbyterians who refused to enter into church union did so, in part, because of their loyalty to the historic Reformed creeds and their Presbyterian heritage and identity. Presbyterian identity had been threatened by church union, making loyalty to the church's "enduring witness"[76] more pressing, and any departures highly suspect and very improbable. Stated differently, it is no small wonder that Presbyterians who were not willing to abandon their Presbyterian identity and *Confession of Faith* during the church union debates were not about to do so a few years later by embracing a radically new creed on war and peace.

As a loyal member of the empire, Canada declared war on Germany on 10 September 1939. The pattern of church responses to the conflict mirrored that of the First World War, albeit without the same degree of enthusiasm; the British entered into it "soberly and rather sadly"[77] and in Canada it was deemed a "messy but necessary job."[78] In that sense the pacifist impulse had contributed to a chastened and reformed just war position. Not surprisingly, the PCC remained faithful to its creedal commitment to the just war tradition. And the war against Hitler was deemed in the PCC to be a just war.[79] In perhaps a jibe at pacifists, one author wrote, "What we attempt is not a theoretical discussion of this matter. Europe is beyond theory now and so is the British Empire."[80] It was believed that Britain and its allies had done everything possible to avoid war, and that force was considered to be the only option left to defend liberty and justice. There was no public debate or well-known dissenting voices in the PCC over support for the nation's war effort, and in the coming months commentary in the *Presbyterian Record* and resolutions from the General Assembly made it clear that – at least officially and publicly – Presbyterians were supportive of the nation's war effort, as they always had been.[81]

UCC Had a Significant Number that Embraced Absolute Pacifism

Like many of the American liberal socially conscious churches during the Second World War,[82] the UCC was divided over the question of pacifism. The majority of UCC leaders supported the war effort, but there was a significant number of dissenters urging the church to refuse to do so.[83] After Canada declared war, the UCC's Presbyteries met and approved the position taken by the Executive of General Council in its expression of loyalty to the

Canadian government. All Presbyteries did so, but with minority voices of dissent.[84] Upset with the UCC's decision, sixty-eight ministers issued a manifesto entitled "Witness against War" in the 15 October 1939 issue of the *Observer*.[85] (A month later, the *Observer* published an additional sixty-four names of both clergy and laypersons.[86]) The manifesto was a public statement of the pacifist ministers' opposition to supporting the war effort, and it created a "firestorm of controversy."[87] Editorials in *The Star*, *The Globe and Mail* and *The Telegram* condemned the manifesto and others called for "strong action by the church and other authorities to condemn those who had signed it."[88] Even the Attorney-General Gordon Conant looked into whether or not it violated Regulations 39 or 39A of the War Measures Act.

Based on pre-war commentary, and especially formal church statements, the actions of the signatories should not have been a surprise.[89] A flurry of letters to the editor in the *Observer* in the months before the war indicate that many within the UCC were unwilling to support a new war: out of thirty two letters between March and October (1939), eleven supported the notion of a just war, whereas seventeen (plus twenty two co-signers) were supportive of a (absolute) pacifist position (four letters could be read either way).[90] Commentary in the pages of the *Observer* also made it clear that the pacifist impulse, though challenged, had not been eclipsed by the threat of war, even in the fearful late-1930s.[91] While the volume of pacifist statements raises questions as to whether or not radical voices were really merely a "marginal voice in the church,"[92] what is beyond dispute is that the pacifism expressed in the opening months of the war was simply a continuation of that trajectory, and what those in opposition to the war drew most heavily upon were the official statements of the UCC that had made it clear – at least to them – that the UCC had formally renounced war. The dissenting group within the UCC was convinced that it was being faithful to the church's teaching, and for support referred back to the four resolutions made by the UCC in 1932,[93] 1934,[94] 1936,[95] and 1938.[96] Those official statements increasingly became tilted to the pacifist cause, eventually endorsing conscientious objection and declaring outright a rejection of war: "That as Christians we positively reject war, because war rejects love, defies the will of Christ, and denies the worth of man. We must be prepared to follow Christ in turning from war because it is false and futile and destructive of human personality and spiritual values."[97] In 1938, it was further declared that, "war is contrary to the mind of Christ." The wording of such declarations, and voting support to approve the formal statements, reveals not only the extent of pacifist aspirations within UCC, but

also a willingness to formalize such views to be the position of the church on such matters. However, as an amendment to the 1938 statement indicates, there were still those who saw the state as having a role to play in the suppression of evil, and, despite a longing for peace, "in the present unredeemed state of the world the state has a duty under God to use force when Law and order are threatened or to vindicate an essential Christian principle, i.e., to defend victims of wanton aggression or secure freedom for the oppressed." As will be noted below, that amendment contributed to confusion and division the following year.

The end result of such a range of opinion was that the UCC was seriously divided during a time of national crisis. It was certainly embarrassing for some within the UCC that a denomination with aspirations of leading the charge in regard to nation-building was so divided on a pressing issue of national security. Yet for others within the UCC, the disappointment was that the highly touted UCC had become an apostate church. R. Edis Fairbairn, prominent pacifist UCC minister and main instigator behind the "Witness against War," claimed the church's stance was a "deliberate profession of apostasy.[98] While not all pacifists would have concurred with Fairbairn's harsh rhetoric, many did lament that the arrival of war had snuffed out the hopes and dreams expressed in the anti-war statements of the church.

Postwar (absolutist) pacifism found fertile soil in the UCC due to an amalgam of diverse ideas, traditions, and assumptions within the UCC that created an identity marked by theological innovation. First, a pacifism that rejected or was reticent to support the just war tradition had some history within Methodism.[99] Methodist enlistment during the First World War was proportionately lower than Anglicans and Presbyterians. The UCC inherited that reluctance, and it is no coincidence that Fairbairn was formerly a Methodist minister.[100] In fact, of the sixty-eight signatories of the October "Witness Against War," twenty-two (maybe twenty-four) were formerly Methodist ministers and only five (maybe six) were formerly PCC ministers.[101] Those statistics confirm a significant Methodist connection to the UCC embracing of (absolute) pacifism and the rise of wartime dissent.[102]

Second, the significant influence of the social gospel within the UCC also played a role in the widespread embracing of the antiwar movement. This is not to say the social gospel did not influence the PCC's views on war and peace, for based on the nature of PCC discourse it very well seems to have been a factor. This is also not to say that one had to be a supporter of the social gospel to be a pacifist, for pacifism was rooted in many factors, religious and

secular, the social gospel being merely one factor among many. But that said, it was an important one in the 1920s and 1930s. Canadian Methodism had widely embraced the social gospel movement, bringing a penchant for pacifism into the union of 1925. Of course, Methodism was not monochrome. It had a mix of conservative and liberal forces, and the Great War had "deeply divided Methodism" even further.[103] Those tensions were never resolved leading into union. Some of those streams within Methodism, inherited by the UCC, lent themselves to the surging pacifism of the day. Along with PCC ministers who were enthused with the social gospel who joined the UCC, the new denomination was fertile soil indeed for embracing the surging antiwar sentiment of the postwar years. The influence of the social gospel (whether radical or conservative) can be seen in the nature of antiwar discourse, with readers fed a diet of articles referencing the "brotherhood of man" and a socialist critique of the causes of war.[104]

Third, as with the PCC, denominational identity played a role in the development of pacifism within the UCC. Whereas issues related to identity contributed to the PCC being unwilling to evolve in new directions, the relative newness of the UCC meant that the future was open, and the identity of the church was fluid. The UCC church was born with a grand social vision, one which included Christianizing international relations, and the intersection of the rise of antiwar sentiment and the shaping of UCC identity provided what seemed to be an ideal opportunity for antiwar aspirations to make it onto the floor of General Assembly and into the church's official statements. The lack of a statement in the UCC's Basis of Union on the state's use of the sword meant that there were no set limitations on new and bold ideas on that issue. In the minds of supporters of the peace statements, the UCC had become a prophetic voice in the face of rising militarism and rearmament.

The problem, however, was that the official statements of the church on war and peace not only reflected the rise of (absolute) pacifism within the ranks of the UCC, and fueled the optimism of those seeking to shape a church in their (pacifist) image, but were also a primary reason for the division in the opening months of the war. Quite simply, "both sides claimed with good reason" that they had the statements on their side.[105] The 1936 statement made it clear that the church "renounce[ed] war as an instrument of national policy." By 1938, the church had begun to back-peddle, noting that war may be necessary "in the present unredeemed state of the world." That was, it seems, a time when "realism nudged idealism aside,"[106] a part of a larger trend of alarmed people abandoning their position to respond to the looming crisis. The

result was hopes dashed and a church divided. However, all was not in vain, for, as in the PCC, the rise of pacifist criticism led to a tempered just war position, one that sought to avoid the excesses of the previous war.[107]

Conclusion

The range, fluidity, and diversity of UCC and PCC responses to war and peace during the interwar period reflects the optimism and pessimism of the age, as well as important differences in denominational trajectories and traditions. The UCC and PCC shared similar impulses for peace, as well as an internationalist vision for the role of the church in developing conditions conducive for peace, but there were also important differences. Interwar pacifism had broad appeal because it was a widely diverse movement, with (absolute) pacifists unwilling to support any war for any reason sharing the euphoria of outlawing war with (internationalist) pacifists willing to do all they could to end war – but not willing to renounce war as a last resort. Their rhetoric and methods shared much in common, and thus initially both had wide appeal, but, as war with Nazi Germany loomed, the differences among pacifists became more apparent with every German annexation. Support for (internationalist) pacifism was evident in both the PCC and UCC, but (absolute) pacifism only found fertile soil in the UCC. An amalgam of diverse ideas, traditions, and assumptions within the UCC created an identity marked by innovation that directly contributed to support for (absolute) pacifism, while church union in 1925 made for a conservative PCC, unwilling to adjust or abandon its core Presbyterian identity associated with the just war tradition. The end result was two very different responses to pacifism.

Endnotes

1. Jan Ifversen, "The Crisis of European Civilization After 1918," in *Ideas of Europe since 1914: The Legacy of the First World War*, eds. Menno Spiering and Michael Wintle (London: Palgrave, 2002), 14-31.

2. Richard Overy, *The Inter-War Crisis* (London: Routledge, 2017).

3. In 1925, Canadian Methodism joined with Congregationalists and 2/3 of Presbyterians to form the United Church of Canada. The third of Presby terians continued on their own, much reduced in size and resources.

4. For a study of Canadian Baptists and interwar views of war, see 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, 2 (2017): 37-53. Brief portions of this essay draw on the text of that article.

5. There are considerably fewer sources post-union of 1925, since the weekly *Presbyterian Witness* was shuttered and the *Presbyterian Record* remained as only a monthly paper. While the weekly *Christian Guardian* also stopped production with the union of 1925, its replacement, the *New Outlook*, was a weekly paper with extensive political commentary. The *New Outlook* was renamed the *Observer* in 1939.

6. Thomas P. Socknat, *Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

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13. Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 266-7.

14. "The Dawn of Peace," *Presbyterian Record*, December 1918; "Peace at Last," *Presbyterian Witness*, 5 July 1919; "Belittling the Peace Treaty," *Christian Guardian*, 25 February 1920; Edward Trelawney, "Canada's Share in Victory," *Christian Guardian*, 25 February 1920; "Armistice Day," *Christian Guardian*, 2 November 1921. See also, "Armistice Day," *Christian Guardian*, 23 November 1921; "Armistice Day," *Christian Guardian*, 19 November 1919; John Kelman, "The Vimy Pilgrimage," *Presbyterian Record*, October 1936; "Lest We Forget," *Presbyterian Record*, May 1936; "Vimy," *Presbyterian Record*, September 1936; "The Reason for Passchendaele," *Christian Guardian*, 10 March 1920.

15. For instance, "The World's Unrest," *Presbyterian Witness*, 5 January 1922 and "Brightening World Outlook," *Presbyterian Witness*, 5 January 1922 were published in the same issue.

16. "Builders of the New World," *Christian Guardian*, 2 July 1919; W.W. Cotton, "Our Leadership in the Post-Bellum Crisis," *Christian Guardian*, 13 August 1919; Ernest Thomas, "The New World God is Making," *Christian Guardian*, 20 November 1919; William A. Gifford, "Can the Kingdom of God be Realized Through the Present Social Order?" *Christian Guardian*, 9 June 1920; and Edward Trelawney, "Advancing World Brotherhood," *Christian Guardian*, 10 November 1920.

17. "Testing Times," *Presbyterian Witness*, 28 June 1919. For other examples, see "The War after the War," *Presbyterian Witness*, 1 February 1919; W. W. Cotton, "Our Leadership in the Post-Bellum World," *Christian Guardian*, 13 August 1919; "The New Year? *Presbyterian Record*, January 1923; "Preparing for Future Wars," *Presbyterian Witness*, 12 July 1923; "The Winter of Our Discontent," *Christian Guardian*, 10 November 1920; "The Threat of War," *Christian Guardian*, 31 October 1922; "Europe Is Arming for the Next War," *Presbyterian Witness*, 9 August 1923; Hilda Boyd Collins, "Is the Modern World Hopeless? *Christian Guardian*, 27 June 1923.

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68. The 1934 minutes contain the first reference to the overture. See *Minutes of the Twenty-Ninth Synod of Saskatchewan of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1934).

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70. The 1930s saw an abandonment of liberal optimism, and its corollary pacifism. One of the most famous figures who migrated to a "Christian realism" was Reinhold Niebuhr.

71. "The Church's Greater Task," *Presbyterian Record*, November 1939; "The Church and War," *Presbyterian Record*, November 1939; "A Just Peace," *Presbyterian Record*, November 1939; *Acts and Proceedings, Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1936), 103.

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73. John Moir describes the period as a time of "survival and reconstruction." See Moir, *Enduring Witness*, ch. 11.

74. For an analysis of the composition of those who remained in the PCC, see Allan L. Farris, "The Fathers of 1925," *Enkindled by the Word: Essays on Presbyterianism in Canada* (Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, 1966), 59-82; and Ian S. Rennie, "Conservatism in the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1925 and Beyond: An Introductory Explanation," *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers*, 1982.

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76. John Moir notes how Presbyterians were, at times, "trapped by [their] own enduring witness to the traditions of Calvin, Knox, [and others]." See Moir, *Enduring Witness,* 215.

77. Hastings, *A History of English Christianity,* 373.

78. Wright, "The Canadian Protestant Tradition, 1914-1945," 188. See also Charles Thompson Sinclair Faulkner, "'For Christian Civilization:' The Churches and Canada's War Effort, 1939-1942" (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1975).

79. "War," *Presbyterian Record*, October 1939.

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83. David R. Rothwell, "United Church Pacifism, October 1939," *Bulletin* XXII (1973-1975), 36-55; 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.

84. Rothwell, "United Church Pacifism," 37.

85. "Witness Against War, *Observer*, 15 October 1939.

86. "Witness Against War," *Observer*, 15 November 1939.

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

88. Rothwell, "United Church Pacifism," 37, 47-50.

89. The earlier "Peace Pledge" that received over 2,000 signatures should also have been a warning to the church that that universal support for the traditional just war position could no longer be assumed. See David R. Rothwell, "United Church Pacifism, October 1939," *Bulletin* 27 (1973-1975): 43-4.

90. See the "What Our Readers Say" section of the *Observer* from March to October, 1939.

91. "Is Christianity Pacifism?" *New Outlook*, 4 March 1936; George Lansbury, "Towards World Peace," *New Outlook*, 5 March 1937; Howard H. Eaton and C. Clare Oke, "No Compromise!" *New Outlook*, 6 May 1938; "Christians

Opposed to War Declares Board," *Observer*, 15 April 1939.

92. Eleanor Stebner, "The 1930s," In *A History of the United Church of Canada*, 51.

93. *UCC Yearbook* (1932), 61, 105-6.

94. *UCC Yearbook* (1934), 63-4.

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96. *UCC Record of Proceedings* (1938), 63, 77-9, 93-8.

97. *UCC Record of Proceedings* (1936), 107.

98. Fairbairn, *Bulletin #1*, 1 January 1943. Fairbairn's discontent with the church led him to start and circulate the *Bulletin* that continued to criticize the just war position in general, and the UCC support for it in particular. Copies can be seen at the United Church Archives, Toronto.

99. A.J. Belton, "Letter to Editor," *Observer*, 15 March 1939.

100. Fairbairn was a key leader of Methodist pacifism in the 1920s. See Socknat, *Witness Against War,* 98. The third denomination that entered into church union in 1925 was Congregationalism, a movement not associated with pacifism.

101. A number of signers were ordained after 1925: six in the 1920s, twenty-two in the 1930s, and two in the 1940s. I could not be certain of the identity of ten others. See *Walkington Guide, A Listing of United Church Canada Ministers, 1925-1980*. United Church Archives, Toronto. The former Methodist minister B.L. Oaten was on the list, but he did not agree to it being included. See Rothwell, "United Church Pacifism," 40.

102. An analysis of the signatories of the November "Witness Against War" reveals the following. Of thirty identified as ordained clergy, five were formerly Methodist, four formerly Presbyterian, one uncertain, and twenty ordained after church union. Of the thirty-three identified as non-clergy, twenty were male, twelve were female, with the identity of one uncertain. See *Walkington Guide, A Listing of United Church Canada Ministers, 1925-1980*. United Church Archives, Toronto. The number of laity and of women is noteworthy and suggests further avenues for research.

103. Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 408.

104. R.C. Chalmers, "Wanted: A Peace Ideology," *New Outlook*, 2 December 1938.

105. Airhart, *A Church with the Soul of a Nation*, 128.

106. Airhart, *A Church with the Soul of a Nation,* 128.

107. "The Church and War," *Observer*, 1 September 1939.

Minjung in the Mission House: The Korean Church's Message to the United Church of Canada

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> "We intended to contrast Galilee with Jerusalem which had monopolized the will of God exclusively for itself."[1]

Visitors to the capital of South Korea today may expect to find a dizzying mix of hi-tech, ultra modern society, and ancient tile rooved temples and pagodas. What they might not expect to run into in the heart of the ancient East Asian capital is a large vine-draped Edwardian building that sits as if it had been transported from an old Ontario farmyard, complete with linoleum floors, and single pane windows – a monument of Canadiana in the heart of Seoul. Fewer still would suspect that this building was ground zero in the development of a unique Korean theology that played a key role in the Korea's democratization movement of the 1970s and 1980s. Minjung theology was born in the mid-1970s and quickly rose to the attention of the world as a Korean liberation theology. But just as few are aware of the old Canadian house, few have noted the close association between Minjung theology and the Missionary Enterprise, or reflected on the implications of Minjung theology for overseas churches such as the United Church of Canada with a history of missions in Korea. This paper will give the story of Minjung theology's development within a former missionary compound and explore its enduring significance for the Canadian church.

In 1974, a consultation between the United Church of Canada (UCC) and the Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea (PROK)

agreed to transfer all UCC property and financial assets in Korea to the PROK. It was an agreement meant to "disengage" the UCC from its funding commitments to the PROK, while at the same time providing the Korean denomination with the means to support itself into the future.[2] Properties transferred included a mission compound with a large big red brick house near the Great Western Gate (Seodaemun) of Korea's historical capital. By the end of 1975, the missionaries and their Korean servants had vacated, and the Seodaemun house was remodelled for a new educational project that would prove to be transformational for the Korean church just as it contained an important message for its western supporters.[3]

In 1975, the General Assembly of the PROK passed a motion to create the "Mission and Education Centre" (MEC) in the Seodaemun house.[4] This was billed as "a new design for mission" and the directorship of this endeavour was given to Dr. Ahn Byung Mu, a German-educated New Testament professor. Ahn was one of eleven Korean university professors who had recently lost their jobs because of the draconian "Emergency Measures Act #9" promulgated by dictator Park Chung Hee.[5] Ahn was joined at the MEC by a number of other professors who had likewise lost their positions. Suh Nam Dong, a professor of church history at Yonsei University who had studied in Canada, was one. Lee Oo Chung, also a UCC scholarship recipient and leader of Korea's second wave feminist movement, was another. Moon IkHwan and Moon Donghwan, brothers who would soon become iconic leaders in the Democratization Movement, were two more. Under Ahn Byung Mu, a program was designed for students who, like their professors, had been expelled from their schools, harassed and forbidden from getting a degree or meaningful work.

Most students at the MEC had already received a visceral education in political oppression and ruthless dictatorship. Ahn's approach was to make these experiences, rather than disciplinary boundaries, foundational to the MEC's pedagogy. Theology was combined with politics, economics, sociology and feminism. Fieldwork (praxis), in addition to lectures, was a required component of the course. Though a centre for "mission," the MEC was engaged with non-theological disciplines, critiqued the theology as it had been received from the west, and saw no significant difference between its Christian and non-Christian students.[6] It was also clearly identified with Korean tradition and history. Graduates from the MEC

wore the traditional robes and hats of Confucian scholars.[7] This was a fitting nod to the Korean sources of culture and knowledge that informed their education.

Ahn Byung Mu, who had conceived of the idea for the school, was well pleased. "We discussed in groups," Ahn recalled, "We . . . asked ourselves what imperialism, colonialism etc. was, where dictatorship came from, and so forth . . . Together we developed new thoughts."[8]

The new thoughts that Ahn referred to centred on a new theology that drew its inspiration from the Korean idea of the *minjung*. The concept of *minjung* was not new or unique to the teachers and students at the MEC. Used in political speeches to address the grievances of peasants against the ruling class in the late nineteenth century, the idea of the *minjung* was articulated in the early twentieth century by Shin Chae-ho, Korea's first modern historian.[9] Shin deployed the concept to represent a group with a specific allegiance *vis-à-vis* Korean politics, the subjects of a new history that would displace Korea's old structures of intellectual, economic, and political domination, as well as overthrow the Japanese colonial government.[10] The concept found a very special niche in the 1970s and 1980s, allowing activists to evoke certain political horizons while avoiding the polarized ideologies of the North's communism and the South's anti-communism.

Minjung theology was an important variant of and contributor to Minjung ideology of the 1970s and 1980s.[11] The first inklings of a Minjung theology came in the form of "The Declaration of Korean Christians" issued in critical response to a Billy Graham Crusade that had swept through South Korea with state support. This statement made use of the term *minjung* but did not develop its implications. In 1975, two articles in *Kidokkyo Sasang*[12] by Suh Nam Dong and Ahn Byung Mu had started to distinguish the concept of *minjung* as an oppressed people from *minjok*, a concept of the nation that was deployed by the authoritarian government of South Korea to justify its human exploitation and disregard for human rights. These two articles in *Kidokkyo Sasang* are regarded as the beginning of Minjung theology. It was not until 1979, however, after a period of development at the MEC, that minjung theology received its official name. This came about as the result of a conference hosted by the Christian Churches of Asia (CCA). The papers produced at this conference were collected and published by the National Conference of Churches in Korea (NCCK) in an edited volume titled *Minjunggwa Hankukshinhak*

(*The Minjung and Korean Theology*).[13]

Minjung theology was more than a reaction against the South Korean dictatorship. It was also a critique of western colonial Christianity's contributions to the present ills of Korea. In a lecture delivered in Canada shortly before his death, Suh Nam Dong pointed out the limits of the approach he had received at his Canadian alma mater, Emmanuel College:

> The language of conventional theology is that of logic, dialectics, and abstract concepts. Its approach is deductive, and its substance is a discourse on the existence of a transcendent God. Conventional theology starts either from the premise that a transcendent God exists or from the written Bible and/or doctrines that are derived from the tradition that has been handed down. Even liberal theology does no more than enhance brain language, and contemporary theology limits itself to reinterpreting existing doctrine.[14]

For Suh, the culture of the common people and their experience of oppression was what rightly provided theological matter and conveyed spiritual authority. This authority, he argued, stood in opposition to western theological concepts which, rather than being truly liberating, had become an oppressive ideology dressed up in God language.[15] To experience liberation, then, it was important that Christians break out of western theological categories that divided the individual from society and Christians from non-Christians. "We Christians tend to think that Jesus Christ alone redeems people and that redemption is only a religious act," he said. "Yet, such acts of redemption have been performed throughout history in every corner of the earth. Redemption was originally a social issue but was later transferred to the religious world."[16] Ahn Byung Mu used a biblical analogy to explain this approach: "We intended to contrast Galilee [where Jesus ministered among the *minjung*] with Jerusalem [the seat of religious power] which had monopolized the will of God exclusively for itself."[17]

Interest in Minjung theology expanded through the 1980s to the rest of Asia, to North America, and to Europe. But it can be argued that western churches and theologians were not prepared to listen to a message critiquing their colonial past and privileged place on top of the world economic order. Postcolonial feminist theologian Kwok Pui Lan has

astutely noted that, "the creation of a new narrative discourse of Christianity through the use of Asian idioms and stories," if they are sincere, must "self-consciously challenge imperialistic impulses."[18] The full-on critique of those impulses found in Minjung theology constitutes what Kwok would call a "theoretical challenge coming from the contact zone," and, according to her, this is a challenge that, far from having been addressed by the western church, at present continues to be a source of pain for Asians.[19]

In the last year of his life, Minjung theologian Suh Nam Dong was conferred an honorary doctorate at his alma mater, the UCC's Emmanuel College in Toronto, and was invited to take up a temporary teaching post there for a term. He traveled to Toronto to accept the degree but felt that he should turn down the teaching position because his work at the MEC was too urgent. "As you know," Suh wrote to Asia Desk secretary of the UCC's Division of World Outreach, Frank Carey, "this is an underground activity, these students have no other place they can study and cannot secure employment. Our Institute is the only place which offers them their education. If I'm absent for a semester, it will be very difficult to continue this course."[20] Since 1982, the government had become aware of the program and ordered it discontinued[21] but Suh had managed to keep it going secretly with twenty seminarians still enrolled.[22] Suh died suddenly of liver cancer upon his return to Korea from Canada. He was sixty-six years old. It is unclear how much longer the underground seminary managed to continue, but the MEC survives to this day in the same Edwardian building, a piece of Canadiana in the centre of Seoul.

Suh's death came at the highwater mark for Minjung theology with the Christian Council of Asia's 1983 English republication of the *Minjung Theology* and Jurgen Moltmann's 1984 edited volume in German *Minjung Theologie des Volkes Gottes in Sud-korea* stimulating discussion around the world.[23] It was a moment of global attention that did not last long. Just as the Korean Christian role in the democratization movement had been critical in the late 1970s, but was soon overshadowed by a much broader participation by Korea society,[24] Minjung theology's prominence on the global theological scene was also short lived. Its rise corresponded to a brief moment in Asia when the Christian church was at the centre of a struggle for democracy and for the rights of Asian peoples to direct their own histories – a liminal period when Korean Christians and UCC missionaries were transitioning from a modern history of missionary

enterprise to a postcolonial history of global Christianity. But the fleeting nature of this theological phenomenon belies the lingering relevance of the questions it raised about western political hegemony in general and the colonial roots of the Canadian church in particular. "Christendom," Suh insisted, "had to collapse and enter the universal Oikoumene in the post-Christian era, especially in the third world."[25] As the Canadian church entered its second decade of increasingly steep numerical decline, these words had a ring of the prophetic.

Endnotes

1. Letter from Ahn Byung Mu distributed by ecumenical forum in Canada dated 4 April 1977, File #001563, University of Toronto (U of T) Special Collection on Human Rights in South Korea.

2. Letter to Young Min Lee dated 15 February 1971, File A-233 Presbyterian Church Republic of Korea – Gen. Assembly, Box #10, Accession # 83.011C.

3. Memorandum dated 13 November 1979 Institute for Mission Education, File 1, Box 21, University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) Collection 358 Human Rights and Unification in Korea, Los Angeles.

4. UCC Yearbook, 1976, 159.

5. Institute for Mission-Education of The Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea June, 1979, File 1, Box 65, UCLA Collection 358 Human Rights and Unification in Korea.

6. Volker Kuster, *A Protestant Theology of Passion: Korean Minjung Theology Revisited* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 63.

7. PROK News, No. 5, 25 April 1978, File #000079, Box 2, U of T Special Collection on Human Rights in South Korea.

8. Kuster, *A Protestant Theology of Passion*, 63.

9. Henry H. Em, *The Great Enterprise: Sovereignty and Historiography in Modern Korea* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 111.

10. Henry H. Em, "*Minjok* as a Modern and Democratic Construct: Sin Ch'eaho's Historiography," in *Colonial Modernity in Korea*, ed. Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson (Harvard University Asia Center: Cambridge, 1999), 356.

11. Gi-Wook Shin, *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 171; Paul Y. Chang, *Protest Dialectics: State Repression and South Korea's Democratization Movement, 1970-1979* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), 108; and Nancy Abelmann, *Echoes of the Past, Epics of Dissent: A South Korean Social Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 23, 34, 37.

12. *Kidokkyo Sasang* is a Korean Christian academic journal with wide circulation in Korea.

13. Committee of Theological Study, NCCK ed. *Minjung and Korean Theology* (Seoul: Korea Theological Institute, 1982). Most of this was translated and circulated widely two years later in an English publication entitled *Minjung Theology: People as the Subject of History*. Commission on Theological Concerns of the Christian Conference of Asia, ed., *Minjung Theology: People as the Subjects of History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1983). This work was first published in 1981.

14. Suh Nam-Dong, "Theology as Story-telling: A Counter-theology," *CTC Bulletin* 5, No. 3 – 6, No. 1 (December 1984 – April 1985), 6-7.

15. Suh Nam-Dong, "Theology of Minjung," n.d., File 1, Box 68, UCLA Collection 358 Human Rights and Unification in Korea.

16. Suh, "Theology as Story-telling: A Counter-theology," 11.

17. Letter from Ahn Byung Mu distributed by ecumenical forum in Canada dated 4 April 1977, File #001563, U of T Collection on Human Rights in South Korea.

18. Kwok Pui-lan, *Postcolonial Imagination and Feminist Theology* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), 43.

19. Kwok, *Postcolonial Imagination and Feminist Theology*, 43.

20. Letter to Frank Carey from Suh Nam-Dong re invitation to teach at Emmanuel College 1983, File 6-7, Accession #91.169C, United Church Archives, Toronto.

21. PROK News no. 14, dated 20 July 1981, File #000087, U of T Special Collection on Human Rights in South Korea.

22. PROK News no. 14, dated 20 July 1981.

23. Jurgen Moltmann, *Minjung Theologies des Volkes Gottes in Sud-korea* (Neukirchen, 1984).

24. Chang, *Protest Dialectics*, 108.

25. Suh, "Theology of Minjung."

Nominalism and Conciliarism: The Case of Jacques Almain

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Jacques Almain (c. 1480-1515) was a French doctoral student at the University of Paris under John Mair, the Scot who also mentored George Buchanan, Jean Calvin, and John Knox. And after his studies, Almain became a professor of theology at the university. Despite his short career – he died around the age of thirty-five – Almain produced a series of works including three specifically on ecclesiology. In these writings, he argues in defence of conciliarism. In brief, papalists and conciliarists sparred over who has supreme authority in the Church on Earth, the pope or the ecumenical council representing the Church. The conciliarists favoured the council, which, they argued, could depose and/or excommunicate a pope if necessary for the good of the Church; papal defenders, of course, disagreed.[1] Two works in which Almain advances his conciliarist views are *Question in Vespers* (hereafter *Questio*)[2] and his *Book on the Authority of the Church or Sacred Council* (hereafter *Libellus*);[3] both were written in 1512. Almain became prominent due to the latter in particular, which he was commissioned to write by the University of Paris; effectively, he was tasked with defending the Council of Pisa and its conciliarism. Pisa had been called by nine cardinals in 1511 in opposition, for political and ecclesiastical reasons, to the reigning pope, Julius II. The pope had tasked the Master of the Dominicans (1508-18), Thomas de Vio, known for his later confrontation with Martin Luther, with critiquing Pisa and its conciliarism. He completed the undertaking with his work, *On the Comparison of the Authority of Pope and Council* in 1511. Almain's

Libellus would be his reply.[4]

After providing background on ecclesiastical dominion and corporation theory, I will argue that key features of Almain's ecclesiology and conciliarism as found in *Questio* and *Libellus* are underpinned by a mereology (i.e., an approach to wholes and their parts) that is rooted in the *Via moderna* ("Modern Way"), the school also known as nominalism; in particular, it is rooted in anti-realism (also called nominalism) and terminist logic.[5] In this way, Almain shifts away from the prevalent view among conciliarists that the Church and other social bodies, such as ecumenical councils, should be understood as corporations – that is, as entities that are, to some extent, legally and conceptually distinct from their members. In place of the corporation, Almain treats these bodies as wholes that are, fundamentally, the sum of their respective parts. As we will see, a key reason for this anti-corporate view is Ockham's razor, to which Almain and other proponents of the *Via moderna* broadly adhered.

Ecclesiastical Dominion (Dominium)

A key topic of discussion in Almain's conciliarist texts,[6] and one that also features in one of his Commentaries on the *Sentences of Peter Lombard*,[7] a standard theological text at the time, is secular and ecclesiastical power, especially dominion (*dominium*). Effectively, dominion is a faculty or power exercised with right reason – a form of valid authority – to act on or have authority over an object or person,[8] and it can be held by individual persons or groups thereof.[9] Almain argues that there are four forms of dominion – original, natural, ecclesiastical and civil[10] – and the impact on persons is most clear with the civil and ecclesiastical forms.

Civil dominion is authority that is directed toward its end, viz., the common good *qua* earthly felicity of its members, while ecclesiastical dominion is authority directed to the salvation or eternal felicity of individual Christians.[11] For Almain, ecclesiastical dominion is rooted primarily in Matthew 18:15-18: the teaching that, should a brother sin and refuse to be privately corrected, one should "Tell the Church," and in Christ's gift of "the keys" to the disciples to bind and loose.[12] This dominion includes the Power of Jurisdiction in the Internal Forum, viz., forgiving and imposing penance in the Sacrament of Penance, which is private and can only be exercised over willing Christians.[13] It also refers to the Power of Jurisdiction in the External Forum, which is public and can

be exercised over willing and unwilling Christians.[14] It includes powers to define what ought to be believed in faith and morals and what ought to be done or not done;[15] to grant ecclesiastical dignities and privileges (e.g., benefices);[16] to grant indulgences, remitting temporal punishment for sin;[17] and to censure (e.g., excommunicate, depose).[18] Like most conciliarists, Almain's chief interest is dominion in the External Forum: the object of the pope's authority *qua* pope,[19] and a key object of the council's authority. Therefore, the form of dominion that will be raised in this paper is that of the External Forum. For late medieval conciliarists in particular, it was exercised within the Church as a corporation.

Corporation Theory

1. Canonist Corporation Theory and Conciliarism

Brian Tierney provides a succinct definition of the medieval corporation (*universitas*) that would fit the views of most medieval lawyers: it is "a group of persons who were considered for legal purposes as if they formed a single entity. Thus a corporation could own property, enter into contracts, sue or be sued."[20] It was, to some extent, conceptually and legally distinct from the members such that it had a legal personality, i.e., to a limited degree, it functioned as a person under law. Especially from the pontificate of Innocent IV (r. 1243-54) onward, the dominant view – although there were detractors[21] – was that the corporation was a "legal fiction"; any personality one might ascribe to it had its basis solely under law.[22] Since this theory (or set of theories) was developed by jurists and canon lawyers, it is often referred to as "canonist corporation theory." There were other corporation theories, too, but this type was particularly influential. It came to be applied to many social bodies and institutions, such as universities, cities, and ecclesiastical councils. It also was applied to the Church itself, in particular, by conciliarists, even while many, especially theologians, would also accord it a "higher" spiritual or mystical existence.

Hostiensis (c. 1200-71), an influential Italian canon lawyer, made an important contribution to canonist corporation theory, especially with respect to the ecclesiastical corporation. He adopted an earlier view that a ruler, while superior to a corporation's members individually, is inferior to the corporation itself; as a result, the ruler is bound, like every member, to

its regulations.[23] According to Tierney's analysis, Hostiensis then applied this to the Roman church whose fundamental members, he argued, were the pope and cardinals. Together, they "formed a single corporate body subject to the normal rules of corporation law." In this way, papal authority was understood to reside in the whole corporation, not just the pope.[24] Following Hostiensis, John of Paris (d. 1306) and, thereafter, various conciliarists who attended the councils of Constance (1414-18) and Basel (1431-49) adapted this view, arguing that the College of Cardinals or an ecumenical council representing the whole Church *qua* a corporation could be assembled, which held supreme ecclesiastical authority. And in the case of necessity, that body could depose and/or excommunicate the pope for the good of the Church.[25] According to a number of scholars, Almain adopted this view.[26]

It is certainly correct that Almain was influenced by the canonist corporation tradition. In particular, Almain believed that it is the whole Church *qua collectio fidelium* that has supreme authority, or as he often calls it "dominion" from Christ; that such dominion is only exercisable when the faithful are gathered together at an ecumenical council; and that the pope is bound by its decisions as his superior. That said, texts suggest that Almain shifts away from an important feature of corporation theory, namely, the corporation itself *qua* an entity legally and conceptually distinct from the members. In contrast, he depicts social bodies as the sum of their respective members, due to his mereology which is firmly rooted in the *Via moderna*. Before we consider this position, though, we will briefly look at some of the historic influences of anti-realism and realism on corporation theories and ecclesiologies.

2. The Influence of Anti-Realism and Realism on Some Corporation Theories

It was not uncommon following the work of modern legal historian, Otto von Gierke (d. 1921), to interpret canonist corporation theory as thoroughly "nominalist" (i.e., anti-realist), in particular, the emphasis among jurists and canon lawyers, following Innocent IV, on the corporation's status as a legal fiction.[27] Over the past number of decades, however, it has been shown that this is not the case and, rather, that the fiction theory of corporations developed apart from anti-realism, even though, as some have reasonably argued, anti-realism reinforced it.[28] In this respect,

therefore, it is clear that one should be cautious lest he or she conflate questions of law with metaphysics. That said, reception of corporation theory was, in certain cases, impacted by one's philosophical presuppositions, including one's anti-realism or realism.[29] In such cases, particular medieval thinkers brought together legal and metaphysical categories, or considered one in light of the other.

William of Ockham, for instance, rejected canonist corporation theory. As Janet Coleman has argued, "[Ockham] treats the corporation of individuals, not as a legally created *persona* . . . but as a unified collection of real, individual persons." And given the fiction theory of corporations, "Ockham insisted that such a fictive entity cannot perform real acts or possess real rights under law . . ."[30] This applied, for Ockham, to all forms of corporations, including the State, the Church, and the Church's councils. While the origins of Ockham's view on this are disputed, many scholars have justifiably linked its development to his anti-realist emphasis on the individual.[31]

A century after Ockham and before Almain, there were a number of conciliarists, in particular at the Council of Basel and especially during its "final phase" (1437-49),[32] who advocated forms of ecclesiastical holism: coupling canonist corporation theory with ideas of a more philosophical order. Several council fathers advanced Neoplatonic realist accounts according to which "the council [is] a visible manifestation of the invisible essence of the Church," and "the Church as a whole is prior in being to any of its 'parts,'" the members.[33] It was also widely supposed that the council functioned as one, with a personality by which it could express the "collective mind or will of [the Church] community."[34] Granted, not all of the council fathers who advanced ecclesiastical holism at Basel were realists,[35] and it was not uncommon to ascribe personality to corporations, even by anti-realists. However, several fathers at Basel did both on a realist basis.[36]

In his *Summa de ecclesia* (1453), Juan de Torquemada (1388-1468), a papal supporter and critic of conciliarism – not to be confused with his nephew, Tomás de Torquemada, the first Grand Inquisitor in Spain – contested the Baslean fathers' personification of the council by appealing to the view that the council, as a corporation, is a legal fiction. It does not *actually* have a mind or will.[37] In this way, Torquemada "struck at the keystone of Baslean Conciliarism, by claiming that it rested on an exaggerated conception of social unity."[38]

It is difficult to read the works of conciliarists without being exposed to some reference to corporations. Given the prominence of the fiction view on the one hand, and Almain's familiarity with the decrees of and interventions at Basel,[39] in which more holistic views were embraced, on the other hand, it is fair to expect Almain to have had at least a general awareness of some different approaches to, or ways of discussing, corporations. As we will see, his view is similar in some important ways to that of Ockham and is rooted in an anti-realist and terminist mereology the foundations of which we will now consider.

Almain's Ecclesiology

1. Foundational Mereological Principles in Embammata Phisicalia

In his work *Embammata Phisicalia* (1506), Almain uses Aristotle's *Physics* as a starting point to address a series of problems, both physical and conceptual, and especially pertaining to the concept of a whole (*totum*) and its parts. Almain had earlier trained in terminist logic under John Mair,[40] and in the beginning of Book II of *Embammata Phisicalia*, Almain raises terminist terminology and approaches to mereology. As a key example, Almain introduces the terms *cathegoreumatice* and *syncathegoreumatice*.[41] (Later, he also uses the synonyms *collective* and *distributive*.[42]) If a whole is taken categorematically/collectively, it means that it is taken complete with all its parts, or as the sum of its parts.[43] If, however, a whole is taken syncategorematically/distributively, it is taken according to each integral (i.e., essential) part, individually.[44] To give an example of how these terms could be used, if we ask whether a whole house is worth $500,000, this may be true if it is taken categorematically/collectively, i.e., all of the parts taken together; but it would likely be false if it is taken syncategorematically/ distributively, for each integral part – e.g., the roof, foundation and each wall – is not likely to be worth $500,000 by itself. In *Embammata Phisicalia*, Almain indicates that these distinctions, which were prominent in terminist approaches to mereology, are also key to his own.

Soon after this, in his discussion on Book I of Aristotle's *Physics*,[45] Almain accepts what is explicitly identified as a "nominalist" (i.e., anti-realist) position: "a whole is the sum of all its parts."[46] It is contrasted with a "realist" position: "the whole is distinguished from the sum of its

parts,"[47] a position Almain associates with the Scotists (i.e., Duns Scotus and his followers).[48] Notably, the nominalist view has the same basic meaning as a whole taken categorematically/ collectively. While Scotus uses the categorematic-syncategorematic distinction in his *corpus*, which includes accepting that all parts of a whole can be taken together,[49] in a strict sense, "a whole . . .is an entity really distinct from the sum of its parts";[50] one key exception is an aggregate, which is formed of parts that remain discrete, like a pile of rocks. For Almain, however, as a nominalist (i.e., anti-realist), a whole is never distinguished from its parts, which are always taken categorematically or syncategorematically. And every whole is the sum of its parts.[51] These anti-realist and terminist mereological principles were later used by Almain in his discussion of social bodies.

2. The Church as a Non-Corporate Collective

Almain's approach is discernible from his discussion on two senses in which social bodies can be understood. In a passage from *Libellus*, Almain writes:

> A particular polity is not . . . called royal, because one person would rule over it who would be greater than the whole community in jurisdiction, and not subject to it in any manner whatsoever, but only on account of this reason: one rules who has jurisdiction [over] any other [member] from the community and is superior to him [i.e., each one].[52]

Almain makes this point, because he contends that the Church is, fundamentally, a monarchy, even though the pope's power comes from Christ *via* the Church *qua* the *collectio fidelium*. In making this claim that the ruler does not have jurisdiction over the community as a whole, but he does over each member, Almain is following earlier conciliarists' use of corporation theory in order to defend two positions. Firstly, supreme dominion in the External Forum is the possession of the Church *as a whole*; and secondly, the pope exercises the Church's dominion as its chief minister, a capacity he has over each Christian as an individual. If the pope were able to exercise supreme dominion over the Church as a whole, the argument goes, he would be its superior. In this way, therefore, Almain's claim is not a new one, and does rely on corporation theory. However, and

this is key, earlier conciliarists articulated this view with the understanding that the Church is a corporation. Almain embraces these features of corporation theory, however, while indicating that he does not actually view social bodies, such as the Church, as a corporation, as we will see.
A key form of the above argument put forward especially by jurists was that the pope does not have authority over the Church *universitas* (i.e., corporation), which truly holds supreme dominion, but he does have authority over all as "individuals" (*singuli*).[53] While this formulation most explicitly invokes the corporation, there were others too. Pierre D'Ailly (d. 1420), for instance, argued that the pope does not have power over "all clergy" (*omni clero*) "taken collectively" (*capitur collective*), but he does have power over all clergy "taken distributively" (*capitur distributive*) (i.e., each individual cleric or a particular body of clergy).[54] Jean Gerson (d. 1429), in turn, argued that the pope does not have power over the Church "taken collectively" (i.e., all the faithful taken together), but only "dispersedly" (*dispersive*) (i.e., all the faithful dispersed across the world).[55] As a final example, Nicholas of Cusa (d. 1464) asserted that the pope is not the superior of "all" (*omnium*) of the Church but of the "members individually" (*membra singulariter*).[56] Other formulations were used too, but these are important examples for our study of Almain's thought, as we will see. Significantly, it has been argued by various scholars that *universitas*, "collectively" (*collective*), and "all" (*omnium*), in this context, were equivalent terms that connoted the Church as a corporation.[57]

In *Libellus*, Almain refrains from using the juristic formulation, the most explicitly corporate, but uses the terminology of D'Ailly and Gerson,[58] a simplified version of Cusa's formula,[59] and adds many others. These include his original use of "whole . . . taken categorematically" (*totum . . . cathegoreumatice*), but without the parallel, "whole . . . taken syncategorematically" (*totum . . . syncathegoreumatice*)";[60] "all the rest" (*toto residuo*) (i.e., the Church without the pope) vs. "any particular member" (*quodlibet partiale membrum*);[61] and "whole community" (*tota communitate*) vs. "any other [member]" (*qu[a]elibet alterum*)(i.e., any member other than the ruler, the pope).[62]

Almain uses these terms in a consistent way, indicating that the pope is inferior to the former but superior to the latter; and this would suggest that the terms are equivalent for him. Yet, the number of terms and phrases he uses, none of which are explicitly corporate, begs the question, is

Almain using them in the narrow, technical sense of a *universitas*? I would suggest he is not. Almain's original use of *cathegoreumatice*, in particular, stands out. As we saw, Almain uses this terminist term in *Embammata Phisicalia*, along with the synonym *collective*, and in the context of mereology, they both mean that a whole is complete as the sum of its parts. Their counterparts, *syncathegoreumatice* and *distributive*, refer to each integral part of a whole, which in this case is every part, i.e., each of the faithful. Notably, these terms roughly correspond with the others in our list above, taken in a non-corporate and mereological sense.

By using *collective-distributive*, *cathegoreumatice* and the other terms loaded with meaning from terminist mereology, Almain is arguing that the pope does not have dominion over the whole Church in the sense of all the faithful together, complete as *collectio fidelium*[63] – a view distinct from that of a corporation; but the pope does have authority over each member of the Church (a position left unchanged from his predecessors). While this shift away from the corporation is a subtle distinction, it indicates that the Church, for Almain, is the sum of its parts, the members. This is re-enforced by Almain's anti-realist approach to wholes, as we saw in *Embammata Phisicalia*.

That this is, in fact, Almain's approach is supported by his application in *Libellus* of the *collective-distributive* distinction to ecumenical councils, which represent the Church,[64] while providing a description of how they are constituted in *Questio* – a text written only months prior – that is incompatible with the *universitas*. In brief, while it was broadly accepted at the councils of Constance and Basel that a council is legally distinct from its particular members and identical to the Church,[65] Almain seems to have disagreed. Rather, he again appeals, albeit implicitly, to mereology: the council, for him, is identical to the council fathers who form it and who, during their time together, collectively hold the Church's authority as, it seems, integral parts of an integral whole. An integral whole is composed of parts, including integral (i.e., essential) parts without which the whole would cease to exist as that whole.[66] Now, Almain does not use the terms "integral whole" or "integral part" in the text, but his logic suggests them. He argues that if a pope were excommunicated by a council – the only authority able – he could be absolved by "no one . . . except . . . they themselves who passed it"; the only exception is if the pope were dying.[67] Almain, here, is appealing to the principle that a censure can normatively be lifted only by he or they who impose it or their superior,

and an ecumenical council has no superior.[68] But why could not a council-imposed censure be lifted by a legally identical council that just happens to have different members? The reason seems to be that the council, for Almain, is not a corporation but one and the same as the members who form it as integral parts and who collectively hold ecclesiastical authority while gathered: hence, *all* who impose a papal censure – and only they – must agree for it to be overturned. Now, since Almain applies the *collective-distributive* distinction to councils, which, as we have just seen, he views as non-corporate collectives, it is highly probable that he views the Church, to which he applies the same distinction, in the same way.

It was certainly possible to be an anti-realist and view social bodies as corporations,[69] but some found it problematic, as we saw with Ockham, the "Venerable Inceptor." While Ockham was more explicit in giving his view, Almain's shift from the concept of a corporation as distinct from its members to the view that only the members exist and have legal statuses shows a similar trajectory from categories of law to metaphysics: from what exists under positive human law to what exists really.[70] In fact, Almain was very familiar with and cited Ockham's thought extensively, especially in areas related to *Via moderna* principles, political thought and ecclesiology, to the point that, within about thirty years of his death, Almain was thought to have been a Franciscan, while he was actually a secular priest![71] While I have not found clear evidence that he was directly influenced by Ockham on the status of a corporation, Almain's position thereon reflects a broader theme in his thought, which he does share with Ockham.

Throughout Almain's corpus, he raises metaphysical questions. He considers, for instance, if common natures exist and answers no, just individual natures.[72] He also asks if real relations exist, connecting things. He is less clear on this but seems to think not.[73] Finally, as we saw in *Embammata Phisicalia*, Almain asks if a whole is distinguished from the sum of its parts, and he answers no; it is simply the sum of its parts.[74] In each of these cases, Almain considers realist and anti-realist views and sides with anti-realism. In doing so, he reflects a tendency within the *Via moderna* to apply Ockham's razor: rejecting what are deemed superfluous, non-existent things. Almain's shift from corporations – which were broadly acknowledged not to exist apart from the law – to collective persons, who do exist and, therefore, can exercise authority, fits this approach.

Conclusion

In this article, I have argued, firstly, that there is a logical connection between Almain's position on corporations and the *Via moderna*: not only did he replace the corporation with an anti-realist and terminist mereology, but he did so, at least in part, following Ockham's razor. Secondly, the Church, for Almain, as well as councils and other social bodies, are nothing other or more than their respective membership. One need not be an anti-realist or student of the *Via moderna* to hold this view, but the evidence suggests that Almain held it in large part because he was. It is worth noting, moreover, that Almain's views as outlined in this paper problematize ecclesiastical unity as articulated by the medieval canonist traditions. For Almain rejects that "subordination" to the one pope is necessary for unity, as papalists held, and also that the faithful are united as members of the Church *qua* a corporation, as other conciliarists held.[75] Rather, we are left with a group of loosely united individuals: suitable for an anti-realist.

Endnotes

1. For the history of conciliarism, see Francis Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition: Constitutionalism in the Catholic Church, 1300-1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

2. Jacques Almain, *Questio in vesperiis habita*, in *Opuscula*, ed., V. Doesmier (Paris: Claude Chevallon, 1518), fo. lxii, co. ii – lxviii, co. ii.

3. Jacques Almain, *Libellus de auctoritate ecclesie seu sacrorum conciliorum . . . co[n]tra Thoma[m] de Vio*, in *Opuscula*, ed., V. Doesmier (Paris: Claude Chevallon, 1518), fo. xlv, co. iv – fo. lxii, co. ii.

4. On the Council of Pisa, and the debate between Almain and de Vio, see Francis Oakley, "Almain and Major: Conciliar Theory on the Eve of the Reformation," *American Historical Review* 70 , No. 3 (April (1965): 673-90; Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition*, esp. 111-29; and J. H. Burns, "Introduction," in *Conciliarism and Papalism*, eds. J. H. Burns and Thomas M. Izbicki (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), vii-xxiii.

5. Key features of the *Via Moderna* at the University of Paris in the early sixteenth-century, in which Almain was trained and to which he broadly adhered, include forms of anti-realism, terminist logic, voluntarism (theological and anthropological), and univocity of being. This paper will only be

focusing on select effects of anti-realism and terminist logic on Almain's conciliarism and ecclesiology.

6. I.e., *Questio* and *Libellus*.

7. Almain's commentary is *A Decima Quarta Distinctione Quaestiones Scoti Profitentis, Perutilis Admodum Lectura* (Paris: Claude Chevallon, 1526).

8. Almain, *A Decima Quarta*, fo. 48^{r}ff.

9. See A.S. McGrade, Introduction to "Question at Vespers," by Jacques Almain in *Cambridge Translations of Renaissance Philosophical Texts. Volume 2: Political Philosophy*, ed., Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 14.

10. Almain, *A Decima Quarta*, fo. 48^{r}.

11. Almain, *Questio*, fo. lxvi, co. iii; see Almain, *Libellus*, fo. xlvii, co. ii.

12. Almain, *Questio*, fo. lxv, co. ii-iv; fo. lxvi, co. iii; Almain, *Libellus*, fo. li, co. iii.

13. Almain, *Questio*, fo. lxiiii, co. iii; Almain, *Libellus*, fo. li, co. i.

14. Almain, *Questio*, fo. lxiiii, co. iii; Almain, *Libellus*, fo. xlvii, co. iv, fo. li, co. i.

15. Almain, *Questio*, fo. lxvi, co. iv; Almain, *Libellus*, fo. li., co. i-iv.

16. Francis Oakley, "Conciliarism in the Sixteenth Century: Jacques Almain Again," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 68 (1977): 120, 122.

17. Almain, *Questio*, fo. lxvii, co. iv; Almain, *Libellus*, fo. li, co. ii, iii.

18. Almain, *Questio*, fo. lxv, co. ii; fo. lxvii, co. iv; Almain, *Libellus*, fo. li, co. iii.

19. As a priest, the pope's dominion in the Internal Forum of Penance is identical to all other priests, as is his ability, under the Power of Orders, to consecrate the Eucharist. Similarly, as a bishop, his power to administer the Sacraments of confirmation and ordination are equal to all other bishops. See Oakley, "Jacques Almain Again," 119.

20. Brian Tierney, "Corporatism, Individualism, and Consent: Locke and Premodern Thought," in *Law as Profession and Practice in Medieval Europe*, eds. K. Pennington and M. H. Eichbauer (London: Routledge, 2011), 62.

21. See the discussion below (section 2.2) on realists at the Council of Basel who coupled corporation theory with Neoplatonic realism, affecting their view of the Church and ecumenical council.

22. See Tierney, "Corporatism, Individualism, and Consent," 62-3; Magnus Ryan, "Corporation Theory," in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy: Philosophy Between 500 and 1500*, Vol. 1, ed., Henrik Lagerlund (New York: Springer, 2011), 239.

23. Ryan, "Corporation Theory," 236, 237.

24. Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 184, see 117.

25. Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition*, 69-72. For some conciliarists, the council should be formed by the College of Cardinals; for others, bishops and prelates more broadly; and for still others, it could include priests, tonsured academics, and representatives of the State. See Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition*, 68-71, 80; Joseph Canning, *Ideas of Power in the Late Middle Ages*, *1296-1417* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 180; and Antony Black, *Council and Commune: The Conciliar Movement and the Fifteenth-Century Heritage* (London: Burns & Oates, 1979), 32-3.

26. E.g., see Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition*, 118; Quentin Skinner, "Political Philosophy," in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, eds. Charles Schmitt, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 404; and *Visions of Politics. Volume 2: Renaissance Virtues* (West Nyack, GB: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 254-5.

27. Antony Black, "Society and the Individual from the Middle Ages to Rousseau: Philosophy, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory," *History of Political Thought* 1 (1980): 150.

28. Black, "Society and the Individual," 150; Black, "The Individual and Society," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c. 350 - c. 1450*, ed., J. H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 599, 601.

29. Black has worked extensively on this issue, in particular the impact of realist metaphysics on political theories and ecclesiologies. See, e.g., "Individual and Society," 601, 604; *Council and Commune*; "The Realist Ecclesiology of Heimerich van de Velde," in *Facultas S. Theologiae Lovaniensis 1432-1797*, ed., E.J.M. van Eijl (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1977), 273-91.

30. Janet Coleman, *A History of Political Thought: From the Middle Ages to the Renaissance* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2000), 180.

31. See, e.g., M. Wilks, *The Problem of Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages: The Papal Monarchy with Augustinus Triumphus and the Publicists* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 88-95; Coleman, *A History of Political Thought*, 170-80; and Tierney, "Corporatism, Individualism, and Consent," 57.

32. Black, *Council and* Commune, 113.

33. Quotes from Black, *Council and Commune*, 1, 2. Heimerich van de Velde explicitly appealed to Neoplatonic realism; see Black, "Society and the Individual," 155, and Black, "The Realist Ecclesiology of Heimerich van de Velde," 278ff.

34. Antony Black, *Monarchy and Community: Political Ideas in the Later Conciliar Controversy: 1430-1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 18; see 19.

35. Juan Segovia, for instance, was not a known member of a realist or nominalist school (Black, "Society and the Individual," 153).

36. E.g., van de Velde (1433/4) (Black, "The Realist Ecclesiology of Heimerich van de Velde," 279-81, 283). Black argues: "While [Baslean] conciliarists did not conceive the dispersed Church as a group with a 'real personality', they conceived the collective Church as just that . . . The final flourish of medieval conciliarism, then, was characterized by holism and metaphysical realism" (*Council and Commune*, 115).

37. Black, *Monarchy and Community*, 54-6.

38. Black, *Monarchy and Community*, 55.

39. Select references in Almain's *Libellus* to Basel (fo. xlvi, co. i; fo. li, co. iv; fo. liii, co. ii; fo. lvii, co. iii; fo. lviii, co. ii-iii), as well as specific Baslean fathers: John, patriarch of Antioch (fo. liiii, co. iv; fo. lxi [x2], co. iii); Nicholas of Cusa (viz., his *De Concordantia Catholica*; see fo. lv, co. i; fo. lviii, co. iv; fo. lxi [x2], co. iv); Geoffrey de Montélu, abbot of Saint Honorat (fo. li, co. iii); and Panormitanus (fo. lviii, co. ii-iii). He also alludes to Juan de Torquemada's *Summa de ecclesia*, in which Torquemada critiques conciliarism following Basel (fo. lvii, co. iii-iv).

40. Augustin Reuaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme a Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494-1517)* (Paris: E. Champion, 1916), 404, 457, 464, 593.

41. Jacques Almain, *Embammata Phisicalia*, ed., Pietro Aymerich (Paris: Jean Petit, 1506), fo. xv^{r}.

42. E.g., Almain, *Embammata Phisicalia*, fo. xxiii$^{l, r}$. That categorematic and collective, and syncategorematic and distributive were, in this context, synonyms, see Desmond Paul Henry, *Medieval Mereology* (Amsterdam: B.R. Grüner, 1991), 437-8.

43. See Norman Kretzmann, "Syncategoremata, Exponibilia, Sophismata," in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, eds. Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny, and Jan Pinborg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 233; and A. Arlig, "Is there a Medieval Mereology?" in *Methods and Methodologies: Aristotelian Logic East and West, 500-1500*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 166, fn. 14.

44. Kretzmann, "Syncategoremata, Exponibilia, Sophismata," 232-4; and Henry, *Medieval Mereology*, 416, 455.

45. Almain may be referring to Aristotle, *Physics* 1.2, 185b11-14, or the *Metaphysics* Bk. 8, 1045a.8-10.

46. "totu[m] est o[mn]es su[a]e partes simul sumpte" (Almain, *Embammata Phisicalia*, fo. xv^{r}).

47. "totum distinguitur a suis partibus simul sumptis" (Almain, *Embammata Phisicalia*, fo. xv^{r}).

48. Almain, *Embammata Phisicalia*, xxiii^{v}.

49. For example, Question 10, Art. 1 (10.5), in *God and Creatures: The Quodlibetal Questions*, trans. Felix Alluntis and Allan B. Wolter (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 237.

50. "totu[m] . . . e[st] entitas realiter distincta a suis p[ar]tib[us] simul su[m]tis" (Almain, *Embammata Phisicalia*, fo. xxiii^{v}). For an explanation of Scotus' view in the context of material substances that are composites of matter and form (i.e., essential wholes), see Richard Cross, "Ockham on Part and Whole," *Vivarium* 37, No. 2 (1999): 147.

51. See, e.g., Almain, *Embammata Phisicalia*, fo. xv^{r}, xviii^{r}, xvi^{r}, xxiii.

52. "No[n] . . . dicitur politia aliqua regalis q[ui]a unicus ei pr[a]esit qui sit tota communitate in iurisditio[n]e maior nec ei quovis modo subiectus sed solum propter hanc causam quia unicus pr[a]eest qui in qu[a]elibet alterum de co[m]munitate iurisditionem habet & est eo superior" (Almain, *Libellus*, fo. xlvii, co. i).

53. Black, *Council and Commune*, 21, 64, 148-9. E.g., Juan de Segovia (d. 1458), and Alfonso García de Santa María, the Bishop of Burgos, used this formulation (Black, *Monarchy and Community*, 12-13).

54. See *Joannis Gersonii Opera Omnia*, vol. 2, ed. E. Dupin (Antwerp: 1706), co. 956.

55. Black, *Monarchy and Community*, 13. This formulation was later used at the Council of Basel (see again, *Monarchy and Community*, 13).

56. *Nicolai de Cusa Opera Omnia*, vol. XIV: *De Concordantia Catholica, liber secundus*, ed. Gerhard Kallen (Hamburg: Meiner, 1963), 301-2 (art. 259).

57. E.g., on the equivalency of *collective-dispersive*, *collective-distributive*, and *universitas-singuli*, see Black, *Monarchy and Community*, 13, 15; *Council and Commune*, 148-9; see 21-22. On the equivalency of *collective-distributive/dispersive* and Cusa's formulation, see Jovino de Guzman Milroy, *Tracing Nicholas of Cusa's Early Development* (Louvain: Éditions Peeters, 2009), 192, 61. Milroy is less explicit than Black in directly equating *universitas-singuli* and *collective-distributive/dispersive*, but it is implicit in his analysis (see pp. 61, 69-70, 83, 192, 197).

58. See for example, Almain, *Libellus*, fo. lviii, co. iv; fo. lvi, co. i; fo. lv, co. i.

59. Almain, citing Cusa, says: "Peter and any supreme pontiff has been established the superior of individuals [*singulorum*] but not of all [*omnium*]" (*Libellus*,fo. lv, co. i).

60. See Almain, *Libellus*, fo. liii, co. iii; fo. liiii, co. iv; fo. lxi, co. iii.

61. Almain, *Libellus*, fo. lv, co. i.

62. Almain, *Libellus*, fo. xlvii, co. i.

63. This is Almain's favoured term for the Church. While not particularly common, it was used by figures who otherwise influenced Almain's thought, viz., William Ockham, who also understood the Church in a non-corporate sense (Coleman, *A History of Political Thought*,179-80). Here, though, there is another connection: D'Ailly and Gerson's distinction between the Church taken *collective* and *distributive/dispersive*. In at least one case, Almain uses *collectione* instead of *collective* (*Libellus*,fo. lxi[x2], co. iv), a linguistic link to *collectio fidelium*. (*Collectivus* and *collectio* are both derived from *collectus*, *colligo*.) While both the Church taken *collective* and *distributive/dispersive* are legitimate ways of understanding the Church, for Almain, the Church is able to utilize its supreme authority only collectively, indeed, literally gathered. This again indicates that Almain's view of the Church, like

other social bodies, retains importance for the whole, even while it is only the sum of its parts.

64. For example, Almain, *Libellus*, fo. lvi, co. i; see liiii, co. iv; fo. lxi [x2], co. iv; fo. lviii, co. iv.

65. See Black, *Council and Commune*, 22; see 20-21; Black, *Monarchy and Community*, 18; see 15-17.

66. Many wholes, in fact, were classified as integral by medievals. Two other basic categories were universal wholes and potential wholes. See Andrew Arlig, "Mereology," in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy: Philosophy between 500 and 1500*, ed. Henrik Lagerlund (London: Springer, 2011), 766-7; and Arlig, "Medieval Mereology," in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, https://plato.stanford.edu/ entries/ mereology-medieval.

67. "nullus . . . nisi . . . illi qui tulerunt si a communitate feratur" (Almain, *Questio*, fo. lxviii, co. i).

68. Almain, *Questio*, fo. lxviii, co. i.

69. For example, Pierre D'Ailly; although, the decree to which D'Ailly's nominalist positions impacted his political theology and ecclesiology is debated.

70. It is important to note that this is where Ockham and Almain part ways on canonist corporation theory. Ockham rejects it altogether, while Almain does not.

71. Jean de Launoy notes that Conrad Gesner made this error in his *Bibliotheca Universalis* (1545-9). See Launoy, *Regii Navarrae Gymnasii Parisiensis Historia*, Pars Prima (Paris: E. Martini, 1677), 614.

72. Jacques Almain, *In Tertium Sententiarum Lectura*, in *Opuscula*, ed. V. Doesmier (Paris: Claude Chevallon, 1518), fo. i, co. ii – fo. ii, co. ii.

73. Almain, *In tertium*, fo. xxiiii, co. i – fo. xxv, co. i.

74. See Almain, *Embammata Phisicalia*, fo. xv, xviii^{r}, xvi^{r}, xxiii.

75. As Francis Oakley explains, citing Tierney's analysis in *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory* (240), "In the context of the history of ideas, of course, it was the particular contribution of this literature [i.e., conciliarist] to have insisted that 'the true principle of Christian unity' lay not so much in the "rigorous subordination" of all the members of the Christian community to a single papal head as in 'the corporate association' of those members . . ." (Oakley, "Natural Law, the *Corpus Mysticum*, and Consent in Conciliar

Thought from John of Paris to Matthias Ugonius," *Speculum* 56, no. 4 [1981]: 787).

"Keep your eyes upon the Jew!": Jews and Nazis in the Context of Christian and Missionary Alliance Eschatology

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Scholars have regularly lamented the weakness of North American responses to the Holocaust[1] – not least those of the churches.[2] This article explores the complex of attitudes, theologies, and convictions of one North American conservative evangelical Protestant church body – the Christian and Missionary Alliance – towards Jews subject to Nazi persecution and extermination.

The Christian and Missionary Alliance

By way of background, Albert Benjamin Simpson, a native of Prince Edward Island, founded the Christian and Missionary Alliance in New York in 1887. The Alliance began as two organizations: the Christian Alliance, focussed on spiritual renewal in the Holiness tradition, and the Evangelical Missionary Alliance, dedicated to mobilizing Christians for foreign missionary work. Based on a growing constituency in both Canada and the United States, Simpson and other Alliance leaders published periodical, evangelistic, and devotional literature, prepared personnel in its Missionary Training Institute, and sent missionaries around the globe. Alliance theology revolved around the fourfold gospel, centred on the person of Jesus Christ as Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer, and Coming King.[3] This last element – the belief in the premillennial return of Christ as

Coming King – shaped its eschatology and its view of the Jews, both important to this study.[4]

The movement's chief periodical was *The Alliance Weekly*, a "Bible-teaching, spiritual, missionary magazine."[5] Our analysis of Alliance views on Jews during the Nazi era is based chiefly on reportage, editorials, exegetical writings, letters, and advertisements from over 500 issues published between 1933 and 1945. In that time, *The Alliance Weekly* was very much the mouthpiece of the denomination, since its editor, Harry M. Shuman, was also the denominational president and head of the Missionary Training Institute, and the associate editor, John A. Macmillan, was a Canadian pastor who had led an outreach to Chinese and Jewish communities in Toronto, served as a missionary field director in the Philippines, and taught as a professor of missions at the Missionary Training Institute.

Alliance Views on Jews

In ways that correspond to other studies of conservative Christianity during the 1930s and 1940s, we argue that the Alliance response to Jewish persecution before and during the Holocaust was comprised of various contradictory convictions – four in particular: first, that Jews were a chosen people of God, the source of Jesus Christ, and the foundation of Christianity; second, that Jews were largely responsible for the death of Jesus Christ, and thus stood under the ongoing judgment of God, though *also* under the protecting hand of God (Jews might be punished – made destitute, even – but they would not be destroyed because they served as a sign of God's faithfulness); third, that Jews were a spiritually lost people who required evangelization (consequently, missions were established in both Palestine – especially Jerusalem – and in North America – especially New York); and fourth, that the Jews held a special place in God's plan for the *eschaton* – the end times.

Members of the Alliance adhered to a premillennial, dispensationalist eschatology. That is, they believed that the world would ultimately deteriorate into sin, corruption, violence, and evil, until falling completely under the satanic rule of the Antichrist. Christians would be raptured – caught up in the air and taken to heaven. Jews and unbelievers would remain on the earth, undergoing an intense period of tribulation, through which the Jews would return to the Promised Land, return to God (through salvation in Christ), and play an integral role in the "end times,"

when Jesus would return to defeat Satan and establish his millennial kingdom on earth.

Often, several or even all four of these ideas appear mixed together, as in a short piece from *The Alliance Weekly* of 13 January 1934, which captures the persecution, protection, judgment, and salvation of the Jews envisioned by the Alliance. Ever since the first century destruction of Jerusalem, it asserted:

> the Jews have been set up on high as a visible, incontrovertible, and overwhelming evidence of the truth and faithfulness of Jehovah. The cruelties they have undergone have been enormous; the slavery to which they have been subjected is incredible. Yet the lands that have been their greatest oppressors have themselves passed away, and a divine favor has rested upon those nations that have offered their lands as a haven. Keep your eyes upon the Jew! God has not finally cast away His chosen people.[6]

The author went on to quote a passage from Romans to assert that Israel had been "blinded" but would eventually be "saved." So, to repeat, we see the Alliance vision of the Jews during the 1930s and 1940s as a chosen people, judged, punished, preserved, unjustly persecuted by some, sheltered by others, spiritually lost for the present, but eventually destined for salvation.

Seven Topics

With these contradictory Alliance understandings of the Jews in mind, we would like to outline briefly how they came to bear on seven topics: 1) international crisis, 2) political extremism, 3) antisemitism, 4) Jewish persecution, 5) Jewish refugees, 6) Jewish missions, and finally 7) Alliance eschatology. Though we will offer just a few brief examples in support of these points, there are dozens of similar texts scattered throughout *The Alliance Weekly*.

International Crisis

Because writers in *The Alliance Weekly* were always looking ahead towards the end times and observing conditions in their contemporary

world through the lens of prophesy about how, when, and where God might be bringing the present age to a close, their attention was invariably drawn to two prominent issues: the contemporary turmoil of European politics, which they saw as a precursor to the period of tribulation, and the Jewish refugee crisis, which they viewed as stirrings towards the promised restoration of a Jewish homeland. As the editors put it, "Israel . . . is God's clock."[7]

Themes of contemporary crisis related to Alliance eschatology appear regularly throughout the magazine – in advertisements, in exegetical articles, in Sunday school lessons, in editorials, and in current events reportage. Alliance Christians believed that, "although 'God's in His heaven,' all is very far from being 'right with the world.'"[8] Neither social reform movements nor even missionary activity could prevent the world's decline. The world was under judgement and could only be set right by God himself. World leaders were, "led unknowingly to perform the purposes foreknown to God . . . creation moves steadily forward to the end for which it was destined."[9] Readers, as L.H. Ziemer put it, were to "note the handwriting of God on the wall of time."[10]

In 1933 and 1934 alone, article titles like "In Time of Peace" (March 1933), "Facing War" (October 1933), "This Darkening World" (November 1933), and "Prophetic Date Setting" (February 1934) capture the Alliance expectation of international political conflict leading to an eventual Battle of Armageddon and of Jewish displacement and the consequent refugee crisis leading to the return of Jews to the Promised Land.[11] Simply put, these ideas are both fundamental to and ubiquitous in *The Alliance Weekly*.

Political Extremism

As they monitored international political developments, the writers and editors of *The Alliance Weekly* regularly inveighed against the rise of totalitarian ideologies – communism, fascism, and Nazism – and against dictators like Mussolini and Hitler. As the leading Alliance writer A. W. Tozer wrote in September 1937:

> Fascism . . . preaches the sovereignty of the state, and secures by force and cruelty absolute dominion over the bodies and souls of its subjects. It stands at the opposite pole from Christianity in that it destroys the value of the individual. The Fascist state is totalitarian,

> which is to say that nothing can exist apart from the state, and nothing can exist which the state does not control. This applies to religion, and as far as it can be enforced, to the very conscience of the individual. The principles of Fascism and those of Christianity are mutually exclusive and cannot exist together.[12]

As Tozer explained, "in Germany Fascism has taken its worst and most openly anti-Christian form. In an effort to get rid of the Jew, the Nazis have been compelled to reject the Bible, and along with the Bible has gone the Christian religion," as Germany turned back to the neo-paganism of "the one-eyed Odin of Norse mythology" and "Siegfried, the redeemer-god of the Teutonic Valhalla."

Elsewhere, one finds descriptions of German society under "mass hypnotism" and "nationalism gone mad." Indeed, "with this attitude Christianity cannot coexist," declared the editors, as they described German nationalism and state idolatry as a precursor to the idolatry of the Antichrist.[13] As missionary, pastor, and hymnist Alfred Cookman Snead put it, Hitler was one of the "followers of Satan upon the earth" who had "usurped authority."[14] The editors and writers of *The Alliance Weekly* regularly asserted that dictators and their politically extreme movements were linked to the powers of darkness bringing destruction into the world.

Antisemitism

Similarly, the editors and writers of *The Alliance Weekly* were highly critical of antisemitism and appealed to Christians to conduct themselves irenically as they interacted with Jews. Antisemitism was periodically acknowledged as a problem inherent to Christianity. In 1934, both associate editor John A. Macmillan and Dr. John Stuart Conning condemned *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* as "forged and false" and "a forgery" circulated by "agitators in various lands . . . even in America."[15]

Conning's article is particularly interesting. Two extended passages capture his tone:

> After nineteen centuries of Christian history, Christianity has found no way to slay the dragon of hatred against Christ's own people. In lands nominally Christian in Europe today, outbreaks against the Jews are of frequent occurrence. Particularly distressing has been the plague of

> antisemitism that is now sweeping over Germany in which one of the foremost Jewish communities of the world has been plunged into a vortex of economic and cultural disaster. Stung to the quick by the charge of blame for the world war and the dire consequences that have followed, the Hitlerite movement has found in the Jews a scapegoat upon which to cast all the odium for all the evils which have befallen Germany. Restrictive legislation, worse by far than that which flung its blight over the Russian Pale at the close of the nineteenth century, has driven tens of thousands of Jews, men, women, and innocent children, into a wilderness of racial isolation that dooms them to destitution and despair . . .
>
> The Jewish problem is essentially a Christian problem, for it is primarily a human problem. Jews are just folks like ourselves, men and women for whom Christ died, just as He died for you and me. It is a sorry spectacle that faces us in this twentieth century when we see Jews pilloried by blind fanaticism for the sole crime of belonging to the race of Jesus. The duty of the Christian church is clear. It must rebuke racial prejudice; but it must do more, to must create Christian attitudes towards the Jews. In no other way can the faith of Christ be commended to His own people. This is a time of crisis for the Jews; it is also a time of testing for Christians.[16]

Other articles, such as "The Vine Tree" (1934), "A Threefold Curse" (1935), "The Jew and the Church: A Call to Penitence and Prayer" (1935), and "Kindness to Israel" (1938) run along similar lines.[17]

At the same time, it must be noted, some writers, including Joseph R. Lewek, the Superintendent of the New York Jewish Mission, also believed that antisemitism, though sinful, was being used by God to drive Jews to Palestine, hastening the coming of the end times. One 1934 article lamented that, "the spirit of anti-Semitism is on the increase. Israel is suffering bitter persecution in various parts of the world," but then added that, "it is interesting to note that the number of Jewish immigrants entering Palestine has increased from 3,841 in 1932 to 14,905 in the first eight months of 1933 . . . Christ will not come until He has completed His program of gathering out a people for His name from 'every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation' (Rev. 5:9)."[18]

Jewish Persecution

Amid the flood of prophetic writings about the rise of dictators, the prospect of violence and war, and the return of the Jews to Israel, *The Alliance Weekly* regularly reported on the actual contemporary persecution of the Jews. In April 1933 – note the date – Alliance Publication Secretary D. J. Fant authored a report entitled "Jewish Persecutions," which laid out very clearly the new developments in Germany:

> Persecution of the Jews in Germany under the Nazis has aroused a storm of protests in this country. If the newspaper reports are true, all Jews in Germany have been summarily discharged from government offices, Jewish judges have been expelled, Jewish lawyers driven out of the courts, Jewish business places boycotted and forced to close, and there have been numberless and widespread acts of physical terror and bodily harm. It is feared that a scheme of widespread slaughter is being prepared, and so intense is the hatred against the Jew that has been incited, that at the first shot such fury would overcome most of the people that we should witness a massacre and pogrom such as the world has seldom seen.[19]

Importantly, though, in *The Alliance Weekly*, Jewish persecution was always interpreted through the lens of dispensational theology and never through the lens of humanitarian concern, even as European Jews suffered under hatred and violence and even as the international refugee crisis grew:

> It has been the sad lot of the Jewish People to endure persecution throughout the centuries. Their sufferings at the siege of Jerusalem were without parallel, but it was only the inauguration of an epoch when they should be set upon their world-wide journeyings – extinct as a nation – homeless, friendless, forlorn.
>
> For eighteen centuries they have been hounded from pillar to post; nominal Christians have outdone Caesar in their efforts to destroy the race.[20]

But why had they been persecuted so, how had they survived, and why had their ancient enemies from Egypt and Assyria to Babylon and

Rome long since disappeared? For Fant, the sole explanation was that "God has been with them, and He has miraculously preserved them amid many sorrows for His divine purposes. Serious indeed will be the consequences upon any nation that raises its hands against God's chosen people of Israel."[21]

Indeed, Alliance Christians believed that the persecution of the Jews and Jewish suffering were inextricably linked to Christian eschatology. Jews, living under divine judgment for rejecting Christ *as well as* under God's preserving grace, would suffer greatly, but eventually be restored to Israel and restored to God through faith in Jesus as the Messiah.

It is important to note that Alliance dispensational theology made space for very serious Jewish suffering indeed – not suffering Alliance theologians wished upon the Jews, but suffering they believed was part of God's divine plan. As the editors described in an article responding to unrest in Palestine, the prophesy in the Gospel of Matthew included a future siege of Jerusalem and the "abomination of desolation," some sort of revelation of the Antichrist in the coming temple of Jerusalem. They wrote:

> Then will open the period of "great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be" (Mat. 24:21). That awful era will include the time known as "Jacob's Trouble," when the last and fearful persecutor of Israel will be revealed – a man of whom all haters of the Jews from Antiochus Epiphanes (the madman) to Hitler are feeble foreshadowings. Jacob "shall be saved out of it," says the Word of God. Let every true Christian pray unceasingly for the hastening of the fulfilment of God's perfect plan for Israel and the world.[22]

After the Kristallnacht pogrom of November 1938, *The Alliance Weekly* published a stinging rebuke of the Hitler regime, in which the editors castigated the Nazi state for the "insensate fury" of the pogrom, and for deliberately fostering a "mob spirit." With reference to the Matthew 25 description of Christ's judgment, they declared Germany a "goat nation" that would be condemned by God.[23]

In 1939, as the Jewish refugee crisis worsened, the magazine began covering Jewish suffering more and more frequently. For example, in February and March 1939, the magazine reported that the Dominican

Republic might serve as a haven for Jews; that foreign Jews in Italy would have to leave on account of new antisemitic laws; that a request had been sent to *The Alliance Weekly* for financial aid for persecuted Jews; that 800 Jewish children had arrived in England under a British evacuation plan; that Greek Jews enjoyed the same privileges as Greek natives and were not suffering discrimination; that thirty-two countries were working through the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees and hoping to effect the emigration of 400,000 German Jews; and that Berlin Jews were being deported at the rate of 100 per day.[24]

As the war progressed, *The Alliance Weekly* periodically reported the extent of Jewish suffering and death at the hands of the Nazis. In June 1940, the editors noted that, of the nine million Jews in Europe, "less than one million are still living normal lives."[25] In July 1940, *The Alliance Weekly* discussed the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee's attempts to foster Jewish emigration from Nazi Europe. It observed that, "after the invasion of Poland conditions became exceedingly painful. The border between Poland and Lithuania became a 'no-man's land' for the Jews who were unable to move either way."[26] In January 1941, it reproduced estimates that 90,000 refugees from Nazi Europe had found their way to Palestine since 1933 and documentation that "of the 650,000 Jews who lived in Germany in 1933, 200,000 have fled from Germany, 30,000 are in concentration camps, 20,000 have committed suicide, 8,000 have been murdered, and 90,000 have died."[27] In March 1941, it reported the construction of a walled ghetto in Warsaw, within which "all of Warsaw's 300,000 Jews are forced to live, being absolutely prohibited from leaving the ghetto and entering other parts of the city." It added that, "an increase in disease, already widespread, is foreseen."[28] In June 1943, *The Alliance Weekly* explained how hundreds of rabbis had met in Jerusalem "to mourn for the million Jews who have been murdered by the Germans."[29] And in September 1943, it produced a detailed report of "Israel's Sufferings":

> No previous time in earth's history has witnessed such barbarities against the Jew, though there have been many "pogroms" and many times of special hate. To the twentieth century has been reserved, up to the present, the ignominy of absolute bestiality practiced by a professedly civilized nation against those who were entirely helpless before it.

> Of some 5,000,000 of Jews who have disappeared from countries under Nazi domination, 3,030,050 have perished during the four years of war, while 1,800,000 have been evacuated into the interior of the Soviet Union, and about 180,000 have been able to emigrate. Some 3,300,000 still exist in ghettos and concentration camps. All but about 5,000 of the more than half million Jews in Germany, at the time of Hitler's accession to power, have been disposed of. Perhaps 75,000 German Jews are still alive in Poland and the still occupied Soviet territory, while some 10,000 are in France, Belgium and Holland, awaiting deportation to the East. Official German figures admit that thirty per cent of such deportees die en route, while conditions at the points of destination are deliberately designed to make survival impossible for long.[30]

All this amounted to a serious acknowledgment that the Nazi slaughter of the Jews far exceeded other episodes of suffering in Jewish history.

Jewish Missions

But the response to Jewish suffering and annihilation did *not* eventuate in calls for humanitarian aid, government intervention, or increased Jewish immigration to North America. Rather, Alliance leaders believed the most important response was to redouble their efforts to evangelize Jews – to share with them their hope of salvation from the coming destruction through faith in Jesus Christ. This is evident in the content of *The Alliance Weekly*. Between 1939 and 1941, there occurred a marked increase in articles, reports, testimonies, and advertisements for Jewish missions. As a November 1939 article put it:

> the hearts of the chosen people are more open and receptive to the Word of God and the gospel message today than ever before. The terrific persecutions in Europe, the troubles in Palestine, and the ever-increasing antisemitism throughout the world, have softened their hearts and made them long for security and rest of soul. Such conditions constitute an urgent call for a great forward movement of prayer and effort on the part of Christian people to reach the Jews with the gospel and the Word of God. In answer to a mighty volume of believing prayer, and in response to an army of consecrated Christians placing God's Word in the hands of the Jews, might it not

> be possible that large numbers of them may speedily be born again into the Kingdom of God?[31]

As a result, there were campaigns to print copies of the New Testament for Jews, along with regular advertisements to support one of several missions to the Jews, both in New York and in Palestine.[32] And there were numerous reports about missionary work among Jewish refugees in Shanghai, where missionaries offered comfort, companionship, Bible studies, and outreach services, and celebrated a series of conversions and baptisms.[33]

Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, the basis for Jewish mission was consistently expressed in *The Alliance Weekly* as a combination of four motivations: (1) their generic spiritual "lostness" and the necessity of their salvation through Jesus Christ; (2) the Christian debt to Jews and Judaism, the source of Christianity and the Bible; (3) the future role of Jews in the end times; and (4) the present opportunity to reach Jews, given their plight and consequent receptivity to conversion.

Alliance Eschatology

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, it would be difficult to overstate the role of Christian eschatology – the premillennial dispensationalism of the Christian and Missionary Alliance – in this story. During the war years, *The Alliance Weekly* printed dozens and dozens of prophetic articles purporting to explain the meaning of world events in the light of Scripture, with titles such as "The Divine Chart of the Ages" (June 1940), "Christ's Return and World Problems" (July 1940), and "Signs of the Times" (August 1942).[34] The fate of the Jews was very much in the centre of this eschatology.

One example among many is missionary and Bible institute professor Arthur Petrie's September 1940 article "Among the Myrtle Trees," a prophetic interpretation of Zechariah 1:8. Without unfolding his speculative exegesis, it laid out Israel's low estate and Christ Jesus's mission to comfort and encourage the Jews – his zeal and jealousy for them, his readiness to avenge them and to make war on their behalf. While "the ruling world power decreed the destruction of the entire Jewish nation . . . divine providence intervened, and the nation was saved." Looking forward into the future, Petrie declared that God continued to keep watch

over the Jews, "stands among His downtrodden Jewish people, [and] we may rest assured is carrying on the government of the world with all their Bible promised interests in view, and is shaping history to bring about His Second Advent."[35]

Conclusion

In *The Alliance Weekly*, leading spokesmen for the Christian and Missionary Alliance published widely on the Jews, but because their premillennial dispensational theology produced such a powerful eschatology, their tendency was to essentialize and spiritualize Jews. Over and over, these writers and editors, many of whom held executive positions within the denomination and pastoral positions within Alliance churches, expressed contradictory understandings of Jews that they held in tension with one another. They understood Jews as the people of God, the ones who rejected Christ, the nation under judgment, the people preserved by God, the ones who suffer persecution and who would suffer worse in the time to come, the people who would return to Israel, and the people whose covenant with God would one day be renewed as they would be saved through Jesus Christ.

On the one hand, the writers and editors of *The Alliance Weekly* rejected antisemitism. Many of them devoted their lives in mission to Jews, and did that out of love and concern, not hatred. On the other hand, however, the power of the eschatological lens through which they viewed the Jews absolutely blinded them to the obvious humanitarian needs of Jews suffering and dying across Europe. *Not once* did we find evidence in *The Alliance Weekly* of any Alliance initiative to collect money or gather aid for Jewish refugees, apart from donations regularly solicited for Jewish *missions*. Moreover, *not once* did we find evidence in *The Alliance Weekly* of any Alliance initiative to engage directly in refugee work or to call on the government to intervene for Jews or to accept new refugees from Europe. Rather, the Alliance spiritualized Jewish suffering and remained passive to the political crises and cataclysm of the Second World War and Holocaust, seeing in Jews only the unfolding of God's plan to use the destruction of the earth to inaugurate the Kingdom of God.

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Settler Salvation and Indigenous Survival: George Copway's Vision of "Reconciliation"

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In the hot summer of 1845, Anishinaabe missionary Kahgegagahbowh, better known as George Copway, hosted a large camp meeting in the village of Saugeen in the Province of Canada where he was serving as a minister under the auspices of the Canadian Methodist Conference. Anishinaabe ministers, chiefs, and elders travelled from bands scattered around the Great Lakes to discuss their prospects for the future. Settler farmers had been encroaching on their lands and despite mounting conflicts the Canadian government proved unwilling or unable to intervene effectively. The gathered leaders had concluded that to assert their rights they would need to unite politically. At the centre of the tent meeting, from an improvised stage, community leaders praised "*Jesus Christ, Ke-sha-mon-e-doo O-gwe-son*, i.e., the Benevolent Spirit's son" asking him to send aid where the government would not.[1] Notions of Indigenous sovereignty, including the drafting of their own code of laws and plans for consolidating their remaining lands into one super-reserve, dominated the discussion and were summarized by Copway into a five-point plan.[2] The Saugeen tent meeting proved to be a highlight of Copway's career and he reflected on it glowingly in his autobiography: "Never was I more delighted than with the appearance of this body. As I sat and looked at them, I contrasted their

former (degraded) with their present (elevated) condition. The Gospel, I thought, had done all this."[3] In the young missionary's mind, only through the fusion of Indigenous political resistance and Christian religion could North American Indigenous peoples envision a future that ensured their survival and sovereignty in the face of spreading settler colonialism.

Despite Copway's excitement, the Methodist authorities made it clear that the Saugeen camp meeting was a blatant misuse of denominational resources. As he continued to deploy his Indigenous Christianity in unprecedented ways, non-Indigenous Methodist leaders became confused, angry, and alarmed, and they quickly and successfully moved to push him out of his position in the mission organization, eventually severing ties with him completely as punishment for his "bad conduct."[4] Though he was not aware of it, the clash with his supervisors would set him on a path to New York City, where he would begin a decade-long career as Canada's first international literary celebrity.[5] In addition, the ideas proposed at the Saugeen conference would form the foundation of Copway's reconciliatory vision for transforming American society in ways that he believed could ensure both the spiritual redemption of Euromerican newcomers and the survival and political sovereignty of Indigenous Americans. Entangled with his pursuit of fame and power, these dual goals characterized the heart of Copway's attempts to envision a future wherein Indigenous and newcomer peoples could coexist in a mutually beneficial relationship. Though it stretches the historically-grounded meaning of the term, an analysis of Copway's political vision through the lens of contemporary notions of reconciliation reveals the long, and often forgotten, history of attempts to theorize ways in which settlers and Indigenous people could share the land in the best, or least harmful, way possible.

The roots of Copway's vision for long-term Indigenous political and social agency began to take shape during his time at a Methodist missionary school in the late 1830s. Attending a treaty signing in the summer of 1837, he witnessed the secession of what was to become eastern Minnesota and central Wisconsin. At another in 1842, he left angered by the deceptive and condescending attitudes of the government agents.[6] Similar surrenders and unfair land purchases had been taking place in southern Ontario since the early nineteenth century, and some Methodist missionaries had supported Indigenous leaders in opposition to land speculators and Indian agents.[7] Mid-nineteenth century Canadian Methodism was unusual in this regard and its missionaries' emphasis on Indigenous education and

combatting the liquor trade made them successful in Anishinaabeg communities where Catholic and Moravian missionaries had received much cooler welcomes.

Many of the values that brought success to the expansion of Methodism were rooted in its theological emphasis on principles of spiritual equality and social justice – principles that expressed themselves most famously in prominent Methodist challenges to nineteenth-century notions of race epitomized in the Atlantic slave trade. Canadian historian Neil Semple argued that these progressive ideas originated in denominational founder John Wesley's theological critique of Calvinism. Interpreting Calvinism's notion of an elect community, specifically pre-ordained for salvation, as exclusive, deterministic, and "logically and scripturally absurd," Wesley argued that all humans were spiritually equal in their fallen state prior to salvation and equal in their responsibility to use their inherent will and conscience to approach God as individuals seeking salvation.[8] Regardless of race or status, salvation was understood to be a gift offered freely and universally to all humankind.[9] Copway's description of himself as "saved by grace, by grace alone" and not by any individual merit reflected this Wesleyan soteriology.[10] This theological egalitarianism was an important influence on Methodism's approach to race. Wesley himself fought against American slavery and, in a letter to his friend William Wilberforce, he exclaimed that the institution of slavery was "the vilest that ever saw the sun," declaring it "villainy" that an African man's oath was not considered legally equivalent to a European's.[11] These unconventional notions of racial inequality influenced the policy of Methodist missionaries in Upper Canada, leading them to contribute to a space that encouraged the Indigenization of Christianity in unanticipated ways.

Methodism's abolitionist focus on social and political action dovetailed with Copway's observations of the injustices done to Indigenous communities, and as a result his Anishinaabe Christianity blurred the line between religion and politics, growing into an almost proto-liberation theology that increasingly opposed the settler-colonial order. One of the earliest examples of this was the 1845 Saugeen tent meeting, which was in many ways nineteenth-century Anishinaabe Methodism coming into its own. Surprisingly, Copway's expulsion from the Canadian Methodist Conference only strengthened his belief in the significance of Christianity to the assertion and preservation of Indigenous rights, albeit in a more

ecumenical form that identified the divisions between Christian denominations as an impediment to effective social action.

In addition to English literacy, Copway's Methodist education also provided a moral and theological framework comprehensible to non-Indigenous audiences that he could use to call for acknowledgement of and atonement for the wrongs committed against his people. In doing so, Copway often directly attacked the theological and intellectual arguments that underpinned the settler colonial project. One of the most blatant examples of this critique can be found in his travel narrative, *Running Sketches of Men and Places in England, France, Belgium, and Scotland*, where he openly criticized the common Euromerican practice of using biblical narratives of the providential downfall of the unrighteous to justify the conquest of North America:

> I read in a different light from this the character of the God whom you love and serve. His benevolence is written in the page of nature around me; and every blade of grass, and the sweet sounds that vibrate on my ear, and salute my heart with feelings of warm emotion, tell me that the God who made the earth is a God of love. The God that we adore, my brethren, is not the author of the downfall and ruin of the North American Indians.[12]

Here, Copway combined an appeal to Christian notions of general revelation with naturalistic portrayals of Indigenous spirituality to challenge the roots of colonialism itself, declaring that a God of love would not have "crushed and made few the noble sons of America."[13] By critiquing the logic of Euromerican theological justifications for colonialism, Copway implied that their conception of God was in fact completely opposed to his actual nature. In this way, Copway asserted that he, an Anishinaabe clergyman expelled from his denomination, had a more accurate understanding of true Christian theology and morality than Euromerican religious leaders.

Speaking from this position of moral and theological authority, Copway firmly placed the blame for the suffering of Indigenous peoples on settler society, highlighting the hypocrisy of Euromerican declarations that the fate of Indigenous peoples was pre-ordained by God. Although earlier he had forgiven these wrongs in his 1847 autobiography, that forgiveness was tempered with indictments of the British government,

which he referred to as "that *pseudo* Christian nation" which "grossly abused, deceived, and cheated" the Ojibway throughout the treaty signing process.[14] In another passage, Copway reapplied a Biblical metaphor for Satan, "a roaring lion . . . seeking whom he may devour," onto the European colonists who had invaded his people's lands: "The white men have been like the greedy lion, pouncing upon and devouring its prey. They have driven us from our nation, our homes, and possessions."[15] By twisting a commonplace Christian description of the devil, Copway revealed the sinfulness of settler colonialism and the hypocrisy of Euromerican Christianity in a way that would have been unsettling for a readership well versed in Victorian Protestant symbolism and morality.

One of the most scathing examples of Copway's subversive use of Christian theology and language appeared in 1851 in a printed transcription of one of his lectures published in the inaugural edition of his short-lived literary journal *Copway's American Indian*. While arguing in front of a packed hall in favour of the establishment of an Indigenous aid society in New York City, he employed apocalyptic Christian imagery to deliver a prophetic judgement on Euromerican society:

> The heavens that have long been overcast with the vengeance of the Great Spirit upon the white man, are now beginning to break forth; and when a Society is formed in the City of New-York, it shall be one of the means to send its prayers to the God of the Universe, to avert the thunderbolt that Jehovah, in the hands of Gabriel, has now set in motion in the skies – that some day must come and rake up the bones of our ancestors, in the face of the prosperity of the white man, tells you that God shall become the accuser of the wrongs of my poor brethren [sic].[16]

While some of Copway's audiences found the presence of this suit-wearing, English-speaking, Christian "mimic man" to be a reassurance of the rightness of the colonial project, those in attendance during this particular lecture likely found him to be an unsettling figure whose message conveyed disturbing theological implications regarding their spiritual future.[17] He declared that non-Indigenous Christians had lost sight of God's true nature, and that to avoid a future outpouring of divine wrath they would need to repent and atone for their complicity in the sins perpetrated against Indigenous peoples in North America.

Besides spiritual salvation, Copway's future vision also centred on the physical and political survival of Indigenous peoples. This second key element of his reconciliatory vision was precipitated by his engagement with the myth of the "vanishing Indian," a widely accepted notion that the impending extinction of Indigenous peoples was inevitable or even naturally or divinely ordained.[18] The theological implications of this myth were especially troubling for Indigenous Christians, and Peter Jones, Copway's one-time mentor, lamented this horrific idea in his 1861 history of the Ojibway nation: "I cannot suppose for a moment that the Supreme Disposer has decreed that the doom of the red man is to fall and gradually disappear, like the mighty wilderness, before the axe of the European settler."[19] Portraying colonialism as an onslaught of industrial technology against an unsullied pre-modern world, Jones engaged critically with his own Christianity by questioning arguments that the suffering of Indigenous North Americans was the result of divine providence.

After travelling extensively throughout the United States, Copway wrote a letter to the Philadelphia *Saturday Evening Post* in 1850 in which he too challenged the truth of this myth of inevitable extinction and argued that action had to be taken immediately if this fate were to be averted:

> The ministry of this country, and the sluggards in the cause of humanity, say now: *There is a fate or certain doom on the Indians, therefore we need do nothing for them*. How blasphemous! First you give us rum by the thousand barrels, and, before the presence of God and this enlightened world, point to God, and charge him as the murderer of the unfortunate Indians . . . save us from such orthodoxy![20]

For Copway, the theological and historical narrative of Christianity seemed to offer a means to preserve Anishinaabe community and political identity in the face of such a bleak future.[21] Indeed, in an 1851 political treatise titled *The Organization of a New Indian Territory, East of the Missouri River*, Copway argued that Indigenous adoption of Christianity and literacy was a core part of "the only means which [could] be used to save the Indians from extinction."[22] But it was not simple appropriation of Euromerican ways of knowing and being that would avert the coming Indigenous apocalypse. In that same essay Copway went on to present his fuller vision for the future survival of Indigenous North Americans: a

wholesale restructuring of American society through the creation of a pan-Indigenous state along the eastern banks of the Missouri river. He proposed that this new land be named Kahgega, a shortened version of his own anglicized Anishinaabemowin name.[23]

By the mid-nineteenth century, multiple visions of how colonial society could take shape in the future had already been theorized, promoted, discussed, and rejected. As a political solution to the so-called "Indian problem," Copway's proposed transformation of the American west expanded on ideas promoted by earlier thinkers like William Augustus Bowles. These plans served as potential compromises within the larger discourse on the future of Indigenous America, conversations that often centered on the myth of the vanishing Indian. As early as 1781, Thomas Jefferson, despite his acceptance of an abstract, Enlightenment notion of racial equality, expressed his belief that "the wilderness" and its Indigenous population would inevitably give way to a Euromerican agricultural society.[24] Jefferson cushioned the need for removal with the idea that Indigenous populations could perhaps be saved and improved by assimilating them into Euromerican culture.[25]

Pretenses of compassion were abandoned in 1833, however, when President Andrew Jackson stood before Congress and declared that the Indigenous population was incapable of improvement and needed to vanish in order to make way for American civilization.[26] Jackson's aggressive Indian policy was continued in 1850 when President Zachary Taylor authorized the forced removal of Anishinaabeg communities from Michigan and Wisconsin to Minnesota.[27] On the day that Taylor died while still serving in office, Copway jotted down his thoughts, referring to Taylor not as "President," but as "General Taylor," and stating that he hoped "the Great Spirit had forgiven him for killing so many of the red men of my country."[28] Copway waded into this political discourse full of optimistic ambition, embarking in 1849 on a tour of the western territories in order to find a suitable geographical location for his self-titled state.

While Euromerican society understood Indigenous people to be facing a choice between assimilation and extinction, Copway presented a third option. The proposed structure of Kahgega ostensibly ensured the physical and spiritual survival of Indigenous peoples through their adoption of Christianity and English literacy while maintaining the continuity of Indigenous sovereignty through their representation in Congress by educated Indigenous representatives.[29] It was this element of future

survival and preservation (and a characteristic touch of narcissism) that Copway likely had in mind when he named the territory after himself, as he translated Kahgega to mean "firm, or ever," which would mean "Ever-to-be Indian Territory."[30] In his 1850 history of the Ojibway Nation, Copway envisioned the creation of Kahgega as an end to the era of colonial paternalism: "the government and its agents style us "My children." The Indians are of age – and believe they can think and act for themselves."[31] Although independent from the rest of the United States, Copway believed that for Indigenous people to achieve equality with Euromerican society, they would need to adopt Christianity and English literacy. In his mind, Christianity was not only valuable for its spiritual benefits, but would also serve as the vehicle for social and political empowerment.[32]

Consistently in his writings and speeches, Copway expressed a grandiose image of his role in history as a savior of and advocate for Indigenous peoples. In the 1847 introduction to his autobiography he drew a correlation between himself and the prophet Moses by exclaiming, "I am a stranger in a strange land!"[33] More than a casual turn of phrase, this quotation highlighted Moses's culturally hybrid identity that shifted between Pharaoh's court, the enslaved Israelite community, and the camps of the Midianite shepherds. By prefacing his autobiography in this way, Copway highlighted his role as a prophet speaking spiritual truth to power and revealed his ambition to become a political emancipator who could lead his people to an imagined promised land west of the Mississippi. Indeed, he also argued that the new territory needed to be administered and represented in Congress by a cadre of literate Indigenous Christians, specifications that all but guaranteed him a central role in overseeing Kahgega.

When Copway's political proposal met with rejection in Congress in the spring of 1850, however, and as his book sales continued to flag, he fell from the public eye and began to struggle financially. This decline was matched by a softening of his critique of settler society, and he turned increasingly towards performances where he took on the role of a noble, romanticized "Indian" acting out scenes from his friend Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's epic poem *The Song of Hiawatha*. After dabbling in anti-immigrant nativist movements, narrowly abandoning a disastrous filibuster expedition to Cuba due to seasickness, and recruiting Indigenous volunteers for the Union in the Civil War (a conflict that claimed the life

of his son), Copway spent his remaining years working as an itinerant "Indian Medicine Man" who offered healing "without the use of minerals" in the "Indian Mode."[34] In 1869, estranged from his wife and children and with his career in tatters, Copway died a guest at the home of a pastor in Ypsilanti, Michigan.[35]

Finally, what can be learned when the lens of reconciliation is brought to bear on Copway's failed attempt to transform colonial society? The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) Final Report states that "'reconciliation' is about establishing and maintaining a mutually respectful relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in this country. For that to happen, there has to be awareness of the past, acknowledgement of the harm that has been inflicted, atonement for the causes, and action to change behaviour."[36] Interestingly, these four stated requirements of awareness, acknowledgment, atonement, and action all appear in Copway's calls for the repentance of settler society and his political vision for the establishing of an Indigenous territory.

Through the creation of Kahgega, or a similar self-governing Christianized Indigenous state, and the acknowledgement of and atonement for the history of colonial violence suffered by Indigenous peoples, Copway believed that both Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples would be saved from spiritual and physical destruction. In this way Copway proposed his own solution to the problem that undergirds all conversations around reconciliation: how do we best live together in a shared land with a history of colonial oppression and violence? Though the modern conceptualization of capital "R" "Reconciliation" might not apply to Copway's historical or geographical context, considering the TRC's brief definition of the term, I would argue that Copway's imagined future and others like it can be described as "reconciliatory visions," proposing alternative forms of a colonial social order that gestured towards an imagined potential future state of harmony, healing, and Indigenous self-government. Though such visions often took abstracted utopian forms, Copway's descriptions of Kahgega aimed for practical compromise, a quality that failed him when he presented his notion before Congress in 1850.

This ambivalence on the part of the US government, and the earlier hostility of the Canadian Methodist Conference towards Anishinabeg political activism at the Saugeen Conference both speak to a hard reality that often surrounds conversations around reconciliation. At every turn, it

was Copway who had to "do the work" to envision the possibility of an alternative to termination or assimilation. Even his theologically grounded statements on the evils of colonialism and the need for repentance and atonement on the part of Euromerican society were met with hostility, amusement, or indifference. Within the power structures of nineteenth-century North America, real dialogue was impossible and Copway fell to the sidelines of public consciousness once he ceased to be entertaining. In the end, his reconciliatory vision of an alternative colonial order placed demands on the empathy, adaptability, and imagination of settler audiences that they were unable or unwilling to meet.

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"Aiming the Most Deadly Blows at our Book Concern": Piracy and the Methodist Hymnbook, 1824-1836

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As the shadows lengthened and the summer slowly melted into autumn across Niagara in 1803, Nathan Bangs could not have been more certain that Providence was smiling down on him. Barely twenty-five years of age and Methodism's newest preacher in the field, Bangs could hardly wait to begin helping the benighted settlers of Upper Canada flee from the wrath to come. A scant two years earlier, Bangs had arrived in the province from New England looking for work as a surveyor. But he soon found something else against the unlikely backdrop of the province's former capital at Newark: forgiveness of his sins and a purpose that would carry him to the end of his days. Tasked with cutting new preaching circuits in the westernmost regions of the province – far from his friends and fellow Methodists in Niagara – Bangs was soon thrown back on his own feeble resources. As he later recalled, someone – "an enemy" – threw in his way a very dangerous book – a book that almost drove the young preacher out of his mind.[1] *The Memoirs of James Lackington* was published in London in 1791 – the same year John Wesley went to his eternal reward. Just as well: Wesley would have hated the book. In it Lackington cynically recounted how Wesley's preaching had transformed him from "a gay, volatile, dissipated young fellow" into "a dull, moping, praying, psalm-singing, fanatic, continually reprehending all about me for their harmless mirth and gaiety."[2]

As Bangs pored over the pages of Lackington's book, he was shaken to his core. Unlike similar volumes impiously belched forth by the likes of

Voltaire, David Hume, and Thomas Paine, Lackington's little volume was the work of a genuine insider. His criticisms were as informed as they were devastating. "Which way to look for relief I knew not," Bangs panicked, "for I thought God had deserted me." And, alas, even if God had not, his fellow preachers certainly had. Bangs was alone and his tiny isolated flock turned to him to refute what they claimed were Lackington's "plausible impeachments." But to his own dismay Bangs found himself more in need of help than able to give it. Instead, the young and untried preacher hung his head and sank into a protracted lethargy. "Such torment I am sure I could not have endured for many days," he wrote, "I thought that the lost could experience no greater misery. Frequently I was tempted to open my mouth in blasphemy against God, and to curse the Saviour of men." But Providence had other ideas. Like Dorothy and her ruby slippers, it turned out that Bangs had all he needed to avert disaster from the very start. In what was almost an absentminded gesture, the distressed preacher reached down into his saddlebag and withdrew from its folds a tiny volume easily overlooked: The Methodist hymnbook "As I read," Bangs recalled, "such a sudden glow of joy filled and overflowed my soul that I praised God aloud, and I rode on triumphing in his goodness to me and to all men."[3]

It would be difficult to overstate the importance hymnbooks played in the lives of early Methodists.[4] Such books were, as Bangs well knew, powerful antidotes to doubt and despair – especially when other books were so scarce. As a book designed to be used with others, moreover, it was also a powerful tool for uniting Methodists when they gathered for congregational singing. And that meant that almost every adult Methodist, and at the very least every Methodist household, required its own copy. As Methodism grew, so too did the value of the hymnbook as a commodity. And that meant that Methodists had to be careful to protect it from those who would cynically exploit its popularity for mere commercial gain. This paper will examine how Methodists inadvertently provoked one such threat to their most lucrative title, how that threat unwound itself in a very public and very embarrassing court case, and finally how the result of that litigation dealt American Methodists a dose of their own medicine that almost certainly would have delighted the shade of John Wesley.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, the Methodist Book Concern was on a tear – and this at a time when many of America's largest printers and publishers were spiraling down into bankruptcy.[5] At the General Conference of 1804, mere months after Bangs's narrow escape from

damnation Upper Canada's backwoods, the Book Concern was valued at an astonishing $27,000.[6] Yet hardly a single work, not even Freeborn Garrettson's popular journals, appeared in the copyright registry of the United States Patent Office during this period.[7] This astonishing lack of interest in resorting to legal means to protect the Book Concern's market was rooted in the intensely denominational character of that market. Methodists were continually urged to connect their choices in the marketplace to their religious and denominational identities. Because the Methodist Book Concern directed profits back into the wider church – to support missions, to feed widows and orphans, and to supplement the meager salaries of hardworking itinerant preachers – purchasing a book from another publisher amounted to more than mere disloyalty. It was nothing short of outright theft from the church itself.[8]

The system worked remarkably well until an insider – a man very much like James Lackington – found himself compelled by circumstances to turn against it. As things turned out, Nathan Bangs – that same Nathan Bangs whose soul had been rescued from Lackington's calumnies almost a generation earlier by the Methodist hymnbook – was largely to blame. In 1820, Bangs was elected Senior Book Agent of the Methodist Book Concern.[9] When Bangs assumed his appointment the Concern had no real estate, no press, no bindery, and no newspaper. By increasing the Concern's debt substantially, he soon provided all these. Bangs also hired the publisher's first paid staff, including its first fulltime printer Azor Hoyt.[10] Under Hoyt's watchful eye the shop quickly expanded from two presses to more than a dozen.[11] That expansion was largely driven by the unprecedented success of the *Christian Advocate* – the Concern's wildly popular weekly newspaper.[12] But for Hoyt, all that success soon became a problem. Beginning in 1826, the *Christian Advocate* had been produced on a double-pull Washington handpress that, with two or three men operating it, could produce about 300 impressions an hour.[13] But as more and more Methodists in the United States and Upper Canada took out subscriptions to the *Advocate,* each edition took longer and longer to produce. Within just two years the time needed for production had grown from a single day to more than four days. In a moment of desperation, and without consulting his boss Nathan Bangs, Hoyt began to experiment with a new cylinder press that promised to throw off between three and five thousand impressions in a single hour.[14] Hoyt thought his problems were solved. Unfortunately for him, however, the pages that the new press

produced were perfectly illegible. Subscribers were up in arms. Bangs no doubt advised his successor as Senior Book Agent – the rising star John Emory who had been in the big chair at the Concern only a matter of months – to waste no time firing Hoyt. And that is exactly what Emory did. But although that deflected blame away from Bangs and Emory in the short term, this rash – even reckless – ouster of Hoyt soon proved itself to be a very serious miscalculation.[15]

Hoyt was livid. Bangs and Emory knew he would be. But what they seem to have forgotten is that their former printer was also uniquely positioned to take revenge – and recompense – using the wealth of knowledge he accumulated as the man who had kept the presses running at the Concern for years. Hoyt knew the hymnbook was far and away the Concern's most valuable property. He also knew how to produce it. And he was determined to make that knowledge pay. As far back as 1818, the Concern had taken special care to stamp out the appeal of pirated Methodist hymnbooks. That was the year that the Concern introduced its first successful monthly – *The Methodist Magazine.* Joshua Soule, the Book Agent at the time, used the very first issue to police the denominational borders of his market by condemning in no uncertain terms the recent and unwelcome appearance of a pirated hymnbook. "A short time past," Soule wrote, "a book was put into our hands by a friend, the title page of which begins thus, 'The new Methodist Pocket Hymn Book.' This heterogeneous mass had its untimely birth in a back county of this state. It is a libel upon the Methodist Episcopal Church, and a reproach to her name." He went on to describe it as a kind of "counterfeit coin" that threatened to undo Methodism's economy of good works unless true and loyal Methodists shunned it. "The honour of the Church," he concluded, "whose interests we are sacredly bound to promote, calls upon us, as far as our influence extends, to prevent the circulation of such publications under the sanction of her name."[16] And thus, without recourse to copyright laws, Soule put a quietus on this threat. John Emory would have to do the same – but with one important difference: as a man intimately familiar with the Concern, its methods of production, and its denominational rhetoric, Hoyt would be a far more formidable foe.

In 1830, still stinging from his abrupt dismissal, Hoyt published his own edition of the Methodist hymnbook and offered it to booksellers for 33¢ a copy. By comparison, the cheapest edition of the Concern's hymnbook, as Hoyt well knew, had a wholesale price of 56¢.[17] And

although it was undeniably less expensive, it was also and in every way an exact facsimile of the Concern's own hymnbook. Like Soule before him, Emory resorted immediately to one of the Concern's periodicals – this time the *Christian Advocate* – to attack Hoyt's pirated edition and to remind readers of the duty they owed to the denominational publisher. All that was to be expected. And no doubt Hoyt did expect it. What he did not expect was to be attacked by name. "The time is come," Emory thundered, "when we ought to be able to distinguish *friends* from *enemies.* As a vital auxiliary of our itinerant system of spreading the gospel, there is no institution in our whole economy more important, or more efficient, than the Methodist Book Concern. Our enemies see this, and feel it. Hence every attack on Methodism, from whatever quarter, uniformly connects with it an attack, directly or indirectly, openly or secretly, on 'the Book Concern.'" And who was the enemy? None other than Azor Hoyt. "Any individual," Emory continued, "who shall knowingly have anything to do with that hymnbook, in such circumstances, cannot but be regarded as thereby participating in Mr. Hoyt's hostility, and consequently as encouraging other similar attacks, and thus aiding and abetting him and others in aiming the most deadly blows at our Book Concern, and all the charitable and important objects which it has been instituted to accomplish."[18]

The shrill tone and pointedness of Emory's rebuke caused a sensation. By devising "a Hymnbook as nearly like ours as he could make it," right down to the shape and lettering on the spine, Emory contended that Hoyt was attempting to fool booksellers and consumers into believing that they were purchasing an authorized hymnbook. Admittedly, a certain amount of imitation was necessary for Hoyt's hymnbook to be usable. In public worship Methodist "hymns were given out not by the number of the hymn, but by the page of the book," Lemuel Bangs, Nathan Bangs's son and the Concern's bookkeeper, would later testify. But, Bangs continued, Hoyt went much further than functional necessity required by constructing a hymnbook so like the Concern's that "it was easy to mistake the one for the other."[19] Unable thus to fault the Hoyt hymnbook for either its content or its price, Emory argued, as his predecessors had before him, that the hymnbook – like any rival edition of a book sold by the Concern that somehow found its way onto the shelves of Methodists – constituted a counterfeit, lacking any denominational value because profits generated from the sale of Hoyt's hymnbook, rather than aiding "charitable and

important objects" connected with the Church's wider interests, served only to "gratify his hostile feelings, and accomplish his own private ends." The only way to identify a genuine hymnbook from an imitation, Emory elaborated, was to inspect its imprint. By drawing attention away from the book's content, format, price, and material quality, and emphasizing the importance of its imprint, Emory set the Concern's hymnbook apart from Hoyt's rival edition as a commodity uniquely imbedded in an institutional structure that alone furthered denominational interests. Although Emory's rhetoric may have staunched sales of rival hymnbooks, Hoyt's eventual victory in court had the far more consequential effect of throwing the Methodist hymnbook, to Emory's horror, into the public domain.

Atkinson's Saturday Evening Post describes the New York State Supreme Court trial that took place near the end of January 1833 as being of "no ordinary character." Over the course of almost an entire week the court room was "crowded with the clergy and members of the [Methodist] Society" straining to hear the testimony of Hoyt and those he accused of libel: Nathan Bangs who had hired him, John Emory who fired him, James Collard who replaced him as printer, and Beverly Waugh, who as assistant book agent had refused to authorize Hoyt's actions.[20] Hoyt demanded $5,000 in restitution. Although they jury awarded him only the sum of $300, he won the moral victory. Far more damaging to the Concern's long-term interests was the finding that, "There could be no monopoly on the part of the Book Concern, for they had no patent right."[21] It was an invitation to publishers across the United States to begin publishing their own editions of the popular and lucrative hymnbook. It also meant that the Concern's only recourse for protecting its interests lay in foregrounding the relationship between religious identity and consumer choice in the marketplace. The quality of the Concern's books, the price of those books, and the ready availability of those books all fell to a place of secondary importance relative to Methodism's wider imagined and unbroken economy. In subsequent years regular columns appeared in the *Christian Advocate* and other Methodist publications warned its customers, as Emory's indictment of Hoyt's hymnbook had, to inspect their books closely to ensure that they bore the Concern's imprint. This was particularly true in the case of the lucrative hymnbook, which typically carried similar pleas for patronage in prefatory material. The preface of the 1836 edition of the Concern's hymnbook, for example, signed by the Church's four bishops, after pointing out that all profits from its sale were directed

towards charitable purposes, adjured the reader, "if you have any respect for the authority of the Conference, or of us, or any regard for the prosperity of the Church of which you are members and friends, to purchase no Hymn Books but what are published by our own agents, and signed with the names of your Bishops."[22]

In the end, the additional stress Emory was obliged to place on the rhetorical link between patronage and denominational identity to counteract the loss of the putative publishing monopoly it had enjoyed over its hymnbook for decades may have been fortunate. Without a galvanized denominational market predicated on the widespread acceptance of such linkages it seems highly unlikely that the Concern would have survived the most serious reversal it has yet faced: the complete destruction of its largely uninsured building and stock by fire on the eve of the Panic of 1837.[23] And yet, Wesley would have, had his shade haunted the courthouse hallways, doubtless smiled at the fact that his American followers found themselves powerless to assert control over their own hymnbook. After all, that is what they had done to him some fifty years earlier. Wesley himself had long had to contend with the financial nuisance of pirated hymnbooks during his lifetime. But the effrontery of the Americans must have taken even his breath away when the Methodist Book Concern published its own edition of the Methodist Hymnbook in the 1790s. That hymnbook, astonishingly, was produced using not an authorized Methodist hymnbook, but a piracy of Wesley's hymnbook produced by Robert Spence a decade earlier.[24] Perhaps the Americans had deliberately chosen the Spence hymnbook in an outward show of defiance. After all, Wesley's unwelcome interference in their printing and publishing affairs had continued even after the Revolutionary War. However that may be, American Methodists now knew what it was like to be on the receiving end of such an exchange.

Endnotes

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2. James Lackington, *Memoirs: Of the First Forty-Five Years of the Life of James Lackington, the Present Bookseller in Chiswell-Street, Moorfields, London: Written by Himself: In a Series of Letter to a Friend* (London: Printed and Sold by the Author, 1791), 163.

3. Stevens, *Nathan Bangs,* 88-91. See also Scott McLaren, *Pulpit, Press and Politics: Methodists and the Market for Books in Upper Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 40-2.

4. See, for example, Mark Noll, "The Defining Role of Hymns in Early Evangelicalism," in *Wonderful Words of Life: Hymns in American Protestant History & Theology,* ed. Richard Mouw and Mark A. Noll (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2004), 3-16.

5. James Pilkington, *The Methodist Publishing House: A History* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1968), 135; John Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 179; and James Green, "The Rise of Book Publishing," in *An Extensive Republic: Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790-1840,* ed. Robert Gross and Mary Kelley (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 94-7.

6. Pilkington, *Methodist Publishing House,* 138; and Methodist Episcopal Church, *Journals of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: Carlton & Porter, 1855), 1:61.

7. Elizabeth Carter Wills, *Federal Copyright Records, 1790-1800* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1987), no. 222.

8. McLaren, *Pulpit, Press, and Politics,* 30-1.

9. Methodist Episcopal Church, *Journals,* 1:226.

10. Methodist Episcopal Church, *Journals,* 1:287; and Pilkington, *Methodist Publishing House,* 189.

11. *Christian Advocate and Journal* (New York), 10 October 1828, 21.

12. Stevens, *Nathan Bangs*, 236, 270.

13. Pilkington, *Methodist Publishing House,* 218.

14. "New Printing Press," *Christian Advocate and Journal* (New York), 11 April 1828, 32.

15. Although steam presses in England were typically of the cylinder type by this time, the relatively primitive state of machine shops in the United States prevented American manufacturers of presses from imitating the design. Daniel Treadwell, for example, after returning from England where he had seen cylinder steam presses in operation, designed his own power press (first operated by horse and later by steam) in Boston in 1821 using the same flat platen design typical of a hand press. Although this set modest limits on the

speed with which the Treadwell press could operate – throwing off about 600 sheets an hour or roughly twice that of a hand press – the quality of the printing was sufficiently good to attract business from many quarters including Daniel Fanshaw of the American Bible Society. Hoyt's design, by comparison, was far more aggressive in its adoption of the English cylinder design. In the end, however, the failure of Hoyt's press showed the wisdom of Treadwell's technological conservatism. See Ralph Green, Early American Power Printing Presses," *Studies in Bibliography* 4 (1951/1952): 143-153; William Pretzer, "'Of the paper cap and inky apron': Journeymen Printers," in *An Extensive Republic: Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation,* ed. Robert Gross and Mary Kelley (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 160-171.

16. Joshua Soule, "Introductory Address," *Methodist Magazine*, January 1818, 6-7.

17. Pilkington, *Methodist Publishing House,* 230.

18. John Emory, "To Our Friends," *Christian Advocate and Journal* (New York), 24 September 1830, 4.

19. "Superior Court," *Christian Advocate and Journal* (New York), 8 February 1833, 24.

20. *Atkinson's Saturday Evening Post,* 9 February 1833, 13 no. 2.

21. The *Christian Advocate and Journal* published a lengthy summary of the proceedings in its 8 February 1833 issue. As part of that summary, the agents also quoted in full Emory's original article of September 1830 that precipitated the libel case.

22. Methodist Episcopal Church, *A Collection of Hymns For the Use of the Methodist Episcopal Church: Principally from the Collection of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A.* (New York: B. Waugh and T. Mason, 1836), 5.

23. McLaren, *Pulpit, Press and Politics,* 135, 153-156.

24. *A Pocket Hymn-Book, Designed as a Constant Companion for the Pious, Collected from Various Authors* (York: Printed for R. Spence, 1783); Pilkington, *Methodist Publishing House,* 72-3.

The Historiography of Indigenous-Settler Religious Relations in Canada

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Those who write about the religious dimension of the history of Indigenous and settler peoples in Canada have to begin by making some preliminary decisions even before they consider any evidence. They need to decide what kind of things religions and spiritualities are: can they be neatly defined by a set of characteristics (such as doctrine, ceremonies, institutional affiliations, devotional attitudes, experience of the holy), or are they so diverse and fluid that they break through whatever boundaries we try to draw? Are some religions, or religious elements, truer or worthier or more important than others? Do the terms "Indigenous" and "western," and similar pairs, denote clearly contrasting social essences, or are they overlapping, imprecise, catch-all categories? Are some cultures more advanced than others? Is colonialism a good thing that benefits the colonized, or a bad thing that oppresses them? Depending on their premises in these matters, most histories of Indigenous and settler religious relations in Canada take one of five historiographical approaches: conventional colonialist, reversalist colonialist, encounter, post-colonial, or decolonizing. I am not claiming any novelty for these categories, but I hope that identifying, illustrating, and comparing them will be helpful for our historiographical interrogation of texts about Indigenous-settler relations, and for orienting our own research. As with all models, these are ideal types; some historical studies present characteristics of more than one model, and some historical studies may not fit any of them. But quite a number of these accounts do fit fairly neatly into one of these categories.

Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History (2019)

This essay began to take shape as I became aware how far my own previous work has been trapped in unexamined and problematic assumptions. In 2004, I published a kind of thematic history of Anglicanism in Canada.[1] It included a few specific topics in Indigenous-settler relationships, such as missions and residential schools, and some prominent Indigenous leaders, but otherwise I was content to use sources produced by settlers: synod journals, committee reports, episcopal pronouncements, settler memoirs and correspondence, the national denominational newspaper, Women's Auxiliary newsletters, church publications, and the like. As a result, how oblivious I was to the colonialism in the very air that settler Anglicans breathed! My narrow selection of sources concealed from me the colonial bias in the settler church's theological statements, liturgical texts, organizational structuring, mission policies, principles of ministry, educational curricula, budgetary priorities, and interventions with governments.

Conventional Colonialist Approaches

The most useful study of conventional colonialist discourse is still Edward Said's immensely influential book *Orientalism*.[2] Although his focus, as the title indicates, is western works about certain middle-eastern and "Oriental" regions, his analysis is perfectly applicable to colonial discourse about the "new world" as well. *Orientalism* has been criticized for many reasons: generalizing dogmatically, framing discussions polemically, selecting evidence lopsidedly and quoting out of context, distorting chronologies, correlating knowledge and power in crude ways, and disregarding niceties of historical detail, among other things. But it has also been noted that Said's thesis cannot really be refuted, since it is not at bottom a thesis about history but an analysis of a species of discourse characterized by certain tropes, perspectives, and assumptions.[3] Orientalism, despite the "-ism," Said says, is less a historical doctrine than "a set of constraints and limitations of thought."[4]

Here are eight characteristics of Orientalism identified by Said, most of them beautifully illustrated in this single pithy classic sentence which he quotes from a British colonial administrator in 1883: "The Oriental generally acts, speaks, and thinks in a manner exactly opposite to the European."[5]

It is *binary*: it opposes the West to the Orient. It homogenizes very diverse populations into two generalized collective identities.

It is *essentialistic*: it ascribes a kind of ontological stability to each of these two collectivities. They become types immune to historical change.

It is *ideological*: it is "a system of ideological fictions," controlling the representation of human history and experience.[6]

It is *Eurocentric*: it represents the Orient only from a Western viewpoint, and reports much of the history of the Orient as a response to the West.

It is *monological*: it represents Orientals on their behalf since Orientals are seen as incapable of representing themselves.

It is *depreciatory*: it evaluates European ways as superior to Oriental ways. Europe is rational, developed, sober, humane, efficient, and civilized. The Orient is morally perverse, intellectually aberrant, unclean, linguistically opaque, sexually licentious, and barbarous.

It is *hegemonic*: It supports *la mission civilisatrice* and the colonizing program of the West. It justifies the struggle of the West to dominate Eastern territory on the grounds that Oriental people are backward and incapable of self-government.

It is *interventionistic*: it sees Orientals as "problems to be solved."[7]

Substituting the term "Indigenous peoples of Canada" for the term "Orientals" produces an entirely accurate picture of the conventional colonialist discourse that Euro-Canadians have applied to the First Peoples of the country.[8] The very word "Indigenous," together with similar terms, by which colonizers lump together "everyone here who is different from us," are vital to this discourse. The main difference between Said's Orientalism and Canadian conventional colonialist discourse is that western Orientalists did not imagine that the Orient would inevitably disappear from the face of the earth. But Euro-Canadian colonizers

expected that Indigenous peoples would do exactly that.

Probably the most influential practitioner in Canada of a conventional colonialist approach was Duncan Campbell Scott (1862-1947), the chief administrator and theoretician for Canada's policies for the cultural assimilation of First Nations peoples.[9] The son of a Methodist minister, Scott went to work as a copy clerk for the Department of Indian Affairs in Ottawa when he was just seventeen years old and retired fifty-three years later, having managed the department for most of his career. In his departmental reports, testimonies to Parliament, popular periodicals, historical anthologies, and literary works, he functioned as an amateur but trusted historian of Indigenous-settler relations. He was widely celebrated during his lifetime as the settler expert on "the Indian problem." (Canada's other Indigenous peoples, the Métis and the Inuit, did not fall under the Indian Act that Scott administered.) After Scott's death, however, his repressive policies, negligence, cover-ups of scandal, and callousness about the inhumane treatment of children in Indian residential schools came to be widely regarded with abhorrence. In 2015, a historical plaque was erected at his gravesite recognizing that his assimilationist residential school system had been characterized as cultural genocide.[10]

Scott used racial language as a vehicle for essentializing Indigenous peoples. He saw no doubt, "that the native inhabitants of North America are of one race," despite their linguistic variations and differences in lifestyle.[11] He readily generalized about the "Indian nature." On the one hand, when he was trying to be positive, he characterized it as attuned to the natural environment, physically vigorous, and gifted in the domestic arts (think, for example, totem poles).[12] On the other hand, he pictured the "Indian race" as afflicted with superstition, indolence, an incapacity for altruism, and a need to feud with other tribes.[13] Before colonial repression had done some of its useful work, the "Indian nature," as witnessed by the earliest Europeans in Canada, was "ready to break out at any moment in savage dances, in wild and desperate orgies," and in the resort to tomahawks, firebrands, and scalping knives.[14] Clearly Scott was oblivious to the possibility that many Euro-Canadians could be seen in a similar light: self-serving, bellicose, violent, indolent, and sexually excessive. Scott's colonialism led him only to contrasts, not comparisons. "Indians" were the opposite of Europeans (and Euro-Canadians). The "Indian nature" was primitive; Europeans were civilized.

Like colonizers elsewhere, Scott spoke very frequently of the

colonized population as a problem. He identified a regrettable "maladjustment between aboriginal and civilized systems."[15] The problem was that only the civilized system, the Europeans, "the superior race," had a future.[16] What to do with the inferior race? The problem would solve itself in the long run, Scott thought; the unforgiving laws of social Darwinism would inevitably force primitive cultures either to advance – having been "overcome" by the best in European culture – or to be extinguished.[17] But Scott was too impatient to wait for the inevitable. He was in a position, as head of the Indian department, to hurry things along, "to apply methods which will . . . lead eventually to his [i.e., the Indian's] disappearance as a separate division of the population."[18] Scott's strategy was twofold. First, "Indians" needed to be protected from the worst classes of Europeans, such as the fur-traders, the con artists, the sex traffickers, and the rum merchants, who had brought the "Indians" down to a condition of "squalor, dejectedness, and intemperance."[19] This objective was being accomplished by removing "Indians" to reserves, "a sort of sanctuary" for them until by advancement they could be absorbed "with the general citizenship."[20] Second, "Indians" needed to be educated. The churches had taken on this task in their missions and the residential schools, engineering "the substitution of Christian ideals of conduct and morals for aboriginal conceptions of both": there was the dualism again.[21] However much church leaders may have understood their mission as a religious one, Scott valued the churches as instruments of the social policy of Europeanizing Indigenous peoples. "As the Indians progress into civilization," Scott wrote in 1931, they will, "finally disappear as a separate and distinct people, not by race extinction but by gradual assimilation."[22]

Needless to say, Scott's prophecies were wrong.

Although Scott earned his living as a civil servant, "the centre of his life was not in his office, where he seldom came early, and never stayed late," as one of his friends wrote, but in his creative writing.[23] His passion was producing poetry, short stories, and novels. His literary career, characterized by what Northrop Frye called "a very uneven output," earned him during his lifetime a significant measure of celebrity, if never as much admiration as he thought he deserved.[24] In his short stories he often depicted "Indians" as drunken, pagan, or violent secondary characters, as commentators have noted.[25] The vanishing Indian was another favourite idea, illustrated in his "Onondaga Madonna," perhaps his best-known poem on an Indigenous theme.[26] It is a word-portrait of an Indigenous

mother and baby which sums up Scott's sense of the entire history of "the Indian race" in a fourteen-line sonnet in Petrarchan form. That Scott used a woman to symbolize the Indian race, as he also did in "The Half-breed Girl," "At Gull Lake," and "Watkwenies," is consistent with Edward Said's observation that conventional colonialist discourse tends to gender the colonized as female, represented as passive and subordinate.[27] The Onondaga Madonna in the poem is a "woman of a weird and waning race, / The tragic savage lurking in her face." The words "weird" and "savage" express her primitive nature; the words "waning" and "tragic" prophesy the inevitable disappearance of her people. Scott sexualizes the mother's native savagery with references to her burning "pagan passion," her stained lips, and the "wildness in her veins." The Onondaga Madonna's particular contribution to the disappearance of "the Indian race" is that she has apparently inter-married: "her blood is mingled with her ancient foes," the poem says, so she is a half-breed. And then her baby is "paler than she," suggesting a white father. If so, then under the Indian Act, as it stood at the time, this baby had no Indian status; colonial legislation was designed to promote the assimilation of Indigenous peoples.

A more recent example of conventional colonialist discourse is the trial court decision in Delgamuukw v. British Columbia, written in 1991 from the Superior Court of British Columbia by Chief Justice Allan MacEachern.[28] (The decision was overturned on an appeal that in turn was upheld by the Supreme Court of Canada.) The case involved a land claim brought by forty-eight hereditary chiefs of the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en nations, led (for purposes of the legal record) by Chief Delgam Uukw, who sued for the recognition of their ownership of 58,000 square kilometres of territory. The plaintiffs argued that under Section 35 of the Constitution their land ownership was an aboriginal right; the province counter-argued that these nations could not have owned land aboriginally because before European contact they had been too primitive to have a system of land ownership. To support its case, the province called a cultural geographer-for-hire with no field experience that it frequently recruited to testify against aboriginal land claims; she explained that Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en peoples received their first understanding of social organization from Europeans. Supporting the plaintiffs, three internationally prominent anthropologists explained to the judge that the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en peoples did indeed have well-developed social organizations before contact, as verified by their oral tradition and the observations of the

earliest European explorers and traders.

At one point the judge moved the hearing to the territory involved, in northwest British Columbia west of Smithers. He was struck by how vast and empty it looked. He concluded that these peoples were not sufficiently advanced on the scale of social evolution to know how to plant crops, agriculture being a sign of civilization. The anthropologists argued in reply that the annual salmon run and other local natural resources were more productive and reliable than agriculture could have been in unsuitable soil. MacEachern dismissed the evidence of the anthropologists as mere advocacy, and he dismissed Indigenous oral tradition as falling short of European legal standards of proof. He was left with the conviction that the Gitxsan and Wet'suwet'en lacked any institutions of self-government beyond "the most rudimentary form of custom." They therefore had no system of ownership. He ruled against the plaintiffs. His decision checked off several boxes of conventional colonialist discourse: a binary understanding of "civilized" and "primitive," a Eurocentric understanding of culture and government, a hegemonic rationale for settler control of the land.

Conventional colonialist discourse continues to have a kind of common-sense appeal among many Canadians today. A study of Canadian news coverage of Indigenous issues from 1869 to 2005 has documented persistent colonial assumptions and negative stereotypes about Indigenous peoples.[29] A book published in 2008 by Frances Widdowson, a professor at Mount Royal College in Alberta, and her husband, though thoroughly panned by academics, won a number of favourable reviews in the popular press. In the familiar mode of oppositional, generalizing, Eurocentric, and disparaging discourse, their book depicted Indigenous peoples in Canada as Neolithic on the evolutionary scale, attached to archaic traditional knowledge, undisciplined in their work habits, bonded to land in ways that isolated them from the modern economy, and wedded to obsolete customs. Indigenous people needed to "obliterate" their traditions and embrace development.[30]

Reversalist Colonialist Approaches

Reversalist colonialist discourse starts out on the same path as conventional colonialist discourse by essentializing and polarizing the worldviews and values of colonized and colonizer. But after that it draws

opposite conclusions. It frames colonization as a story of oppression, not one of benevolence; it honours the pre-contact past of Indigenous peoples, instead of disparaging it; and it promotes Indigenous resistance, not subservience.

A particularly influential practitioner of reversalist colonialist discourse was the well-known Native American activist Vine Deloria, Jr. (1933-2005), a member of the Oglala Lakota nation, and a professor at the University of Arizona and later at the University of Colorado. Among his many writings, his book *God is Red* focused particularly on religion.[31] It accepted the conventional colonialist binary, essentialized opposition between Indigenous American religion and Biblical religion. There was a "great gulf," Deloria said, between "traditional Western thinking about religion and the Indian perspective"[32]; "these two traditions are polar opposites in almost every respect."[33] But Deloria inverted the missionary's condemnation of Native religion and exaltation of Christianity: instead, he presented Native spirituality as wise and generative, and Christianity as superstitious and destructive. Deloria treated all forms of Christianity, and sometimes Judaism as well, as a homogeneous mass. This Western religion, he said, made God a temperamental and egoistic control freak; it used hymns to flatter and deceive the Deity; it separated people from the life cycles of the natural world; it taught a harsh and unjust doctrine of election; it promoted a spineless fear of death; and it pictured salvation as an escape from this planet to a place where people "can enjoy eternal life filled with the delights that they were denied during this lifetime."[34] Christians built artificial churches that needed consecration to be cleansed of the taint of the natural world before use. They understood creation in an anti-ecological way that damaged the environment. They designed their services of worship to raise funds. The way forward for Indigenous peoples was to recognize the "fatal flaws" of "whites and their Christian religion," and to promote the "renewal" of "tribal religions."[35] Doing so would help them reclaim their "political and cultural identity and independence."[36]

Now, Deloria knew that in fact a great many Native Americans espoused Christianity. His own father was a prominent priest in the Episcopal Church. But by its harsh dualistic logic, *God is Red* delegitimated their cultural identity.

In Canada the most prominent expression of reversalist colonialist discourse is the report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples

(RCAP), published in 1996.[37] This report, 4,000 pages long, filling five volumes, was the culmination of the most ambitious and intensive research project into Indigenous-settler issues in Canadian history. The Commission had been established in 1991 with an extremely broad, sixteen-point mandate to propose solutions to virtually all the problems confronting Indigenous peoples in Canada, with a view to restoring justice to the relationship of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. RCAP was headed by four Indigenous and three non-Indigenous commissioners and supported by a staff that numbered between eighty and 120 persons at any one time. It held hearings all across Canada, received over 2,000 briefs, and commissioned 350 research studies.

The report is organized around a binary and essentialistic opposition between Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultures, worldviews, and political realities. RCAP's reason for emphasizing the radical, permanent cultural difference of Indigenous peoples from non-Indigenous peoples was to support its conclusion that Indigenous peoples should be recognized as sovereign, self-determining nations. Some critics, however, while endorsing RCAP's recommendation for Indigenous sovereignties, have been troubled by an argument that seems to deny the reality of cultural change. More persuasive arguments have been suggested.[38]

In any event, RCAP declares from the beginning of its report that Aboriginal belief systems, cultures, and forms of social organization have "differed substantially" from European patterns.[39] True, Aboriginal cultures are diverse, but their worldviews are all "consistent in important ways."[40] Here are some of the elements that RCAP identifies in this distinctly non-western worldview: "actions initiated in a spiritual realm affect physical reality; conversely, human actions set off consequences in a spiritual realm";[41] "renewal of life" can be "accomplished through prayer and proper behaviour";[42] "spirituality is central to health";[43] spirituality is "not a system of beliefs" but "a way of life."[44] But do these examples prove a radical contrast between Indigenous and western religious thought? All of these statements look quite commensurate with what many Christian traditions have to say about grace, prayer, liturgy, and discipleship.

Working from its premise that the western and the Indigenous are essentially opposed, RCAP constructs a historical narrative of zero-sum religious conflict: where Christians have won, Indigenous people have lost. Christianity, with its "bigotry," "prejudice," and "intolerant" views, came

to Indigenous peoples as a hostile and destructive force.[45] Christian religious campaigns "undermined Aboriginal cultures."[46] For instance, Wendat Christians "were obliged to give up . . . much of what had given them their overall sense of identity as Wendat."[47] In Rankin Inlet, Inuit ceremonies "were replaced by Christian practice," as a result of Christian intolerance.[48] The only way to renew Indigenous culture was to return to the purer past before colonization and Christianization. Like Vine Deloria, Jr., the RCAP report rejects the possibility of an authentic Indigenous Christianity; Indigenous Christians have effectively repudiated their Indigenous identity. The reach of this sweeping conclusion becomes obvious when we consider that in 1991, as RCAP was beginning, the Canadian census reported that, among Aboriginal respondents, 85% identified as either Roman Catholic or Protestant.[49] RCAP seemed to be condemning the vast majority of the Indigenous peoples of Canada as not authentically Indigenous.

Occasionally, it is true, RCAP acknowledged, albeit obliquely, that some Indigenous people were Christian. In a historical introduction to the Métis, who historically have overwhelmingly identified as Roman Catholic, RCAP says nothing of their religion, but a sidebar notes that they did not hunt buffalo on the Sabbath.[50] RCAP acknowledges in passing that the Mi'kmaq were "devoutly Catholic," but its purpose in context is to explain why on one occasion a group of Mi'kmaq could allow themselves to be hoodwinked by a settler priest.[51] At another point RCAP recognizes that "in some communities there is a long history of attachment to the church," but it then remarks that these communities and churches enjoy, "by all accounts, mutually respectful relations," as if the churches were essentially foreign to the communities.[52]

The reversalist colonialist approach long pre-dated Deloria and RCAP, however. It guided the movement within academic anthropology that, since the 1960s, has come to be called "salvage ethnography." The term refers to projects, particularly in the decades before and after the turn of the twentieth century, to record Indigenous cultures before they disappeared. The most influential such researcher on the Canadian scene was Franz Boas (1858-1942), sometimes called the parent of American anthropology, who taught for most of his career at Columbia University.[53] He lived with the Inuit on Baffin Island for a time in the 1880s, and afterwards worked with the Kwakwaka'wakw people of Vancouver Island on several occasions. His legacy of books, articles, and field notes of

observations and interviews is a treasure. His agenda was to discover and record the pure, authentic, unassimilated, normative essence of Indigenous cultures in their late pre-contact period, before the onset of European influence, which he regarded as intrinsically alien and degrading. His work lent a scientific legitimacy to the reversalist colonialist approach.

In many ways Boas's contribution was positive. Demonstrating that Indigenous cultures did not need to change in order to have value and importance helped free the discipline of anthropology from the misconceived social Darwinism of its earliest practitioners who thought that societies either evolved from lower to higher – or disappeared. And Boas's commitment to the survival of Indigenous cultures moved him to challenge sharply Canada's oppressive and assimilative policies toward them, such as its suppression of Indigenous ceremonies, although in this effort he had no leverage. But historians of religion, who like to understand how change happens, have been disappointed that Boas's approach left him indifferent to the processes of religious encounter that were swirling around him. Interesting relevant data about religious change can be found in his field notes, since Boas's informants naturally did talk about Christianity. But he excluded this theme from his publications. Other salvage ethnographers similarly excluded aspects of their informants' lives that smacked of western religious influence since such data "did not fit with their ideas of unchanging Indigenous identities," as Amanda Fehr notes of some later anthropological scholarship relating to the Stó:lō people.[54]

Boas's methodology has been criticized. Since contact with Europeans had obviously already happened by the time Boas arrived, his method relied on drawing inferences about earlier times. But Boas's informants were inevitably bicultural themselves, and thus already compromised by the European influences that he regarded as impure. Boas seemed unaware that no single informant could speak authoritatively for everyone in their community. Moreover, he inevitably filtered his observations through his own western presuppositions and training.

Thus, although salvage ethnography gives evidence that would otherwise have been lost about the ways of life of Indigenous peoples before they suffered the worst dispossession and assimilation, it reflects a western point of view, builds on a flawed methodology, and serves an essentializing ideology. Ironically, some Indigenous communities have used salvage ethnography for parts of their own pre-contact history, a practice that has been called "historiographic colonialism."[55] David Z.

Scheffel gives an example from 1986, when the Shuswap nation of British Columbia, an Interior Salish people, published seven booklets describing their cultural heritage. Scheffel found that in large part these booklets comprised quotations or paraphrases from early twentieth-century ethnographic studies of the Interior Salish people by James Teit, a protégé of Franz Boas. [56] However, the booklets excluded observations that might offend modern Euro-Canadian sensibilities, such as instances of brutality in warfare, descriptions of coming-of-age ordeals, and prohibitions formerly imposed on women. Scheffel cautioned that the Shuswap people were constructing a sense of their heritage based on a European's observation during the early colonial period, adjusted so as not to risk negative judgment from modern Euro-Canadians.

Approaches Foregrounding Cultural Encounter

Both conventional colonialist approaches and reversalist colonialist approaches accept the premise that "Europe produced history and Natives submitted to it," as Brett Christopher has wittily summarized it.[57] In the conventional version of the colonialist approach, missionaries enlightened uncivilized Indigenous peoples; in the reversalist version, missionaries upended integrated Indigenous cultures. Both versions picture Indigenous peoples in a receptive and passive role. In the 1970s, by contrast, a number of historians began recognizing Indigenous agency in what they saw as a complex and ambiguous process of religious and cultural encounter. It is probably no coincidence that this historiographical shift was happening as Indigenous peoples in Canada, the United States, New Zealand, and Australia were making their political voice more widely heard, challenging their historical displacement, and exploding settler stereotypes of childlike Natives requiring protection and tutelage. It also paralleled a movement in academic history to liberate narratives of the past from the dominance of male white elites by recovering knowledge of marginalized groups, such as women, people of colour, workers, slaves, and immigrants.

"Cultural contact" was how Cornelius Jaenen in 1976, and Robin Fisher in 1977, named their theme.[58] Jaenen, looking at Quebec, and Fisher, looking at British Columbia, both found that in the early years of contact between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples the relationship was one of relative equals. Fisher, a New Zealander who was then teaching at Simon Fraser University, found that First Nations people in the land-

based fur trade welcomed European contact because they relished the new ideas, new technologies, and new wealth. They exercised control over their military and commercial alliances, as well as negotiating new religious ideas. Christianity came to them not only from French Canadians but also from Christian Iroquois, who had already adapted it into an Indigenous culture. Cornelius Jaenen, who taught at the University of Ottawa, recognized the dialogical character of religious encounter in Quebec; missionaries had to adjust their message to their audience, and their audience could choose how to interpret and respond to the message. Jaenen doubted the view that there were chasms of thought and perception between Indigenous and European peoples; on the contrary, both Jesuit missionaries and First Nations peoples found attractive elements in each other's religion that they wanted to understand. Of course, in the long run, both in British Columbia and in Quebec, the power differential definitely favoured the Europeans since they had greater immunity to their own germs, wielded deadly firepower and other technology, and began immigrating in large numbers. But although this power differential may have diminished the scope of Indigenous peoples' choices, it did not destroy their human agency.

If there was one pathbreaking book in the twentieth century on the history of the Indigenous-settler Christian relationship in Canada, it was John Webster Grant's 1984 *Moon of Wintertime*.[59] As one reviewer wrote, "[It] goes well beyond anything previously available."[60] Its subtitle, *Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534,* signaled that the author recognized the strength of Indigenous cultures and the agency of Indigenous peoples, but nevertheless assumed a binary with the missionaries on one side and the "Indians" on the other. In fact, Grant's main interest was the settler missions, although he did recognize the impact of some conspicuous Indigenous and bicultural missionaries such as Peter Jones. The reader senses that Grant reflexively understood the churches as Euro-Canadian institutions: of course, in their power centres they certainly were just that, but this filter could obscure the more complex landscape of encounter in Indigenous territories. Nevertheless, the book exercised a wide and helpful influence because of its breadth of scope, its avoidance of stereotypes, its command of a wide historical literature, its care and accuracy in its use of sources, and its sensitive and even-handed treatment of some tricky themes including the complex meanings of religious conversion, the ambiguities of inculturation, and the varied and unpredict-

able effects of encounter.

Post-colonial Approaches

Four or five years after the publication of *Moon of Wintertime,* post-colonial studies and subaltern studies reached the North American academy, offering fresh insights and new analytical tools that quickly enriched historiographical approaches of cultural encounter.[61] "Post-colonial" is a contested and imprecise term, and it means different things in different academic disciplines. The post-colonial approaches that are important for our purposes have sought to un-think Eurocentrism, to disclose the impact of imperialism, to retrieve Indigenous experience, to unsettle ideologies by attending to historical particularities, to take account of social complexity and change, and to challenge stereotypes, essentialisms, and colonizing binaries. They have also, like the earlier approaches of cultural and religious encounter, insisted on the agency of Indigenous peoples despite the cultural hegemony and power differential on the side of the colonizer. The "post" in post-colonial, as the term is used in history and the social sciences, indicates a critical awareness of the power dynamics and ideologies of colonialism – it is not a temporal marker implying that we have left colonialism behind.[62]

It is not always easy or useful to define the boundary between "encounter" and "post-colonial" approaches, but a couple of illustrations will suggest differences. Both Robin Fisher and John Webster Grant had written that, before the arrival of Christianity, Indigenous peoples had been losing confidence in traditional belief systems, paving the way for Christianization.[63] The implication seemed to be that, in order for Christianity to prosper, Indigenous belief systems had to have been weakened. One is reminded of the earlier salvage ethnography that understood Indigenous acceptance of settler religious ideas and practices as an erosion of an essentialized Indigenous identity. By contrast, post-colonialism sees all societies as evolving, often under the influence of other cultures, both Indigenous and European. Openness to the wider world and the negotiation of new ideas could be seen as a sign of a healthy and vigorous society, rather than a failing one.

Another post-colonial influence is a heightened hermeneutic of suspicion in the use of settler documents, recognizing their filters of colonial ideology, and looking for meaningful silences, inconsistencies,

slips, and asides that may be unintended clues to Indigenous perspectives, interests, and agency. Read conventionally, settler documents about Indigenous affairs often show the colonizers solving "the Indian problem"; read post-colonially, the same documents often reveal the colonizers' delusions about the Indigenous–settler relationship. For instance, James R. Miller noted in 1990 that on the whole, up to that point, scholars had been inclined to treat "policy intent and effect as similar, if not identical, largely because they concentrated on government fiat and documents."[64] A more critical approach to the documents, as well as recourse to Indigenous sources, usually showed that many Indigenous peoples were finding ways to resist, evade, ignore, mitigate, or defy the full force of colonial initiatives. Thus, settlers might prohibit potlatches, but potlatches still happened. And what a settler missionary taught was not necessarily what an Indigenous Christian accepted.

Here are four representative studies with a post-colonial bent that have relied on settler sources, but used them creatively, followed by five studies that have registered the voices of Indigenous witnesses as they are heard in their own writings, in oral traditions, in anthropological reports, or in quotations in settler court transcripts or other documents.

Kerry M. Abel, in a 1993 history of the Dene nation that relies primarily on missionary sources, Hudson's Bay Company documents, and settler letters, diaries, and memoirs, includes a chapter on the Dene encounter with Christianity.[65] She finds that many Dene folks initially responded favourably to Christian ideas because they found similarities with their own systems of belief and ceremonial, for example in teachings about life beyond death, ways of praying and singing, and the roles of spiritual leadership. However, an obstacle to Christianization was that the Dene valued relational reciprocity, and they experienced most missionaries as rude and standoffish. The towering exception was Robert McDonald, an Anglican missionary who married a Gwich'in woman in 1876. Abel speculates that McDonald's naturalization into the local society may explain why "the Gwich'in are the only Dene who today generally identify themselves as Anglican."[66]

In 1966, Raymond J.A. Huel surveyed the western Canadian missions of the Oblate order between 1845 and 1945, referencing Oblate sources but seeking to apply "the canons of ethnohistory as elaborated by specialists such as James Axtell and Bruce Trigger" to understand Indigenous perspectives.[67] The Oblates were by far the most active group

of Roman Catholic clergy working with Indigenous peoples. Huel acknowledges that Roman Catholicism was generally unappealing to Indigenous peoples because of its Eurocentrism, its intolerance of "heathen" practices, and its rigid pre-Vatican II ecclesiology that excluded inculturation. Nevertheless, it found success in the annual July pilgrimage to Lac Ste Anne, Alberta, which still attracts thousands of people for a week of spiritual renewal and healing that connects Indigenous and European Christianities.

Brett Christopher, in a 1998 book, focuses on an Anglican missionary named John Booth Good, who lived among the Nlaka'pamux (the Thompson people of the Interior Salish) in the late 1860s and early 1870s.[68] Although Christopher uses church, mission, and government documents almost exclusively, he teases out examples of the community's initiative: they had invited the Anglican mission in the first place, in order to rid themselves of an Oblate mission; they adapted elements of Good's teaching to their own spiritual understandings; they taught their own versions of Christianity among one another; and they enlisted Good's help in pressing land claims.

Allan Greer's biography of Kateri Tekakwitha, the young Mohawk Christian convert who lived at Kahnawake in a Jesuit village of Indigenous converts in the seventeenth century and was canonized in 2012, builds on a very close reading of diverse settler sources, with careful attention to genres, audiences, and assumptions.[69] The author also constructs rich historical contexts from ethnographic literature, which allows him to consider how Christianity would have been understood across linguistic and cultural boundaries. The Jesuits at Kahnawake gave space for the Indigenous inculturation of Christianity and Kateri's style of Christianity illustrates the "braiding" of French and Haudenosaunee cultures.[70] She perfectly captures the dialogical character of this period of religious encounter, as her spiritual impact on the Jesuits was at least as profound as theirs upon her.

I will turn now to some examples of historians influenced by post-colonial objectives who have sought to hear Indigenous voices directly, not solely through settler accounts.

Michael Harkin, for his concise study in 1997 of the Heiltsuks of the central British Columbia coast, focusing on the half-century following 1880, spent twelve months in the community doing fieldwork in addition to undertaking thorough archival research.[71] The Heiltsuks had been

evangelized beginning in the 1860s by the Methodists, including the well-known Thomas Crosby (1840-1914). Today they remain closely linked to the United Church of Canada. Harkin argues that their encounter with missionaries, so far from compromising their sense of cultural identity, actually promoted it and helped them define it, since it helped them "think consciously about their own culture and, later, construct a concept of tradition."[72] In the process of helping the Heiltsuk develop "a new, more embracing ethnic identity," Methodism exercised a unifying force among different factions and villages.[73] As a result, even though the Heiltsuks adopted many elements of Victorian culture, they did not surrender their collective identity.

In 2003, Susan Neylan of Wilfrid Laurier University published her carefully researched, creatively interpreted, clearly written study of Tsimshian Christianity in the nineteenth century.[74] Her most valuable single resource is the daily journal Arthur Wellington Clah, a Tsimshian Christian, kept over fifty years. Written in idiosyncratic English and in challenging handwriting, his journal is remarkably personal, self-reflective, and open, especially in contrast to the typical articles published under the names of Indigenous church workers in missionary journals (though Neylan has researched them as well with appropriate sophistication). A general conclusion in a book rich with insights is that "Christianity offered a means of expressing some Tsimshian traditions in new ways under a colonial regime that outwardly shunned them."[75]

For the post-contact religious history of the Nisga'a, the northern neighbours of the Tsimshian on the Pacific coast, Nicholas P. May, now at the University of British Columbia, completed an exceptionally fine PhD dissertation in 2013.[76] For his project he interviewed a number of Nisga'a people, mainly elders, chosen in consultation with the nation's research organization, the Wilp Wilxo'oskwhl Nisga'a Institute (WWNI), and made considerable use of ethnographic research. He finds that the Nisga'a had always welcomed new knowledge and had always been receptive to new sources of spiritual power. As a result, they warmly welcomed the early promoters of Christianity (or, as May prefers to say, Christianities), and they found it easy to connect modules of the missionaries' teaching to their belief systems. But as settlers invaded their lands and missionaries began expecting obedience to their instructions, the Nisga'a were surprised by how much Christianization was costing them.

In the eastern Canadian Arctic, Frédéric Laugrand, an anthropologist

at Laval University, and the late Jarich Oosten, a religion scholar at Leiden University, collaborated on a 2010 study of the relation between Christian missions and Inuit shamanism, based on twelve years of interviews, courses, and workshops with Inuit elders and others.[77] Their book challenges settler perceptions of the decline of Inuit culture. These perceptions, they think, resulted from the disinclination of Inuit people to tell outsiders about their traditions. In fact, Laugrand and Oosten find Inuit culture to be strong, resilient, and for various reasons readily able to absorb Western technology, ideas, and religion. Like scholars working elsewhere, Laugrand and Oosten observe that Christianity thrived in the eastern Arctic not because it was imposed from outside, but because it grew from within the community itself. For example, the Inuit themselves, unknown to the missionaries, led some of the earliest Christian revivals in the eastern Arctic. Inculturation often took the form, not of adapting Christian teaching to Indigenous ideas, but of using Christian symbolism to reinterpret Native traditions. Today, the authors conclude, "Inuit have completely incorporated Christianity into their cultural traditions, and consider it as part of their cultural heritage."[78]

Brenda Macdougall, a professor at the University of Ottawa, published a remarkable study in 2010 of one of the oldest Métis communities in Canada at Île à la Crosse in northwestern Saskatchewan.[79] This was largely a community of families with French Canadian fathers and Cree or Dene mothers. Macdougall makes creative and careful use of such apparently unpromising documents as scrip applications, as well as settler documentation. She argues the startling but persuasive conclusion that the attachment of the Métis to Roman Catholicism did not derive primarily from the Roman Catholic fathers. Instead, the Indigenous mothers, given "their existing knowledge and interpretive systems," including their strong Cree sense of their relation to the spirit world, were predisposed to Catholic ideas.[80]

These recent studies, though specific to their contexts, generally agree in a number of observations. Pre-contact Indigenous cultures were not fixed and rigid, but instead were open to what could be learned from the newcomers. In particular, their belief systems and spiritualities often had some resonance with the Christianities of the colonizers. "It is a striking feature of Christianity's expansion," wrote Lamin Sanneh, a missiologist at Yale, in another context, "that it seldom arrived as a surprise."[81] Christian ideas often preceded the European missionaries into

Indigenous territories and could flourish without Euro-Canadian direction. Indigenous peoples received European religious ideas, communicated across linguistic and cultural barriers, in unpredictable ways that were shaped by Indigenous translations, analogies, and worldviews. Euro-Canadian Christianity presented itself not as a tidy package but as a congeries of disparate spiritual, doctrinal, ceremonial, moral, material, documentary, and regulatory elements; the separability of these elements was underscored by the conspicuous fact that the missionaries themselves disagreed about them, especially but not exclusively across denominational lines. Indigenous Christians therefore felt free to select among these different elements as well. In other words, Indigenous peoples negotiated and constructed their religious identities just as Euro-Canadians did.

It is significant that most of these studies focus on the first generations of Indigenous-settler contact (which happened earliest in the east, latest in the north), as Indigenous peoples were still experiencing Christianity as a fresh force originating in foreign cultures. Some elements of the post-colonial approach are perhaps less applicable to later periods, after Indigenous Christianity had put down roots, as bicultural identities complicated the story of cross-cultural encounter, as the churches' mission priorities and strategies changed, as off-reserve populations increased, and as principles of *laïcité* and the increasing separation of church and state in Canada made Christianity less suitable as an instrument of government control, and a little less likely a vehicle of cultural hegemony. Indeed, Indigenous Christianities in Canada after the Second World War have not claimed the interest of many academic historians.

But on what may be called a more popular level, narratives and storytelling about Indigenous Christian experiences abound, often characterized by post-colonial elements such as agency, hybridity, and counter-hegemony. A prime example is Wab Kinew's *The Reason You Walk*, which led the *Globe and Mail*'s best-seller list for several weeks in 2017.[82] Kinew, a popular radio broadcaster, politician, and activist, tells a story of his family, and although he shows no personal attachment of his own to Christianity, he respects, and even takes some pride in, his father's Roman Catholicism, woven together with his Indigenous culture and spirituality. The father, Tobasonakwut Kinew (whom the son calls Ndede, "my father"), had experienced the full terror of Indian residential schools, with its humiliation, beatings, sexual abuse, and assimilative mechanisms, and his personality was permanently damaged by it. But, the son says,

Christian practices and teachings "worked their way into his spirit."[83] He connected western and Indigenous knowledge systems as a teacher of Indigenous subjects at the University of Winnipeg, and he attended an Aboriginal Catholic church in Winnipeg's west end. In fact, he became a close friend of the archbishop of Winnipeg, James Weisgerber, whom he adopted as his brother in an Objiwe ceremony at a Lakota sundance. Later, the two traveled together to Rome for the canonization of Kateri Tekakwitha. To read this short book is to enter a very different world from the ones constructed by either Duncan Campbell Scott or the RCAP, where Indigenous culture and Christianity cannot coexist. Kinew is certainly not commending Ndede's path as an ideal, but his story shows that, despite all the assimilative energies and distortions of an oppressive colonial system, and despite the efforts of some Indigenous activists to delegitimate Indigenous Christians, his father retained the agency to negotiate an enriching bicultural identity that was religiously complex.

Decolonizing Approaches

The decolonization of western knowledge systems has emerged as a major thrust of Canadian academic policy in recent years, as is evident from numerous books and articles, conferences, funding agency competitions, university and college initiatives and personnel appointments, and informal conversations. To speak of the decolonization of knowledge has its dangers, as Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang have argued; it is a metaphor that can divert our attention and energy away from literal decolonization – the repatriation of stolen Indigenous land and wealth and the recognition of Indigenous sovereignty.[84] Nevertheless, the decolonization of knowledge can help blaze a path to literal decolonization, by relativizing the settler accounts of the past that have functioned to justify and reinforce the effects of colonialism.

A highly promising approach to a decolonized historiography is the collaboration of settler and Indigenous scholars, knowledge-keepers, elders, and others in projects that uncover the past in all its colour and complexity. A creative and even exciting example of this approach is the collaboration of Leslie A. Robertson, an anthropologist and ethnographer at the University of British Columbia, with members of a Kwakwaka'wakw 'na'mima (clan) on a project to recover their family history. They documented their project in a significant co-authored publication in 2012.[85]

Their focus was the woman whom most of the 'na'mima knew as "Granny Cook" (1870-1951). Her English name was Jane Cook and her Kwak'wala name was Ga'axsta'las. As a first child of a first child she had high status in the 'na'mima, and she also had high status in her Anglican parish as president of the Women's Auxiliary for thirty years. The problem for her descendants was that when she married in 1888, she deliberately stepped out of her standing in the potlatch system. That tainted her reputation. In fact, some salvage ethnographic studies of the Kwakwaka'wakw, which naturally circulate in the community, named her as a kind of turncoat to her nation, a Christian convert whose new religion led her to repudiate her culture. Her descendants, shamed by the anthropologists and left without status in the potlatch system, suspected a more complicated story, which indeed emerged as they decolonized the binary and essentializing premises of the salvage ethnographers. Ga'axsta'las was a fluent speaker of Kwak'wala and a firm advocate for Aboriginal rights who, however, also worked in close proximity to the colonial powers. She did reject the potlatch system, but it was by then a system distorted by conditions of European contact. Among other reasons, she rejected the potlatch system because she thought it mistreated young women. But was her commitment to the protection of women a westernization or a recapture of Indigenous wisdom? The book ends with the celebratory report of the potlatch ceremony that restored Ga'axsta'las' descendants to the system.

Decolonizing historiography may appear at first sight like a straightforward enterprise, bringing together western documentary sources and Indigenous oral sources, western explanatory systems and Indigenous ones, western interests and Indigenous ones. But, in fact, it is a puzzling proposition for many reasons.

First, it is not so easy to distinguish western and Indigenous systems dualistically, as Martin Nakata has pointed out, since they have been influencing each other for centuries. Indeed, he says, Indigenous people have come to know themselves both through their traditions and through western knowledge systems. Moreover, he adds, Indigenous and non-Indigenous systems alike need to be critiqued, since they all lack transparency "in terms of how they disguise the politics of their production in contemporary collective spaces."[86]

Second, it may be hard to agree who owns historical information, and which parts should be broadcast. In the west, history is generally a public commodity, with some exceptions, notably for reasons of privacy

or national security. In many Indigenous communities, by contrast, stories may belong to the charge of identifiable people and trusted knowledge-keepers. A result is that western history, easily accessed and managed, can be distorted into "fake news," while the accuracy of Indigenous stories is safeguarded by knowledge-keepers. This question of ownership raises ethical questions about quoting the published works of salvage ethnographers, who themselves may not have secured the appropriate permissions.

Third, what should be done when oral and literary sources do not support each other? For instance, as plans were being made for the 400th anniversary in 2013 of the friendship agreement between the Mohawks of the Mohawk Valley and the Dutch of New Amsterdam, a number of non-Indigenous historians were dismissing the agreement as a pious fabrication. By oral tradition, the 1613 agreement was confirmed by a two-row wampum belt (*kaswentha*) – a belt with two rows of small purple shells on a background of white shells, representing the two peoples voyaging down the same river peacefully, in parallel, without interfering with each other. But the original belt no longer exists, and there is no contemporary text-based documentation that the Mohawks used white wampum in 1613. For some historians, the absence of written evidence trumps the presence of oral tradition. Is this a reasonable view? Or should it be critiqued, as some suggest, as the colonial mentality of western academics, who define the rules of history in a way that grants them the sole authority to authenticate knowledge of the past, thus securing the colonizers' superior social position?[87]

Fourth, who has the moral authority to sponsor collaborative research between Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars? Is the university permanently disqualified by its roots in western knowledge systems? Or could it ever be reformed by recruiting Indigenous personnel, recasting research standards, and revising curricula? And can western funding agencies be trusted?

My suggestion is that the churches should become sponsors of research into the history of Indigenous-settler religious relations. They should recruit both western-trained and Indigenous scholars and leaders to do it. Their aim would be to construct accurate, candid, balanced, and frankly repentant stories and understandings of their common church history. Such truth-telling would advance reconciliation, to which most of our churches are committed (some more vigorously than others), and the

churches would be responding positively to those "calls to action" that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has addressed particularly to them.[88] The churches are among the few organizations in Canadian society with historic roots and significant memberships in Indigenous and settler communities alike. Indigenous and settler members of Christian denominations belong to the same network of people, a context that provides a foundation of trust for acknowledging the ongoing legacy of past injustices, hurts, and misunderstandings. The churches, even given the bitterness with which many Indigenous people understandably view them, and even despite their colonial roots and reflexes, could become a kind of beachhead for decolonization.

And a group very much like the Canadian Society for Church History could create a space where many people connected with churches, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, could engage with one another, across cultural and denominational boundaries, to move beyond historiographical colonialism, and to seek deeper wisdom about our shared religious past.

Endnotes

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The Relationship Between Superman and Churches

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When future Superman comics editor Mort Weisinger was first hired as a comic book editor in the 1940s, he called his friend Otto Binder for a "crash course" on working in the medium.[1] Binder said it was "very simple," because in comics, "you get a fight, the hero hits the villain on the head with a lamp and says, 'Lights out for you!'"[2] That may be a bit of a simplification. Sometimes, superhero stories endeavour to comment on contemporary politics, have deep literary significance, or evoke religious symbolism. Nonetheless, with reference to the character of Superman, this study will demonstrate that churches have had an evolving relationship with superhero media that connect their stories to Jesus.

In this essay I will track the history of parallels between the comic book character of Superman and Jesus Christ and analyze how such parallels have been perceived in churches in North America. The idea of connecting Superman and Jesus has sometimes been controversial. I will argue that initially some churches and self-professing Christians were cautious or even angry about such parallels, but over time, other Christians began to exploit this parallelism because they thought Superman movies could be used for evangelistic purposes. Even so, in the last decade, the studios behind the Superman films consciously exploited that parallelism to market the movies *to churches*. As such, churches and pastors who participate in such enterprises are left with an ethical question: should they allow themselves to be used as a marketing tool for a multinational corporation trying to sell a superhero film if they believe that in doing so, they can help spread the Gospel to the wider culture?

Regardless, although the first Superman comic was published in 1938, a notable event in this progression occurred in 1973. In that year, a Pennsylvania pastor named John T. Galloway Jr. wrote the book *The Gospel According to Superman* – though Galloway specifies that his book was *not* written to "find the gospel in Superman," but "find the gospel where it can best be found – in scripture and in the changed lives of Christians."[3] The book's back-cover says: "Superman is the perfect man-made 'god.' He is available to help in a crisis, he never makes any demands, and he never intrudes into anyone's life." Galloway thinks that there are inherent problems with comparing Christ to other figures; he cites an old news article that drew attention to how none other than US president than Richard Nixon was born in a farming community to a father who practiced carpentry![4] He thinks that, unlike Jesus, Superman is a man-made "projection," but only Jesus can bring eternal life.[5] In other words, Galloway thinks that Superman is a fantasy, but Jesus is a reality who is the only means to salvation. He compares Superman saving people to "foxhole Christianity" – the type of faith that exists only in a time of crisis, but does not last after or result in a consistent commitment.[6] In the book, Galloway rhetorically asks: "Wouldn't life be a lot simpler if we had a Superman to do for us what the *Man of Steel* does for Jimmy Olsen? The inner man, left to itself, will produce such a self-satisfying Superman god."[7] Galloway recalls that he saw an image of a composite Superman/Jesus figure in public, and thought to himself that, "this younger generation seems hopelessly fouled up . . . How can anyone confuse the powerful steel hero with the meek suffering servant?"[8] This book is important early evidence for the fact that some Christians were suspicious about comparing Superman and Jesus. It may not be a coincidence that this book was written not long after early productions of the musical *Godspell*, where, as early as 1971, Jesus wore a Superman shirt.[9]

A few years later, in 1978, John Wesley White wrote *The Man from Krypton: The Gospel According to Superman*.[10] White's book is an alarmist take on the decline of western culture at the hands of Satan. He writes that the antichrist "will both compare and be in contrast to Jesus Christ," just as "Superman can be both compared and contrasted to both!"[11] White does not necessarily prove these claims in his book. The book often takes short anecdotes from the first theatrical Superman film (released in 1978) – usually at the start of a chapter – as a springboard to tangentially critique modern culture with almost no further reference to

Superman. For example, chapter 9 references Superman capturing some criminals, only to spend the rest of the chapter expositing biblical passages about how God will one day judge the world.[12] Compared with Galloway's book, White is not necessarily contemptuous of Superman, but he does not praise the character at length either. In fact, it seems as though his book was using a relevant popular film to talk about Christianity, without engaging the two in much depth. Unlike some Christians in later decades, White does not use Superman's story itself as an explicit evangelistic tool by drawing comparisons to Jesus; he simply wrote a book that reflected the popularity of a film and used it as a *segue* to write about the Gospel.

Other Christians in the 1970s reflect an ambiguous or hostile attitude to Superman and Jesus parallels. For example, in a 1979 interview, the Reverend Kenneth Reichley from a New York Lutheran church said that "the Word became flesh, not steel," and that, "Superman is magic. He manipulates fate and history . . . Jesus is not magic. He works within history."[13] This quotation is noteworthy not so much for the argument itself, but as further testimony for the fact that Christians were suspicious of comparing Superman to Jesus. Reichley was not the only Christian to see things this way, although some took it much further.

When the first Superman movie came out in 1978, it was intended "to have religious resonance," and on one level, the Christian parallels could make for compelling Sunday school conversations, articles, and editorials.[14] That appears to have been the motivation for using some of the Christian symbolism in that film. In the film, when Superman was a baby, his father Jor-El (Marlon Brando) sent him to Earth in a rocket ship to save the planet – but also because his home planet of Krypton was about to explode. In essence, the use of Christian symbolism in the film was not organic to the Superman source material, but the film used Christian symbolism to generate more attention and discussion in popular culture. Even so, not all of that attention was positive. Some biblical literalists thought the film's implied parallels between Jor-El and Superman with God the Father and Jesus were blasphemous. The film's director, Richard Donner, even received death threats. "Studio security brought them to my attention," Donner said, "Some of them were just nuts, fanatics. There was talk of blood running in the streets."[15] The existence of these death threats demonstrates again that some Christians were concerned about comparisons between Superman and Jesus (even if these threats were from a fringe group). The filmmakers nonetheless included the parallels to have

resonance in popular culture.

Though not a Christian, *Superman: The Movie* writer Tom Mankiewicz said that the film gave "the Christian message: that we should be honest, love one another, and be for the underdog."[16] That statement is an obvious simplification of Christianity, but it shows that the screenwriter had Christianity in mind when he wrote the film. Marco Arnaudo writes that the film gives a Christological depiction of Superman that is close to "preachiness."[17] It is not particularly subtle. That observation is proven by the writer's own statements, as Mankiewicz said, "I tried hard to have Brando symbolize God in that long speech when he sends Clark down to Earth. 'I have sent them you, my only son.' If that's not God sending Christ to Earth, it's as close as you can get without offending the church-going public."[18] Later in the film, a hologram of the deceased Jor-El tells his son, "They can be a great people, Kal-El, if they wish to be. They only lack the light to show the way. For this reason above all, their capacity for good, I have sent them you . . . my only son."[19] This phrasing is evocative of the first chapter of the Gospel of John.[20] Weldon describes Jor-El's words as "paraphrased gospel that was the last thing on Siegel and Shuster's mind when they created their rabble-rousing costumed bruiser."[21] Weldon's quote is significant because he recognizes, again, that although this film was imposing Christian language onto the Superman source material, that influence was not there in the earliest versions of the character. It largely originated with this film. Still, as Tom De Haven writes, the overarching Jesus/God connections are not perfect because:

> If this is God sending his only Son to the world, then what kind of Supreme Being is Jor-El? . . . He's about to *die*. He waited too long and didn't build a rocket large enough for the whole family; yes, he leaves a hologram to give his only son moral instruction upon reaching adulthood, but it's a *hologram*, it's not a *father*, or a Father either.[22]

These words acknowledge the limitations of the allegory. While Jor-El is supposed to represent God in the film, the fact remains that he is not alive, and speaks to his son only in the form of a hologram; he is thus not like God the "Father" in this regard, or even a living "father." Superman would not have been sent to Earth if his home world was not going to be destroyed. Therefore, the film's attempt to add a connection to Jesus in this

part of the story does not fit neatly with the source material, where the primary motivation was simply *survival*. In this regard, Superman's story has a much closer parallel to the sending of the baby Moses down the Nile.[23]

While the third and fourth Superman films did not use Jesus imagery, the 2001 pilot episode of the television series *Smallville* (a show about Clark Kent in high school) did.[24] I would argue that the decision to include Christian imagery in this series was built on the foundation of the 1978 film. In any case, in that pilot episode, as part of a high school hazing ritual carried out by the football players, Clark Kent is stripped almost naked and tied to a wooden cross as that year's "scarecrow"; he is unable to resist because one of the players unknowingly has a necklace made of Kryptonite.[25] The scene portrays the future Superman in a crucified Jesus pose and this image was used in promotional materials for the show.[26] Stephen Skelton compares the way Clark is mocked by his fellow high school students to how Christ was mocked on the cross.[27] *Smallville* co-creator Al Gough had not expected the show's marketers to emphasize the Jesus image in the show's ad campaign as much as they did; while Gough admitted that the show "heightened" the Jesus parallel, he said that "when we saw that campaign, we were shocked. We thought they were going to crucify *us* for this. But it was really compelling and people remember that campaign."[28] Gough's words are notable because they testify to the fact that it was financially profitable to sell Superman as a Christ figure at this time. Having said this, *Smallville* producer Ken Horton said that after the first episode, the show would be more subtle in its use of religious imagery because "we also knew it was dangerous . . . there's a line you don't cross."[29] Horton does not define what that line is, but at the very least, it is significant to note that there is no evidence that the *Smallville* staff ever faced death threats for using Christian imagery the way that Donner did in 1978.

The 2006 film *Superman Returns* also used Jesus imagery, repurposing some of Marlon Brando's lines as Jor-El from *Superman: The Movie*, including those with Trinitarian or Christological significance (such as "the son becomes the father," and "I have sent them you . . . my only son").[30] Early in *Superman Returns*, Superman falls into his adoptive mother Martha's arms after a return home from space, and director Bryan Singer confirmed that that shot of Superman and his mother "was very much inspired" by the *Pietà*.[31] Later, when weakened by Kryptonite,

Superman is brutally beaten up by Lex Luthor and his thugs in a manner recalling Christ's flogging by the Romans.[32] Luthor stabs Superman with a shard of green Kryptonite, and this is meant to parallel how Jesus's body is stabbed in John 19:34.[33] Jesus had to wear a scarlet or purple robe as he was beaten (Matt 27:27-31, Mark 15:16-20, John 19:2-5), and Superman's cape perhaps fills a similar visual function.[34] Luthor has built his own continent using Kryptonian technology and wants to use it to destroy much of the United States. Although Superman throws the continent into space, he is weakened by the Kryptonite, falls to Earth in an obvious crucifix pose, and is rushed to hospital close to death.[35] *Superman Returns* has an "overt messianic subtext," as when Superman falls to the earth in the crucifix pose, it is "a deafeningly obvious reference to Christ's crucifixion."[36] Superman is meant to be understood as a Christ figure rather than antichrist, since he is the hero of the story. In the hospital, the doctors look at his Kryptonite stab wound as his pulse flatlines; Singer compared this to Christ being taken down from the cross after his stabbing in John's gospel.[37] Despite Superman's "death," he "rises," leaving the white sheets in his hospital bed empty – just as Jesus left behind his tomb in Luke 24:2-3 and his linen in John 20:6-7.[38] In *Time* magazine, Richard Corliss even titled his review of the film "The Gospel of Superman."[39] Singer told *Christianity Today* that Superman was like Jesus because "Superman is a savior."[40] In the film, Superman left the world for five years and, when he was gone, a bitter Lois Lane wrote an article about how the world *did not need* Superman. But he told her, "You wrote that the world doesn't need a savior . . . but every day I hear people crying for one."[41] While this wording is superficial in some respects, and only references Superman saving people in danger, the use of the word "savior" carries clear intertextual associations with Jesus.

When discussing this film, Singer said, "if you're going to tell that story, you've got to tell it all the way. You've got scourging at the pillar, the spear of destiny, death, resurrection – it's all there."[42] This quotation is significant because he is saying that the plot of the latter half of the film is deliberately modeled on Christ's passion – much like the death of Aslan in C.S. Lewis's *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe*.[43] Singer recalls a conversation with one of the film's screenwriters who had attended Catholic school. After the screenwriter first saw the rough cut of Superman falling in the crucifix pose, he asked,

> "Are we . . . ? Are we . . . ? Shouldn't he open his legs a little bit more? Are we . . . ? Is this too on the nose?" And [Singer] said, "If we're telling this story, we're going to tell this story. Some parts are going to be subtle. But this one is not . . . But if there was ever a time to hammer it home, this is it."[44]

These words prove that the filmmaker deliberately wanted to compare Superman and Jesus. Yet that comparison was not necessarily intrinsic to the comic book source material.

That same year (2006) – unlike Galloway's 1973 book – Stephen Skelton's book *The Gospel According to the World's Greatest Superhero* turned Superman into an *evangelistic tool*. While in the 1970s, Christians were suspicious of comparing Superman to Jesus, Skelton (and by extension some of his reading audience) was open to talking about Superman as a means to reach out to non-Christians. As Skelton writes:

> the story of Superman bears some incredible parallels to the story of the Super Man, Jesus Christ . . . Perhaps you have mostly thought of Christ as the suffering lamb. Why not the universal Hero? Jesus is both – as we will use Superman to illustrate . . . Because the gospel story is the crucial story by which all humankind longs to define their lives, to the extent that the Superman story corresponds to the gospel story, the superhero from Krypton offers some soul's illumination, some heart's preparation.[45]

In an interview, Skelton recalled how a non-Christian friend saw *Superman Returns* and said: "Do you know that movie spoke more to me about Jesus than The Passion of the Christ?"[46] Skelton adds that *The Passion of the Christ* "was obviously about Jesus Christ, and so it was easily dismissed by a non-believer."[47] Skelton says of his friend's reaction that *Superman Returns* "spoke to his heart before he realized what it was saying" and "spoke to him about the one true Savior before he could reject that he needs a one true savior."[48] The "one true savior" in question is Jesus. In sum, Christians like Skelton believed that by talking about a Superman movie, they could make people who were initially resistant to Christianity come to appreciate it more. This is an obvious change from John Galloway Jr. or the "Christians" who sent Richard Donner death threats. It seems that by 2006, some Christians were less concerned with the possibility that Superman and Jesus parallels were blasphemous and

more willing to use them to appeal to the hearts and minds of unbelievers to convert them.

The next Superman movie had equally obvious Jesus parallels. Before writing the music for the 2013 Superman film *Man of Steel*, composer Hans Zimmer wrote music for the *History* channel miniseries *The Bible.* When CNN asked Zimmer if there were any similarities between the two, "Zimmer laughed and said, 'Yes. Yes is the answer. Once you see Superman, you'll see how close you are with your question.'"[49] When *Man of Steel* was released in theatres, marketers from Warner Brothers invited church leaders to free screenings of the film and sent pastors nine pages of sermon notes titled, "Jesus: The Original Superhero."[50] The sermon notes advised pastors to show the film's trailer during their sermons and ask people to consider, "How might the story of Superman awaken our passion for the greatest hero who ever lived and died and rose again [Jesus]?"[51] A Baltimore pastor named Quentin Scott said he intended to preach on the film, saying, "When I sat and listened to the movie I actually saw it was the story of Christ, and the love of God was weaved into the story."[52] Considering that Superman murders a Kryptonian criminal in the film by breaking his neck, not all of Superman's actions in the movie fit into that paradigm. Regardless, Scott added, "If you give me another opportunity to talk to someone about Jesus Christ, and I can do that because of your movie, that's a win for me, because it is about spreading the Gospel."[53] These words are significant because they further reflect the arguments made in Skelton's 2006 book. Conversely, a deacon named P. J. Wenzel from Dublin Baptist Church in Ohio said, "Any pastor who thinks using 'Man of Steel Ministry Resources' is a good Sunday morning strategy must have no concept of how high the stakes are, or very little confidence in the power of God's word and God's spirit."[54] He added, "As they entertain their congregants with material pumped out from Hollywood's sewers, lives are kept in bondage, and people's souls are neglected."[55] Wenzel's point is that using Superman to talk about Jesus shows a lack of confidence in the power of God and scripture, whereas others would argue that a discussion of Superman could be used as a bridge to talk about Jesus.

Despite the reservations of people like Wenzel, it seems that some Christians had no problem with using Superman to evangelize – even though these Christians acknowledged that the sermon notes amounted to a marketing ploy on the studio's part. Quentin Scott acknowledged Warner

Brothers's financial motivations for sending the sermon notes (the studio had done the same thing for other films), but said: "They're using us but in fact we're using them."[56] Christian film reviewer Ted Baehr told CNN, "I think it's a very good thing that Hollywood is paying attention to the Christian marketplace."[57] Hollywood made more of an effort to market to Christians after Mel Gibson's *The Passion of the Christ* unexpectedly made $370 million domestically in 2003.[58] The success of that film encouraged film studios to market films to Christians in new ways. A Superman film fell in that framework. Again, while the Jesus imagery was not essential to the comic book version of Superman, the studio exploited it to appeal to a wider audience.

Craig Detweiler, the president of the Seattle School of Theology and Psychology, wrote the Superman sermon notes. "All too often," Detweiler argued, "religious communities have been defined by what they're against. With a movie like *Man of Steel*, this is a chance to celebrate a movie that affirms faith, sacrifice and service."[59] Although Detweiler was a piece of the studio's strategy to make millions of dollars off a Superman film, he at least was not being disingenuous. He did believe in what he was doing. In the sermon notes, he wrote: "What Jesus and Superman both give us, through their 'hero' actions but also their 'human' actions – is hope."[60] In *Christianity Today*, Detweiler defended his decision to write sermon notes for a Hollywood Superman movie by comparing his task to Daniel interpreting Nebuchadnezzar's dreams (in Daniel 2) or Philip interpreting the Book of Isaiah for the Ethiopian eunuch (in Acts 8).[61] Detweiler compared modern Christians in secular America to the Jews in exile during the Babylonian Captivity (*greatly* overstating the plight of the former), and said he wanted "to affirm" Hollywood's "interest" in Christians:

> Hollywood is testing our faith. Thanks to thousands of responsive pastors and congregations, the studios are discovering we are as large, vibrant, diverse, and influential as we claim to be . . . The faith, hope and love that arises along with these stories may even get us back on our feet, marching out of exile.[62]

Thus, the author of the Superman sermon notes – along with those who used them – essentially believed that Christians should *take advantage* of the fact that Hollywood was marketing to them, in order to bring the Gospel to the surrounding society. Even so, not all Christians would

approve. Ironically, when *Superman Returns* was released in 2006, an anonymous *Christianity Today* writer praised Warner Brothers for *not* targeting that earlier film to Christians, and wrote:

> Thank you for not using the church as a money-making vehicle.
> Thank you for not hijacking my church's mission to make disciples by using it to make consumers . . .
> Thank you for not trying to interfere with the ministry of preaching God's Word by offering pastors rewards for mentioning your film in a sermon.
> Thank you for not telling me "Superman Returns" is the greatest outreach opportunity in the galaxy.
> Thank you for not asking me to rent an entire theater so our members can invite non-Christians to see the film.
> Thank you for respecting the integrity of my faith.[63]

This anonymous author was likely not amused by the studio's approach to *Man of Steel*. Elsewhere, in *Christianity Today*, Alicia Cohn wrote that "Superman Isn't Jesus" and criticized the parallels.[64] Such articles demonstrate that while many pastors were quite willing to use Superman as a vehicle to talk about Jesus, not all Christians liked the concept. On that point, Jonathan Merritt wrote that sermon notes for a Superman film made him,

> a little uncomfortable because it represents another step forward in the commodification of Christianity. In a land of profit and greed, these trends illustrate once again that unchecked capitalism can leverage anything – even faith, even Jesus – to turn a buck . . . Let's be clear that Warner Brothers isn't trying to spread the Christian gospel; they are trying to make a profit. And, whether we like it or not, religion in America can be a lucrative business. In this case, generating profit means transforming pastors into marketers, hocking movie tickets from their pulpits.[65]

Merritt presents the opposite side of the argument by asking one fundamental question: is it right for Christians to ally themselves with a studio that is interested in profits for the purpose of winning new converts? There is no easy answer. Christians like Scott, Detweiler, or Skelton would likely argue that winning souls for Christ is more important than anything

else, while someone like Merritt would not want to feel like he was being taken advantage of by a multinational corporation. Either way, one comic book website said that it "comes off as a money grab" and asked if making Superman a Jesus figure broke the Ten Commandments (both by making him another god and making a graven image).[66] This attitude shows that the studio's marketing aims could be looked upon with cynicism in the wider culture.

The sermon notes for the Superman film must be understood as simply one component in a larger marketing strategy by Warner Brothers. This is because *Man of Steel* partnered with 7-Eleven, Carl's Jr./Hardee's, Chrysler, Energizer, Gillette, IHOP, Kellogg's, LEGO, Mattel, Nokia, Norton, Samsung, Sears, Twizzlers, Walmart, and more than a hundred companies in total to promote the film, and the film itself was notable for its obvious product placements in several scenes – particularly in one fight scene in Kansas where several prominent chains appear onscreen during the battle.[67] Churches were another part of that moneymaking strategy. In fact, just as certain Christians and churches thought they could use a Superman film to *recruit new members*, evidently, the U.S. National Guard thought the same thing – and the National Guard partnered with the filmmakers and used images from the movie with the tagline "Soldier of Steel" to attract their own batch of new recruits.[68] In the film, Superman teams up with American soldiers to save the world, so, in effect, the use of sermon notes in *Man of Steel* is similar to the studio's mutually beneficial partnership with the National Guard. Again, despite the fact that the studio's transparent motivation was to make money, clearly, many of the Christian speakers I have quoted believed that the larger aim of winning souls to Christ was more important.

Although the film tries to use Christian imagery, some contemporary observers did not see much depth in the portrayals. The journalist Wesley Morris wrote:

> The movie is so serious about comparing Clark to the Messiah that it starts to feel like church. Yet the filmmaking and storytelling lack the essential biblicality to bring off a divine incarnation of Superman. We see him perform feats of life saving and enemy pummeling, but they're so generic that they mean far less than they should.[69]

Similarly, in Richard Corliss's review, he observed that the film gave

Superman an all-seeing father from afar [the hologram version of Jor-El] . . . the Earth parents; an important portent at age 12 (Jesus talks with the temple elders; Kal-El saves children in a bus crash); the ascetic wandering in his early maturity (40 days in the desert for Jesus; a dozen years in odd jobs for Kal-El); his public life, in which he performs a series of miracles; and then, at age 33, the ultimate test of his divinity and humanity.[70]

Nonetheless, Corliss adds, "All these New Testament allusions . . . don't necessarily make *Man of Steel* any richer, except for students of comparative religion."[71] Essentially, Morris and Corliss argue that the Jesus imagery in the film does not enhance the viewing experience.

The reactions of such critics may be proof of the fact that these connections are not essential to the character of Superman but were simply used as shorthand with wide pop culture resonance. The films are aimed at a much wider audience than the comics, so they use imagery that is automatically recognized by the surrounding culture – even by those elements that are not Christian. However, Jeff Jensen reads more into the film, arguing that,

> *Man of Steel* is subversive mythology for atheists that exalt a Superman who behaves the way they think God should but doesn't. He is also stands [sic] for a generation of emerging Christians who are more interested in social justice, redeeming the culture and tending to the here and now, and less interested in preaching turn-or-burn rhetoric, running away from the world, and punching the clock until they can kick the bucket and go to Krypton . . . errr, Heaven.[72]

Jensen's argument is not grounded in any direct statements from the filmmakers, but it is theoretically possible that members of the viewing audience could interpret the film as he suggests. At the very least, his words rightfully reflect that the use of Jesus imagery in the film is not grounded in any attempt to be reverential to Jesus (unlike a C. S. Lewis novel). David S. Goyer, the writer of the film, is Jewish.[73]

One problem with making Superman a Christ figure is that the parallel might break down to keep up with the demands of a modern superhero action movie. The final fight in *Man of Steel* has a great deal of collateral damage and many buildings are destroyed. As Mark Waid describes the film's ending (with some exaggeration):

> Superman and Lois land in the three-mile-wide crater that used to be a city of eight million people, and the staff of the Planet and a couple of other bystanders stagger out of the rubble to see Superman and say, "He saved us," and before you can say either "From what?" or "Wow, these eight are probably the only people left alive," and somehow – inexplicably, implausibly, somehow – before Superman can be bothered to take one second to surrender one ounce of concern or assistance to the millions of Metropolitans who are without question still buried under all that rubble, dead or dying, he saunters lazily over to where General Zod is kneeling and moping, and they argue, and they squabble, and they break into the Third Big Fight, the one that broke my heart.[74]

Waid's sarcastic depiction of the scene indirectly shows the limitations of making the hero of a violent action movie an allegorical Jesus figure because when Superman "saves" the world, many people are still killed. As a film marketed to Christians to make money it also had to have action scenes because it was a comic book film. Those aims can sometimes be at odds. Hence, on a related point, Barna William Donovan wrote:

> The levels of destruction in the film offended many of the target-marketed American clergy. When it came to the climactic killing of General Zod [by Superman], however, the religious viewers were joined in their outrage by the comic book purists, equally offended by the film's repudiation of the no-killing maxim of the comics.[75]

In sum, a violent action movie does not always easily fit alongside a movie with Jesus parallels. A blockbuster film like this one is intended to have something for as many viewers as possible, but sometimes there are conflicts with those aims. A film that has to have big-budget action scenes will need to make some shifts in tone to also serve as an allegory of the life of Christ.

In any event, the 2016 film *Batman v Superman: Dawn of Justice* presents Superman as a godlike or messianic figure as well.[76] As such, the journalist Graeme Macmillan drew attention to the fact that *Batman v. Superman* was deliberately released in theatres on *Good Friday* in 2016, because it is a film that shows Superman dying for the world in a way that is meant to be like the sacrificial death of Christ.[77] In other words, the

studio again made certain marketing decisions with Christians partly in mind – and not because these parallels were essential to the original character of Superman.

The Jesus comparisons in these Superman films can go only so far: once Superman dies and rises from the dead, what comes next? After all, film studios will want to make movies about such a popular character for a long time. Macmillan asks: "Can the allegory expand beyond where it already is, and if so, can it do so without damaging or subsuming the idea of Superman as an action hero?"[78] These questions offer no easy answers, but Superman's "resurrection" in *Justice League* (the 2017 follow-up film) is not Christlike; Superman is brought back to life by some other superheroes using alien technology (a "Motherbox"), and when Superman wakes up, he does not understand what is going on, goes berserk, and fights the other heroes until his lover Lois Lane calms him down.[79] The lack of Christ imagery in *Justice League* seems to acknowledge that once Superman has died and risen from the dead (as he has in multiple movies now), there is less iconic Jesus imagery for the filmmakers to use without getting redundant. I will hypothesize that they will give this imagery a rest in Superman films for the foreseeable future for that very reason. Not every Superman movie can have a plot that will lend itself to sermon notes.

Ultimately, in this essay, I have argued that Jesus parallels in Superman films are not always artistically coherent and are imposed on the character often to appeal to a mass audience. In addition, over time, some – but not all – Christians have become more comfortable with using Superman movies to help spread the Gospel. Previously, some Christians had written books criticizing the use of parallels between Superman and Jesus (such as Galloway) or made other types of incendiary responses to such parallels. Even so, there are moral ambiguities when churches are exploited by film marketers and the church is used to sell a product for a corporation. Christians have become a target audience for studios to market to. Yet at this point, it is unclear if there will be more pushback to these marketing strategies in churches if they continue in the coming years. Christians who find themselves targeted by the studios will need to reflect on the ambiguity of their situation.

To that end, in his book *Redeeming Pop Culture: A Kingdom Approach*, the theologian T.M. Moore tells a story about how he once gave a talk related to Christianity where he used examples from the 1999 film *Fight Club*.[80] After his talk, a college-aged young man said that these

examples had helped his understanding greatly.[81] The young man said: "I was struggling to stay with you up to that point, but when you talked about that film, everything just seemed to fall into place."[82] Consequently, Moore writes that "like Paul in Athens," Christians should take advantage of everyday conversations about popular culture, and use the things people find meaningful to work in references to the gospel.[83] Moore adds:

> The often cited example of Paul in Athens (Acts 17) is worth reviewing here. As he went about the city and dialogued with people in various settings, Paul came to understand what occupied their minds and filled their hearts . . . When he began to preach to them, he did not regale them with biblical texts or theological premises; rather, having first complimented them for their zeal in spiritual matters, he addressed the crowds in language familiar to them, quoting from their cultural sources and using these to illustrate truths that he wished to make known. He did not neglect to proclaim Jesus, but he built a bridge of cultural identification with them, over which he marched the great truths of the gospel for their review. His example and teaching must be instructive for us as well, as we seek grace to renew and redeem our witness for Christ amid the kudzu of American popular culture.[84]

Moore's arguments appear to have some relevance to the issue of the churches' relationship to Superman films. Yet one could argue another way. For example. in 1963, Bishop John A.T. Robinson's controversial theological book *Honest to God* was published.[85] Many reviewers criticized Robinson for being too liberal in his theology and for being too willing to accommodate the secular world.[86] Even so, in the book, Robinson compares his task to Paul's visit to Athens in the Book of Acts.[87] Yet when reviewing this book in 1963, the pastor A. Leonard Griffith wrote of Robinson that,

> It is interesting that the author should refer to the one sermon that Paul preached in Athens. It was the only occasion where the Apostle tried to meet intellectuals on their own ground, the only time when he started with their presuppositions and moved on to a statement of the Gospel. Normally he began with the Gospel itself and preached so persuasively that his listeners had to alter their presuppositions. Paul did not succeed in Athens; it was the one major city in the ancient

world where he failed to sow the seeds of a Christian Church.[88]

Griffith may have overstated his case and also overlooked other reasons why Paul did not succeed in Athens; after all, Paul did not spend nearly as much time there as he did in some of the other places on his missionary journeys. Yet if nothing else, in applying such a critique to the topic of Superman films, it remains to be seen if Christian churches can be successful in attracting new members by accommodating themselves to the marketing tactics of major film studios as they promote films such as *Man of Steel*.

Endnotes

1. Will Murray, "Superman's Editor Mort Weisinger," in *The Krypton Companion*, ed. Michael Eury (Raleigh: Two Morrows Publishing, 2006), 11.
2. Murray, "Superman's Editor Mort Weisinger," 11.
3. John T. Galloway Jr., *The Gospel According to Superman* (Philadelphia and New York: A.J. Holman Company, 1973), 9.
4. Galloway, *The Gospel According to Superman*, 28.
5. Galloway, *The Gospel According to Superman*, 96-9, 122.
6. Galloway, *The Gospel According to Superman*, 103-4.
7. Galloway, *The Gospel According to Superman*, 41. In the comics, Superman's friend Jimmy owns a watch with a high-pitched frequency only Superman can hear, so that if Jimmy is in danger, Superman can rescue him.
8. Galloway, *The Gospel According to Superman*, 18.
9. See Larry Tye, S*uperman: The High-Flying History of America's Most Enduring Hero* (New York: Random House, 2012), 68; and Michael Eury, "Dennis O'Neil Interview," in *Krypton Companion*, 119.
10. John Wesley White, *The Man from Krypton: The Gospel According to Superman* (Minneapolis, MN: Bethany Fellowship, 1978).
11. White, *The Man from Krypton*, 8.
12. White, *The Man from Krypton*, 149-65. Granted, White compares Superman saving people on a bridge to Jesus making a "bridge between God and man" (171).

13. George W. Cornell, "Superman/Jesus Similarities Explained," *Los Angeles Times*, 24 February 1979. Magic is actually one of Superman's weaknesses.

14. Tye, *Superman*, 204.

15. Tye, *Superman*, 203-4. See, also, Richard Donner and Tom Mankiewicz, "Audio Commentary," disc 2, *Superman: The Movie*, DVD, directed by Richard Donner (Burbank: Warner Brothers Pictures), 2001.

16. Quoted in White, *The Man from Krypton*, 13-14.

17. Marco Arnaudo, *The Myth of the Superhero*, trans. Jamie Richards (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2013), 47.

18. Jake Rossen, *Superman vs. Hollywood: How Fiendish Producers, Devious Directors, and Warring Writers Grounded an American Icon* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2008), 72. Mankiewicz said that there were "obvious allusions to God sending Christ to Earth." See Donner and Mankiewicz, "Audio Commentary," *Superman: The Movie*. Another screenwriter who worked on the film, named David Newman, said: "It begins with a father who lives up in heaven, who says, 'I will send my only son to save earth.' The son takes on the guise of a man but is not a man. The religious overtones are so clear." See Otto Friedrich, "Up, Up, and Awaaay!!!" *Time*, 24 June 2001, http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,148856,00.html. (The article is listed with a June 2001 date, but appears to have been written in 1988 to commemorate Superman's fiftieth anniversary.) The film's producer Ilya Salkind commented on the Christological themes, saying, "Brando represents the ultimate good who is sending part of himself to do good things," and even compared Superman's Kryptonian mother to the virgin Mary. See Ilya Salkind and Pierre Spengler, "Audio Commentary," disc 1, *Superman: The Movie*, DVD, directed by Richard Donner (Burbank, CA: Warner Brothers Pictures), 2001.

19. *Superman: The Movie*, directed by Richard Donner (Burbank: Warner Brothers Pictures, 1978).

20. Tye, *Superman*, 68, 203-4.

21. Glen Weldon, *Superman: The Unauthorized Biography* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), 188.

22. Tom De Haven, *Our Hero: Superman on Earth* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 179.

23. Much has been written about the parallels between Superman and Moses. Larry Tye writes: "much as the baby prophet was floated in a reed basket by a mother desperate to spare him from an Egyptian Pharoah's death warrant, so Kal-El's doomed parents, moments before their planet blew up, tucked him into a spaceship that rocketed him to the safety of Earth. Both babies were rescued by non-Jews and raised in foreign cultures – Moses by Pharoah's daughter, Kal-El by Kansas farmers named Kent – and the adoptive parents quickly learned how exceptional their foundlings were . . . al-El's escape to Earth was the story of Exodus." See Tye, *Superman*, 65-6, 68. See Stephen Skelton, *The Gospel According to the World's Greatest Superhero* (Eugene: Harvest House Publishers, 2006), 46. See, also, *Look, up in the Sky: The Amazing Story of Superman*, directed by Kevin Burns (Burbank: Warner Home Video, 2006); Harry Brod, *Superman Is Jewish? How Comic Book Superheroes Came to Serve Truth, Justice, and the Jewish-American Way* (New York: Free Press, 2012), 9; Friedrich, "Up, Up, and Awaaay!!!"; Anton K. Kozlovic, "The Unholy Biblical Subtexts and Other Religious Elements Built into *Superman: The Movie* (1978) and *Superman II* (1981)," *Journal of Religion and Film* 7, No. 1 (2003): 25-6; Christopher Knowles, *Our Gods Wear Spandex: The Secret History of Comic Book Heroes* (San Francisco: Weiser Books, 2007), 123, n. 102; Simcha Weinstein, *Up, Up, and Oy Vey! How Jewish History, Culture, and Values Shaped the Comic Book Superhero* (Baltimore: Leviathan Press, 2006), 15, 26; De Haven, *Our Hero*, 179, 181; Grant Morrison, *Supergods: What Masked Vigilantes, Miraculous Mutants, and a Sun God from Krypton Can Teach Us about Being Human* (New York: Spiegel & Grau, 2011), 15-16; Greg Garrett, *Holy Superheroes: Exploring the Sacred in Comics, Graphic Novels, and Film*, rev. ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), 19; Arie Kaplan, *From Krakow to Krypton: Jews and Comic Books* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2008), 14; David Hopkins, "A History of Violence," in *The Man from Krypton: A Closer Look at Superman*, eds. Glenn Yeffeth and Smart Pop (Dallas: BenBella Books, 2005), 9-21; Ken Schenck, "Superman: A Popular Culture Messiah," in *The Gospel According to Superheroes: Religion and Popular Culture*, ed. B.J. Oropeza (New York: Peter Lang, 2005), 33-48; David Welky, *Everything Was Better in America: Print Culture in the Great Depression* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 133; Weldon, *Superman: The Unauthorized Biography*, 17-18; Jason Cohen, "Bendis Signals a Welcome Return to Superman's Jewish Roots," *CBR*, 2 February 2018, https://www.cbr.com/bendis-dc-superman-jewish-roots/; Marcy Oster, "DC Comics' Newest Writer Is Poised to Make Superman Jewish Again," *The Times of Israel*, 17 February 2018, https://www.timesofisrael.com/dc-comics-newest-writer-is-poised-to-make-superman-jewish-again/; Brad Ricca, *Super Boys: The Amazing Adventures of Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster – The Creators of Superman* (New

York: St. Martin's Press, 2013), 131; Salkind and Spengler, "Audio Commentary," *Superman: The Movie*. Martin Lund acknowledges the existence of parallels to figures like Moses but downplays the Jewish aspects of such parallels and points out that "these figures have long been common to Western culture in general." See Martin Lund, *Re-Constructing the Man of Steel: Superman 1938-1941, Jewish American History, and the Invention of the Jewish – Comics Connection* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 12. Lund argues that Superman's task is more global than Moses and also downplays other Moses parallels (such as Clark Kent's stuttering) (74-8, 182). Lund denies that having Clark Kent's parents tell him to fight for good is comparable to Moses meeting God, as some have claimed (74). To see the case for these claims, see Weinstein, *Up, Up, and Oy Vey*, 26-7. Later Superman writers exploited a Moses connection that was – at the very least, latent. For example, in the 1990s *Superman* animated series, Jonathan Kent shows young Clark Kent the rocket ship they found him in, and prefaces this revelation by saying, "You know how some babies are found in baskets?" *Superman: The Animated Series*, "The Last Son of Krypton: Part II," S01, E2, directed by Scott Jeralds and Curt Geda, written by Alan Burnett and Paul Dini, *Kids WB!*, 6 September 1996. In the afterword to Grant Morrison's 2011 retelling of Superman's origin, Morrison explicitly says that Superman's "rocket is Moses' basket," and artist Rags Morales said that he deliberately tried to draw the *shape* of the rocket ship "a little more basket-y." See Grant Morrison and Rags Morales, "Action Comics Sketchbook," in *Superman in Action Comics*, vol. 1, *Superman and the Men of Steel* (New York: DC Comics, 2012), n.p. Michael Uslan taught the first accredited college course on comics after convincing the dean of Indiana University "that Superman and Moses shared an origin story and a teachable moment." See Tye, *Superman*, 211-12.

24. *Smallville* started as a show about Clark Kent in high school and cleverly made the development of his powers a metaphor for puberty. The show would run ten years. For more on this background, see *Look, up in the Sky: The Amazing Story of Superman*, directed by Kevin Burns.

25. See *Smallville*, "Pilot," S01, E1, directed by David Nutter, written by Alfred Gough and Miles Millar, *The WB*, 16 October 2001.

26. See Tye, *Superman*, 68, 275-6; Skelton, *The Gospel According to the World's Greatest Superhero*, 60, 64-5; Brod, *Superman Is Jewish?*, 17; *Look, up in the Sky*, directed by Kevin Burns; Rossen, *Superman vs. Hollywood*, 255. The pose drew comparisons to the 1998 murder of the gay college student Matthew Shepard (255).

27. Skelton, *The Gospel According to the World's Greatest Superhero*, 64.

28. *Look, up in the Sky: The Amazing Story of Superman*, directed by Kevin Burns. This image is also on the cover of the DVD boxed set. David Nutter, the director of the episode, stated that he tried to throw in as many Jesus metaphors as possible; in addition to the "crucifixion" scene, he likened another scene where Clark speaks to his father as a "Sermon on the Mount" pose. See Alfred Gough, Miles Millar, and David Nutter, "Audio Commentary," disc 1, "Pilot," directed by David Nutter, *Smallville: The Complete First Season*, DVD (Burbank: Warner Brothers Pictures, 2003).

29. Tye, *Superman*, 276.

30. *Superman Returns*, directed by Bryan Singer (Burbank: Warner Brothers Pictures, 2006).

31. See Stephen Skelton, "Superman Returns (2006)," *Hollywood Jesus*, n.d., http://www.hollywood jesus.com/superman-returns-2006/. This interview can also be found as Stephen Skelton, "Exclusive Interview with 'Superman Returns' Director Bryan Singer 'The Messiah of Metropolis,'" *Dove.org*, 29 November 2006, http://www.dove.org/exclusive-interview-with-superman-returns-director-bryan-singer/. See also Weldon, *Superman: The Unauthorized Biography*, 305.

32. See Matt 27:26, Mark 15:15, and John 19:1. See Garrett, *Holy Superheroes*, 21,

33. *Superman Returns*, directed by Bryan Singer; and Weldon, *Superman: The Unauthorized Biography*, 305.

34. *Superman Returns*, directed by Bryan Singer. In this film, the red in his costume is darker than usual.

35. *Superman Returns*, directed by Bryan Singer. Earlier, he has a brief crucifix-like pose as he descends to his Arctic Fortress of Solitude.

36. Rossen, *Superman vs. Hollywood*, 294. See also Adam Barkman, "Superman: From Anti-Christ to Christ-Type," in *Superman and Philosophy: What Would the Man of Steel Do?* ed. Mark D. White, Blackwell Philosophy and Pop Culture Series (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 117; Weldon, *Superman: The Unauthorized Biography*, 305; and Brod, *Superman Is Jewish?* 17.

37. Mark Moring, "The 'Savior' Returns," *Christianity Today*, 26 June 2006, , https://www.christianity today.comct2006junewebonly/bryansinger.html?start=2

38. *Superman Returns*, directed by Bryan Singer. See Garrett, *Holy Superheroes*, 21, 116; Weldon, *Superman: The Unauthorized Biography*, 305.

39. See Richard Corliss, "The Gospel of Superman," review of *Superman Returns*, directed by Bryan Singer, *Time*, 26 June 2006. For more on the messianic symbolism but also the film's relationship to American exceptionalism, see Jason Dittmer, "American Exceptionalism, Visual Effects, and the Post 9/11 Cinematic Superhero Boom," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 29, no. 1 (2011): 114-30.

40. Moring, "The 'Savior' Returns." Singer said that Superman is a "Judeo-Christian" allegorical figure, "right up to the fact that he descends from the heavens." See *Look, up in the* Sky, directed by Kevin Burns. Larry Tye writes that *Superman Returns* tried to show that Superman "still mattered" and the film "revisited the Christ story by looking at whether society still wanted and needed a savior." See Tye, *Superman*, 286.

41. *Superman Returns*, directed by Bryan Singer.

42. Skelton, "Superman Returns (2006)"; Skelton, "Exclusive Interview with 'Superman Returns' Director Bryan Singer."

43. C. S. Lewis, *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1950).

44. Skelton, "Superman Returns (2006)"; Skelton, "Exclusive Interview with 'Superman Returns' Director Bryan Singer." Before the film was released, *Superman Returns* screenwriters Michael Dougherty and Dan Harris acknowledged that the film would look at the "messianic" and godlike dimensions of Superman and how those concepts transferred to the modern world. See Steve Younis, "Superman Returns Set Visit Report – Part 2 (of 12)," *Superman Homepage*, 28 July 2005, https://www.supermanhomepage.com/movies/ movies.php?topic=set-visit-report2. They also acknowledged the film's use of "Christian mythology." See Evan Jacobs, "Dan Harris & Michael Dougherty Talk about Writing Superman Returns," *MovieWeb*, 28 June 2006, https://movieweb.com/dan-harris-michael-dougherty-talk-about-writing-superman-returns/. Years later, Bryan Singer reflected: "I've always felt that the origin of Superman is the story of Moses – the child sent on a ship to fulfill a destiny. And this was a story about Christ – it's all about sacrifice . . . So what happens? He gets the knife in the side and later he falls to the earth in the shape of a crucifix. It was kind of nailing you on the head, but I enjoyed that, because I've always found the myth of Christ compelling and moving." See Ed Gross, "SUPERMAN EXCLUSIVE: Bryan Singer Looks Back at Superman Returns," *ComicBookMovie.com*, 25 March 2011, https://www.comicbook movie.com/superman/superman-exclusive-bryan-singer-looks-back-at-superman-returns-a33821. Singer also identified Superman as "part Moses, part Jesus," and reflected on how Superman is an alien and an

immigrant. See Robert David Jaffee, "'Superman' Director Lives Out His Dream," 22 June 2006, *Jewish Journal*, http://jewish journal.com/ culture/arts/13264/). Even Singer had limits with the Jesus angle though. Jim Caviezel – fresh off playing Jesus in Mel Gibson's *The Passion of Christ* – was a rumoured candidate to play Superman in Singer's film, and Superman comics writer Mark Millar even laid a $1,000 bet that Caviezel would be chosen. See Rossen, *Superman vs. Hollywood*, 285. While Caviezel lobbied to play Superman, Singer "disliked the on-the-nose parallels with the actor's previous project, which the media would surely flog to death" (285).

45. Skelton, *The Gospel According to the World's Greatest Superhero*, 22. Elsewhere, the Roman Catholic priest John Cush endorsed Superman as a Christ figure and a Catholic cleric in Texas named Bill Necessary was known at his church as "Superdeacon" for his habit of wearing a Superman shirt underneath his clerical attire. See Tye, *Superman*, 69, 267-8. Bud Collyer, who played Superman on the radio in the 1940s Superman radio show (as well as various Superman cartoons), taught Sunday School, and "his Sunday School classes were populated by children eager to hear the testimony of Superman." See Rossen, *Superman vs. Hollywood*, 4.

46. Hannah Goodwyn, "Superman and Jesus: Superman's Origin and Parallels to Jesus," *CBN*, 2016, http://www1.cbn.com/movies/superman-and-jesus-supermans-origin-and-parallels-jesus

47. Goodwyn, "Superman and Jesus."

48. Goodwyn, "Superman and Jesus."

49. Jennifer Vineyard, "*Man of Steel*: Not the Familiar Superman (Fan)fare," *CNN*, 5 April 2013, https://www.cnn.com/2013/04/ 05/showbiz/zimmer-man-of-steel

50. Eric Marrapodi, "Superman: Flying to a Church near You," *CNN Belief Blog*, 14 June 2013, http://religion.blogs.cnn.com/2013/ 06/14/superman-coming-to-a-church-near-you/. See, also, "*Man of Steel* Marketers Target Christians by Sending Pastors Prepared Sermon Notes That Compare Superman to Jesus Christ," *DailyMail.com*, 17 June 2013, http:// www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2343165/Man-Steel-marketers-target-Christians-sending-pastors-prepared-sermons-compare-Superman-Jesus-Christ.html

51. Marrapodi, "Superman: Flying to a Church near You"; *"Man of Steel* Marketers Target Christians."

52. Marrapodi, "Superman: Flying to a Church near You"; "*Man of Steel* Marketers Target Christians."

53. Marrapodi, "Superman: Flying to a Church near You" *"Man of Steel* Marketers Target Christians."

54. Marrapodi, "Superman: Flying to a Church near You"; "*Man of Steel* Marketers Target Christians."

55. Marrapodi, "Superman: Flying to a Church near You."

56. Marrapodi, "Superman: Flying to a Church near You." The studio had done the same thing for the films *Les Misérables* and *The Blind Side*.

57. Marrapodi, "Superman: Flying to a Church near You."

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61. Craig Detweiler, "Superman: Sermon Notes from Exile," *Christianity Today*, June 2013, https://www.christianitytoday.com/pastors/2013/june-online-only/superman-sermon-notes-from-exile.htm

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67. Ryan Pumroy, "Recruiting Soldiers of Steel: The Cross-Promotion of *Man of Steel* and the National Guard," *The Journal of Popular Culture* 48, no. 4 (2015): 76-75; Asawin Suabseng, "How the National Guard Is Using *Man of Steel* to Recruit You," *Mother Jones*,14 June 2013, https://www.mother jones.com/politics/2013/ 06/man-of-steel-national-guard-product-placement

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74. Mark Waid, "*Man of Steel*, since You Asked," *Thrillbent*, 14 June 2013, http://thrillbent.com/blog/ man-of-steel-since-you-asked

75. Barna William Donovan, "A Superman for Our Time: How the *Man of Steel* Tries to Make Superman Relevant Again – and Why It Succeeds," *Cinephile* 9, no. 2 (2013): 24.

76. *Batman v Superman: Dawn of Justice*, directed by Zack Snyder (Burbank: Warner Brothers Pictures, 2013).

77. Graeme Macmillan, "'Batman v. Superman': The Problem with Turning the Man of Steel into the Son of God," *The Hollywood Reporter*, 25 March 2016, https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/heat-vision/ batman-v-superman-ending-problem-878463.

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Snyder's daughter; Whedon's material has a notably different tone.

80. T.M. Moore, *Redeeming Pop Culture: A Kingdom Approach* (Philipsburg: P&R Publishing, 2003), 142.

81. Moore, *Redeeming Pop Culture*, 142.

82. Moore, *Redeeming Pop Culture*, 142.

83. Moore, *Redeeming Pop Culture*, 125.

84. Moore, *Redeeming Pop Culture*, 128.

85. John A.T. Robinson, *Honest to God* (London: SCM Press, 1963).

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The New Franciscans? New Monastic Appropriations of Saint Francis, 1990-2013[1]

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In the 1990s, Rich Mullins was a household name in the burgeoning contemporary Christian music industry in America.[2] He was known especially for the praise song "Awesome God" that became a mainstay in evangelical worship.[3] At the height of his music success, Mullins moved to the Navajo Reservation in New Mexico to teach music, not with evangelism in mind as much as his own self-formation: "People talk about me going out to the reservation to save the Navajos, but the opposite is what is happening," he said, "I'm the one being saved by coming here."[4] Mullins successfully advocated for Compassion International, an evangelical relief organization, to work on Native American reservations.[5] With a Quaker, Methodist, and Christian Church background, Mullins showed genuine openness to Catholicism, even enrolling in catechism, though ultimately choosing not to convert.[6] His lyrics often emphasized the humanity of Jesus and the beauty of nature.[7] To some observers, Mullins seemed something of an enigma, a humble and peculiar exception to the increasingly entertainment-oriented direction of the Christian music industry.[8] His death in a traffic accident in 1997 led to an outpouring of grief and praise for the musician from many fans.[9] He was, according to one commentator, "the most beloved troubadour in contemporary Christian music and probably came as close as anyone else in the field to being regarded as 'a saint'."[10]

Yet many of Mullins' decisions were direct responses to the life of Saint Francis of Assisi.[11] Around the time of his high school graduation in

1974, a young Mullins watched *Brother Sun, Sister Moon*, Franco Zeffirelli's film portraying a young, hippy-like Saint Francis of Assisi. The movie made a deep impression on Mullins. "I started to wonder," he reflected, "if maybe Saint Francis had found a more authentic faith, though he had found it so many years before."[12] Mullins later discussed following the example of Saint Francis with a friend known only as "Beaker." What would it look like, they wondered, to adopt the Franciscan values of simplicity, poverty and obedience while not being monks, let alone Catholics?[13] Their answer was to form "The Kid Brothers of Saint Frank," a Protestant monastic experiment. They modified traditional Franciscan vows, interpreting chastity as selflessness and love of God, poverty as simplicity and stewardship, and obedience as submission to their own churches' traditions.[14] Mullins and Beaker recruited three twenty-something students from Friends University to join the group. An accountant managed Mullins's music profits, and Mullins and the other Kid Brothers lived on an allowance that was then equivalent to a modest working wage.[15] Mullins served as an overseer for the group, leading devotional times and, on occasion, making them all watch his favourite film, *Brother Sun, Sister Moon*.[16] The group also wrote and recorded *The Canticle of the Plains*, a musical based on the life of Saint Francis, or "Frank," in the Old West, performed as a play at the evangelical Wheaton College.[17]

Mullins was not the first Christian musician to be attracted to Franciscan monasticism. Jesus movement folk artist John Michael Talbot's admiration for Saint Francis, for example, had led him to convert to Catholicism in the 1970s.[18] But Mullins and his companions stayed within the evangelical Protestant world. These evangelical Franciscans sought to live a life of Christian discipleship by following in Francis's footsteps. For the Kid Brothers of Saint Frank, Saint Francis was not only seen as an inspiring and authentic Christian, but also served as a model for evangelical monasticism.

The Kid Brothers of Saint Frank anticipated a wave of attempts by other evangelicals to form neo-monastic communities inspired by the likes of the Desert Fathers and Mothers, the Benedictines and Franciscans alongside newer Catholic and evangelical movements. Many evangelicals who formed new monastic communities in the 1990s and 2000s appealed to Saint Francis as a quintessentially authentic Christian who provided historical justification for their critical community responses to dominant

evangelical church life and politics. These appropriations of Saint Francis of Assisi reflect increasing evangelical openness to Catholic ideas and figures, as well as changing conceptions among evangelicals of what constitutes true Christianity.[19] This study examines writings, musical recordings, and video interviews of American, Canadian and British new monastic leaders and their responses to Saint Francis of Assisi.

American New Monasticism

On the cast of the Wheaton production of the "Canticle of the Plains" was a young Shane Claiborne.[20] In the mid-2000s, Claiborne became the popular face of the new monastic movement of young evangelicals forming communities in poor urban neighbourhoods. Communities such as Rutba House in Durham, North Carolina, and the Simple Way in Philadelphia served as models for a proliferation of similar groups.

Beginning in the 1990s, many young, usually white, evangelicals moved to form "intentional communities" among the urban poor.[21] A 2004 conference of like-minded groups issued "12 Marks of A New Monasticism" – a list including relocation, economic sharing, racial reconciliation, peacemaking, environmental consciousness, and monastic-inspired community rule.[22] While some older Catholic and Anabaptist organizations were part of the new monastic orbit, most were from an evangelical background.[23] These communities drew from a diverse number of modern inspirations including *Sojourners*, Tony Campolo and the older progressive evangelical movement, Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker, John Perkins and the Christian Community Development Association, Mother Theresa and the Sisters of Charity, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer's illegal seminary, among others.[24] They also interacted with contemporary evangelical movements such Renovaré, an organization promoting spiritual renewal through traditional Christian disciplines, and the then popular Emergent Church network.[25]

Yet many of the most significant influences for these new monastics were ancient monks.[26] The editors of the "12 Marks" sought models for "radical discipleship" in "the best in the church's long tradition."[27] The authors contended that, "the church's response to compromise and crisis has consistently been one of new monastic movements" – taken in a broad sense to include the Desert Fathers and Mothers fleeing imperial Christian-

ity, the early Anabaptists, underground slave churches in America, and, of course, Saint Francis. "In the midst of the Crusades," the authors stated, "as religious violence raged, St. Francis rejected economic privilege and started a new monastic movement."[28] New monasticism was an exercise in tradition retrieval and emulation of a select group of Christian saints.[29] "Could a new monasticism really be the hope of the Church in North America?" asked Jonathan Wilson-Hartgrove, a founder of Rutba House. "Is the Spirit calling us, as he called St. Francis, to 'rebuild my church which is in ruins,' by establishing outposts of God's love in the abandoned places of empire?"[30]

In America, in particular, new monasticism was also a movement built from opposition to war, nationalism, consumerism, and the powerful American religious right of the second Bush presidency.[31] Their embrace of small, countercultural community was also directed against the evangelical baby boomer megachurches that had adopted large-scale, entertainment-driven church growth strategies.[32] New monasticism was a movement of protest. The movement was widely covered by media. While its impact on young evangelicals was likely more in modest changes in behavior than in the creation of intentional communities, such new monastic communities continued emerged across the US, the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, tripling between 2010 and 2015.[33]

Saint Francis of Calcutta, Baghdad, and Wall Street

Dreadlocked and sporting baggy homemade clothes, Shane Claiborne brought the message of radical discipleship, peaceable resistance, relocation and community to evangelicals across America in the mid-2000s. He penned a bestselling book, *The Irresistible Revolution*. Claiborne made much of his former "Bible Belt" Tennessee evangelicalism, stating his rejection of the "Christian industrial complex ready to help with Christian music, bumper stickers, T-shirts, books, and even candy."[34]

Claiborne was a student at Eastern University in Philadelphia when he and other students befriended and advocated for local homeless families who were facing eviction in an abandoned Catholic church where they had taken refuge.[35] While they ultimately lost this fight, Claiborne likened their struggle to Saint Francis and his first companions in their effort to rebuild the church: "Now hundreds of years later, another bunch of young dreamers was leaving the Christianity that smothered them, to find God in

the abandoned places in the desert of the inner city."[36] These restless young evangelicals moving to be with the poor were, for Claiborne, the new Desert Fathers and Mothers, Benedictines, and Franciscans.

As Claiborne recounts his pursuit of "looking for a Christian" who took discipleship seriously, in his words, "I kept coming across dead people – the desert fathers and mothers of the fifth century, Francis and Clare of Assisi, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Martin Luther King, Jr., Oscar Romero" and Dorothy Day.[37] More contemporary inspirations, including Mother Teresa and Rich Mullins, whom Claiborne knew, served as living links to the faith of saints such as Francis, who embodied, for Claiborne, a radical, true Christianity.[38]

Alongside Jonathan and Leah Wilson-Hartgrove, who went on to found Rutba House, Claiborne joined a delegation from Christian Peacemaker Teams to Iraq on the eve of the American invasion in 2003, where they witnessed the first American bombing of a hospital in the city of Rutba.[39] Claiborne's team included a Franciscan priest, and discussion led naturally to Saint Francis:

> We flashed back to another confusing time of conflict – 1219, during the Fifth Crusade. Christians and Muslims were slaughtering one another in the name of God. War had become a necessity and a habit. Centuries of church history, in which followers of the Way [an early term for Christianity] renounced their allegiance to the kingdom of the world and its kings, had been perverted by the seduction of gaining the whole world but losing our souls. And then Francis . . . had a vision of loving our enemies.[40]

In Claiborne's telling, Saint Francis marks a reconnection with the revolutionary and peaceable early church that had become compromised and institutionalized over time.[41]

In a later article, Claiborne called his readers' attention to Francis – "one of the first critics of capitalism, one of the earliest Christian environmentalists, a sassy reformer of the Church and one of the classic conscientious objectors to war."[42] Claiborne highlights Francis's connection of material possession with violence. "It does make you wonder if he'd be on Wall Street protesting today," Claiborne claims, hearkening to the recent Occupy Wall Street protests.[43] Claiborne recounts the story of the visit to the Egyptian Sultan, placing it in the context of hate, war and

religious extremism. "We've seen Christian extremists burn the Quran," Claiborne mourns, "blow up abortion clinics, bless bombs, baptize Wall Street and hold signs that say 'God hates [gays].' But Francis invites us to be extremists for grace, extremists for love."[44] Claiborne proposes some responses to the life of Francis:

> Maybe we can get rid of some of our stuff or spend some time with a homeless person. Maybe we can laugh at advertisements today that try to convince us that happiness can be purchased. Maybe we can hang out in the woods and spend some time with the lilies and the sparrows. Maybe we can take an enemy out for dinner.[45]

Saint Francis is Claiborne's ideal model for resisting violence, consumerism and economic injustice – a proto-activist of many causes, and a model for the life of radical discipleship in community.

The Bonhoefferian Francis

As new monastic intentional communities spread and became established in struggling neighbourhoods, some new monastics reflected on the meaning and example of Saint Francis for community life. North of the forty-ninth parallel, a Canadian Mennonite, Jamie Arpin-Ricci, leader of the aptly named Little Flowers intentional community in Winnipeg, published a book exploring the life of Saint Francis as a key to new monastic community called *The Cost of Community*. Alternating reflections on the Sermon on the Mount with stories and teachings of Saint Francis and the struggles of the Little Flowers community in Winnipeg, Arpin-Ricci portrayed Saint Francis as the model of truly committed Christian discipleship. "It was Francis's commitment to live in solidarity with the poor as an expression of his allegiance to Christ that first led me to him," Arpin-Ricci wrote, "And it was Francis's radically embodied (if sometimes extreme) commitment to live the words of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount that opened my eyes to the possibility of a way of life and faith that we had never considered before, one that promised the richest blessings but exacted the highest price."[46] Just as the title of the book alludes to Bonhoeffer's *The Cost of Discipleship*, it also resembles Bonhoeffer's *Life Together*. Arpin-Ricci's Francis is an example of costly discipleship and community. For Arpin-Ricci, as for Claiborne, Francis is

not an "unreachable holy man," but a model for following Jesus in the contemporary world.[47]

Francis was also something of a reformer. According to Arpin-Ricci, the medieval Church was "corrupted by power-mongering, greed and nepotism" and full of nominal Christians before Saint Francis and the early Franciscans showed the better way.[48] And for this Winnipeg intentional community, Saint Francis still showed the way. Arpin-Ricci is inspired by Francis's simplicity as an alternative to greed;[49] the saint's combination of gentleness, humility and love for the gospel in his visit to the Egyptian Sultan;[50] and Francis's illumination of the path of asceticism without denigrating the value of the body.[51] For Arpin-Ricci, Saint Francis illuminated the path of costly discipleship to Christ borne out in community with the poor.

New Friars

Scott Bessenecker, an InterVarsity Christian Fellowship staffer from Wisconsin, highlighted another side of the new monastic movement in his book *New Friars* (2006). Bessenecker showcased a group of young evangelicals who moved to urban slums around the world, taking vows of poverty and service. He differentiated these new friars from old monks and celibate ascetics with "unquestioned devotion to a hierarchical church structure."[52] While disappointed by his own encounters with actual Franciscan monks,[53] Bessenecker presented Francis and Clare as inspirations for service and love for the poor.[54] Bessenecker highlighted Francis's emphasis on "the simple life of preaching and praying and caring for the poor."[55] "Francis's and Clare's life," he wrote, "[serves] as a picture of just how attractive downward mobility can be to the middle class and rich . . . They wanted to enflesh the gospel to those at the bottom of the rubbish heap by stripping themselves of all worldly riches and seeking the endowment of spiritual wealth in its place."[56] They were models for what Bessenecker called "incarnational" ministry.[57] He praised Francis's and Clare's poverty, mission and downward mobility.[58] For Bessenecker, they were saints for young middle-class Christians who wanted to follow God by serving the poor.[59]

Abbots and Punks

Paralleling North American forms of new monasticism, a related movement began in 1999 in the UK that focused on communities of continual prayer. The 24/7 prayer movement, referencing the practice of community members praying in shifts over a twenty-four-hour period, came to coalesce around the idea of "Boiler rooms" – gathering places for prayer, community, and mission.[60] Inspired by accounts of the early church in Acts, Celtic monasticism, the Franciscans, and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, leaders in the 24/7 prayer movement sought to emulate monastic "alternative societies" of prayer in a "contemporary postmodern culture."[61] This more charismatic, evangelistic, and prayer-oriented wing of new monasticism became a significant inspiration for new monastic communities around the world.[62]

Andy Freeman, so-called "Abbot" of the first Boiler Room in Reading, England, saw monastic movements as revolutionary and subversive in their original intent. In the aptly titled book *Punk Monk*, he wrote, "Nearly every monastic movement began as a violent reaction to compromised religion."[63] Among these reformers of stale Christianity was Saint Francis, who "formed his Franciscan movement out of an increasing frustration with organized religion."[64] Unlike Claiborne, however, Freeman and co-leader and co-author Peter Grieg were light on their critique of church and society, emphasizing instead the practice of communities of prayer, creativity, justice and mission, with stories of inspiration and miraculous events. Saint Francis and a cadre of ancient monastic groups inspired their community-based centres of prayer as guides to what these evangelicals saw as authentic Christian spirituality and mission.

Conclusion

For the Kid Brothers of Saint Frank and new monastic evangelicals, their discontent with popular evangelical faith and politics led them to seek "new" Christian heroes for faith in the contemporary world. Saint Francis provided such an example for community and justice, offering the possibility of connecting to what they perceived as true, authentic Christianity, by emulating the life Francis lived. While painting different pictures of the Saint's life, new monastics saw Saint Francis as a guide to Christian faith and community in the contemporary world.

New monastic appropriations of Saint Francis reflect the declining hold of evangelical Protestant traditions on some young, educated evangelicals at the turn of the millennium, and even their rejection of many evangelical values. New monastics present their versions of Saint Francis in an increasingly fragmented evangelical world, invoking him to defend their religious and political protest. Yet the new monastic fascination with Saint Francis also reflected a larger change in what evangelicals more broadly value as true Christian faith, a move toward authenticity and holistic spirituality.[65] These changes within evangelical Protestantism coincided with changes in broader American culture. Sociologist Wade Clark Roof notes the rising interest beginning among baby boomer Americans in varieties of spiritual "holism" that embrace all of life rather than compartmentalize it in dualisms, as well as growing emphases on authentic personhood and language of experiential spirituality.[66] For many evangelicals in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, values of authenticity, experiential spirituality and discipleship superseded (or complemented) the centrality of older evangelical Protestant values of evangelism, belief, and traditional Protestant interpretations of scripture. These emerging evangelical values encouraged and informed the distinct evangelical new monastic appropriations of Saint Francis of Assisi.

Scholars have made much of the primitivist impulse in American religion, particularly among nineteenth-century groups such as the Mormons and restorationist "Christians."[67] Timothy Weber extends the primitivist label to the Evangelical Orthodox Church of the 1980s in their attempt to connect with original New Testament Christianity.[68] Likewise, many new monastic evangelicals interested in Saint Francis linked his apparently authentic Christianity to a rediscovery or renewal of a purer age of Christian life undiluted by later corruption. Yet their primitivism was not like that of earlier restorationists who neglected Christian history for a direct application of the Bible; rather, these evangelicals saw themselves in continuity with Christian traditions before them and sought to reconnect with them. This traditionalist-primitivist tension among new monastics and other evangelicals is like the primitivism identified by Joel Carpenter among earlier twentieth-century fundamentalists: a qualified primitivism that saw the Protestant Reformation tradition as the restoration of the true church.[69] But for new monastic evangelicals, Saint Francis seemed to be elevated to a place above the Protestant reformers as truer to the spirit of early, "pure" Christianity.

This was a primitivism informed by a growing historicism and an attraction to an eclectic array of spirituality from throughout Christian history. Anything Christian was ripe for plunder including Roman Catholic figures such as Saint Francis, Saint Teresa of Avila, Oscar Romero, and Dorothy Day. These saints came alongside Protestant heroes such as Dietrich Bonhoeffer in a diverse collection of representatives of "true" Christianity.[70] In this eclecticism, new monastics were following the path opened by other evangelicals in the late twentieth century who selectively appropriated Catholic traditions. As early as the 1970s, evangelical proponents of classical Christian spirituality and tradition, such as Richard Foster, offered their fellow evangelicals a new cadre of heroes in some Catholic saints and mystics.[71] By the early twenty-first century, this phenomenon became ubiquitous; from evangelical new monasticism to megachurch devotionals inspired by the rule of Saint Benedict, evangelicals openly plundered Catholic spirituality for what they found useful, or for what they thought might be lacking in their own evangelical traditions.[72]

Does the new monastic impulse for appropriating Catholic spirituality signal a renewed collective interest in tradition, or does it reveal a selective cherry picking of Christianity's greatest hits?[73] To an extent both are true. New monastics' interpretation of Francis was individualist, selective, and Protestant. While Rich Mullins acknowledged Francis's veneration of Mary and submission to church hierarchy, new monastic leaders tended to pass these by without comment. In their search for alternative models for Christianity, new monastic interpreters readily paralleled Francis's age with the world of the early twenty-first century. Their appropriations served contemporary purposes, often at the expense of historical awareness.

Nevertheless, new monasticism also marked an attempt to forge community responses to perceived evangelical compromise.[74] In doing so, evangelical new monastics saw themselves in continuity with Christians of the past. New monastic communities were as decisive in their renunciation of the world and attempt to follow Francis's example as any Franciscan third order. These evangelical Franciscans followed (their versions) of Saint Francis to a dramatic degree. Are these the new Franciscans?

Endnotes

1. This article is adapted from a chapter in Paul R. Foth, "The Born-Again Friar: American Evangelical Appropriations of Saint Francis of Assisi, 1972-2013" (Master of Theological Studies thesis, Trinity Western University, 2019).

2. Larry Eskridge, *God's Forever Family: The Jesus People Movement in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 268. Christian music comprised three percent of American music sales in 1999. Stephen D. Perry, and Arnold S. Wolfe, "Testifications: Fan Response to a Contemporary Christian Music Artist's Death," in *Religion and Popular Culture: Studies of the Interaction of Worldviews*, eds. Daniel A. Stout and Judith M. Buddenbaum (Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 2001), 251. Because of the genre's popularity, critics have called the 1990s the "golden age of Christian Music." Joel Heng Hartse, "A Peculiar Display," *Christianity Today*, November 2015, 74; Katelyn Beaty, "Holy Hip-Hop Grows Up: But I'm Still Grateful for CCM's Golden Era," *Christianity Today,* May 2013, 7.

3. Contemporary Christian music played a significant role in fostering and reflecting American evangelical identity. Mark Allan Powell effectively argues that the lyrics of these "popular theologians" reflected the political, social and religious mood of American evangelicals through the decades of the later twentieth century. Mark Allan Powell, "Contemporary Christian Music as a Window on Evangelical Piety," in *Evangelical Christians and Popular Culture: Pop Goes the Gospel Vol. 3*, ed. Robert H. Woods, Jr. (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2013), 101. Surveying contemporary Christian music by decade, Powell notes an anti-institutional outlook during the Jesus People movement of the 1960s; an emphasis on positive feelings and sentimentality in the 1970s; triumphalism and militant imagery in the 1980s; and vulnerability and a conscious outsider status in the 1990s. Powell, "Contemporary Christian Music," 88-97.

4. James Bryan Smith, *Rich Mullins: A Devotional Biography: Arrow Pointing to Heaven*, rev. ed. (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2009), 117.

5. Smith, *Rich Mullins*, 116-17.

6. Thom Granger, "Hope to Carry On," *CCM Magazine*, May 1990. Popular Catholic writer Brennan Manning's emphasis on God's love had a particular impact on Mullins, leading him to name his band the Ragamuffin Band after Manning's book *The Ragamuffin Gospel*. Smith, *Rich Mullins*, 60.

7. For example, "Calling Out Your Name," is a reflection on the natural setting of the American Midwest, with prairies, buffalo and pheasants praising God. Rich Mullins, "Calling Out Your Name," on *The World As Best as I Remember It* vol. 1, Reunion Records, 1991. In "Homeless Man," recorded as a demo shortly before his death, Mullins sings "Birds have nests/foxes have dens/But the hope of the whole world rests on the shoulders of a homeless man." Rich Mullins and the Ragamuffin Band, "Homeless Man," on *The Jesus Record* disc one: The Jesus Demos, Myrrh Records, 1998.

8. Mullins' band mate Rick Elias claims that in the commercial Christian music scene of 1990s "the people that really had something to say were marginalized . . . except for Rich Mullins." Rick Elias interview, *Rich Mullins: A Ragamuffin's Legacy*, directed by David Leo Shultz (Color Green Films, 2014). Mullins' downward mobility and seeming disregard for the music industry raised eyebrows for some evangelicals who saw success as a means to ministry. "I wish he'd care more about his career," noted Ashley Cleveland, a Christian singer who toured with Mullins, "because here's one person who could reach a lot of people with the gospel." Lou Carlozo, "Christian Rocker Finds New Life in Desert," *Chicago Tribune*, 25 April 1996.

9. Stephen Perry and Arnold Wolf analyzed fan responses to the death of Mullins, with tributes reflecting life-changing inspiration, the effects of his music on personal conversion and ministry, and feelings of intimacy and connection with the artist. Perry and Wolf, "Testifications," 263.

10. Powell, *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music*, 614.

11. Smith, *Rich Mullins*, 54.

12. Jim Long, "The Dreamer and the Saint," *CCM Magazine*, July 1997.

13. Bob Michaels, "*Canticle of the Plains* World Premier," interview with Rich Mullins and Mitch McVicker, El Dorado-Wichita, Kansas Radio Station 99.1 FM, KTLI, 2 February 1997, http://www.kidbrothers.net/words/interviews/ktli-feb0297- backup-copy.html.

14. Carlozo, "Christian Rocker Finds New Life in the Desert"; Smith, *Rich Mullins*, 170.

15. Smith, *Rich Mullins*, 167-9.

16. Interview with Eric Hauck, *Rich Mullins,* dir. Shultz.

17. Kid Brothers of Saint Frank, *Canticle of the Plains*, Ragamuffin Records, 1997.

18. Powell, *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Christian Music*, 921.

19. Here "appropriation" does not connote a negative judgment, as in the case of insensitive cultural appropriation. Rather, it signifies the way evangelicals adopt Saint Francis and make him their own.

20. Shane Claiborne, *The Irresistible Revolution: Living as an Ordinary Radical* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2006), 96.

21. James S. Bielo, *Emerging Evangelicals: Faith, Modernity and the Desire for Authenticity* (New York: NYU Press, 2011), 33. According to *Christianity Today's* Rob Moll, the term "intentional community" is shorn of the weird associations of Jesus movement communes. Rob Moll, "New Monasticism," *Christianity Today,* September 2005, 39.

22. Rutba House, ed,, *School(s) For Conversion: 12 Marks of a New Monasticism* (Eugene: Cascade Books, 2005), xii.

23. Wes Markofski, *New Monasticism and the Transformation of American Evangelicalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 163.

24. Rutba House, ed, *School(s) For Conversion*, viii; Jonathan R. Wilson, "Introduction," in Rutba House, *School(s) For Conversion*, 3; Charles Marsh, *The Beloved Community: How Faith Shapes Social Justice from the Civil Rights Movement to Today* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), 201. Markofski notes the deep similarities that new monastic communities share with the settlement house movement popularized by Jane Addams and Hull House in Chicago. That new monastic leaders do not cite this movement as an influence indicates, to Markosfki, the entrenched fundamentalist liberal divide of the twentieth century where ideas did not cross the boundaries. Markosfki, *New Monasticism*, 67-8. For an overview of the history of John Perkins' Calvary Ministries and the Christian Community Development Association, see Marsh, *The Beloved Community*, 153-8.

25. Rutba House, ed., *School(s) For Conversion*, viii. Many scholars have equated new monasticism with one branch of the emerging church. James Bielo claims that, "while all New Monastics are Emerging Evangelicals, not all Emerging Evangelicals are New Monastics." Bielo, *Emerging Evangelicals*, 99. Marti and Ganiel claim that new monasticism "serves a sort of template for how people in the [emerging church] would *like* to live their lives, even if in actuality they do not. Gerardo Marti and Gladys Ganiel, *The Deconstructed Church: Understanding Emerging Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 149. Markofski challenges what he sees as an arbitrary grouping of the two. Both movements, according to Markofski, "have distinctive origins, movement leaders, institutional networks, position

takings, and trajectories as it relates to the evangelical field." Markosfki's offers this claim in a critique of Bielo's "lived religion" approach to social analysis of emergent church. Markofski, *New Monasticism*, 76. Markofski also notes that emerging churches lack new monasticism's social and political emphasis. Markofski, *New Monasticism*, 92. Accepting Markofski's distinction, I contend that new monasticism and the emerging church are separate movements in origins and goals, but nevertheless share some characteristics and overlap in association. Shane Claiborne, for example, had clear connections with Emergent Village conferences and leaders. Marti and Ganiel, *The Deconstructed Church*, 220, n. 47.

26. Jon Stock, Tim Otto and Jonathan Wilson-Hartgrove, *Inhabiting the Church: Biblical Wisdom for a New Monasticism* (Eugene: Cascade Books, 2007).

27. Stock, et. al., *Inhabiting the Church*, ix.

28. Stock, et. al., *Inhabiting the Church*, ix.

29. James Bielo notes that New Monastics saw this tradition retrieval as a move toward authenticity, reconnecting with the authentic and early Christian past that had been corrupted over time. Bielo, *Emerging Evangelicals*, 99-100.

30. Jonathan Wilson-Hartgrove, *To Baghdad and Beyond: How I Got Born Again in Babylon* (Eugene: Cascade Books, 2005), 108.

31. Markosfki, *New Monasticism*, 28; and Rutba House, ed., *School(s) for Conversion*, ix-x.

32. Markoski writes "Neo-monastic evangelicals have constructed their holistic communitarian meaning system in an attempt to transcend what they perceive to be false antinomies and antagonisms – such as the antinomy between the spiritual and social gospel – inherited from the religious past." But, Markosfki claims, they set up their own antagonisms, of authentic and small versus bureaucratic and large. Markofski, *New Monasticism*, 174. Shane Claiborne plays with his own evangelical identity, redefining the word evangelical based on purported ancient connotations of the gospel as the proclamation of Jesus' kingship that challenges state power. Claiborne, *The Irresistible Revolution*, 23.

33. Young evangelicals inspired by new monasticism sought simplicity by downsizing, pooling resources, becoming debt free, dumpster diving, and intentionally resisting consumerism, and sought stability through commitments to stay in a neighbourhood, embrace community living, and practice regular prayer. Bielo, *Emerging Evangelicals*, 103-9, 116; and Markofski, *New Monasticism*, 15.

34. Claiborne, *The Irresistible Revolution*, 37, 39. James Bielo notes the role of "deconversion" stories emerging evangelicals tell, from pasts of conservative evangelical subculture. Bielo includes Claiborne among emerging church leaders. Bielo, *Emerging Evangelicals*, 31, 44-6.

35. Marsh, *The Beloved Community*, 201.

36. Claiborne, *The Irresistible Revolution*, 65.

37. Claiborne, *The Irresistible Revolution*, 72.

38. Claiborne, *The Irresistible Revolution*, 98.

39. For a detailed account, see Hartgrove, *To Baghdad and Beyond*. This event was memorialized in the name of the Hartgrove's intentional community. Christian Peacemaker Teams (CPT) was formed in response to Ron Sider's 1984 address to the Mennonite World Conference in Strasbourg, France, where Sider chastened Mennonites for their "isolationist pacifism," calling them instead to a "costly pacifism" of creatively offering their lives in non-violent witnesses to peace on behalf of the oppressed. CPT soon began sending delegations to places of conflict around the world. Ronald J. Sider, "God's People Reconciling," Christian Peacemaker Teams, https://www.cpt.org/resources/writings/sider.

40. Claiborne, *The Irresistible Revolution*, 274.

41. James Bielo notes the new monastic assumption of church corruption over time. This narrative "could easily be read as a species of the broader eschatological impulse among Protestants." Bielo, *Emerging Evangelicals*, 100. More than that, Protestantism at its foundation was premised on the idea that the church was compromised. Claiborne's view of church history is not unique among many evangelicals, except in his Anabaptist-like emphasis on peace.

42. Shane Claiborne, "Praying with Francis, the Radical Christian Peacemaker," The Blog*, Huffington Post,* 3 October 2011, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/shane-claiborne/st-francis-radical-christian-peace_b_992545.html.

43. Claiborne, "Praying with Francis."

44. Claiborne, "Praying with Francis."

45. Claiborne, "Praying with Francis."

46. Jamie Arpin-Ricci, *The Cost of Community: Jesus, St. Francis and Life in the Kingdom* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2011), 16.

47. Arpin-Ricci, *The Cost of Community*, 219.

48. Arpin-Ricci, *The Cost of Community*, 19.

49. Arpin-Ricci, *The Cost of Community*, 17.

50. Arpin-Ricci, *The Cost of Community*, 62-3.

51. Arpin-Ricci, *The Cost of Community*, 68.

52. Bessenecker, *The New Friars*, 26.

53. Bessenecker, *The New Friars*, 14.

54. Bessenecker, *The New Friars*, 70-3. Bessenecker also includes Brigid of Kildare and St. Patrick alongside early Nestorian missionaries as other historical models for new friars. Bessenecker, *New Friars*, 99-105, 129-33.

55. Bessenecker, *The New Friars*, 72.

56. Bessenecker, *The New Friars*, 73.

57. Bessenecker, *The New Friars*, 83.

58. According to Kenneth Stewart, "It is not monastic dress, communal life, or styles of devotion that fires the imagination of [Bessenecker], but the model of a voluntary, celibate, impassioned ministry to the poorest and neediest that he sees displayed in the careers of Francis of Assisi . . . Bartolomé de las Casas . . . and Mother Teresa." To Stewart, this is a romanticized version of monasticism. Kenneth Stewart, *In Search of Ancient Roots: The Christian Past and the Evangelical Identity Crisis* (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2017), 177, 183.

59. Francis and Clare even provide inspiration for navigating parental conflicts. Like Francis and Clare, young Christians who want to live the life of gospel poverty will have difficulties communicating what they are doing with their families. Bessenecker, *The New Friar*s, 81.

60. The 24/7 prayer movement arising out of the UK began concurrently, though was not directly related to, a similar movement from Kansas City neo-charismatic centre the International House of Prayer. See Pete Greig and Dave Roberts, *Red Moon Rising: Rediscover the Power of Prayer* (Colorado Spring: David C. Cook, 2015), 174-5.

61. Andy Freeman and Peter Grieg, *Punk Monk: New Monasticism and the Ancient Art of Breathing* (Ventura: Regal, 2007), 16-18.

62. Over half of the boiler room communities are in the United States. Markofski, *New Monasticism*, 91.

63. Freeman and Grieg, *Punk Monk*, 37.

64. Freeman and Grieg, *Punk Monk*, 39.

65. Evangelical new monastic appropriations of Saint Francis of Assisi also bear the clear influence of earlier evangelical interpretations of the saint from politically progressive evangelical leaders such as Jim Wallis and Tony Campolo, both of whom Claiborne knew. See Foth, "The Born-again Friar," 61-8.

66. Wade Clark Roof, *A Generation of Seekers: The Spiritual Journeys of the Baby Boom Generation* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1993), 76; Wade Clark Roof, *Spiritual Marketplace: Baby Boomers and the Remaking of American Religion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 7.

67. See Richard T. Hughes, ed., *The American Quest for the Primitivist Church* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); and Richard T. Hughes and Crawford Leonard Allen, *Illusions of Innocence: Protestant Primitivism in America, 1630-1875* (Abilene: Abilene Christian University Press, 2008).

68. Timothy Weber claims that the creation of the Evangelical Orthodox Church and their move to the Antiochene Orthodox Church in the 1980s and 1990s reflects not only a growing historicism present in parts of evangelicalism, but also a primitivist tendency to seek a direct link to the New Testament church. Weber, "Looking for Home: Evangelical Orthodoxy and the Search for the Original Church," in *New Perspectives on Historical Theology: Essays in Memory of John Meyendorff*, ed. Bradley Nassif (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 105.

69. Joel Carpenter, "Contending for the Faith Once Delivered: Primitivist Impulses in American Fundamentalism," in *The American Quest for the Primitive Church*, 101.

70. Dietrich Bonhoeffer's idea of costly, committed discipleship came to be a framework many evangelicals adopt when interpreting saints and heroes of the Christian past. See Foth, "The Born-Again Friar," 140. The allusion of Bonhoeffer's *The Cost of Discipleship* in the title of Arpin-Ricci's *The Cost of Community* is a clear indication of this association being extended to Saint Francis.

71. See Foth, "The Born-again Friar," 34-46.

72. Peter Scazzero, *Daily Office: Remembering God's Presence Throughout the Day* (Barrington: Willow Creek Association, 2008); the book was later expanded in Peter Scazzero, *Emotionally Healthy Spirituality Day by Day: A 40-Day Journey with the Daily Office* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2014); See also Stewart, *In Search of Ancient Roots*, 11-12.

73. Molly Worthen claims emergent and new monastic evangelical interest in pre-Reformation Christian traditions and practices is selective and individualist, and sometimes charged with no small hint of rebellion toward earlier generations of evangelicals. Worthen states, "Worshippers may join in medieval chants and patristic prayers, but church history serves as a resource, a liturgical larder, rather than a tradition to which today's believers must conform." Molly Worthen, *Apostles of Reason: The Crisis of Authority in American Evangelicalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 256-7.

74. Wes Markosfki claims new monastics formulated a "holistic communitarian perspective of religion and politics" as an alternative to the individualism of other evangelicals. Markofski, *New Monasticism*, 31.

CSCH President's Address 2019

People of the Book?
Reflections on Histories of Christianity in Canada

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On Tuesday, 13 September 1904, over one hundred ministers and prominent laymen representing the range of Protestant churches in Toronto gathered together for an important luncheon. Held at Webb's Restaurant in the *Globe* building on Yonge Street, the luncheon was convened to honour John H. Ritson, the Foreign Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS), and to celebrate the work of the BFBS in Canada and around the world.[1] It was a huge event in the city, bringing together some of Toronto's most important and influential ministers and laymen.[2] The *Globe* was there and subsequently printed an article describing the event and listing the most prominent guests in attendance.[3] Those men were representatives of Canadian auxiliaries and branches of the BFBS scattered across the country. John Ritson had himself traveled to Toronto from London to meet with them at this conference to discuss the coordination of the Bible Society's work in Canada. Local auxiliaries of the BFBS were established throughout British North America before Canada's Confederation in 1867, and the organization continued to expand so that, by the turn of the twentieth century, there were sixteen auxiliaries and more than a thousand branches in Canada. But throughout the nineteenth century, each of these auxiliaries worked independently of one another, raising donations, employing agents and booksellers, ordering bibles from the BFBS's Bible House in London, and sending money in order to pay for the books received and to help fund the organization's work of translating

and distributing scriptures around the world. This 1904 conference was called with the aim of unifying these auxiliaries into a single Canadian Bible Society with shared resources for procuring books, crafting policies for distribution and sales, and promoting a common vision for expanding the network of auxiliaries and branches into Western Canada especially.

This series of meetings, held over a couple of days, took place during an important moment for the BFBS's history. That history was a crucial part of what made Canadian Christians a "People of the Book" – a characterization that suggests Canadians of many different denominations rooted the practice of their faith in the authority and direction of the printed Bible.

A relatively scarce commodity at the start of the nineteenth century, as the years passed the Bible became widely available to Canadian consumers. Material and legal circumstances determined this trajectory. There were copyright laws that made the reproduction of the Bible unique. The King James Version (KJV) of the Bible, including its 1885 revision, was the predominant and authoritative English-language version well into the twentieth century. By Royal Charter of the British Crown, only three printers were authorized to print the Authorized Version: the university presses at Cambridge and Oxford and the King's Printer (a role appointed for a set period of time). These restrictions extended throughout Britain as well as its colonies and dominions. No Canadian publisher or printer was granted the right to print the KJV and therefore, by law, its printing in Canada was done illegally. These legal restrictions, combined with the extraordinary capital outlay that was needed to establish a publishing operation with the capability of printing such a large and complicated book, and the relatively small market in British North America for bibles, prohibited the establishment of a permanent bible printing operation.[4]

As a consequence, the market for bibles in British North America, later Canada, had far less to do with printing and publishing than it did with importing and distribution. The single-most significant institution behind such activities was the BFBS. Formed in 1804 by the members of London's Clapham Sect, evangelicals who championed a number of social causes including education reforms and the abolition of slavery, the Society had a history almost as long as the Constitutional Act of 1791.

The Bible Society was formed with the express purpose of making bibles as widely and cheaply available as possible on the grounds that the possession of bibles, particularly by members of the lower and middle

classes, would benefit society as a whole.[5] In order to sidestep denominational controversies, the BFBS was committed to distributing bibles without notes, comments, or other accompanying literature. Its constitution was explicit on this point. Thus while Methodists, Anglicans, Baptists and Presbyterians might not agree on a variety of theological doctrines, this approach meant that they could at least agree to support the simple cause of making a bible available to anyone who might wish to have one.[6]

The BFBS expanded outside of the United Kingdom and by the 1820s had a number of auxiliaries and branches operating in British North America. Although these early years saw meagre growth and few well-established outposts for the BFBS, as the1830s progressed, new local auxiliaries were established across the region as new branches came into being. Branches and auxiliaries were the bedrock of what grew to become an enormous network for bible distribution that reached across the entire expanse of Canadian territory. Local branches had committees that ensured the well-organized, methodical, and systematic distribution of bibles by volunteers who would visit homes selling bibles and asking for donations to support the "Bible Cause."

Eventually, the BFBS hired paid agents to organize and expand the work. The Montreal Bible Society employed its first full-time agent as early as 1838. In that same year, the Society set itself the goal to "supply, by sale or gift, every destitute family in the Province, willing to receive the boon, with a copy of the Scriptures." The resulting work necessitated a general agent to "manage the increasing business of the Society, to visit and form Auxiliaries and Depositories in the country, and organize and maintain a system of operations on an extended scale."[7] Auxiliaries established book depositories to ensure that there were enough bibles to satisfy demand – a way of reducing their dependence on receiving regular timely shipments from Britain.

The BFBS often funded colporteurs and Biblewomen from its own funds designated for colportage around the world. Although local auxiliaries often relied on colportage, the BFBS executive in London held the purse strings and ultimately determined what endeavours would be financed and for how long. Direction given to colporteurs illuminates the values and moral imperatives by which they were expected to abide:

> As a Colporteur of the British Columbia Bible Society you are to carry on sale for cash from house to house under the direction of the

> Committee at New Westminster such Bibles and Testaments as shall be instructed to your charge and for which you are held responsible. In effecting sales there will be occasion for all your skill and talent while you make it manifest that the mere sale of the Book for the sake of gain is not your object, it is proper that every consideration relating to the value and usefulness of the word of God, and its benefit to young and old should be urged to induce families to possess what in thousands of instances has brought salvation to individuals and households . . .
>
> Journal, record of any stock, transactions, account for month's labours, receive and track donations and donors . . .
>
> You are to bear in mind that the Society you serve is not a Missionary Society employing men to go forth simply to converse or preach, but a *publishing* institution, and that its great work and the prominent work of all connected with it and must be to *circulate printed truth*. The sale of the Bible not for the Society's sake, but for the sake of souls is the leading characteristic of your work.[8]

These directives gave clear guidelines for the work for which colporteurs were employed, impressing upon the booksellers the spiritual significance of the work they were undertaking.

Alongside colporteurs, Biblewomen held an important role as the "feet" of the organization, carrying scriptures into places where it could be difficult for people to obtain them. Indeed, BFBS expenditure reports classed Biblewomen as colporteurs. They became an important part of the local distribution of bibles and the public activities of auxiliaries in city centres. Like colporteurs, BFSB reports celebrated Biblewomen for their hard work and their persistence. Instead of celebrating their successes selling bibles, however, reports trumpeted a Biblewoman's ability to bring respectability and gentility to neighbourhoods and homes where the hardships of industrialization and urbanization were evident.[9] There is no mention of any Biblewomen travelling great distances and overcoming physical and geographical challenges, notes that are common in colporteurs' reports. Instead, Biblewomen are much more often described as entering the homes of the poor, the needy, and the sick – activities that are rarely mentioned in reports authored by male colporteurs.[10]

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Canadian auxiliaries of the

BFBS distributed more than a million bibles and testaments and raised hundreds of thousands of dollars in donations to support the BFBS's global enterprise. Elite professionals, businessmen, lawyers, doctors, industrialists, and philanthropists joined with clergymen from numerous Protestant denominations to occupy leadership positions on the executive committees of fourteen auxiliaries and more than twelve hundred branches that had spread across the country by the turn of the twentieth century.

This brief outline provides the broad strokes of the Bible Society's story in Canada in the nineteenth century. It provides an explanation of how Canadian Christians were able to obtain bibles by supporting the BFBS financially and by purchasing BFBS bibles – thereby cementing their status as a "People of the Book." It is a story that the BFBS fashioned for itself, and, by its efforts, made true of itself. The decisions made by Canadian BFBS leaders, and the way those leaders structured branches, auxiliaries, and workers, served to promote the vision that the BFBS was the champion of the Bible Cause, the great harbinger of the Word of God in the world, and that the prestige and significance of that role was unassailable. Until it was not.

By the time the BFBS met at Webb's Restaurant on a Tuesday afternoon in September 1904, its leaders were facing a serious threat to its prestigious status as the greatest distributor of bibles in Canada. The world was changing. And that meant Protestant clergymen and businessmen had to confront a different market landscape. Until now the BFBS has cornered the market by using its branches, auxiliaries, and the wide network of merchants and trade, to provide relatively easy access to cheap bibles. Their depositories and bookstores were the easiest way for Canadians not only to obtain a bible, but to select among a vast range of editions, sizes, formats, and styles.

But the ease of access to bibles was growing – for both consumers and wholesalers. The Bible Society was no longer the only game in town. A striking example of this can be found in the popular Eaton's Catalogue that first appeared in 1884 – sometimes referred to as simply the "Prairie Bible." Offering goods to Canadians through the mail, Eaton's Catalogue featured pages full of ornate and appealing bibles, rosaries, hymnals, and other religious goods. Nothing was especially novel about the bibles featured in those pages. But the ease with which Canadians could obtain bibles from a source other than a local BFBS depository challenged the otherwise unassailable hegemony the Society enjoyed in the market –

especially in rural areas.

At the turn of the century, other publishers and organizations entered the marketplace. Bibles produced by publishers in the United Kingdom and the United States were making their way to Canada in increasing numbers. Additionally, other organizations started to pursue the work of distributing bibles for religious purposes. In 1899, Gideons International was founded by two businessmen in Wisconsin with the aim of distributing bibles at no cost and, later, placing them in hotel rooms for the use of travelling businessmen. The Gideons also made bibles available through hospitals, prisons, schools, and the military.

Notes from various BFBS leaders who presented at the conference also reveal a deep anxiety about the changing marketplace for bibles, and the types of establishments that displayed the Bible for purchase. John Ritson, the Foreign Secretary of the BFBS in London, drew attention to this as particularly concerning where the quality, reputation, and respectability of a bookseller were important parts of the Bible enterprise. Citing the sale of the Bible in general stores, he asked the delegates: "Would you go into a place where corsets are made and sold if you wanted to have a Bible? I would not. What man would? You would go into a respectable book shop if you wanted a Bible. Would you go into a butcher shop if you wanted a Bible? Yet some of our depots are in butcher shops."[11] Ritson urged the Canadian BFBS leaders to only engage respectable booksellers to carry the Bible Society's books so that the prestige and reverence of the books might be protected.

As the Bible Society leaders gathered in Toronto they were faced with these unsettling realities. But this was ultimately a crisis of the meta-narrative – the questions and anxieties they faced were really about their power and influence and the place in the world that they had created for their organization. That grand narrative of their own work was very particular: it was dominated by the activities and leadership of men; it was dominated by the advancement of British culture and a European and British worldview for the betterment of all societies and peoples around the world; and it was dominated by a powerful few leaders and executives directing activities from the centre out into the fringes, from the metropolis to the hinterland. There was considerable weight behind these concerns for the leaders of the Bible Society as they looked past the BFBS's centenary, coupled with cautious optimism. The minutes of these Bible Society meetings in Toronto in 1904 reflect enormous hope for the future of a

Canadian Bible Society while also revealing real anxiety about the changing landscape.

A good example of how the BFBS's grand story was beginning to show signs of wear can be found in the Miramichi Auxiliary of the BFBS – an Auxiliary that offered a stark contrast to what was elsewhere the usual practice of leaving the leadership and management of such organizations in the hands of men. The Auxiliary at Miramichi was run exclusively by women. Established in 1821, very early in the history of the BFBS's work in North America, the Miramichi Auxiliary continued to operate as a fully independent auxiliary under the authority of the London Committee. Nor was it in any way considered lesser or subordinate despite its female leadership. Listed alongside other auxiliaries in the BFBS's published annual reports, no other Auxiliary was ever established at Miramichi.[12] Although the grand narrative of the BFBS and its triumph in distributing bibles in nineteenth-century Canada is a deeply gendered one, the group of women who managed all of this Auxiliary's affairs serves to subvert powerfully what is otherwise a narrative constructed wholly around male domination in leadership. The BFBS was proud of that narrative and promoted the fact that businessmen and clergymen dominated its leadership where few women had managerial or executive influence. Although women were certainly celebrated in their roles as Biblewomen, that was a much different sphere offering a much more limited involvement in the Bible enterprise as a whole.

A second example that challenges this meta-narrative is the prominent role that First Nations actors played in the BFBS's work – particularly with respect to the work of translating the Bible into Indigenous languages. The central role that these translations played in the BFBS's "Bible Cause" is reflected both in the work of James Evans, whose syllabics became the foundation of an entire Cree language Bible in the 1860s, and in the life of Peter Jones, who travelled to London and partnered with the BFBS on completing a Chippeway translation of the Bible. Although these activities were undoubtedly directed and driven by the BFBS, openness and mutual learning characterized the tenor of the dialogue between the BFBS and these figures. In time, however, that would fade. In its place, BFBS leaders in Canada trumpeted a grand narrative of the "Bible Cause" in Canada where the role Indigenous peoples played in the effort receded over the course of the nineteenth century to the point where it became all but invisible.[13]

The central importance of small local branches to the successful sale and distribution of bibles serves as yet another instance where the BFBS's triumphant and centralized narrative is disrupted. Local BFBS volunteers and representatives at the grassroots level were those most responsible for creating and operating a workable bible distribution network. As times passed, however, the initiative and energy with which these local branches were operated was increasingly supplanted by a grand narrative that diminished face-to-face encounters on the ground – highlighting instead the role of the Society's central leadership. Yet it was undeniably the work of small auxiliaries that fostered critical local relationships on which the Bible Society's success rested throughout the nineteenth century.[14]

The Auxiliary at Miramichi, the central role played by Indigenous translators and translations, and the importance rural and remote BFBS branches, are all stories that were lost among the larger stories that the BFBS leaders told themselves about themselves. At the luncheon at Webb's Restaurant in Toronto in 1904, Bible Society leaders and public figures celebrated not these sites of disparate successes, but a grand narrative of triumph in the "Bible Cause." As a result, these more complex and hidden stories remained peripheral.

These examples provide some direction for us as contemporary scholars and members of the Canadian Society for Church History. These stories, which offer a more subversive narrative about the BFBS's successes (and failures) in Canada, encourage us to face new challenges in the historiography of Canadian Christianity. They hold out a challenge to look past the well-known grand narratives of the history of the Christian faith, churches, and religious experiences in Canada, if we allow them to so challenge our work. Beyond those familiar stories and framings are new ways of understanding power dynamics, social cohesion, and counter-cultural communities. By being attentive to those framings, we can uncover how these stories were constructed and the choices that were made to privilege certain figures and events above others.

In these examples from the history of the Bible Society in Canada, we can heed a call to be all the more critical and generous in our scholarship. These are two of the greatest attributes of this Society. Its members are rigorous in the scholarly research and the level of analysis that is represented in the papers presented at each annual meeting. Papers delivered in this venue are met with insightful questions, and, where a key premise is flawed or a key piece of evidence is missing, the presenters will

be challenged and pushed to think critically. We must turn that critical lens on ourselves, welcoming self-examination of our own methods, biases, and blind spots in our research and approaches to history. Let us continue to challenge and deconstruct the very powerful grand narratives we encounter. We must look for the people who are hidden in the sources we research.

There are compelling stories about the role of women in Protestant and Catholic churches and in all Canadian religious institutions that must continue to be examined through the lens of power and the tensions between men and women in these places. There are powerful stories that have been hidden from us by our methodologies and our epistemological approaches. Listening to and welcoming dialogue with Indigenous scholars will open up new ways to see the history of Christianity in Canada and beyond. There are emerging scholars and graduate students whose research questions and methods can help this Society expand its character and identity. May we welcome these new scholars with the generosity and scholarly rigour that has characterized this membership in the past.

Endnotes

1. The restaurant was founded by Harry Webb "where 300 diners could be seated at once." See Mary F. Williamson, "'Prime Minister to the Interior': Thomas and Harry Webb, for eighty years bakers, confectioners, caterers and restaurateurs," *Culinary Chronicles* No. 50 (Autumn 2006): 5-7.

2. The proceedings of the luncheon, the two days of the conference, and the final public meeting were all recorded and bound for the British and Foreign Bible Society. The bound copy is held in the British and Foreign Bible Society library among John Ritson's notebooks from his tours in Canada at Cambridge University Library. BSA/D1/2/49, 1 (hereafter, Proceedings).

3. *The Globe* (Toronto), 15 September 1904.

4. The role of patent holder and an explanation of the current owner of Royal Letters of Patent as The Queen's Printer in relation to the Authorized Version can be found in "The Queen's Printer Patent," Cambridge University Press, http://www.cambridge.org/about-us/who-we-are/queens-printers-patent.

5. Leslie Howsam, *Cheap Bibles: Nineteenth-Century Publishing and the British and Foreign Bible Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 35

6. Roger Steer, "'Without Note or Comment': Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow," in *Sowing the Word: The Cultural Impact of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1804-2004,* eds. Stephen K Batalden, Kathleen Cann, and John Dean (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2004), 63-80.

7. *The Forty-Fourth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1848), cxli.

8. Minutes of the New Westminster auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Provincial Archives of British Columbia Q/R/B77n, 23-27.

9. Bettina Bradbury provides important analysis of the urban settings in which Biblewomen worked in *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993); See also the classic study of urban challenges in Montreal in Herbert Ames, *The City Below the Hill* (Montreal: The Bishop Engraving and Printing Company, 1897).

10. For an example of the BFBS featuring the work of Biblewomen, see *Report of the Montreal Auxiliary Bible Society* (Montreal: John Lovell & Son, LTD., 1907), 89.

11. Proceedings.

12. Minutes of the Upper Canada Bible Society, 15 October 1872, Library and Archives Canada, MG17F1 V1, 186.

13. For an analysis of Bible translation in Cree taken on by Peter Jones at the River Credit mission, see Donald B. Smith, *Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

14. Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society, printed and distributed annually, provided comprehensive lists of auxiliaries and branches in foreign territories, and included notes regarding unique or special developments in a particular region.

"To My Dear "St. Chad": Anglican Devotion to an Anglo-Saxon Saint in late Edwardian Toronto

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While a comprehensive study of what Nicholas Orme terms *the invention and casting* of church dedications in Canadian Anglicanism remains elusive, by attending to details of the singular life of ecclesiastical layman Edward Marion Chadwick (1840-1921), the circumstances of the limited introduction into the Diocese of Toronto of the cult of St. Chad, bishop of Lichfield, are for the first time revealed in this paper.[1] Presenting archival and monumental evidence, I shall explore the surprising origins and unique representations of an innovative High Church dedication, acutely racialized to suit contemporary prejudice, cast and invented at the height of an era in Toronto characterized by rapid unplanned urbanization, spiking levels of English migration, and opportunistic efforts at church extension.

Quietly transitioning from a form of semi-private, or family, to a public devotion, aspects of a medievalizing cult of St. Chad in late Edwardian Toronto were officially promoted as a means by which to honour the outstanding contribution of one individual to the life of the Diocese. In the same gesture, the patronage of St. Chad was conveniently leveraged to re-enforce prevailing imperialist constructions of Anglo-Saxon Canada and to appeal to the sensibilities of migrant churchmen from England.[2] This unusual dedication, invented between 1909 and 1912, though never subsequently repeated in the local context, remains important for understanding lay piety and contemporary episcopal attitudes towards the cult of the saints in the period, as well as evidences both the dogged persistence of an Imperial Anglican identity, and an ongoing revival of

medieval art.

St. Chad's Wick

A pioneering amateur ecclesiologist, genealogist, and heraldist, Edward Marion Chadwick, like so many other Victorian gentlemen of leisure throughout the British Empire, was consumed by the middle-class vogue for antiquarianism. Unusually, however, Chadwick's methods were always painstaking and he mostly succeeded in his task of documenting the most obscure minutiae of his own family history, as well as those of many others, often accessing scarce primary records on both sides of the Atlantic divide, and laying a foundation for the Loyalist genealogical project in Canada. Little wonder that in the final of the several volumes exclusively treating the history of the Chadwicks of Guelph and Toronto he variously authored, illuminated, limned, and published himself, we find related the following arcane details concerning the origin of the family name,

> In East Lancashire, not far from the borders of Yorkshire, is situate the important town of Rochdale. A short distance from Rochdale there was a wick or hamlet anciently called Ceadda's Wyck or St. Chad's Wick (Chaddewyck). The parish church of Rochdale . . . bears the name of St. Chad's. There would seem to have been some close connection between St. Chad's Church and St. Chad's Wick . . . St. Chad was a missionary to the Saxons of Mercia, which comprised a large eastern and middle part of England, who became Bishop of York and afterwards of Lichfield . . . Chadwick, originally Chaddewyck, no doubt derived its name from the church, and manifestly the family, anciently DeChaddewyck, in more modern form Chadwick, derived their name from Chaddewyck.[3]

Thus, Chadwick's own name presented in itself an opportunity to identify, if not the distant heroic ancestor typically searched for in more desperate episodes of genealogical stretching, then an obvious choice of patron saint for the family.[4] His fuzzy mention of "some close connection between St. Chad's Church and St. Chad's Wick" could easily serve as an alternative title for this paper, and the prominence of what is referred to informally as "nominative determinism" in Chadwick's devotional life is striking. As with his leisurely genealogical explorations, onomastic reflection became serious identity work.[5]

Indeed, as Chadwick claimed, St. Chad had been an important Anglo-Saxon bishop of the seventh century whose controversial episcopal consecration was a kind of shorthand for the struggle for independence of the English church. The central details of his Life are to be found in the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* of Bede who describes St. Chad's lengthy career, his education at the Celtic monastery at Lindisfarne, his perambulations among the Northumbrians, Irish, and Mercians, his episcopal consecrations, and his foundation of a monastery church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary.[6]

In time, this sanctuary was transformed into the present-day Lichfield Cathedral of the eponymous diocese in the Church of England, to which dedication St. Chad's name was later added. Of uncertain origin, the so-called *Lichfield*, or *St. Chad Gospels*, are the greatest treasure owned by the Cathedral Chapter there, and while this precious manuscript cannot easily be associated personally with the one whose name it bears, the *Book of Chad*, as it is also called, figures more prominently in what follows than any specific hagiographical detail taken from the Life of St. Chad.[7]

Significantly, both High Church devotion to St. Chad, and antiquarian fascination with the *Lichfield Gospels*, provided recourse in late Victorian Toronto to a heavenly guardian, and to one of the greatest works of manuscript culture, the shared Anglo-Saxon identity of which fitted seamlessly with the useable history of a Gothicized medieval past so popular in the period.[8] Embodying in political terms what contemporary historian James Anthony Froude (1818-1894) described as "Oceana," a utopian, globe spanning "transcolonial polity of Anglo-Saxon communities" emerged as an Imperial fantasy. This racialized imagined community was "anchored in ideas of British or Anglo-Saxon exceptionalism," that involved the "reorganization of bodies and spaces" based on "relations with local political specificities, places, and peoples."[9]

In other words, St. Chad was a growing concern. As Frances Arnold-Forster (1857-1921), the foundational writer on English church dedications, opined of the saintly bishop of Lichfield in 1899, "St. Chad is one of those saints upon whom the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century are entirely agreed and we have eight modern churches dedicated to him."[10]

Nor was devotion to his cult by any means an isolated episode of pious Victorian medieval revival. As Joanna Parker and others have deftly shown, cultic mania for King Alfred, the Black Prince, even Britannia,

alongside SS Alban, Chad, Cuthbert, George, and Hilda, and an expanding host of Anglo-Saxon and other characters, "was central to the nineteenth-century formation of a British national identity rooted in English history."[11] Chronologically, though, official recognition of a medievalizing cult of St. Chad was a relatively late and unfashionable arrival in Toronto, and this poor timing, in conjunction with burgeoning Canadian nationalism, sometimes expressed in terms of anti-English rhetoric, as well as St. Chad's own relative obscurity, does much to explain its limited appeal.

Family Devotion to St. Chad

While Chadwick was strangely successful in his promotion of the cult of St. Chad, first as a family devotion, and later as a public commemoration, dabbling in the cult of the saints remained a risky business in sectarian Toronto from the advent of the Metropolitan Ritualist controversies. One contemporary writer prefaced his fashionable study of St. Chad with the admission,

> Should the critic ever vouchsafe to notice so small a work, the propriety of a presbyter of the Anglican Communion writing the Life of a Canonized Saint, may, perhaps, be called in question . . . while I have endeavoured to do justice to the character of this ancient bishop of our Church, I have only made use of the title of 'Saint,' given to him by the Bishop of Rome, as a historical designation, which it would have been inconvenient, if not impossible, to suppress.[12]

It was not until after the death of his father that Chadwick elected first to invoke St. Chad openly as family patron. He had already obtained the grant of a striking armorial achievement to associate with his father's name from Ulster King of Arms in 1873, and the idea of devotion to a canonized saint, in addition to flashy heraldic display, would likely have offended the sensibilities of the older generation of a family of landed Anglo-Irish Recordite evangelicals. But the gap was permanent and the ecclesiological sensibilities of the son had heightened considerably.

In April 1890, local and national newspapers reported the details of the placing of a memorial stained glass window and brass within St. George's Church, Guelph to the memory of John Craven Chadwick (1811-1889), Chadwick's father.[13] The first account, printed in *The Canadian*

Churchman, emphasized the Life of the subject of the design of the window, the authenticity of the depiction of an obviously racialized figure of St. Chad, and its quality:

> The window is in three lights, of which the centre one contains a figure representing the famous Saxon missionary and Bishop Ceadda, or St. Chad, with accessories referring to what is known of his ministry, and also emblematic of Lichfield, of which diocese Chad was first Bishop . . . the window is by N.T. Lyon, of Toronto, whose well established reputation it fully maintains both in design and workmanship.

The account reported in *The Guelph Herald*, the local newspaper of which Chadwick's elder brother was long the proprietor, contained more detailed information on the origin of the design, likely supplied by the designer himself: "This figure and the details of dress, etc., are designed from a study of figures in illuminated Saxon MSS. of about the seventh century. The cross is taken from the MS. still extant, known as 'St. Chad's Gospel,' and which is believed to be Bishop Chad's property."[14]

Several members of the family had contributed substantially to the building of St. George's in 1872, including Chadwick, who also furnished the original designs for the interior decoration of the church. The memorial window to his father was both a continuation of and a reflection upon that legacy.[15] An accomplished amateur, in private Chadwick was keen to claim credit for the design of his father's memorial. Indeed, so pleased was he with his own work at Guelph that in designing a memorial window for himself at St. Alban's Cathedral in Toronto several decades later, Chadwick repeated the subject.

Recording in his diary the details of Christmas dinner 1918, he listed each of the assembled loved ones, "And the two family saints, Chad and Margaret of Scotland, hung up on the wall in the form of cartoons for a family window which we are going to have in the Cathedral."[16] While St. Margaret of Scotland was yet another fashionable Anglo-Saxon revival invoked on behalf of the Scottish relations of Chadwick's wife, Maria Martha "Mattie" Fisher (1849-1933), cadets of Clan Ross, in the Toronto design, the figure of St. Chad has been vastly refined, and together the two figures share space in one of the finest windows created in the annals of Canadian stained glass.[17]

In April 1919, Chadwick recorded that, "A window of armorial ornamentation with figures of St. Chad and St. Margaret of Scotland was put up in St. Alban's Cathedral at Mattie's expense. I spent the most of this day watching the work of taking out the old windows and putting in the new one. It is quite a success, being very beautiful. I of course made the drawings . . ." And a little more than a week later, "The Bishop accepted and dedicated the window above mentioned."[18]

As both Treasurer of the Cathedral Chapter and designer, a unique mixture of roles in the annals of ecclesiastical patronage in Canada, Chadwick obsessed over the details of the memorial window, once again executed by the masterful firm owned and operated by N.T. Lyon (1843-1919). In a lengthy letter to the proprietor, with whom he collaborated in the creation of many more windows, Chadwick described each feature of the figure of St. Chad to be rendered scrupulously by Lyon. Every attribute, item of pontifical insignia, and heraldic detail was to be, not just correct, but authentic to the Anglo-Saxon past, so far as could be ascertained from influential sources such as James Robinson Planché's *History of British Costume* (1834), or, alternatively, imagined – "Hair grey, Eyes blue. Face rather ruddy, as he spent most of his life out of doors." Most significantly, the cruciform staff taken from the *Lichfield Gospels* featured more prominently and in finer detail in the Toronto window. "The peculiar ornament in the head of the pastoral staff is taken from a figure in St. Chad's gospels," Chadwick insisted.[19]

The precise significance of the floriated staves grasped by the figure of St. Luke the Evangelist, like many things about the *Lichfield Gospels*, including its provenance, remains mysterious. In Chadwick's vivid imagination, informed by a contemporary blossoming of politically charged constructions of Anglo-Saxon identity in Canada, the floral ornament hinted at Celtic origins that lay, it was alleged, in Coptic peregrinations into Ireland in the murkiest depths of history.[20] The rosette, that Chadwick named *St. Chad's cross* and blazoned as "an octofoil forming a red cross and gold saltire," represented for a sizeable minority the hope for the imminent fulfilment of a messianic prophecy that linked the ascendance of what John Darwin termed "A Third British Empire" to the useable histories of the Anglo-Saxons and Celts and their purported origins in Biblical narratives of the glory of pharaonic Egypt, and still more fanciful antediluvian climes.[21]

Never visiting Lichfield, it seems Chadwick only ever had access in

his lifetime to a black and white reproduction of the original figure of St. Luke from the *Lichfield Gospels*, probably that included in the *Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions* (1873-1878) edited by E. A Bond and E. M. Thompson for the Palæographical Society, or else that published by English antiquarian and non-juring bishop George Hickes within the pages of his monumental *Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus Grammatico-Criticus et Archaeologicus* (1705). In consequence of this limitation, he invented a colour scheme for use in his repeated borrowings of the rosette that he also described as "a figure of eight leaves, ruby with gold edges, and a black ground of which very little appears." In the original manuscript, however, the rosette is of a solid colouring throughout its eight-pointed geometry.

Inevitably, for all his careful planning, Chadwick was forced to record in his copious notes on the window project that "It has been asserted by a member of the Cathedral that St. Chad was a Romish priest. He was not. He was an Anglo-Saxon . . . !"

Public Devotion to St. Chad

Sometime after 1909, Anglican devotion to St. Chad in Toronto was elevated officially from a private to a public cult. In that year, a haphazard new mission station was authorized, situated in the midst of the teeming, unplanned, west end suburb of Toronto called Earlscourt, an urban periphery derided locally as being part of a "shacktown fringe."[22] The vast majority of the working-class English immigrant "shackers" in the area were Methodists whose spiritual needs were already being met by the exertions of clergy belonging to that denomination. Indeed, the largest Sunday school class in Canada was organized at Earlscourt Methodist Church about the same time, but a smaller group of Anglicans began meeting for divine worship under a tent with the approval of fourth diocesan bishop James Fielding Sweeny (1857-1940).

Owing to the small numbers of Earlscourt Anglicans, it was several years before Chadwick recalled in his diary paying the first of several visits, "to St. Chad's Church in the afternoon: found it a rather smart looking little Mission Church, mostly very new and unfinished but pretty well arranged and appointed."[23] This entry, written in March 1912, is the earliest identifiable mention of the mission's dedication to St. Chad, Diocesan records, as well as successive editions of *The Toronto City*

Directory, omitting any reference to his patronage until the following year.[24]

Spiking English migration in the period was met with ambivalence, even hostility, on the part of Torontonians, a symptom of economic resentment. The sheer number of these arrivals, however, forced a belated pastoral response. The eventual dedication of the Earlscourt mission to St. Chad was a unique instance on the local sacred namescape, never subsequently repeated, and the public promulgation of the cult of an otherwise obscure medieval Anglo-Saxon bishop. This gesture of social denotation was part of a late Edwardian rhetorical strategy to subsume an undesirable English identity in that of exceptionalism, of patriotic Imperial Britishness, then shared enthusiastically by a wider Canadian public.[25] The construct of a Greater Britain included both the real and imagined heritage of the Anglo-Saxon church, and the dedication was also calculated to appeal nostalgically to the cultural memory of the newly arrived Earlscourt Anglicans, "for [*mutatis mutandis*] it has always been the wisdom of the English and American Churches to encourage the national rites, customs, and traditions of other national Catholic churches . . . The names therefore of a few of the most popular saints of France, Germany, Spain, Sweden, Italy, and other countries, are supplied for the dedications of churches with congregations of foreign-born persons."[26] Thus, the "Anglo-British identity that migrants laid claim to (or were assigned by imperially oriented observers)," figures like the Anglican bishop of Toronto, derived its spatial dimension from the dedication to St. Chad.[27]

An admittedly thin and incomplete case for the novel dedication of the newly established Earlscourt parish being a personal tribute to Chadwick by his bishop is rendered more plausible in light of a Christmas card given him by Sweeny in 1909. The inclusion, tipped into the pertinent volume of his diary, and written only months after the founding of the suburban mission, is addressed, "To my dear 'St. Chad.'" On the reverse of the note, Chadwick wrote that "the within is the nickname the Bishop has given me, our family are often, in Toronto, called 'The Chads.'" Just weeks before his death in December 1921, Chadwick recorded briefly the last occasion on which he ventured out of doors: "Went to the laying of the cornerstone of an extension of St. Chad's Church, Earlscourt."[28]

Conclusion

While never repeated in the Diocese, the medievalizing dedication to St. Chad, "a mixture of ancient truth with modern inventions, guesses, and errors," outlived both the man to whom it likely alluded, and his friend, the bishop, with whom he shared the joke.[29] Happily, like the survival of the two stained glass windows, St. Chad's emerged from the Anglo-Saxon twilight as a lively community of faith, not immune from the controversies and the decline of the present generation, but one that currently boasts an Ahadi Ministry, a Swahili-language Fresh Expression of church appealing to Canadian Anglicans of East African heritage.

Thankfully, not every church dedication owes itself to the same overwrought personal and ideological commitments as those at play in the case of St. Chad's, described in what precedes. Still, without more thorough examination, many comparably picturesque dedications continue to languish in obscurity, their meanings lost, or even forgotten. It is hoped that some of the colourful history of this dedication may spark greater curiosity in a promising, if neglected, field of study.

Endnotes

1. For the Victorian (re-) invention and casting of medieval church dedications, see Nicholas Orme, *English Church Dedications with a Survey of Cornwall and Devon* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996), xi, 58.

2. The dedications of churches built within ethnic settlements in Canada have historically invoked saints associated with the ethnicity of the particular community, for which see Cecilia Morgan, *Commemorating Canada: History, Heritage, and Memory, 1850s-1990s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 66.

3. Edward Marion Chadwick, *The Chadwicks of Guelph and Toronto And Their Cousins* (Toronto: Davis and Henderson, 1914), 9. For the life of Chadwick, see Jonathan S. Lofft, *In Gorgeous Array: The Life of Edward Marion Chadwick* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, forthcoming).

4. For the concept of genealogical stretching, see Eviatar Zerubavel, *Ancestors and Relatives: Genealogy, Identity, and Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 78-80.

5. The term "nominative determinism" is a colloquialism, but for names and personal, social, and cultural identity, see Emilia Aldrin, *Names and Identity* in *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming,* ed. Carole Hough (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 385-9.

6. "Chad," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints,* 5th revised edition, ed. David Hugh Farmer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

7. No complete facsimile edition of the *Lichfield Gospels* exists, though a digital manuscript is available for online consultation at https://lichfield.ou.edu

8. See Joep Leersen, "Tribal Ancestors and Moral Role Patterns," in *The Harp and the Constitution: Myths of Celtic and Gothic Origins*, ed. Joanne Parker (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 22-5.

9. Penelope Edmonds, "Canada and Australia: On Anglo-Saxon 'Oceana,' Transcolonial History, and an International Pacific World," in *Within And Without The Nation: Canadian History as Transnational History,* eds. Karen Dubinsky, Adele Perry, and Henry Yu (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 115-17. See also James Kirby, *Historians and the Church of England: Religion and Historical Scholarship, 1870-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 102-4.

10. Frances Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications or England's Patron Saints* vol. I (London: Skeffington and Son, 1899), 400.

11. Joanne Parker, *"England's Darling": The Victorian Cult of Alfred the Great* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), x, 7. See also Barbara Gribling, *The Image of Edward the Black Prince in Georgian and Victorian England: Negotiating the Late Medieval Past* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), and Jonathan S. Lofft, "X Marks the Spot: Hagiotoponymy and the Translocal Spread of the British Imperialist Cult of St. Alban the Martyr in Canadian Anglicanism, 1865-1921," *Historical Papers of the Canadian Society of Church History* (2017): 5-23.

12. R. Hyett Warner, *Life and Legends of St. Chad, Bishop of Lichfield (669-672)* (Wisbech: Leach, n.d. [c. 1871]), v.

13. For the situation of the memorial within the church, as well as the contemporary prevalence of 'the Imperial idea' in the parish, see Peter B. Moore, ed., *A History of St. George's, Guelph, Ontario, 1832-1982* (Guelph: The Anniversary Committee, St George's Church, 1982), 46, 51, 152-3.

14. Clippings from *The Canadian Churchman* and *The Guelph Herald* are included in entries for April 1890 within the relevant volume of the diaries of Edward Marion Chadwick, Trinity College Archives, Edward Marion

Chadwick fonds, F2351. See also Jonathan S. Lofft, "*A Brief But Accurate Record," 1858-1921: The Diaries of Edward Marion Chadwick* (Toronto: Champlain Society, forthcoming).

15. Edward Marion Chadwick, *Records, Notes, &c. Relating to the Family of Chadwick in Canada*, bound illuminated manuscript volume, n.d., in the possession of the Canadian Heraldic Authority, Ottawa.

16. Diary of EMC, entry for Wednesday, 25 December 1918.

17. For St. Margaret's Victorian revival, see Catherine Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots: A Life in Perspective* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 134. For the reputation of the window, see Bruce Patterson, *Heraldry in the Church of St. Alban the Martyr* in *Church of St. Alban the Martyr, Toronto: Windows, Plaques, Arms and Memorials, A Transcription* (Toronto: Ontario Genealogical Society, 1998), 23.

18. Diary of EMC, entries for Friday, 11 April and Saturday, 19 April 1919.

19. Cartoons, draft correspondence with Lyon, notes, and other draft materials form part of the Edward A. Chadwick fonds, private collection, Toronto.

20. Paula Hastings, "'Our Glorious Anglo-Saxon Race Shall Ever Fill Earth's Highest Place:' *The Anglo-Saxon* and the Construction of Identity in Late-Nineteenth Century Canada," in *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration, and Identity*, eds. Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006), 92-110. The idea that the figure of St. Luke in the *Lichfield Gospels*, and other similarly rendered figures in insular art, are posed in continuity with representations of Osiris appears to originate with O. M. Dalton, "A Note on the Alfred Jewel," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 20, No. 1 (June 1905): 64-77, while speculations about the Egyptian origins of the rosette as a so-called "cross-cake," or "Ephraim's cake," originating with pioneering Egyptologist Sir John Gardner Wilkinson (1797-1875), were loudly amplified by proponents of Atlantis and British Israel throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for which see Ignatius Donnelly, *Atlantis: The Antediluvian World* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1882), 322. See also Robert K. Ritner, "Egyptians in Ireland: A Question of Coptic Peregrinations," *Rice University Studies* 62, No. 2 (Spring 1976): 81; Kirk Ambrose, "The Sense of Sight in the *Book of Kells*," *Notes in the History of Art* 27, No. 1 (Fall 2007): 1-9; and Nancy Netzer, *Cultural Interplay In The Eighth Century: The Trier Gospels and the Makings of a Scriptorium at Echternach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 110.

21. John Darwin, "A Third British Empire," quoted in John Herd Thompson, "Canada and the 'Third British Empire,' 1901-1939," in *Canada and the British Empire*, ed. Phillip Buckner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 97. See also Gareth Atkins, "'Isaiah's Call to England': Doubts about Prophecy in Nineteenth-Century Britain," in *Doubting and Christianity: The Church and Doubt*, Studies in Church History 52, eds. Frances Andrews, Charlotte Methuen, and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 396; and Andrew Mein, "The Armies of Gog, the Merchants of Tarshish, and the British Empire," in *In the Name of God: The Bible in the Colonial Discourse of Empire*, eds. C.L. Crouch and Jonathan Stökl (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 147.

22. For the development and identity of the Earlscourt neighbourhood, see Richard Harris, *Unplanned Suburbs: Toronto's American Tragedy, 1900 to 1950* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

23. Diary of EMC, entry for Sunday, 3 March 1912.

24. Personal correspondence with Canon Mary-Anne Nicholls, Archivist, Anglican Diocese of Toronto, 16 May 2018.

25. Lisa Chilton, "Travelling Colonist: British Emigration and the Construction of Anglo-Canadian Privilege," in *Empire, Migration, and Identity in the British World*, eds. Kent Fedorowich and Andrew S. Thompson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 169-191; and Marjory Harper, "Rhetoric and Reality: British Migration to Canada, 1867-1967," in *Canada and the British Empire*, 163.

26. Two Laymen of the Diocese of Rhode Island [Harold Brown and Daniel Berkeley Updike], *On the Dedications of American Churches* (Cambridge, MA: The Riverside Press, 1891), 101.

27. Chilton, *Travelling Colonist*, 186.

28. Diary of EMC, entries for December 1909 and Saturday, 3 September 1921.

29. Nicholas Orme, *English Church Dedications*, quoted in William Whyte, *Unlocking The Church: The Lost Secrets of Victorian Sacred Space* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 146.