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X Marks the Spot: Hagiotoponymy and the Translocal Spread of the British Imperialist Cult of St Alban the Martyr in Canadian Anglicanism, 1865-1921

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In my favorite scene from the Hollywood blockbuster movie, *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* (Steven Spielberg, 1989), the title character, a swashbuckling treasure hunter who supports himself by slumming it with an academic job in the Ivy League, insists to his class of sleepy undergraduates that "90% of an archaeologist's time is spent in the library. Myths can only be taken at face value. We do not follow maps to buried treasures, and X never *ever* marks the spot." In the end, of course, it is precisely this assumption that he must discard in order to gain the advantage. Speaking as a student of church history, one sensitive to the critical turn in place-name studies and taking cues from an emerging interdisciplinary field of inquiry called cognitive toponymy, in this short paper I would like to begin to describe how, like Indy's intrepid character in the film, I have come to an appreciation that, just occasionally, X *does*, in fact, mark the spot.[1]

My conclusions are preliminary and tentative, and much research remains to be done into what I term here imperial hagiotoponymy, the naming of places in settler colonies for saints. However, through an exploration of Victorian High Church devotion to St. Alban the Martyr, his name, attributes, and emblem, and by tracing the network between the first three Anglican dedications to his patronage in Canada across two important dioceses, the outlines of a previously invisible Imperialist cult begin to emerge.[2]

The notion of a patron saint of the British Empire did not originate with the *impresarii* of St. Alban, however. In his consideration of the fashionably resurgent cult of St. George the Martyr in Victorian Britain, Jonathan Good describes a transition in which the romantic medievalism of this revival shifted emphasis from English agrarian concerns, associated with figures like John Ruskin, his Guild of St. George, and the Pre-Raphaelites, to the political program touted by Lord Baden-Powell, and other notable Imperialists.[3] The waning of Georgian utopianism among the elite made space for the continued growth of the popular cult of St. George, Good contends, transforming the Martyr from mere patriotic symbol into "an Imperial icon."[4]

Wherever Britain's Empire spread, devotion to St. George followed, as evidenced by an Imperial hagiotoponymy, the repeated dedications of places, both sacred and secular, throughout Britain's colonies, to the saints of Britain at home, and especially to St. George and his Hanoverian namesakes and their successors.[5] This practice entwined cultic and Imperialist zeal in the production of places, and of so-called translocal geographies, a concept understood "as a simultaneous situatedness across different locales which provide ways of understanding the overlapping place-time(s) in migrants' everyday lives."[6] Imperial hagiotoponyms index British and other translocalities, "virtual neighbourhoods that emerge at the articulation of media and mobility as . . . 'deterritorialized imaginings' of ethno-national identity . . . networks of sites . . . linkages and interconnections."[7]

Probably the most important pioneer of the study of hagiotoponyms, Frances Arnold-Forster (1857-1921), compiler of the voluminous *Studies in Church Dedications* (1899), was herself remembered, like her brother, sometime British Secretary of War H. O. Arnold-Forster, as being possessed of an "ardent Imperial vision . . . only she carried it further still to the universal Empire of Christ."[8] This revealing epitaph re-enforces that, for the Victorians, Imperial hagiotoponymy was a practice best understood as simultaneously devotional and colonial.

Along with his name, the attributed coat of arms of St. George, featuring a red cross straddling a white field, on its own, or as a constituent element of the British Union Flag, proliferated in an innumerable variety of highly visible representations to visually striking effect across the nascent worldwide Anglican Communion as the flag of an ecclesiology of Empire, of an Imperial Anglicanism. Typical of this pattern, the cross of St. George features prominently in the arms of the General Synod of the

Anglican Church of Canada, to name only one example of relevance to the context of this paper.[9] Heraldry, a decorative element of the Gothic idiom, a medievalism abroad in the modern world, conveys a symbolic politics, like the pointed architecture it adorns.[10]

More recently, Rowan Williams has commented on the "uncomfortable symbol . . . of aggressive Englishness" the emblem too frequently becomes in popular culture.[11] However enduringly significant the cult of St. George continues to the enterprise of British identity, and, in view of one recent naming of a senior heir in the House of Windsor, to the perpetuation of the British, as well as Canadian, Crowns, there remains another highly venerated heavenly patronage, perhaps only an aspiring icon, repeatedly invoked in the production of place, in the dedication of translocal nodes, in the British Empire, that of St. Alban the Martyr.

While translocal geographies may be a new context for exploring hagiotoponymy, the introduction of the concept in the course of an examination of the Victorian cult of St. Alban affirms the sentiment that "toponyms can lend themselves to discursive forms of organization, to serial articulations that cannot be reduced to the sum of their component parts," expressed by Christian Jacob.[12] The present interest in Imperial hagiotoponyms also builds on work by Nicholas Orme, and others, in assessing a process, perhaps overstated, that Orme calls the "invention and casting" of Victorian parish dedications. In solidarity with him, I must hazard a shared accusation of rashness in the claim asserted that ours is a topic never adequately surveyed.[13]

The occurrence of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne on 20 June 1837, one of several days in that month confusingly designated as the *dies natalis* of St. Alban in the liturgical calendars of Western Christianity, cannot be ignored.[14] This happy accident will be shown to have encouraged the Imperialist cult of St. Alban, the informal tutelary of Queen Victoria's reign, and so, in a sense, also of Victorianism. That the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign was celebrated on 22 June, the oldest dating of the martyrdom of St. Alban, is another notable cultic overlap.

Like the Hanoverian George, though never sainted, Queen Victoria's regnal name is another ubiquitous feature of the British Imperial namescape with distant translocal nodes dedicated to her, typical of the "entangled" nature of "imperial networks and relationships."[15] The many far-flung places dedicated to St. Alban, St. George, Queen Victoria, the Duke of Wellington, and a few others, risk undermining the utilitarian

function of toponyms in the service of commemoration, blurring the distinction between the 'who' and the 'where.'[16] Regardless, following Jankulak, in the present context, hagiotoponymic commemoration is taken to be a higher form of veneration than even calendrical fixity.[17]

St. Alban the Martyr

As for St. Alban himself, the most striking aspect of his hagiography may be the resemblance to that of St. George, and the closeness of their typology is striking in places. Some recent popular agitation has even called for St. Alban to replace St. George as England's tutelar guardian![18] The value of St. Alban's imputed ethnicity, however, his *praesentia*, the antiquity of the dedications to him in England, his Anglicanism, cannot be underestimated. These endowed his cult, to the disadvantage of St. George, with a heightened sense of place, and, thereby, the potential for translocation, manifested through "a network of 'interpersonal acts.'"[19] I contend that these networked acts include creating Imperial hagiotoponyms, names that, as Peter Brown explains, "both facilitated and further heightened the drive to transmute distance from the holy into the deep joy of proximity."[20]

Curiously, few, if any, of the details of St. Alban's *acta*, *passio*, or *inventio*, were ever mentioned in the Canadian context. Only his evolving status as English Protomartyr, subsequently British, and, finally, of the Anglican Communion, was repeated. St. Alban's was also a rather late Victorian cultic revival, encouraged, though not initiated, by the creation of the Diocese of St. Alban's in 1877, the product of what Arthur Burns calls a geographically destabilising rearrangement of jurisdictions by High Church activism in Parliament.[21]

High Church historians in the Church of England, in their belief that nationality, including religious identity, extended into the Empire, had much to do with this casting of St. Alban, exercising influence in the settler colonies, Anglicanism "making them as much a part of England as 'Kent or Cornwall,'" constituents of a "Greater Britain," in the expression of Sir John Robert Seeley (1834-1895), author of *The Expansion of England* (1883).[22] The British myth also weighed heavily in these considerations. The argument for the descent of the Church of England from a British antecedent continued to be influential in ecclesiastical matters. Thus, while the majority of historians were keen to bust the myths of figures like King Saint Lucius, a churchy minority, including Catholic

hagiographer Fr. Alban Butler (1710-1773), the Rev. Sir William Palmer (1803-1885), Dean Walter Farquhar Hook (1798-1875) of Chichester, and others, resisted "the conclusion that the Romano-British civilization, including its church," of which St. Alban became Protomartyr, "had not been inherited, but rather destroyed, by the conquering Anglo-Saxons."[23] Thus, St. Alban's Englishness was easily recast, blurred, perhaps, as Britishness by High Church Imperialists.

Liberated, perhaps by Protestant disdain, from complex hagiographical entanglements, yet absolutely rooted in place, and possessed of his own distinctive heraldic emblem, a sort of inversion of that attributed to St. George, consisting of a golden saltire on a blue field, St. Alban became increasingly useful as a sentinel at the edge of Empire. In places where identity was defined within the context of Britain's symbolic vocabulary, St. Alban became a marker of translocality.[24] The coat of arms granted to the newly erected See of St. Alban's with its eponymous abbey-cathedral, the familiar golden saltire on a blue field, but differenced by the superimposition of two preeminent symbols of martyrdom, a sword and a celestial crown, suggests a symbolic convergence at his shrine, or, X marks the spot.[25]

The Church of St. Alban the Martyr, Ottawa, Ontario, 1865

Setting down "a page of personal history" in 1901, Archdeacon Thomas Bedford-Jones (1830-1901), in failing health, recorded the beginnings of the parish he founded, St. Alban's, Ottawa.[26] He recalled:

> The first celebration of Holy Communion took place on Advent Sunday, 3 December, 1865 . . . and the name of the new parish was then announced for the first time, as that of St Alban the Martyr. That was the name selected by the Bishop out of three submitted to him. It was the very first church in all of what is now the Dominion of Canada dedicated to St Alban, England's proto-martyr. Indeed, I am inclined to believe it was the first so designated on this continent. There are now very many, the Bishop of Toronto having named his new Cathedral "St Alban's."[27]

In cooperation with Bedford-Jones, Archbishop John Travers Lewis (1825-1901) of the Diocese of Ontario allegedly became the first *impresarii* of the cult of St. Alban in North America. The rhetorical strategy of repetition employed by Bedford-Jones in touting the reportedly

innovative and unprecedented naming in the annals of Imperial hagiotoponymy was likely intended to be a demonstration, not merely of antiquarian prowess, such as motivated the foundational studies of dedications and toponyms in the eighteenth century, but of Loyalism by two Anglo-Irish colonial clergymen, both educated at Trinity College, Dublin, both acutely aware of the pre-existing nationalistic and sectarian associations of the cults of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, at home in Britain, as well as elsewhere in the colonies.[28]

Admittedly, Bedford-Jones employed this strategy looking back on the events of 1865 nearly four decades later, permitting him the luxury of making explicit connections to later dedications to the same name. However, his active support of organized Loyalism in Ontario in the interval, described below, leaves less room to doubt his intentions. Carl Berger's description of a persistent "conflict in Canadian thought" between nationalism and Imperialism in the period discussed in my paper suggests that St. Alban's iconic value would be gradually diminished, as other, frequently secular, saints and (female) personifications of Canada and the Empire challenged the ideology he signified.[29]

It may be that the symbolic encoding of St. Alban's Britishness within a theo-political programme of Imperial Unity was begun in Canada by Bedford-Jones and Lewis, newly arrived in a precocious city, already planned to become the new national capital at Confederation in 1867. This was at a stage when it is claimed that "the notion that there could be" a saint for all Canadians, or the settlers in other British colonies, like Australia, at least in the Anglican context, was "absurd."[30]

The dedication to St. Alban at Ottawa may also be helpful for understanding the full effects of Tractarianism upon Anglicanism "in a wider, imperial context."[31] Lewis and Bedford-Jones shared more intimate connections than even their Anglo-Irish, Imperialist, High Church sentiments; so, the decision to dedicate the new church as they did was probably not rendered haphazardly, whatever difficulties, as well as imitations, arose from it.

The difficulties came first. The laity of Ottawa had opposed Bedford-Jones' arrival in their city, since his invitation had come at the personal behest of Lewis, himself newly patented to his episcopal office, and without consultation. Thus, the innovative dedication could have been popularly perceived as high-handed – a prelatical gesture in an unstable context.[32]

Neither, of course, could an informed Victorian churchman, even in

Canada, be ignorant of the scandalous developments at St. Alban's, Holborn, in the metropolis. Within two years of the dedication of St. Alban's, Ottawa, Rev. Alexander Heriot Mackonochie (1825-1887), described as the so-called "martyr" of St Alban's, Holborn, was famously prosecuted for breaches of ritual discipline as rector there.[33] Bedford-Jones distanced his Ottawa parish from the taint of scandal, explaining away the unintended association:

> In one way, however, the name proved to be unfortunate and detrimental. In 1864, in London, England, St Alban's Holborn, under the Rev. A. H. Machonochie [*sic*] had become notorious for its advanced ritual. As few people in Canada had ever heard of St Alban's Church before, all the extravagances and novelties of worship in St Alban's, Holborn, were attributed to St Alban's, Ottawa![34]

While absolving both Lewis and Bedford-Jones of advanced Ritualistic tendencies, Donald Schurman, though without reference to Bedford-Jones' recollections, repeats the suggestion that the dedication of St. Alban's, Ottawa, did "rouse suspicions" about their theological orientations.[35] The establishment by Bedford-Jones, with Lewis as Visitor, of a Canadian chapter of the Guild of St. Alban the Martyr, originally founded at Birmingham in 1851 with the object of encouraging "the study of . . . the Liturgy and Principles of the Church of England," and possessed of its own Office, further evidences a very High Churchmanship at Ottawa, indeed.[36]

Perhaps this conflation of an ecclesiastical expression of Loyalism for Romanising subversion – a conflation of colonising influences, an old High Churchmanship as the Anglicanism of Empire, on the one hand, and the exported Ritualism of subsequent waves of migrant clergy, on the other – reveals a significant problem for understanding what sanctity faced in reviving an obscure cult for a political cause, Ottawa's case being a translocal digression along a line of British anti-Romanist paranoia.[37] New invocations cannot erase cultic history, however inconvenient, felicitous, detrimental, geographically removed, or even accidental, these may prove for the suppliant.

A further difficulty with Bedford-Jones' speculations about the history of St. Alban's, Ottawa, is his mistaken claim that its dedication in 1865 was the first to the Protomartyr in North America. It is surprising that Bedford-Jones made so a bold claim, apparently accurate in the Canadian context, but one impossible to maintain in light of the Imperial hagio-

toponymy of the United States, itself a former British colonial frontier. Perhaps this was wilful ignorance.

Both the dedications of St. Alban's Episcopal Parish in Washington, DC, and St. Alban's Town, Vermont, antedate St. Alban's, Ottawa. The great notoriety of the so-called St. Alban's Raid in October 1864, a paramilitary incursion by armed agents of the Confederacy into Vermont, covertly attempting to use Canada as a neutral base of operations in the course of the American Civil War, could not have escaped the attention of either Lewis or Bedford-Jones, nor the congregations committed to their charges.[38] The public crisis provoked by the raid was a catalyst for Canadian Confederation in 1867.[39]

In fact, the town of St. Alban's, in present-day Vermont, was founded by Benning Wentworth (1696-1770), Governor of the Province of New Hampshire, on 17 August 1763. Its Imperial hagiotoponym was one of the first two examples of its kind in New England.[40] The unexplained novelty of the practice caused offence to local sensibilities in an increasingly patriotic environment, and complemented a simultaneous dedication elsewhere in the Province by Wentworth to St. George, twinned Imperialist gestures by one eager to curry royal favour at the dawn of "a High Church revival" occasioned by the recent accession of George III in 1761.[41] The reason for Wentworth pairing St. Alban and St. George in the cause of Loyalism remains to be researched, though he appears to be the first *impresario* of St. Alban's cult, particularly in its Loyalist aspect, in North America.

Considering the prevailing attitude of "hostility to their cults [the cults of the saints] and to ceremonies like dedications," characteristic of eighteenth-century Anglicanism, that hampered the antiquarian curiosity characteristic of the same period, to which "the study of church dedications owes much," Wentworth's unprecedented namings of places for saints, albeit in the dedication of secular spaces, seems bold.[42] The two pioneering dedications link his enterprise with the labours of subsequent Imperial hagiotoponymists, such as the above-mentioned Arnold-Forster. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Wentworth also dedicated Imperial toponyms to his own fame, including the town of Bennington, New Hampshire, though he did not presume to describe himself as a saint, as other proprietary colonial officials frequently did.

Mount Alban, in Washington, D.C, was named by Joseph Nourse (1754-1841), a pious Presbyterian and political foe of President Andrew Jackson, who purchased his farmland in 1817 and named it as he did,

"because the sloping hillside reminded him of the hill on which St Alban's Cathedral is located in Hertfordshire."[43] The Protestant reluctance of Nourse to include any mention of sainthood in the name he gave his land is equally typical of seventeenth-century English hagiotoponymic practice as it was of early-nineteenth century America – though subsequent generations of the family, converts to the Episcopal Church, would see Alban's sainthood restored, so that there was an "evolving toward Mount St Alban."[44]

The Episcopal Parish of St. Alban's, founded there by the Nourse's offspring in 1854, more than a decade before the eponymously dedicated church in Ottawa, derives its name from the ancestral translocal invocation. The church building was executed in the style of the Gothic Revival by Frank Wills (1822-1857), perhaps the most important proponent of the Imperial Gothic idiom in architecture of his generation.[45] These were surely credentials to rival those of Lewis and Bedford-Jones in the future Canadian capital and their architect, Thomas Fuller (1823–1898), designer of the original parliament buildings in Ottawa. While Canadians could easily have been ignorant of the Washington parish at the time of its dedication, by 1901, its prominence, like that of the town in Vermont, seems unavoidable.

The Cathedral of St. Alban the Martyr, Toronto, Ontario, 1883

I turn now to consider a second example of a dedication to St. Alban, this one already mentioned by Bedford-Jones in his own recollections. Recall that in reference to the proliferation of dedications in Canada to St. Alban, following the precedential naming of his own parish in Ottawa in 1865, Bedford-Jones made mention of the new chief church of the Diocese of Toronto. In fact, for reasons too complex to unfold here, for more than a half century, Toronto Anglicans looked with considerable ambivalence to the unfinished Cathedral of St. Alban the Martyr as the seat of their bishop.[46]

The perilous work of cathedral building along the fashionable, metropolitan lines of contemporary diocesan revival was at last undertaken by third diocesan Archbishop Arthur Sweatman (1834-1909), consecrated to his episcopal role on the Feast of Saints Philip and James, 1879. Apparently, Sweatman's original intention had been to dedicate the new cathedral to these patrons of his own episcopate. In 1883, however, during a meeting of Ontario's provincial parliamentary Private Bills Committee

opposition arose to this dedication in the form of a representative of the older, informally styled St. James Cathedral, a courtesy befitting the mother church of the diocese.

The draft act of incorporation, eventually passed, creating the cathedral establishment was being officially scrutinized, and it was objected that two nearly identical cathedral dedications in one city would "give rise to confusion and misapprehension."[47] A recent bond issue floated by the wardens of St. James was intended to help manage mounting debt, and the brand recognition of this financial instrument was at stake. Edward Marion Chadwick (1840-1921), Sweatman's most trusted legal advisor, subsequently Treasurer of the Cathedral Chapter, conceded the point, and arranged on the spot for the substitution of the name of St. Alban the Martyr.[48]

Of the dedication, Chadwick recalled at the end of his life that, "St Alban is regarded as the Proto-Martyr of the Anglican Church."[49] His statement repeated a portion of the inscription found on an elaborately engraved memorial brass that Chadwick himself had earlier designed. Decorated with a golden saltire on an azure field, the same as the arms of St. Alban's Abbey-Cathedral in Hertfordshire, the plaque was affixed to the cornerstone of St. Alban's, laid "on the Sixteenth day of June A.D. 1887 being the eve of the Anniversary of the Martyrdom of St Alban Protomartyr of the Anglican Church and also at the completion of half a century of the happy reign of our most illustrious Sovereign Victoria Queen and Empress."[50]

If the dedication of the new Cathedral to St. Alban in 1883 was not sufficient evidence of cultic devotion, the choice of date four years later for laying the corner stone, perhaps in imitation of the example of St. Alban's, Adolphustown, considered below, leaves less room for doubt. But still more powerful testimony remains to be described.

Probably the most remarkable connection to St. Alban was made at Toronto by the possession of a relic of the Protomartyr's *passio*. Set within the *cathedra* of the bishop of Toronto, also designed by Chadwick, was set,

> a large Roman tile or brick which was taken from ruins of a building discovered near St Alban's, anciently Verulamium, in Hertfordshire, identified by archaeologists as the Forum, in which it may be presumed that St Alban was condemned to death: this tile to which some of the original cement still adheres, was sent out to us with a certificate of verification signed by the Mayor of St Alban's and the

> Rector of the Parish in which it was found; an interesting relic of 1700 or more years ago.[51]

From Chadwick's information, it seems evident that by this dedication he and Sweatman sought further to refine Imperialist devotion to St. Alban by combining the commemoration of his protomartyrdom, and its particular Anglican significance, with Queen Victoria's accession, however coincidental the timing may have been to their original plans. While another golden saltire adorned the corporate seal of the St. Alban's Cathedral School for boys, and the newspaper prepared by the students was named the *Crux Aurea*, the presence of a lesser relic raises a question as to the churchmanship practiced at the cathedral. As at St. Alban's, Ottawa, charges of advanced Ritualism were from time to time made against innovations in the new Diocesan Cathedral in Toronto, undoubtedly by unsympathetic visitors, roused to "extraordinary passions" by the presence of the reliquary throne installed therein.[52]

The arrival not only of St. Alban's name, his role as English, now Anglican, Protomartyr, his attributed coat of arms, and even, most surprisingly, a certified relic, signalled a further refinement of his cult in Toronto, known as the Queen City, "the most ultra-British city on earth," in the estimation of one contemporary observer, by Sweatman and Chadwick, both active members of the Imperial Federation League of Canada.[53] Chadwick's interior adornment of the cathedral also included a display of heraldic banners, consistent with the "time-honoured custom to decorate Churches with flags," that included "three pairs of long pennons displaying crosses – St George, St Andrew, St Patrick, and St Alban."[54]

The Loyalist Memorial Church of St. Alban the Martyr, Adolphustown, Ontario, 1884

Finally, let us return to the Diocese of Ontario to consider the case of the Loyalist Memorial Church of St. Alban the Martyr, Adolphustown. This dedication rounds out the three earliest examples of their kind in Canada.

The political hijacking for the Imperialist cause of the centennial celebrations of 1884 at Toronto marking the settlement of the United Empire Loyalist refugees in Ontario by Colonel George Taylor Denison (1839-1925) proved highly unpopular, setting back the cause of organized Loyalism for a decade. "Most offensive" to the sensibilities of many

Torontonians was the "perverted" invocation of the Loyalist myth in the Tory cause, popular civic sentiment being then inclined to a less partisan tone than that sounded by Denison's jingoism.[55]

Elsewhere in Ontario, however, as at Adolphustown, located in Lennox and Addington County, east of Toronto, a different form of Imperialist commemoration was contemporaneously devised that, while also contentious, successfully achieved monumental proportions, creating an enduring translocal feature dedicated to St. Alban on the namescape. Built adjacent to the site of the 16 June 1784 Loyalist refugee landings on the shore of the Bay of Quinte, the name of Adolphustown itself supplies another blatant, albeit unique, example of an Imperial toponym, this one commemorating Prince Adolphus, Duke of Cambridge (1774-1850), seventh son of George III.

The idea to commemorate this local heritage had long circulated, though local opinion remained divided on what form such memorialisation should take. The rector of the place, Rev. Richard Sykes Forneri (1836-1924), newly appointed to Adolphustown by Archbishop Lewis in 1883, zealously took up the cause in anticipation of the Loyalist centennial the next year.[56]

While Forneri's "authorship" of St. Alban's, Adolphustown, is undoubted, he did not work in isolation.[57] The laying of the cornerstone for the so-called Loyalist Memorial Church was planned as part of a coordinated effort to commemorate the Loyalist centennial simultaneously at Toronto, Adolphustown, and Niagara over three consecutive days in June 1884. Forneri, as rector, Bedford-Jones, now collated to the Archdeaconry of Ontario and chairman of the local building committee, acting with the support of Lewis, seized the occasion to deliver a joint address at the dedication of the new church that made specific mention of the

> auspicious coincidence that on this day, 17 June, the Church of England commemorates in her calendar England's Proto-Martyr, St Alban, the first man who on British soil sealed with his life-blood his testimony as a loyal subject of his Heavenly King . . . May his name, under which the memorial church is to be dedicated to God, ever unite our affections to the dear old mother land.[58]

The coincidence referred to, the date of the original Loyalist landings and the idiosyncratic *Book of Common Prayer* commemoration of the Protomartyr, connected that greatest virtue of empire, Loyalism, to St. Alban's cult.

At Adolphustown, the infusion of the cult of St. Alban with an Imperialist ethos was modified by deemphasizing the Saint's sectarian, Anglican identity, even his Englishness, in contrast with the High Church exaltation of the heroic virtue of his British Loyalism. Nevertheless, this gesture was not adequate to prevent feelings of resentment and alienation from many Loyalists and local residents who were not adherents of Anglicanism, whose clergy appeared to be co-opting the centennial for their own ambitions of church extension.[59]

The dedication of St. Alban's, Adolphustown, became the establishment of a translocal node dedicated to his name, described by Katherine Brickell and Ayona Datta as a networked point of simultaneous situatedness, useful for understanding the overlap of space and time in the lives and memories of migrant populations, such as the Loyalists, their myth, and its uses. Nowhere in Victorian Canada would a more effulgent expression of the Imperialist cult of St. Alban be manifested than at Adolphustown, "fractured," as the place came to be, through the "personal histories, memories, and a spatialized politics of difference."[60] As discussed above, the influence of the rhetoric invoked at Adolphustown to associate St. Alban's *dies natalis* with the unity of empire was measurable at the new cathedral being built in Toronto in 1887.

Conclusion

In this short essay I have presented preliminary and tentative evidence, in the form of the narrative history of the first three hagiotoponymic dedications in Canada, of the existence of an Imperialist cult of St. Alban the Martyr active in Canadian Anglicanism and beyond. This distinctly High Church following, that evidently included lay *impresarii*, came to be associated with the usable history of the United Empire Loyalists, as well as with Victorianism itself, whose adherents championed Imperial Federationism in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Under the leadership of Archbishops Lewis and Sweatman, Archdeacon Bedford-Jones, Canon Forneri, Chadwick, and others, this cult claimed significant spaces for itself, all extant at the time of writing, in the creation of translocal geographies, networked nodes spanning the province, as well as the broader horizons of the Empire. These connected to evoke a specific *locus*, encoded as Imperial Britain through the mediation of St. Alban the Martyr. The flourishing of St. Alban's cult appears to be an expression of Loyalist piety by a movement predomi-

nantly Anglo-Irish in extraction, affirming their Britishness at a time when the "distinctions between the culture of the Ascendancy and the Catholic majority," in Britain, Ireland, and in the colonies, were "becoming still more sharply articulated."[61]

Several more dedications to St. Alban in Victorian Canada remain to be researched, along with others throughout the Anglican Communion. The most commonly occurring hagiotoponyms of the British Empire, as a group and individually, too, deserve attention, as well as those of other European colonizers.

Endnotes

1. For which see Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek Alderman, and Maoz Azaryahu, "Geographies of Toponymic Inscription: New Directions in Critical Place-Name Studies," *Progress in Human Geography* 34, no. 4 (2010): 453-60, as well as the homepage of the Cognitive Toponymy Project, http://cogtop.org/en/about/

2. Stephen J. Hornsby, *Imperial Surveyors: Samuel Holland, J.F.W. Des Barres and the Making of the Atlantic Neptune* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 141.

3. Jonathan Good, *The Cult of St. George in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009), 140-3. For Ruskin and the Guild see Mark Frost, *The Lost Companions and John Ruskin's Guild of St George* (London: Anthem Press, 2014). For Baden-Powell's devotion to an Imperial St. George see Precious McKenzie, *The Right Sort of Woman: Victorian Travel Writers and the Fitness of an Empire* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 97-98.

4. Good, *The Cult of St. George in Medieval England*, 147. For the problematic distinction between *saints* and *icons* see James F. Hopgood, "Introduction: Saints and Saints in the Making," in *The Making of Saints: Contesting Sacred Ground*, ed. James F. Hopgood (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), xvii-xviii.

5. For the ubiquity of Georgian dedications on the contemporary Imperial namescape see Jeremy Gregory, "The Hanoverians and the Colonial Churches," in *The Hanoverian Succession: Dynastic Politics and Monarchical* Culture, eds. Andreas Gestrich and Michael Schaich (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 115-16. See also David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 2001), 102-3.

6. For which see Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1987), and Katherine Brickell and Ayona Datta, eds., *Translocal Geographies: Spaces, Places, Connections* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 4.

7. Michael Peter Smith, "Translocality: A Critical Reflection" in *Translocal Geographies*, 181-83.

8. E.G. Selwyn, "Frances Arnold-Forster," *Theology* 3, no. 17 (November 1921): 284.

9. Originally designed in 1908 by Edward Marion Chadwick (1840–1921), for whom see below. A modified form of these arms were granted by the Chief Herald of Canada in 1995, for which see *Public Register of Arms, Flags, and Badges of Canada*, 3:16, http://reg.gg.ca/heraldry/pub-reg/project-pic.asp?lang=e& ProjectID=534&ProjectElementID=1870

10. G.A. Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 185-200.

11. Rowan Williams, "Epilogue," in *Praying for England: Priestly Presence in Contemporary Culture*, eds. Samuel Wells and Sarah Coakley (London: Continuum, 2008), 172, to whom I am grateful for encouragement with this essay when I ambushed him in Toronto with my argument.

12. Christian Jacob, *The Sovereign Map: Theoretical Approaches to Cartography Throughout History*, ed. Edward H. Dahl, trans. Tom Conley (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 236.

13. Nicholas Orme, *English Church Dedications with a Survey of Cornwall and Devon* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996), xi, 58.

14. Currently, the National Calendar for the Catholic Church in England, recognised by the Holy See in 2000, and the many calendars of the Anglican Communion, including those of the Church of England and the Anglican Church of Canada, do not agree as to the date of St. Alban's Day. The General Roman Calendar never enrolled St. Alban. The first-mentioned, National Catholic Calendar, provides for an optional memorial on 20 June, likely a modern, corrective dating, while most contemporary Anglican calendars memorialise St. Alban on 22 June, a date supplied by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, though the Calendar of the Church of England, as printed in the *Book of Common Prayer* (1662), unlike that in *Common Worship* (2000), retains the long-held, but apparently erroneous, 17 June. A summary of the problem and possible explanation are put forward in F. E. Brightman *The English Rite: Being a Synopsis of the Sources and*

Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer (London: Rivingtons, 1915), 1:ccxii-ccxiii. I am grateful to Professor Jesse Billett of Trinity College, Toronto, for this reference. In nineteenth-century Britain and Canada, 17 June was most frequently the date of the Anglican observance of St. Alban's martyrdom.

15. Hilary M. Carey, "Introduction: Empires of Religion," in *Empires of Religion*, ed. Hilary M. Carey (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 3.

16. Rose-Redwood, et al., "Geographies of Toponymic Inscription," 459.

17. Karen Jankulak, *The Medieval Cult of St Petroc* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), 73.

18. Emma Flanagan, "St George's Day: What is the History of England's Patron Saint?," *Manchester Evening News*, 30 August 2015, http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/whats-on/st-georges-day-history-england-9057124

19. Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 90.

20. Brown, *Cult of the Saints*, 87.

21. Arthur Burns, *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England* c. *1800-1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 161.

22. James Kirby, *Historians and the Church of England: Religion and Historical Scholarship, 1870-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 103-4.

23. Kirby, *Historians and the Church of England*, 86.

24. The precise origin of the attributed arms of St. Alban, blazoned *Azure a saltire Or*, is obscure, though, like the arms of the Diocese of Bath and Wells, they may be a differenced version of the attributed arms of St. Andrew, *Azure a saltire Argent*. St. Andrew was long a competing tutelary at St. Alban's Abbey-Cathedral whose cult was mostly, but not entirely, obliterated by Abbot Geoffrey de Gorham (d. 1146) in the mid-twelfth century, for which see William Page, *St Alban's Cathedral and Abbey Church: A Guide* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1898), 25, 79, and *Middlesex and Hertfordshire Notes and Queries* 3 (1897): 96. The attributed arms of St. Alban are currently used by the Abbey-Cathedral.

25. John Woodward, *A Treatise on Ecclesiastical Heraldry* (Edinburgh: W. and A.K. Johnston, 1894), 186-87.

26. Thomas Bedford-Jones, *St Alban's Parish, Ottawa: How St Alban's Church and Parish had Their Beginning Under the First Rector* (Ottawa: Historical Society of Ottawa, 1995), 2.

27. Bedford-Jones, *St Alban's*, 8.

28. Phillip Buckner, "Casting Daylight Upon Magic," in *The British World: Diaspora, Culture,* Identity, eds. Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 182.

29. Carl Berger, *Imperialism and Nationalism, 1884*-1914: A Conflict in Canadian Thought (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1969). For the growing nineteenth-century preference for classical personifications see Marilyn J. McKay, *A National Soul: Canadian Mural Painting, 1860s-1930s* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 43.

30. Josephine Lafin, "'A Saint for All Australians'?" in *Saints and Sanctity*, eds. Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2011), 404.

31. Rowan Strong, "The Oxford Movement and the British Empire: Newman, Manning and the 1841 Jerusalem Bishopric," in *The Oxford Movement: Europe and the Wider World 1830-1930*, eds. Stewart J. Brown and Peter B. Nockles (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 79.

32. Donald M. Schurman, *A Bishop and His People: John Travers Lewis and the Anglican Diocese of Ontario 1862*-1902 (Kingston: Ontario Diocesan Synod, 1991), 97.

33. M. Reynolds, *Martyr of Ritualism: Father Mackonochie of St Alban's, Holborn* (London: 1965); cited in Nigel Yates, *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain 1830-1910* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 250.

34. Bedford-Jones, *St Alban's, Ottawa*, 8.

35. Schurman, *A Bishop and His People*, 104.

36. *Constitution, Rules, and Office of the Guild of St Alban Martyr, Ottawa* (Ottawa: Office of The Citizen, 1876), 3. For the role of the Guild in the Church of England see Jeremy Morris, *The High Church Revival in the Church of England: Arguments and Identities* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 90.

37. Rowan Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire, c. 1700-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 109.

38. John Boyko, *Blood and Daring: How Canada Fought the American Civil War and Forged a Nation* (Toronto: Vintage Canada, 2014), 179-85.

39. Boyko, *Blood and Daring*, 223.

40. Esther Monroe Swift, *Vermont Place-Names: Footprints of History* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1996), 249-50.

41. Swift, *Vermont Place-Names*, 250, Peter B. Nockles, *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760-1857* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 10.

42. Orme, *English Church Dedications*, 44, 52.

43. Ruth Harwood Cline, *Church at the Crossroads: A History of St Alban's Parish, Washington, D. C., 1854*-2004 (Chevy Chase: Posterity Press, 2009), 10.

44. Cline, *Church at the Crossroads*, 10.

45. Cline, *Church at the Crossroads*, 22-25; Douglas Richardson, "Wills, Frank," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1967-), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/wills_frank_8E.html

46. For Toronto's vexatious 'Cathedral Question,' see William G. Cooke, "The Diocese of Toronto and Its Two Cathedrals," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 27, no. 2 (October, 1985): 98-115.

47. Edward Marion Chadwick, *Monograph of the Cathedral of St Alban the Martyr, Toronto* (Toronto: n.p., 1921), 14; *An Act to Incorporate the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral of St Alban the Martyr*, 46 Vic. c. 63, for which see *General Index to the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario from the Session of 1867*-8 to the Session of 1882–*3, Both Inclusive* (Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson, 1883), 386.

48. Chadwick, *Monograph*, 14. Curiously, Chadwick was never diocesan chancellor, despite his legal activities. Long convinced of the intractability of the Diocesan Synod and the Corporation of the Rector and Wardens of St. James, Chadwick's ecclesiastical entanglements became more strictly limited to his bishop's Cathedral scheme, for which see Jonathan S. Lofft, "A Blessed Word: The Mixed Life of Edward Marion Chadwick (1840-1921)" (ThD diss., University of Toronto, 2017).

49. Chadwick, *Monograph*, 14.

50. Chadwick, *Monograph*, 16-17.

51. Chadwick, *Monograph*, 49.

52. Cooke, "The Diocese of Toronto and Its Two Cathedrals," 107.

53. John Foster Fraser, *Canada as It Is* (London: Cassell, 1905), 40-42. Most significant was their membership of a delegation representing the Imperial Federation League of Canada that also included Barlow Cumberland (1846-1913), J. Castell Hopkins (1864-1923), and others, that presented a formal address to the seminal Colonial Conference in 1894 advocating "the idea of the unity of the empire," for which see Parliament of Canada, *Proceedings of the Colonial Conference 1894* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, 1894), 369-71. For the significance of this presentation see Norman Penlington, *Canada and Imperialism 1896-1899* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 8-11.

54. Chadwick, *Monograph*, 49.

55. Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists*, 82-83.

56. For the construction of Loyalist identity in Forneri's biography, related to his father's determination in 1824 "to seek the protection which the British flag then, as now, afforded political refugees from every quarter of the globe," see John King, *McCaul: Croft: Forneri: Personalities of Early University Days* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1914), 209.

57. *In the Beginning: St Alban's, Adolphustown* (Adolphustown: St Alban's New Horizons Committee, 1984), 42.

58. *The Centennial of the Settlement of Upper Canada by the United Empire Loyalists, 1784-1884: The Celebrations at Adolphustown, Toronto, and Niagara, with Appendix* (Toronto: Rose Publishing Company, 1885), 36.

59. Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists*, 52-53.

60. Ayona Datta, "Translocal Geographies of London: Belonging and 'Otherness' among Polish Migrants after 2004," in *Translocal Geographies*, 73.

61. Laurence Brockliss and David Eastwood, "Introduction: A Union of Multiple Identities," in *A Union of Multiple Identities: The British Isles, c. 1750-c. 1850*, eds. Laurence Brockliss and David Eastwood (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 2.

Rescue the "Parishing": Henry Budd – Constructive Transformer or Colonial Tool?

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> We would like to begin by acknowledging that the land on which we gather is the traditional territory of the Haudenosaunee, and most recently, the territory of the Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation. The territory was the subject of the Dish With One Spoon Wampum Belt Covenant, an agreement between the Iroquois Confederacy and the Ojibwe and allied nations peaceably to share and care for the resources around the Great Lakes. This territory is also covered by the Upper Canada Treaties.[1]

I bring greetings from the Elders of the University College of the North in Northern Manitoba, whose two campuses and twelve regional centres are built on "the traditional territory of the Mushkegowuk Inninnowuk or Swampy Cree, Dene, Saulteax, Oji-Cree, Anishinabe and Metis."[2] I would also like briefly to alert you to the use of certain terms that are no longer used to describe First Nations and Indigenous peoples, but which were commonly used in the nineteenth century. When dealing with historical persons from the past, largely through oral narratives or written documents that have been left behind, it is sometimes necessary to remind ourselves that these people were complex, dynamic, and fallible humans responding to a plethora of competing desires, cultural guidelines, and challenging contexts. Henry Budd was no different.

Devon Mission is located at the present town of The Pas/Opaskwa yak Cree Nation (OCN), Manitoba – approximately 615 kilometers north

west of Winnipeg. For thousands of years, the high ground at The Pas/OCN was a traditional campsite where Aboriginal people "gathered at the conclusion of the fishing and hunting season, while waiting for the trapping season to open with the advent of winter."[3] One-hundred-and-forty-five years ago, the mission sat atop Mission Island near the southern bank of the Saskatchewan River, part of the Hudson's Bay Company's aquatic '401 Highway' between Cumberland House, the HBC's first inland trading post, and its Hudson Bay base at York Factory.

On 20 May 1872, Rev. Henry Budd, Sr., one of North America's first ordained Indigenous priests, asked "William Harris & his old Woman, to overhaul my travelling canoe & pitch it well for my spring travelling."[4] In the days that followed, Budd arranged the pivotal spring potato planting (approximately twenty kegs)[5] – essential for fending off winter starvation – before journeying downriver on a four-day visit to the Moose Lake post where he held morning and evening prayer services, conducted afternoon services, administered communion, and managed to return to Devon Mission in a mere day-and-a-half, battling the spring run-off swollen currents.[6] Three days later, Budd and his hearty team of paddlers again braved flood conditions in his freshly pitched "birch rind" canoe, powering their way 100 km west to Cumberland House. They returned five days later after conducting numerous services and twelve baptisms among a recent group of converts.

In his daily journal for the Anglican Church Missionary Society, Budd wrote concerning these converts, "we had a regular harvest of enquirers, and all through the instrumentality of the Cumberland House Indians; there is no thanks to me, or any man else, for this fresh source of joy, of seeing so many of these notted conjurers held so long in Satan's chains, wishing now to leave his Service, and give themselves up to the Lord."[7] Budd returned to the Devon Mission just in time to deliver Sunday services on 2 June, organize the annual peeling and placing of the picquets to keep livestock from lunching on this year's crops,[8] provide final services and counsel for the "some 60 men" who were about to join the Hudson's Bay Company York boat brigades and "travel nearly three months without perhaps hearing a Sermon,"[9] and prepare for an anticipated hay famine in the coming winter due to flooded fields.[10] Budd had to ensure the survival of "more than 30 head of Cattle and horses."[11]

This one-month glimpse clearly illustrates the ups and downs of Henry Budd's legacy. From a European perspective, Henry Budd was a master orator, fluent in both Cree and English, a keen prodigy of Rev.

John West, the first HBC chaplain, who took him and several other Indigenous boys to the Red River Settlement to start a school in 1820.[12] At Norway House, West met a young boy named Sakachuwescam, Cree for "Going up the Hill." The boy was born around 1812.[13] His father had died when he was a small child and his mother, "a half-caste woman," raised him.[14] On 21 July 1822, West baptized and re-named the boy "Henry Budd" after a vicar West had worked with in England.[15] After stints as a HBC clerk, farmer, and school master,[16] Budd developed into a smooth translator,[17] passionate pastor, and extraordinary administrator of the Church Missionary Society's first inland Mission beyond the Red River Settlement.[18]

Following thirty-five years of ministry in the region, Budd amazed his European supervisors.[19] Archdeacon James Alexander Mackay offered the following assessment:

> He possessed also some qualities that were remarkable in a native, and that were of great value in the management of the temporalities of a mission. He was methodical and thrifty. Under the system of the Church Missionary Society in those days, a native missionary had only half the stipend of a European missionary and yet, with this financial disadvantage, a mission station, under Mr. Budd's charge, was a model of neatness, and no European missionary kept things in better order.[20]

Though modern readers may cringe at this description, Mackay, writing in 1920, would have considered this high praise for the founder of what would become "the first permanent Anglican parish north of the Red River to be established under the supervision of a native pastor."[21] Throughout the nineteenth century and into the early-twentieth century, Budd's reputation blossomed.

However, for people living in the shadows of the Residential School scandals and the Sixties Scoop, Budd's legacy is nowhere near so praiseworthy. Writing about her great-great-great grandfather – and Budd's fellow Cree catechist – Charles Pratt (1816-88), historian Winona Wheeler critiques much of the content of Pratt's CMS journals, which reflect "aggressive evangelical proselytism and self-righteous arrogance."[22] Budd's aforementioned description of recent Cumberland House converts as "notted conjurers held so long in Satan's chains" reflects the exclusivism of European colonizers in general and Victorian evangelicals in particular. These zealous Christian missionaries thoroughly denounced

Indigenous spirituality and ceremony as foolish superstition at best and satanic witchcraft at worst. The participation of Indigenous converts in Christian institutions, in fact, problematizes their legacy as accessories to European colonialism.

Is Henry Budd, Sr., Indigenous catechist and later priest, in need of rescuing from the "parishing" colonial mechanisms in which he has been implicated? Or does he represent a brave, even heroic innovator who – in Wheeler's words for Charles Pratt – "used his position in the CMS to help his people adjust to dramatically changing conditions in their world"[23] at tremendous personal cost? Examining some of the physical, cultural, and spiritual challenges facing Budd as reflected in his journals from 1870 to 1875,[24] there is evidence that his unwavering care for the people of his parish undergirded a life of incredible sacrifices and cultural bridge building.

Budd's Ties to Colonialism

Intolerance of the "Heathen"

Budd's rigorous education and his relatively early removal from his home community and traditional way of life in Norway House were likely strong contributors in his absorption of middle-class Victorian values at John West's parochial school in the Red River Settlement,[25] particularly towards his 'heathen and uncivilized' brethren. Without knowledge of the saving redemption of Jesus Christ, the Indigenous people were, in Budd's estimation, mired in "ignorance and destitute of the knowledge of the truth."[26] Shortly after his 1852 ordination as priest, Budd spearheaded a significant symbolic gesture whereby he and ten other men levered a large sacred boulder with a painted face into the river.[27] That he personally identified more closely with his European supervisors is reflected by the troubling disconnect frequently recorded in his journals between himself and "the Indians."

Settling the People

In addition to Budd's intolerance towards indigenous traditional spiritualities and rituals, the Cree missionary may also be regarded as an accomplice to colonialism in his efforts to discourage the traditional nomadic lifestyle of hunting and gathering in favour of a more sedentary

agricultural way of life. A stationary population was obviously a benefit for missionaries and schoolmasters like Budd who operated from one primary base.[28] In particular, Budd vocally opposed the annual fall goose hunt, which was highly significant for both physical and spiritual sustenance. Budd made no mention of Metawin or Grand Medicine Society's associations with the goose hunt in his journals.[29] However, he justified this shift to a more agricultural way of life in terms of alleviating winter starvation that he often worried about, especially when the fishing nets were empty during prolonged periods of cold in January and February: "There will always be this want of something to live on among these people, so long as they don't farm more than they do, and don't fish at the proper time. It is too much, they think, to leave the geese-hunt of which they are so fond in the beginning of October, or, the latter part of Sept[embe]r and go out to the fish-hunt which is, after all, the most profitable hunt."[30]

Establishing Church Hierarchy

It may also be argued that the establishment of a church mission at Rivière du Pas enforced a European hierarchy upon the Indigenous people living there. Henry Budd scholar Katherine Pettipas observed that much of the initial resistance to Budd's arrival in 1840 stemmed from fears that his leadership would supplant the traditional leaders:

> This situation was not remedied until the summer of 1842 with the arrival of Reverend John Smithurst. Assured by the visiting priest that the missionaries did not intend to replace the "Chiefs" and that they ". . . have nothing to do with men in their civil capacity," [Leader Joseph] Constant's suspicions were allayed. Peace offerings of tobacco by Smithurst confirmed his good intentions to the leaders.[31]

Pettipas later noted that the traditional leadership was reflected through the appointment of church wardens and the sexton, who "were chosen for their position and esteem among the converts."[32] At certain services, Budd would ask "one of the old men" to provide the concluding prayer before he gave the benediction.[33] Moreover, as Budd gained the people's confidence, he often facilitated gatherings to discuss community issues like agricultural plans. Therein lay Budd's particular genius – skillfully intertwining European elements with traditional Cree culture to navigate intercultural turbulence.

Budd's Cross-Cultural Bridge Building

Pastoral Compassion

Henry Budd's evangelical passion for conversion and proselyti zation was definitely manifested in aggressive and arrogant intolerance towards Indigenous spiritualities. However, this same passion also fueled an unwavering commitment to serving his congregants – both Cree and European. In addition to conducting two hours of Sunday School followed by two daily Sunday services in Cree, Budd arranged to hold evening prayer meeting in English at the local HBC post, Fort Defiance. Budd commented, "I hope that this little Service may have its blessing; [f]or tho' they attend the Indian Service sometimes, I have often been sorry to see them go without understanding any thing."[34]

During the week, Budd taught in the mission school from 9:00 to 12:30 daily,[35] except when the village children were gone with their families to the traplines. Although he lamented the students' lack of progress due to their lengthy absences, Budd never criticized their parents' decisions. Commenting on a significantly empty school house, Budd wrote, "at this season of the year it must needs be so as long as the Indians have no better way of providing for themselves the necessities of life, than the old way of hunting furs &c."[36] In the classroom, Budd taught the English language to his upper-level students. However, as a fluent and eloquent Cree speaker, Budd first taught them how to read and write in their own language. Although children were exposed to much religious material on Sunday mornings, Budd also taught elementary skills such as reading, spelling, writing, and arithmetic.[37] Furthermore, by giving students clothing and daily rations of fish, he was able to alleviate some of the people's poverty.[38]

Despite his busy daily schedule, Budd regularly made house calls to attend sick parishioners, comfort those who were grieving, and bring communion to the immobile. He also managed to attend to the spiritual needs of several mission outposts by semi-annual trips to Cumberland House, Nepowewin [Nipawin, Saskatchewan], and Moose Lake – routinely logging over 400 km of paddling or sledding every spring and fall.

Administrative Excellence

In addition to covering his vast "parish," Budd's branches were bowed with the burdens of administrative responsibilities that ensured the physical survival of the mission and its people. January began with Budd feverishly writing letters, sometimes "all night,"[39] to send with the winter mail or "packet" that conveyed letters upriver to Cumberland House and points west. He next focused on organizing the three winter haulages that were essential to survival: firewood[40] – and later picquets for livestock fences;[41] whitefish from the Clearwater Lake fisheries located approximately 25 km north east of the mission;[42] and hay.[43] The winter hauling season was particularly unpredictable. Special ramps had to be built up to allow the horses and oxen to climb the riverbanks.[44] Men sometimes had to "make the road . . . by tramping on the snow themselves,"[45] and hauling had to be completed before either deep snowfalls or spring melting would exhaust the teams.[46] By the third week of January, Budd began earnestly writing letters, reports, and his all-important mission journal for the return packet or "Express," when the HBC mail returned eastward to collect letters bound for Norway House, the Red River Settlement, and York Factory/England.[47]

In February and March, thoughts began to turn towards preparations for the coming farming season. The remaining potatoes and cellar needed to be cleaned,[48] and ice had to be hauled for the cellar.[49] Once the spring thaw arrived in April, winter gear – such as sleighs and harnesses – was cleaned and stored.[50] Cattle were brought back from winter pasturage at the Whitefish River,[51] the hay yard was cleaned,[52] and new fencing was erected.[53] In May, stones were removed from the fields,[54] ploughing began,[55] and gardens were manured.[56] By mid-May, the mission gardens were planted with onions, carrots, cabbages,[57] peas,[58] and potatoes.[59] This was followed by the sowing of barley[60] and sometimes wheat.[61] In early June, garden beds needed to be weeded and watered.[62] At the end of July, hay was cut and then stacked for drying.[63] Barley was harvested in mid-August;[64] in September, fishermen were hired and nets were prepared for the fall fisheries,[65] along with harvesting the potato crop.[66] In October, the garden vegetables were picked,[67] the school and outbuildings were freshly plastered to "secure from the frost,"[68] and wood stoves were set up.[69] By mid-October, the cattle house and stable were "put right for the winter,"[70] manure was carted to the fields for use the following spring,[71] and fall fishing continued. In November, cattle, oxen, and pigs were butchered for

the winter's meat supply,[72] and firewood had to be cut.[73] Firewood hauling could take up to three weeks and stretch into mid-December.[74] This was soon followed by a week of hauling hay.[75] After the busy Advent and Christmas liturgical seasons, a meeting was conducted in which the men planned their annual woodcutting, construction, and seeding.[76] And then the whole administrative "Red River jig" began its intricate twirl for another year. Faced with this daily survival work, how Budd found time for his full-time job of minister/school master is indeed a marvel.

Community Preservation and Strengthening

Budd's generosity in supplying food to community members during times of winter scarcity has already been mentioned. He also supported and gave supplies to those headed out on the trapline, such as reading material, medicine,[77] and twine.[78] In the community, Budd shared his horses and oxen to help with people's winter hauling once the mission's needs were taken care of.[79] Ultimately, his greatest contribution to food came from his constant encouragement to supplement hunting with fishing and agricultural practices. As he watched the villagers preparing for seeding one spring, Budd reflected upon the would-be surprise of past European missionaries: "'A pretty sight' I repeat; to see them working at the soil, when I had almost despaired of ever seeing them to do so. I am sure, my predecessors at this Mission, never expected that the Indian here could be induced to trouble the soil."[80] This statement testifies to Budd's persistence and personal influence among the people.

In addition to physical survival, Budd was also concerned for the moral health of the community. He strongly encouraged the people to repay their loans to the Hudson's Bay Company.[81] As well, he fiercely opposed the use of "spiritous Liquor for traf[f]ic among our Indians," noting that it had "quite ruined the Moose Lake Indians [. . .]"[82] Although he emphasized the importance of church meetings, Budd was also aware of the vitality of simply gathering people together. This desire for community building was expressed in a journal entry during the fall feast following the duck and goose hunt:

> Oct. 20, [1871]: The Indians all joined to have a dinner together today. They have brought their hunt [to] each family and [are] cooking it in their own homes, and then bringing it all cooked to the Large spacious School room. All joined together men, women, and children, and the Gentlemen of Fort Defiance and their people. There

> was a good deal of Brotherly feeling which I like to see exist among all our people.[83]

It is significant to underline that all Anglicans, regardless of ethnicity, were equally "our people" in the eyes of their dedicated pastor.

Although he was not formally trained in medicine, Budd attempted to care for people's physical ailments, setting broken bones and even organizing community vaccinations.[84] While Budd relied upon Western medicines, he did not disparage Indigenous medicines. When his old cook Mary experienced prolonged urinary discomfort even after he administered a "dose or two of nitre," he allowed someone to give her "a dose of Indian medicine." When she began to recover, Budd continued praying for her, and "asked the Lord to accept our thanks for his mercies towards us."[85]

Finally, it is important to note how Budd's individual and community accomplishments largely occurred without the assistance of his most able-bodied men. Men were gone during the autumn goose and muskrat hunt,[86] the fishing seasons,[87] the winter trapping season,[88] the maple sugar season,[89] and the three-month "commute" of the York boat brigade season.[90] Although he typically relied on women and children to help with agricultural duties, there were times when they would leave the village for "berry hunting and fishing."[91] Regardless of available workforce, Budd always had to navigate a severe spectrum of weather – droughts, storms,[92] or floods in spring/summer,[93] blizzards in winter,[94] and the notorious 'in-between' seasons which restricted transportation and net fishing on the waterways: "Always the worst time of the season to get any work done between summer & winter. There is no boating or sleighing."[95]

On 19 March 1875, Budd recorded his final journal entry: "The wind has been south all the day. I hope it may soon bring the warm weather."[96] The entry shone with his trademark concern for the wellbeing of his people, suffering from "scarce" fishing while desperately awaiting the muskrat hunt. He met with a recently married couple who both sought to become communicants. And there the undulating rivers of Budd's pen stopped. On Easter Sunday 1875, Budd conducted Holy Communion services before he had completely recovered from influenza.[97] On 2 April, the following Friday, after stretching out his arms one last time to his beloved daughter as he lay in bed, Rev. Henry Budd, Sr. "passed quietly away in the presence of his daughter, Mrs. Cochrane,"[98] around the age of sixty-one.[99] Although he was named after an English vicar, Sakachu

wescam more than embodied his traditional name, valiantly struggling against currents and embarking on "all up-hill work"[100] in his unrelenting dedication to his people, his church, and his God.

Conclusion

During his thirty-five-year ministry in what would become Northern Manitoba and Saskatchewan, Rev. Henry Budd, Sr. exerted an immeasurable impact on the Indigenous people. On the one hand, he functioned as an agent of colonialism, particularly with regards to opposing traditional Indigenous spiritual beliefs and practices, and advocating a shift from nomadic hunting and gathering to settled agricultural livelihoods. He also ensured that the Anglican Church became a hub for spiritual and civil life in the region. On the other hand, Budd understood and appreciated other facets of Cree culture: lay leaders were chosen from recognized elders in the community; the school did not substitute English for Cree, but first taught all children how to read and write in their own language. Budd also taught educational skills that would assist the Cree people in navigating the complex socio-economic changes in the wake of European contact and life along a major fur trade artery. Though he questioned the viability of the autumn hunt, he supported the people's continued participation while supplying food and supplies to ease suffering during the winter. Moreover, he provided spiritual, educational, medical, pharmaceutical, and civil planning services to people scattered over a broad area in an often harsh and unforgiving landscape hundreds of kilometers away from the support and resources of his supervisors in the Red River Settlement.

Although no longer a Eurocentric narrative of the triumphs of Anglican missions and European civilization, the story of Henry Budd Sr. illustrates the compassion, dedication, bridge building, and inter-cultural cooperation that can flow when organized religion overflows the entrenched banks of racism, privilege, and self-centeredness. Would that his example was heeded in the later eras of the Residential School and religious attempts at cultural genocide. As we consider religion's future upon the 150th anniversary of Canada – incidentally, Devon Mission is celebrating its 177th anniversary this year – and as we seek retellings and new tellings of religious narratives in Canada's diverse history, there are still lessons to discover from the budding bridge-building genius of Rev. Henry Budd, Sr.

Endnotes

1. "ACCUTE Panel Chairs' Best Practices Guide Congress 2017 Ryerson University," Congress2017, http://www. accutecanada.files.wordpress.com/ 2017 /01/panel-chairs-best-practices4.pdf

2. "CAUT Guide to Acknowledging Traditional Territory," *Canadian Association of University Teachers*, http:// www.caut.ca/docs/default-source/ profes sional-advice/list---territorial-acknowledgement-by-province.pdf ?sfvr sn=12.

3. W.F. Payton, "An Historical Sketch of the Diocese of Saskatchewan of the Anglican Church of Canada," Chapter 3 (Prince Albert: The Diocese of Saskatchewan, 1974), *Project Canterbury*, 2006, http://www.anglican history. org.

4. Entry recorded 20 May 1872, Katherine Pettipas, *The Diary of the Reverend Henry Budd 1870-1875* (Winnipeg: Hignell Printing Limited, 1974), 95.

5. Entry recorded 14 May 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd,* 95

6. Entry recorded 24 May 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd,* 96.

7. Entry recorded 30 May 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 98.

8. Entries recorded 6, 10 June 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 99.

9. Entry recorded 16 June 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 99.

10. Entry recorded 18 June 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 99.

11. Entry recorded 26 July 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 103.

12. Budd is estimated to have been around eight years old at the time; he had been released with his mother's consent. She and his sister Sarah later moved to the Settlement in autumn 1822 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xvi, n 32).

13. Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xvi.

14. Payton, "Historical Sketch," Chapter 2.

15. Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xvi. She reports that the English rector donated money and books to his Indigenous counterpart.

16. Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xix.

17. Rev. James Hunter, the first European missionary at Devon, described Budd as "a very good interpreter and Indian Speaker, perhaps the best in the country . . ." (quoted in Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xxix).

18. Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, viii.

19. Pettipas notes that an early proposal to replace Budd with a European missionary in 1842 was successfully opposed by his supervisors (*Henry Budd*, xxiv).

20. James Alexander Mackay, "Henry Budd," in *Leaders of the Canadian Church*, Vol. 2, ed. Canon Bertal Heeney (Toronto: Musson, 1920), *Project Canterbury*, http://anglicanhistory.org/canada/bheeney/2/3.html. Ironically, Pettipas stated that the salary divergence was justified to reflect lower financial pressures on Indigenous clergy who were not encouraged to adopt "habits of life too far removed from those of their countrymen" (quoting Rev. Henry Venn, chief leader of the CMS from 1841 to1872, *Henry Budd*, xv). In 1851, Budd's salary was raised from £55 to £100; CMS secretary Venn explained that "Mr. Budd has been so much identified with English habits that the salary was quite proper in his case" (quoted in Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xxx).

21. Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xxxv. She noted, however, that "Budd's control was of a restricted nature for not only would he remain under the surveillance of an European supervisor, but also was not allowed to assume any financial expenditures without the approval of the Local Committee."

22. Winona Wheeler, "The Journals and Voices of a Church of England Native Catechist: Askenootow (Charles Pratt), 1851-1884," in *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*, 2nd ed., eds. Jennifer S.H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 241.

23. Wheeler, "Journals and Voices," 257. Pettipas explained that the CMS was organized in 1799 by evangelical members of the Church of England and focused its efforts on spreading Christianity in foreign lands (*Henry Budd*, vii).

24. Pettipas noted that the journals from June to August 1871 were not included in the documents discovered after his death (*Henry Budd*, 71, n 31).

25. Pettipas wrote, "within this paternalistic system of education, Henry acquired the values of the middle class Victorian as they were communicated by the individual missionaries. This dissemination of Christian morality was imparted not only to uplift the native, but also to promote the emergence of an efficient Christian native leadership in the Canadian Northwest" (*Henry Budd*, xviii).

26. Cited in Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xx.

27. A 1931 The Pas newspaper article commenting on the release of David L. Greene's book, *An Historical Sketch of Christ Church*, contains this description: "The Indians at that time had a stone statue they had worshipped. This was pitched into the Saskatchewan river here by Henry Budd and ten assistants" ("Rev. J.G. Stephens Speaks on Devon Mission History," *Northern Mail*, 29 June 1931, 1).

28. During a visit to his charges at Cumberland House, Budd related a discussion with the Indians on "secular Matters": "They are desirous of locating themselves some where near the Cumberland Fort, where I wo[ul]d always find them when I came to see them; and in the case of a Catechist being sent them, they might be found living in houses, cultivating the soil, and having cattle &c. I am always encouraging them in this plan, and this time I wanted them to be decided" (Entry recorded 12 September 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 41).

29. Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xxi. She notes, "The Mediwiwin or Metawin was a celebration of the Grand Medicine society in which both Ojibway and neighbouring Cree participated. The society was a stratified, religious organization and the ceremonies were generally held in late summer."

30. Entry recorded 13 January 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 3.

31. Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xxii-xxiii.

32. Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 24, n 16.

33. Entry recorded 10 February 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 84. This happened particularly during Saturday evening "Lecture" to prepare Communicants for receiving the Sacrament of communion on the next day. He once observed, "Their prayers are generally so meek and the language so simple" (Entry recorded 5 October 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 110).

34. Entry recorded 2 January 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 2.

35. Entry recorded 1 November 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 45.

36. Entry recorded 25 March 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 90.

37. Entry recorded 4 March 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 88.

38. Entry recorded 13 January 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 3: "When the School is out the child[re]n come regularly over to the fish store and get their suppers." Budd's compassion shines starkly when contrasted with the comments of his HBC contemporaries. While a HBC clerk in nearby Fort à la Corne [Saskatchewan] wrote complaining of "[s]tarving Indians Still around & begging the whole day long " (Entry recorded 29 December 1872, Fort à la Corne post journal, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, HBC/1M2),

Budd's report on New Year's Day, 1872, emphasizes strength of community, hard work, and generosity: "We had given the people something to make dinner of, and they have been busy cooking all the last night, today they have brought it all to the School House. They invited the whole Village to dinner. We had a nice quiet time of it in the School, and all had a nice dinner and plenty of it" (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 2). Such food gifts included "beef, Pork, Tea, and other things, to make a dinner for all hands in the School room" (Entry recorded 31 December 1873, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 152).

39. Entry dated 11 January 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 3.

40. Winter firewood hauling began on 13 January to 11 February 1870, upon which his teams "must now commence hauling all my next winter's hay" (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 7).

41. Cutting and hauling "a good many hundred" picquets (Entry recorded 7 March 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 10) began on 3 March 1870 and ended by 30 March.

42. Entries recorded 18 January 1870 and 10 January 1871, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 4, 54.

43. Hay hauling lasted from 11-23 February 1870 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 7-8).

44. Entry recorded 30 October 1871, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 74.

45. Entries recorded 14 March 1873 and 9 April 1873, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 124, 127.

46. When the other main groups were hauling – "the Indians" and the Hudson's Bay Company – the track was kept in good shape. "While the track is good we must keep [it] open, or, it will be covered again by the first snow that falls" (Entry recorded 9 January 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 81).

47. Entry recorded 21 January 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 4. Budd also sent mail via reliable travelers and HBC brigades and supply runs (Entry recorded 25 February 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 8).

48. Entry recorded 2 February 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 6.

49. Entry recorded 12 February 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 7.

50. Entry recorded 11 April 1871, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 64.

51. Entry recorded 18 April 1873, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 128.

52. Entry recorded 21 April 1871, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 66. So as not to waste land, Budd ordered "two women to clear away all the loose hay from the hay yard, and make it ready for planting potatoes in" (Entry recorded 6 May 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 94).

53. The picquets were peeled and placed on 6-10 June 1872 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 99).

54. Entry recorded 4 May 1871, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 68.

55. Robert Lathlin began "ploughing for the wheat" on May 6 in 1872 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 94).

56. Entry recorded 9 May 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 94.

57. Indian corn was sowed on 20 May 20 1873 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 131). Turnips were planted by Budd's daughters on 12 July 1873 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 137).

58. Entry recorded 8 October 1873, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 145.

59. Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 20-21. On 21 May 1870, he noted that "15 ½ bushels [of potatoes] were planted out in the field, and 2 more bushels at the front of the Mission house" (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 21).

60. Barley was sowed and covered on 23 May 1871 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 70).

61. Some wheat was sown on 29 April 1871 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 67). Although Budd himself was not performing heavy physical labour, he needed to ensure that food supplies were stocked to pay the workers.

62. Entry recorded 10 June 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 25.

63. Entry recorded 26 July 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 34.

64. Entry recorded 18 August 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 36.

65. Entry recorded 19 September 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 41.

66. Entry recorded 21 September 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 41. He reported a record harvest at "not less than 500 Kegs" on 30 September 1870 (Pettipas, *Henry* Budd, 42).

67. Entry recorded 1 October 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 42.

68. Entry recorded 3 October 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 43.

69. Entry recorded 5 October 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 43.

70. Entry recorded 15 October 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 44.

71. Entries recorded 29 October-5 November 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 113-14.

72. Entries recorded 1, 17, 20 November 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 75-76.

73. Entry recorded 29 November 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 48.

74. Entry recorded 3 December 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 48.

75. Entry recorded 12-17 December 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 49. Although hauling was usually done by horse or oxen, Budd once described "having the dogs to haul the hay on a horse sleigh" on 20 November 1872 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 115).

76. Entry recorded 26 December 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 51. Budd noted that they "bound themselves to cut and haul the firewood for the Church & School house, to serve all the winter; to collect Timber for building purposes, cut and haul fence & Picquets for their farms, and [. . .] strive when the spring comes to put more seed in the ground than they had the last spring Poor people! I wish they had the means of doing all they propose of doing."

77. Entry recorded 21 November 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 47.

78. Entry recorded 18 March 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 90.

79. Entry recorded 1 April 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 12.

80. Entry recorded 13 May 1871, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 68-69. After being stationed at the outlying Nepowewin mission for ten years, the Devon Mission at The Pas nearly collapsed under European missionaries who did not know the Cree people or their language (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xxxiv). Nevertheless, despite his own physical infirmities, heartsickness over the death of several close family members, and discouragement, Budd returned to Devon and spent his remaining years on an ambitious and ultimately successful mission – "the revival of The Pas" (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xxxviii).

81. Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, xliii.

82. Entry recorded 13 April 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 14. Pettipas noted that this first became a problem introduced to the region by Free traders from the Red River Settlement and the United States, as reported by Rev. E. Watkins in 1863 (*Henry Budd*, 14, n 10). It is notable that any observations of 'savage' or inhuman behaviour among Indigenous people in his journals was attributed to alcohol: "I endeavoured to warn them against the sin by shewing them how hateful it must be in the sight of a holy God, who has denounced such dreadful judgments on those who are in the habitual commission of it, and how disgusting, and beastly, it is even in the sight of men" (Entry recorded 17 June 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 26).

83. Entry recorded 20 October 1871, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 73-74.

84. Entries recorded 11 February, 21 April 1871, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 66. During his tenure, Budd faced outbreaks of erysipelas (Entry recorded 27 January 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 5), consumption (Entry recorded 23 November 1874, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 178), and "a very severe cold with influenza" (Entry recorded 27 September 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 110).

85. Entry recorded 15 March 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 89.

86. Men left for the fall muskrat hunt on 13 November 1871 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 76); he noted that men were gone on the goose hunt on 14-25 October 1873 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 146-47).

87. Budd noted that the men headed to the Clear Water Lake fisheries by 21 February and would "not be back till late in the month of April" (Entry recorded 21 February 1870, Pettipas, 8).

88. In 1870, families left for muskrat hunting on 14 March and returned by 23 April (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 15).

89. Maple sugar was harvested upstream at Birch River (Entries recorded 23-30 April 1871, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 66-7).

90. The men left on 19 June and returned on 9 September 1873 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 134, 142). The men were gone from 20 June and back by 19 September 1874 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 167-73). Budd noted, "In one short day we are left nearly all alone excepting the families of the men. Not many men left to do any work in the course of the summer" (Entry recorded 19 June 1873, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 135). This did, however, mean that school attendance remained fairly high in the summer months.

91. Entry recorded 10 August 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 104.

92. On 22 July 1873, Budd reported, "It is really a great wonder that the church Tower and Steeple have survived such a storm. Many a Canoe no doubt is smashed, and all our nets are I am afraid lost" (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 138). Gale winds blew down Budd's flagstaff and removed part of the graveyard picquets and school fencing on 4-5 July 1874; he also feared for the church steeple in the "hurricane" (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 169).

93. Budd noted that heavy spring rains in 1872 contributed to the flooding of hay fields (Entry recorded 18 June 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 99), the rotting of potato crops (Entry recorded 26 June 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 100), and wheat (Entry recorded 4 July 1872, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 101). He had trouble tending the school after the Saskatchewan River covered the footbridge leading to Mission Island on 30 June 1873 (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*,

135-36).

94. He reported the coldest camping of his 30-plus years of ministry on 16 December 1872, en route to Cumberland House: "Another such night and I am done for, I could not survive it" (Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 118).

95. Entry recorded 24 October 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 45. On Easter weekend, 1871, Budd noted, "More arrivals of Indians for Easter. Many of them have come from a long way off, through all the cold snow and mud and water up to their knees; I wonder it does not prove their death!" (Entry recorded 8 April 1871, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 63).

96. Entry recorded 19 March 1875, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 187.

97. Ray B. Horsefield, "The Story of Christ Church," *Northern Mail*, 22 June 1940, 6.

98. "Stephens Speaks," 1. His daughter, Elizabeth Cochrane, later described his final hours: "[I]n listening I caught the words 'Abide with Me' & and Rock of Ages. His mind (terried?) on holy things for he mummered words in Indian from God's word, but when he would be awake he was just himself, two hours after he went to bed, he breathed his last, so quietly without a groan, but just held out his arms, and when I asked what he wanted he opened his eyes with a smile and looked at me, closed them again and just ceased to breathe quietly" (Letter recorded 4 June 1875, Mrs. Henry Cochrane, CMS/A101, Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg).

99. Sid Wilton, *The Pas . . . A History* (The Pas, MB: The Pas Chamber of Commerce, 1970), 70.

100. Entry recorded 30 April 1870, Pettipas, *Henry Budd*, 17.

"The Farmers of London Conference will make up their own minds"

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Elinor Harwood Leard's ordination as a married woman with three young children took place at the meeting of London Conference on 6 June 1957 and was reported in the *Ottawa Citizen.* It occurred despite a last minute telegram to the Conference from the United Church's Moderator, Dr. James S. Thomson, urging "that the question be left to the Judicial Committee."[1] Finding herself in the midst of an institutional church controversy deeply linked to society's view of the role of women, Elinor Harwood Leard is reported to have said that, "the farmers of London Conference will make up their own minds."[2]

Elinor's sense of call to ministry had been reported two decades earlier in a 1938 newspaper article. The headline read: "Clever Girl Grad, 15, Aims to be Minister." "Chatham, 8 September – Only student at Chatham Collegiate Institute to win an University of Western Ontario scholarship, 15-year-old Elinor Harwood of the 8th concession, Raleigh Township, plans to enter the ministry of the United Church of Canada."[3]

Two years after Lydia Gruchy's 1936 ordination in Saskatchewan Conference as the first woman ordained since the United Church's creation in 1925, Elinor's clarity of vocation was impressive. However, her journey to ordained ministry became an institutional, not only a personal, story. Her ordination, among other things, prompted a request to General Council to clarify "the relationship of an ordained woman to her work following her marriage."[4]

Elinor Leard's story parallels the experience of diaconal women at

the time, who were disjoined from their ministry as Deaconesses when they married, a story ably presented by Caryn Douglas at the 2011 meeting of the CSCH and published in their *Historical Papers*. This history exposes the choice that many theologically trained women at the time were forced to make, between marriage and ordered ministry. It places this key breakthrough for women in the wider context of the United Church's sustained exploration of its understanding of ministry, evidenced by regular studies and reports, most recently the One Order of Ministry proposal approved for remit by the 2015 General Council. It offers a case study for how institutional change occurs and the critical role of courageous and pioneering individuals in bringing it about.

I began my research with the understanding that Elinor Harwood Leard was the first married woman to be ordained in the United Church, an understanding shared by her family and many others and reported in her obituary in the *Toronto Star* on 11 January 2008. However, reading and research uncovered the information that ten years earlier, Montreal and Ottawa Conference ordained Margaret Butler, a year after her 1946 request to be ordained along with her husband, Mel, was blocked.[5] Montreal and Ottawa Conference asked General Council in 1946 to set up a commission "regarding the existing legislation of the church with respect to the ordination of women and to explore the whole question of the broadening opportunities for the ministries of women in the church and report to the next General Council."[6] Margaret and Elinor were in touch after Elinor read an article in Toronto's *Globe and Mail*. Margaret's 25 June 1946 letter to Elinor gives a full account of the debate and bureaucratic barriers she experienced.

While a significant survey and study was underway, and before the commission brought its report to the 1948 General Council, Margaret was quietly ordained at Montreal and Ottawa Conference in 1947, under her husband's name, Mrs. Arthur Melvin Butler. However ten members of the Conference Annual Meeting asked that their dissent be recorded:

> Whereas Ordination to the Holy Ministry is the setting apart of a person, Man or Woman, to the WORK and FUNCTION of the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments. And Whereas this ordination involves a lifetime expenditure of time, energy, interest and devotion, And Whereas no one should be ordained whose personal and family responsibilities prevent him or her from giving this unqualified full-time service, Therefore we dissent from the action of the Montreal and Ottawa Conference this morning, June 4, 1947, to ordain Mrs.

A.M. Butler.[7]

Margaret Butler was not settled into a pastoral charge because she had a child. In her husband's 9 June 2003 obituary in the *Toronto Star*, she is referred to as the first married woman to be ordained by the United Church of Canada.

I became interested in Elinor Leard's role in establishing the ministry of women in the United Church through conversation with her husband, Earl. Like many at Eglinton St. George's United Church, where I first met Earl and Elinor, before her death in January 2008, I was unaware of her ground-breaking role in her own ordination and in the church institution's recognition of the ministry of all women whose call was affirmed. Elinor's personal papers in the United Church Archives are the major source for this paper and I would like to thank Elinor and Earl for keeping and depositing the correspondence, journals, and other important papers which give us access to the story in ways more powerful and personal than are found in the records of the institution, important as these are. In these papers, Elinor comes alive as an eloquent advocate for herself and her vision of the ministry to which God has called her.

This paper is a small attempt to lift up Elinor's story, often in her own words, and with it the story of the United Church of Canada and its evolving understanding of ministry and who could be called and ordained or commissioned for ministry in the largest Protestant denomination in Canada. The wider backdrop of the three decade-long struggle for women's ordination, culminating in a change to the Basis of Union in 1936 to read "The ministry shall be open to both men and women" and the subsequent ordination of Lydia Gruchy in 1936, is essential to Elinor's story. In turn, Elinor's story reveals many parallels to the subsequent movement to remove barriers to the ordination and commissioning of gay and lesbian church members, accomplished at the United Church of Canada's 1988 General Council.

Biography

Elinor Harwood Leard was born 20 October 1922 on her parents' farm on the 8th Concession, Raleigh Township. The third of four children born to Orval Harwood and Macel Sterling, she was baptized at the age of seven by Rev. Smale and deeply shaped by her connection to Wesley United Church. At the age of four, she began her education in a one-room

schoolhouse across from the farm and, after grade eight, passed the entrance exams for Chatham Collegiate Institute where she studied from 1933 to 1938. Her graduation at fifteen from Chatham Collegiate Institute and acceptance into the University of Western Ontario was noted in the local newspaper, as well as her sense of call to ordained ministry. This call was confirmed when she was accepted by London Conference, on recommendation of the Charing Cross/Wesley Pastoral Charge, as a candidate for ordination in 1939, at the age of seventeen.

At Western, Elinor studied English language and literature with a minor in Latin and extra courses required for entrance to theological studies, including philosophy, psychology, and Greek. The summer of 1939, she spent as staff in a girl's camp and in local preaching. She served a mission field at Talmadge, Saskatchewan, between her third and fourth years at Western. She was active in many extra-curricular activities, including as president of the Student Christian Movement and president of the students intending to study theology. At the time of her 1942 graduation, Elinor was made an Honor society member – those from senior year who have contributed most through extra-curricular activities to the student life of the university.

However her passion and talent for education were not without their challenges. Her education was financed through scholarships as well as living in and working for a local London woman whose husband was a disabled veteran and whose child went to nursery school in the morning. Her family helped as they were able and she also received an annual grant of $60 from her church. She had stayed at home to care for her ill mother in the summer after second year university, but, as she approached graduation, her father felt that she needed to pursue a more remunerative profession than the church and that her insistence on pursuing ministry was contributing to her mother's ill health.

After a summer working in a war plant and thinking it would reduce the family strain and give her a little more maturity before studying theology, Elinor applied to do an MA in English literature and received an excellent scholarship from Radcliffe College, Harvard. A loan of $600 from the local IODE (Independent Order of Daughters of the Empire) covered her additional expenses. However, the strains of studying, working, and family discord affected Elinor's own health and, after one term at Radcliffe, she accepted a doctor's advice to take three months off. Happily, as she recovered, she was offered a job teaching Latin and religious education at Alma College, a United Church-related girl's High

School in St. Thomas, Ontario.

Her ambition finally to begin theological studies was realized when Gertrude Rutherford, principal of the United Church Training School (UCTS), invited her to apply for a new scholarship which would allow seven women to complete a year at UCTS in exchange for three years serving the church. So from 1944 to 1945 she studied at UCTS and, in that way, completed her first year of theology at Emmanuel College. The following year she crisscrossed the country as travelling secretary for the UCTS, then helped to found St. Luke's United Church in Sarnia in 1946, working under the Board of Home Mission. She completed her third year of obligation to the church as the first personnel secretary for Women's Work in the Church in 1947-48. That same year she met Earl Leard on the train home to Toronto from the North American Quadrennial of the Student Volunteer Movement in Lawrence, Kansas.

According to Earl, in an interview after her death, and corroborated by Elinor's journal, they stayed up all night talking as they travelled from Chicago to Chatham. The budding romance led to yet another adjustment in Elinor's plans, as she had applied and been accepted in 1948 as a WMS worker, with an understanding that she wished to serve overseas in education. In her letter of application she reflects:

> I have seen (both in my own life and in others') the relationship with Jesus release talents and free people from so many imaginary restrictions of circumstance and personality that I want to spend my life helping people to know Jesus. India now seems to be the place where I can most usefully use my training in English Literature (which I love) and in religious knowledge for the glory of God.[8]

Through this period, she also kept her relationship with the Education and Students Committee of Kent Presbytery up-to-date and, in response to a 19 April 1948 letter from J.T. Clarke of Kent Presbytery, let them know she was engaged-to-be-married to Rev. Earl Leard. Acknowledging that perhaps she should have asked the presbytery's permission to marry, she went on to lay out their plans to apply to serve the church in India and their shared understanding of ministry and how it would unfold in their married life:

> We have thought through carefully the implications of my remaining as a candidate for the ministry, and have decided that that is the course I should pursue. Marriage does not change the conviction of

> either of us that we have been called to the preaching of the gospel. Since my fiancé is a specialist in CE, our work will naturally fall in the same places. Especially because he feels, as I do, that both of us, to be true to our calling, must carry on the work for which we have been trained, I have no doubt but that I shall be able to give myself to whatever work presents itself to be done.[9]

Elinor completed her second year at Emmanuel College after she and Earl were married on 24 July 1948 – Jessie Arnup, the former moderator and secretary of the Board of Overseas Mission, performed the service. In the summer before she and Earl sailed for Liverpool in September 1949, they directed the Student Christian Movement Industrial Work Camp in Brantford. With the support of Emmanuel College's Dean Matheson and Kent Presbytery, she arranged to complete her final year of theological studies at Cheshunt College, Cambridge, where Earl was studying, prior to sailing for their posting in India. Elinor graduated *in absentia* in the Emmanuel College class of 1950, which included two other women, Nettie Wilson and Florence Wilkinson. Elinor and Earl left England for India on 18 June 1950, arriving to serve the Malwa Church Council in the State of Mdhya Bharat, North India.

Their first child, William, was born in Indore Christian Hospital on 25 March 1951 while they were in language school, and John was born the following year on 13 September. However, Elinor was frustrated by the lack of opportunity to work under the mission in the field for which she had been trained. Reflecting the sense of agency and integrity which Elinor brought to all her dealings with the church, a month after her second son's birth, her 16 October 1952 letter to Dr. C.F. Grant, the Acting General Secretary of the United Church Mission in Indore, lay out her decision regarding her relationship to the mission:

> Since Mr. Leard was appointed to work and residence in 1951 without reference to my work, and since his appointment has now been changed in 1952, again without reference to my work, I am compelled to conclude that neither the Educational Commission of the Mission, nor the Executive Board of the Malwa Church Council, has need of my service.
>
> In my opinion, one who is not actively engaged in the work of the Mission or Church and charged with responsibility there under, should not sit on the policy-making bodies of either. I wish, therefore,

> that my name be removed from the roll of the India Mission Council. If at any time the Mission or Church wishes to appoint me to a work within the scope of my training and experience, as I understood would be the case when accepting a commission as a missionary of the United Church of Canada, I shall be happy to consider the matter again. After all, that is the only reason I am in India, since both my husband and I had a wide field of service for the Church in Canada. Until such time as I am needed in similar work here, I wish to be free to fulfill my vocation according to my own plans.[10]

Unwilling to wait upon the slowly grinding wheels of mission field administrators, she created her own job running a nursery school for her own children, along with others, and was the principal of the Ujjain Primary and Middle school for the WMS. Later she taught at Indore College, Union Theological seminary, and Daly College.

The Final Steps toward Ordination

The Leards were on furlough in 1956-57 and spent the year in New York where Earl and Elinor pursued further studies at Columbia University. Their third child, Katherine, was born there on 30 March 1956. As she had said she would do when she left for India, Elinor took the opportunity of their first furlough to be in touch with Kent Presbytery and requested they put her name forward for ordination. Although other women had advised waiting for marriage until after she was ordained, since the church could not remove ordination as it did designation of deaconesses when they married,[11] Elinor had previously determined that the right time to seek ordination was after the birth of her children.

This request for ordination launched a long correspondence between Elinor and Kent Presbytery. At first the Presbytery did not support her ordination. They suggested that she postpone ordination until after they had completed their service in India and that they could continue her as a candidate until then. Her hope to be ordained in 1956 was not met. But eventually after much conversation and correspondence, including eloquent and lengthy communication on Elinor's part about her understanding of ministry, the extent and nature of her work in India, her ability to work full time, and her expectation that the church's understanding of ministry would evolve and be flexible to real life circumstances of its candidates, the Presbytery stated in a 10 May 1957 letter from Graham Tipple, secretary of Kent Presbytery, that "they will recommend and

vigorously support the ordination of Mrs Leard by the London Conference this June."[12]

However, a letter three days later from Clare Oke informed her that he had received a phone call from the United Church's General Secretary, Ernest Long. Her case would need to be discussed further. He ended his letter preparing her for disappointment but also assured her, "We are not, nevertheless, going to surrender to Head Office just as a matter of course."[13]

In a subsequent 23 May 1957 letter to Elinor, Clare Oke reported that "in view of the opposition which has developed in the Toronto offices to your ordination," he had called a special meeting of Kent Presbytery at which the Session of her home congregation, Wesley Church, was present and quite a number of WMS women.[14] At this meeting Clare Oke outlined the five objections to Elinor's ordination levelled by Dr. Ernest Long and the other secretaries at the Head Office and his efforts to answer them. He asked Presbytery to endorse the motions that had been previously passed regarding her ordination and, despite much discussion and the objections of Rev. R.B. Craig, the convenor of the Conference Committee on Colleges and Students, the motions passed 22 to 13.

The anticipation of controversy and debate regarding Elinor's ordination was not exaggerated. It began on the first day of conference when the Board of Colleges' non-concurrence motion regarding Kent Presbytery's request for Elinor's ordination was defeated, after which a motion recommending her ordination was passed. The next afternoon the meeting was informed that a telegram from the moderator asking Conference not to proceed with her ordination had been received and the Board of Colleges Chair, R.B. Craig, moved that the decision to ordain Elinor be reconsidered. His motion was defeated and, when he requested a recount, it was again defeated. In this charged atmosphere, later that evening Elinor addressed Conference along with the ten male ordinands. The following evening, 6 June, she was ordained. Valerie Korinek observes that Elinor's ordination was "extremely significant, since for the first time the church had acknowledged that the most important prerequisite for ordination was the merit of the candidate and her calling, not her motherhood."[15]

But the controversy was not over. On the last afternoon of Conference, a motion to request General Council to "appoint a Commission to make a thorough study of the ordination of women with emphasis upon the practical implications involved, and the ecumenical relationships of the

United Church of Canada, in order to establish a policy for the guidance of Presbyteries and Conferences" was approved.[16] The introduction to the motion referenced the difference of opinion at London Conference on the question of Elinor's ordination as a married woman with three children and the two decades of the United Church's experience with women ministers. It also acknowledged that, "the United Church recognizes no theological bases in objection to the ordination of women."

Elinor's 11 June 1957 letter to Anson Moorehouse, of the United Church's Berkeley Studios, is a poignant reflection of the personal impact she experienced during her struggle for recognition of her call, vocation, and commitment to serve in the church. Handwritten just five days after her publically controversial ordination at London Conference, it told of the toll the lack of opportunity and recognition during their time in India had taken on her relationship with Earl and of her resistance to having a third child, lest it be a girl:

> Unconsciously, and against my will, Earl came to represent what I had lost from my life rather than my immense gains through marriage. And I determined we would limit our family to two, rather than the four we had planned, lest our third child be a girl. How could I bring a little girl into a world where she is not free, I thought? And it was only the fact that we were leaving that repressive attitude – designed to strengthen our home yet really tearing it apart at the core that – brought me psychologically to the place of desiring the little daughter whom you were the first to discern being cherished in Earl's heart.[17]

Elinor's struggle continued when they returned to India. Her request to have a position that recognized her ordination came up against the complexities of a recently amalgamated church that had not arrived at a common perspective on the ordination of women. The newly formed Church of Northern India was reluctant to be dictated to by foreign missionaries. In a 14 March 1958 letter to Rev. K.Y. Masih, secretary of Malwa Church Council of the Church of Northern India, Elinor eloquently stated once again her vision of an unencumbered ministry for women:

> Being under vows to give ourselves fully to the work of the ministry, we of course, must perform that in whatever place we can. But we personally, as well as our Church in Canada, would most certainly want the United Church of Northern India to decide freely for itself, without being influenced by us wither the ordination of women or

> against it. Since we uphold our Church's view of a prophetic, as well as a priestly ministry, we of course favour a ministry without limitations based on sex; we think it can do a lot for India. But that is for Indians to decide.[18]

While in India, Elinor kept Kent Presbytery abreast of her employment situation and recognition by the Church of Northern India that finally came through on 7 June 1958. But the constant effort to overcome barriers was discouraging and, combined with the Leards' growing sense that missionaries needed to get out of the way so that the Indian Church and its excellent leaders could direct the way in which to engage in God's mission in their Indian context, Elinor accepted an opportunity to serve as assistant minister at Tabernacle United Church in Belleville, Ontario. She and the children left for Canada at the end of September 1959.

Earl planned to wrap up his work and return to Canada by the next summer, but an offer from Anson Moorehouse to join the staff at the United Church's Berkeley Studios in Toronto sped up his departure. In his letter of acceptance to their friend, Moorhouse, Earl stated his hope that moving to Toronto would make it easier for Elinor to pursue her ministry vocation:

> One of the requirements in terms of any long term job for me is that Elinor find suitable opportunity for the fulfillment of her ordination vows and the expression of them in some branch of the Christian Ministry. The decision to ask for her ordination was very definitely and very fully a joint decision and I have some concern that she find satisfying forms of expression of her ministry as I do for myself. I am confident that there would be more opportunities for her in Toronto than most other places and she has said that she is ready to go forward in faith believing that, if this decision is right for me, God will lead her into some form of meaningful service for him.[19]

Indeed, Elinor accepted a call to the Grahamsville pastoral charge near Brampton which she served from 1960 to 1962, helping them recognize the transition that was underway in their community and bringing into existence Emmanuel United Church in Bramalea, which she served for two years, until 1964.

The Commission on Ordination was established in 1958, and Elinor stated in an *Observer* article that its 1962 Report to General Council, which concluded that a married woman could not "discharge her obliga-

tions to her husband and children, and at the same time carry on the work for which she was ordained" ruined her vacation that summer.[20] And in a 1963 letter to Rev. R.G. Oliver, following the commission's report to General Council, Elinor reflected that, "I can only interpret this whole experience as meaning that God wants me to take it 'on the chin' so to speak for the sake of what He is planning to do with women far more capable and useful to Him when the social climate is ready to received them."[21] The 1962 General Council did not adopt the commission's recommendation and it was referred to the General Council Executive which rejected the recommendation in 1963, an action confirmed at the 1964 General Council. The September 1964 *Observer* reported a male commissioner's comment that, "Our church does not believe that fatherhood impairs a man's ministry. Neither do we believe motherhood impairs a woman's ministry."[22]

While this opened the way for the ordination of other married women, such as Lois Wilson in 1965, it was a bittersweet outcome for Elinor Leard. After almost fifteen years of struggling for opportunity to follow her vocation in ministry in the United Church as overseas personnel and in Canada, she asked Presbytery to retain her in the role, and she moved on to dedicate herself to a high school teaching vocation. An undated clipping in her ordination clippings and correspondence file, likely from 1964, reports:

> *Church will study ordination of wives.* September's biennial General Council of the United Church of Canada will be asked again to study the problem of the ordination of married women. The request was placed by Montreal and Ottawa Conference, which had difficulty placing one of its three women ordinands. Recently at the Annual Meeting of Toronto Conference, the Rev. Elinor Leard announced she was leaving the pulpit to teach high school. Her request for ordination stirred up controversy in the London Conference in 1957 . . . The debate centred around whether an ordained woman, wife of a minister and mother of small children, could fulfill her responsibilities to a congregation.[23]

In a conversation many years later with her minister, Morar Murray Hayes, someone who continued Elinor's ground-breaking work for women in the church after her 1975 ordination, Elinor wondered if she had given up too easily – if she should have persisted. Morar assured her that she had done enough. She had opened the way for others to follow a path that

while not smooth, was no longer officially contested. Elinor and Earl remained active and loyal to the church and supported women in ministry in whatever ways they could, recognizing that the barriers and struggles for acceptance in local congregations and the church structures remained real for decades.

Today, women in ministry make up the majority of ministers under retirement age, and women make up the majority of those entering theological studies to study and serve in ordered ministry. Neither Margaret's ordination in 1947 nor Elinor's in 1957 are reported on the United Church's webpage "Historical Timeline." Yet they were significant moments in the long and arduous struggle toward full recognition of women's ministry in the church. Phyllis Airhart, professor of church history at Emmanuel College and author of an acclaimed history of the United Church – *A Church with the Soul of a Nation* – uses Elinor's four-page tightly typed letter to Rev. R.G. Oliver as part of the student reader in her church history class. The letter was written in response to his request for her view on the findings of the 1962 Commission on Ordination. It is a cogent challenge to the process of the commission and its culturally complicit recommendations. A small excerpt reflects Elinor's vision of what ministry in the United Church could become:

> We want a flexible view of the ministry, such as St. Paul demonstrated. We want a human view of the ministry. . . . We want a ministry in which a man is seen to be a family man . . . Bringing women into the ministry, with families, will eventually bring this gain to men also, that the ministry may once again appeal to full-blooded men who want a balanced, not a driven, life.[24]

Elinor Harwood Leard met obstacles and disappointment almost every step of the way in pursuit of the call to ministry she declared in 1938 and which the church recognized in 1939. But she would not compromise what she knew to be right and maintained her expectation that the church would find a place for her to exercise that vocation. She created her own path on her own terms and did not compromise her own intelligence and integrity, and she expected nothing less of the church. The record of correspondence leading up to and following her ordination in 1957 is a rich testimony to the way in which an individual with a deep sense of call, supported by family and mentors, can change the church and challenge it to unbind the social and cultural trappings which encumber the Christian ministry. "Like the original decision in 1936, each succeeding phase of

women's ordination was a precedent-setting victory; however, the reality, as well as acceptance by both the public and the clergy has lagged far behind. Women's ordination in the United Church of Canada, illustrates how difficult it is to change the gender ideology that suffuses the workplace."[25] The cost to such individuals is real, and Elinor, in her decision to turn to teaching rather than continue to be limited and undermined as a woman in ministry, was consistent with her sense that God could lead her along several paths of satisfying work and service.

Endnotes

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21. Elinor Leard to Rev. R.G. Oliver, 15 January 1963, Accession #98.101C, United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto.
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The History of Oriental Home (1888-1942)

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Long before 1888, when the Woman's Missionary Society (WMS) of the Methodist Church established the Chinese Girls' Rescue Home (later renamed Oriental Home) in Victoria, British Columbia, child prostitution existed as a "Chinese Problem" in local Chinatowns.[1] In the late nineteenth century, child prostitutes were in great demand for the "flesh trade" that thrived in North American Chinatowns. At the time, Chinese immigrants were discouraged from bringing their wives and families to North America. This created a great demand for child prostitutes to be brought from China to North America. Consequently, human trafficking of these "Chinese slave girls" or "yellow slaves" plagued cities along the west coast, notably San Francisco, California, in the United States up to Victoria, British Columbia, in Canada.

When the founder of Oriental Home, John Endicott Vrooman Gardner (1863-1943),[2] came to Victoria from San Francisco, he saw the plight of child prostitutes, rescued them, and arranged for them to stay at the Chinese Girls' Home under the auspices of the WMS.[3] These Chinese girls at the Home were eventually joined by Japanese children and women whom the matron, Miss Kate Morgan, began to take in for safekeeping and education.[4] Later, the Home residents also included Japanese "picture brides" who experienced marital problems with their husbands with whom they had been matched for arranged marriages after having only exchanged photographs.[5] To reflect this broader undertaking, the Chinese Girls' Home was renamed Oriental Home in 1909.[6] The Home came under the auspices of the United Church of Canada when Methodists merged

with Presbyterians and Congregationalists in 1925; however, it closed down after the Japanese girls were forced to relocate in 1942 due to internment.[7]

Combining the voices of Chinese and Japanese residents at Oriental Home and the archival data of the WMS of the Methodist Church (later the United Church) will give us a more accurate picture of Oriental Home. A reading of residents' first-hand accounts reveals that the Home's strategies for combating prostitution and domestic violence relied on intercultural contacts between Anglo-Canadian female missionaries and the Chinese and Japanese residents. The Home's strategy was bound-up in an evangelism that focused on converting all Home residents to Christianity, as well as including efforts to eradicate vice and emancipate women from "yellow slavery" and domestic violence. This intercultural encounter between Christian workers and Japanese and Chinese Home residents helped to transcend the negative stereotypes associated with the "Yellow Peril" through its efforts to Christianize the social order in Chinatown and extend "the Lord's Dominion" to include Chinese society. In regards to existing studies of the Home's history, Rosemary R. Gagan and Marilyn Färdig Whiteley depict the merits of the Methodist women's missionary work, while Shelly Ikebuchi highlights her critique of the racialization and assimilation inside and outside of the Home.[8] Reconciling these two paradoxical statements, I further argue that the humanity in the Protestant social reform movement at the Home echoed the three norms of interculturalism that Bouchard and Taylor advocated: equality, mobility, and reciprocity.[9] The interculturalism acclimatized the Home girls' integration into Canadian society. In the same vein, the Home evangelism helped many Chinese and Japanese female immigrants overcome their hardships and discover a better life in Canada.

Historical Background

In the mid-nineteenth century, immigration was open to Asian labourers because of the urgent need to build a railroad across North America. However, driven by the economic insecurity and the business interests of their constituents, politicians eventually put in place immigration policies that prevented the entry of so-called "Asian aliens."[10] For instance, the Japanese Gentlemen Agreement of 1908 decreased the numbers of Japanese immigrants to Canada, and the internment camps in 1942 stopped Japanese competition in the job markets.[11] In Canada, a head

tax was levied on Chinese immigrants that eventually rose to a maximum of $500.[12] The Chinese Exclusion Act was implemented from 1882 to 1943 in America and from 1923 to 1947 in Canada.[13] From the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century, both Chinese and Japanese immigrants were racially discriminated against and labelled as the "Yellow Peril."

These immigration policies severely reduced the number of Chinese women available as marriage partners. Consequently, the population of Chinese female immigrants dropped significantly in both the United States and Canada, turning the Chinatowns of North America into bachelor societies. The single Chinese sojourners suffered from being parted from their families and sought comfort from Chinese prostitutes to provide them with temporary companionship and a physical outlet for sexual desire.[14] Not surprisingly, this created a great demand for prostitutes and secret societies that worked in the flesh trade.

Prostitutes in Late Nineteenth-Century San Francisco Chinatown

To provide a supply of Chinese prostitutes in the sex trade, its organizers either approached Chinese parents to sell their daughters for quick cash to relieve their economic hardships, or they simply kidnapped young girls in China.[15] These child slaves were brought overseas to North America to be sold among the brothels in Chinatowns and contributed to the spreading of venereal diseases that threatened American society with both spiritual and physical contamination. Fearing the effects of Chinese prostitution on their own community, white mainstream society eventually determined to intervene.

The Establishment of the Home in San Francisco, CA and Victoria, BC

Having resolved to clean up the sex trade in Chinatown, Reverend Otis Gibson, a missionary in China in the mid-nineteenth century, founded the Methodist "Chinese Domestic Mission." The goal for the WMS of the Pacific Coast was saving what the organization viewed as heathen women and raising funds for the work to help Chinese women who were forced into prostitution. The Chinese women residents at the Home paid for their living costs by sewing and cooking, and they were also taught living skills of speaking and reading English and Chinese.[16]

The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 effectively cracked down on the

entry of Chinese prostitutes into America; however, the Chinese began using Canada as a backdoor for entry into the United States. Consequently, human trafficking of Chinese girls was on the rise in the largest city on the west coast of Canada – Victoria. Child prostitution rose due to poverty, social and gender inequality, and the widespread use of opium. Having volunteered in the Chinese Mission in San Francisco and having seen the suffering of the child prostitutes, Gardner planned to build a rescue home in Victoria similar to the one in San Francisco.

In order to persuade influential figures to found the Chinese Girls Rescue Home, Gardner provided his free service to the Methodist Mission in Victoria. After he had done great work in Victoria, he was therefore in a position to speak to important figures such as Reverend John E. Starr in 1885. Starr then informed the Board of Managers of the WMS about his plan to eradicate immoral human trafficking through the Church.[17] Following this, Gardner borrowed some money from the Methodist Church at Pandora Avenue to set up a Chinese Girl's Refuge, where Gardner placed girls who had been rescued in 1886, and later had Methodists appeal to the WMS.[18] Eventually, the WMS decided to start the Chinese Rescue Home under the auspices of the Methodist Church with a goal, at the WMS's inception in 1881 at a national level, to convert Chinese women, train them to become home and foreign missionaries, and raise funds to sustain the home and foreign missions.[19]

Autonomy

To sustain its autonomy, the Home functioned as a temporary shelter for its rescued residents, having them sew or cook to defray their living costs or have someone else, who wished to marry them, pay for their living costs. Based on the written object of the WMS, the initial goal of the society was to train rescued residents to become foreign or home missionaries. However, the Home found this goal was unachievable because prostitutes were often barred from practicing sacred services. Therefore, the Home lowered its standards to educate its residents to become good wives and mothers in order to establish a Christian family or to prepare them to live an independent life. Above all, the Home was required to balance its accounting book to maintain the society although it initially received donations.[20] To cut down costs, the Home would dismiss a resident when she had a marriage offer or was ready to be on her own. In order to have its residents live a respectable life, the Home

converted them to Christianity and instructed them to attain living skills so they did not have to go back to their previous lives as prostitutes.

Innate Racism

Racism clearly underlay the WMS and Home's intentions and strategies as they were originally laid out: the superior white women were to assimilate the inferior yellow slaves to accept Christian values. As one of its Christian values, the Home followed contemporary Victorian moral standards to defend and maintain the pure bloodline of 'white supremacy'; therefore, interracial transgression, such as miscegenation, was prohibited. To demarcate racial lines, Chinese and Japanese missions and churches were separated; similarly, Chinese girls were to marry Chinese men, and Japanese girls were to marry Japanese men in order to establish their respective Christian families. In the same vein, a bi-racial girl having an Indian mother and a Chinese father, Emily, was defined as a morally "bad" girl when she left her Chinese husband to live with a white man: her interracial transgression between white English and yellow Chinese-Indian was not permitted.[21] Putting white missionaries in a supervisory position to train yellow "inmates," the Home re-inscribed the racial superiority of the white women over the heathen women.

Nevertheless, in the white men's foreign missionary work, some ministers committed miscegenation. More than a hundred years previous to the founding of the Home, a Presbyterian missionary went to China to bear a half-white and half-Chinese girl who then gave birth to the founder of the Home, John Endicott Gardner.[22] In Canada, Gardner was at the top of the Home hierarchy. However, after he returned to America, he was labelled as a member of the "Yellow Peril" by white mainstream society, while also being seen as part of the "white supremacy" in Chinese society. Thus, both racial groups often attacked him. Trying to remove vice in Victoria's Chinatown, he became a target of attempted assassination; having a Chinese mother, he was accused of being disloyal to white mainstream American society.[23] Despite Gardner's precarious standing in white society, he had a high degree of control over the Home's organization. He was responsible for terminating the first matron of the Home, Annie Leake (1839-1934), a woman with whom Gardner did not get along.[24] In this way, the Home's racial politics seemed to privilege a gendered hierarchy over a racial one: even though she was white, Leake's standing in the Home was below that of a bi-racial man.

Gender Inequality

Under the Home hierarchy, the white men were at the top of the social ladder, and the white women followed next under the white men. The hierarchy was modelled on the San Francisco Home, where Reverend Otis Gibson asked Methodist women to organize a rescue mission; similarly, Gardner and Starr interviewed Leake to have her pioneer the Victoria Home.[25] This explains the gender dynamics in the running of the Home: only women could do the job; however, the gender politics at the Home allowed men who were incapable of doing the job to possess the power of assigning a woman for the position. Therefore, stronger white men ordered weaker white women to rescue yellow slave girls. These Chinese prostitutes were trained to do domestic duties to defray their living costs at the Home in both San Francisco and Victoria. Women at the Home were trained doing the secondary jobs such as domestic chores because they belonged to a lower social class. Applying the same norms of gendered work inequality to further humiliate men from the 'Yellow Peril' society, Chinese men in North America were only allowed to do businesses of washing and cleaning, and they belonged to an inferior group as weak as a women's group.

Freedom at the Home

Other than receiving the criticism of racial and gender inequality, the Home was also questioned about its residents' freedom.[26] Ikebuchi implies the Home girls were held against their will just like "inmates," held captive by the prison guards at the Home. In fact, the WMS annual reports clearly state that the Home matrons never refused to help anyone who sought the Home's help but many refused that aid.[27] Not everyone liked the Home's governance: the residents' freedom was restricted while they were under its supervision. On the other hand, the Home did not insist on keeping its residents because this would mean risking an imbalance between revenues and expenses. If the Home went through all the trouble to keep a specific 'inmate,' there was only one reason for that: the Home needed to defend its goal of maintaining Christian values. Explained as Victorian morals, the Home put a wired screen on Emily's window to prevent her running away from her wedding since she had escaped many times from the Home before. Nevertheless, Emily eventually broke this

moral rule to live with a white man.[28] This incident suggests that Emily was not serious about living in the Home: she used it to attain her personal goal to elope with a white man. Because the wire screen on Emily's window was an isolated case, and the Home residents could enter and leave it of their own free will, the generalization of the Home residents' tenuous freedom is not convincing. The wire screen could have been there to prevent male intrusion into the Home to coerce Home girls to escape and can be viewed as a symbol of the Home's resistance to outsiders' intervention. Therefore, I will instead select six other former Home girls to explain how they were treated when they took refuge in the Home.

A Target Research Group

Hana Murata (1895-?), a Japanese picture bride;[29] Margaret Chan (1902-1989), a Chinese slave girl;[30] Eva (1863-1923), a Chinese prostitute;[31] Victoria Cheung (aka Chong or Chung: 1897-1966)[32] and Agnes Chan (1904-1962), Chinese foreign missionaries;[33] and Annie (aka Kiku) Nakabayashi (1901-1986),[34] a Japanese home missionary, represent five categories of the 562 Home residents that the Home took in from 1888 to 1942.[35] Initially, Muruta's oral history gave me a clue about the organization of a Women's Home in Victoria.[36] In her interviews with Tomoko Makabe, a sociologist who is well-known for her interviews with surviving Japanese picture brides, Murata recounted how she took refuge from her violent and mentally ill second husband in 1920 in the "Women's Home."[37]

Murata's story at the "Women's Home" connects readers to Oriental Home as it was articulated by Margaret in her oral history and opens up the door for researchers to study the history of the Home through the United Church Archives. Margaret's account was not written in the WMS annual reports, but was in a textual oral history recorded by Christina Chu, of the Chinese Canadian National Council (CCNC), who travelled across Canada to interview Chinese female immigrants such as Margaret in 1986. According to the interview, Margaret was sold into slavery in Canada, and she ran away to the Home in 1917 after she found out that she would be resold as a slave girl to a man with seven children.[38]

Based upon the WMS annual reports and the Home register, Eva (aka Mrs. Wong Ah Dick) escaped to the Home with another household slave-girl, Ah Moi, and her baby boy, but returned to her home less than a month later in 1891.[39] However, in 1899, Matron Morgan and Cheung's

mother rescued Eva from a Chinese hut.[40] Cheung's mother had studied in a Chinese Christian school when she was still in Canton, China. To bring Jesus' love to the Home, she taught the Bible at the Chinese school and rescued slave girls such as Eva at the Home.[41] Moreover, Cheung's father became a devoted official at the Methodist Church as a consequence of Gardner's preaching in Victoria, and Cheung had been under the care of the Home since 1901.[42]

Agnes Chan and Annie Nakabayashi were often mentioned together in the WMS annual reports for their success in passing provincial examinations. They were considered by the Home to be examples of the real effects of its educational program and eventually served as missionaries. Agnes came to the Home as a slave girl to escape her owner's mistreatment in November 1908.[43] In contrast, Annie's mother brought her to the Home in 1901.[44] Hereafter, I refer to this target research group as the Home girls.

Latent Equality

The egalitarian doctrine of sisterhood depicted in the Gospel of Matthew as Jesus' teaching eventually created latent equality between the Home missionaries and the Home girls.[45] To foster this sisterhood, Matron Leake initiated a language program: she learned from the rescued girls to speak Cantonese herself and, at the same time, taught them to communicate with her in English.[46] Similarly, by the first year of the second matron's term at the Home, the singing at the Methodist church at Pandora Street was always in two languages.[47] Spoken classes and printed scriptures in Chinese and Japanese helped the Home evangelists transform their missions into a cross-cultural study. Their mutual understanding was increasingly strengthened through the language programs and the intercultural contacts at the Home. The cross-cultural study changed Leake's attitudes towards Chinese slave girls: Leake used to think they were "dirty"; she then discovered she could learn many things from them.[48] Subsequently, the Home girls communicated with one another in English through the training of the language program.

Through the Home's education, Murata built her confidence while the Home staff showed sympathy for the racial discrimination against the Home girls outside of the Home. Murata defrayed her living costs at the Home by babysitting a white boy while his parents were busy working. After the white boy grew up, he went to visit Murata to thank her for her

care.[49] The "Women's Home" provided Murata with employment information that she shared with her Chinese and Japanese roommates. Without differentiating one another's racial or cultural backgrounds, the Chinese and Japanese women supported one another in pursuing the betterment of their lives.[50] This was why Murata could not feel the racial discrimination against her: she got along with her clients, roommates, and the Home staff, and she was proud of her valuable work, feeling she was no different than any other races around her.

Gagan notes the difficulty of breaking the grip of drug addictions without any specialized scientific knowledge in her analysis of the diligent experiments of the fifth matron (1901-1909), Mrs. Ida Snyder, to rescue Eva (Ah Yute) from her addiction.[51] Eva had an "opium-dimmed intellect" and was not the type of "inmate" that Snyder liked to train; however, Snyder put up with Eva for more than ten years.[52] When the Home decided to transfer her to China, she expressed her appreciation for the benevolence that she received from the Home matron and staff, saying she would be in a Chinese heaven different from the Canadian heaven where the Home staff would be.[53] However, Snyder believed that Jesus would take anyone with Him into heaven regardless of whether she was Canadian, Chinese, or Japanese.[54]

Although Snyder considered it would be difficult for her to supervise Chinese and Japanese women together because their countries were antagonistic to one another, there were no reports stating Chinese and Japanese inmates did not get along.[55] Murata was at the Home when Margaret, Agnes, and Annie were still there. Margaret considered that the Chinese and Japanese at the Home shared the same kind of plight; Murata worked well with Chinese girls or Japanese women.[56] Annie and Cheung grew up together when they were just toddlers at the time. At the Home, they were taken care of by Eva, who babysat them to defray her living costs. Annie and Agnes were living together at the Home from 1908 and went to public school and Normal School (a school for training teachers) at the same time.[57] When they saw each other for the last time in 1930 at the Home, Annie was helping in the kindergarten.[58] The Home staff treated the Home girls with selfless love, and the humanity in their missionary work inspired the Home girls to work with one another without racial prejudice.

The intercultural contacts between Anglo-Canadian female missionaries and the Chinese and Japanese residents also enabled latent gender equality between the white males and females in North American

society. Methodist women at the Home organized door-to-door evangelism to collect a list of slave girls to be rescued, performed language programs to help communication with the Home girls, and provided education and medical supports to emancipate the Chinese slave girls from yellow slavery.[59] The Home girls proved their abilities to be intelligent school-girls, capable businesswomen, good wives and mothers, and courageous human beings in their determination to break away from severe drug addictions. The Home staff and the Home girls demonstrated the fact that they were as strong and useful as their male counterparts. Eventually, white women were allowed to vote in 1916 in Canada and in 1920 in the United States. The recognition of white women's gender equality helped the Home girls to transform their latent racial and gender equality into quasi-racial and gender equality. These provided them with strength to mobilize their social stratification from low to high even after they left the Home.

Mobility

The Home improved the social class of the Home girls who took refuge in the Christian faith: Jesus gives a new life to anyone who believes in Him.[60] Murata evolved from a Japanese picture bride, who suffered two failed marriages and ran to the Home nearly naked, to become a successful businesswoman having established two businesses and supported herself financially for the rest of her life.[61] Even though Murata was unable to build a Christian family, the Home evangelism trained her to gain mental and physical strength in order to live an independent life without tolerating domestic violence. Therefore, Murata served as an example of the third-level conversion at the Home, achieving independence without getting married.

As a slave girl sold by her opium-smoking father, Margaret ran away to the Home, attained her public school certificate and teaching diploma, and was even matriculated to a university.[62] However, she never received a scholarship to go to a university because of fierce competition at the Home to become a missionary. Even though she experienced the hardships of dealing with her unhappy marriage and raising her children, she strove to be a good wife and mother and to build a Christian family. Therefore, she reached the second-level of conversion at the Home.[63]

I speculate that Eva was sold to the polygamous household of Mr. Wong Ah Dick and drugged into prostitution. She was heavily addicted to

opium more than ten years prior to 1899.[64] In 1913, the Home transferred her to Canton, China, where they expected that death would call upon her any time because she had been physically reduced to merely a shell of an individual. Even though she was an opium user and a prostitute before, her willingness to break away from drugs and prostitution made her qualified for the fourth-level conversion at the Home where she was given a new life as Jesus promised her.

Cheung was born into a social class that was labelled as the 'Yellow Peril' but was accepted into the white mainstream society in her time. In 2012, Victoria City Council proclaimed her birthday on 8 December, "Dr. Victoria Chung Day."[65] She is a heroine not only in the Chinese community, but also in the white mainstream society in Victoria, not only in Canada, but also in China. When Canadian missionaries were not allowed to stay in China during the Second World War, later the civil war, and eventually during Mao's rule, Cheung played an invaluable role as a foreign missionary in south China. Similarly, Agnes' social status moved from that of a slave girl to a foreign nurse missionary in China. Agnes was not only remembered for her benevolent missionary work in China, but also for her work in the Chinese community with the Methodist women who nurtured her and brought her up in Canada. In 2013, she was remembered once again by a descendant of her adopted children who was invited to support the book launch of a third-generation Chinese writer, Denise Chong. Chong writes about how Chinese families' lives in Canada are affected by Canadian immigration policy, a head tax or Chinese exclusion act.[66]

Victoria Cheung, Agnes Chan, and Annie Nakabayashi belonged to the first-level conversion at the Home. They achieved the Home evangelical goal to become missionaries and worked to convert Chinese and Japanese people in their missions. Since Annie was a year old after her mother died in 1901, Snyder nurtured her and fully supported her from the age of nine when her father died. Annie went to public school and Normal School and worked at the kindergarten at the Home from 1921 to 1925. As a missionary, she was able to go to university and worked at the Home again from 1930 to 1931. When Annie accepted the Home's conversion program, she believed in Jesus and was allowed to stay at the Home to have a better living environment.

Reciprocity

Since gratitude is a Christian's basic attitude, the Home girls reciprocated the Home's grace with their expression of "thanksgiving."[67] During her five-month stay at the Home, Murata worked as a housekeeper for Methodist families, was moved by the strict Methodist discipline, converted from Buddhism to Christianity, and remained a devout Christian until the very last day of her life.[68] To express her gratitude to Jesus and the Home for rescuing her, Murata regularly visited her church to donate on Sundays and on special dates in commemoration of her family members' birthdays.

Matron Martin helped Margaret receive education from a Canadian public school and Normal School, lent her money to teach abroad, and was always there to help Margaret. Without Martin's intervention, Margaret's life would have been much worse: she could have been sold and resold among the Chinese brothels like many other Chinese slave girls. In return for Martin's favour, she spoke to the Chinese communities nationwide about Martin's private philanthropy and the Home's good deeds that saved many destitute Chinese and Japanese women at the time.

Through the correspondence between Charles Selden in China and Maggie Smith at the Home, we know that the Home arranged monthly medical care payments from 1913 to 1923 and burial fees in 1923 for Eva. In addition, a handkerchief and letter, symbolic of the Home's compassion, were sent to Eva; in return for the Home's generosity, Eva made herself useful doing fine sewing to the last day she lived.[69] In regards to the financial relationship between the Home and Eva, it was to Eva's advantage to have received the Home's payment for her living costs in the Victoria Home and in a Canton hospital for a total of twenty-four years. Her belief in going to heaven shows she was a genuine Christian and very grateful towards the Home.

Having grown up in a Chinese Christian family, Cheung lived up to everyone's expectations to obtain a scholarship to study medicine at the University of Toronto in 1917 and then reported to the WMS at Kongmoon, China, in 1923.[70] In 1930, Cheung freed up her education funds from the WMS to make her scholarship available for other students.[71] In wartime, she wrote to Miss Buck, the assistant secretary of the WMS Dominion Board, to request extra funds to manage the Kongmoon foreign mission; in return, she raised hens and pigs to feed friends and refugees.[72] Cheung remained on her post until she died in Kongmoon, China.

The Home helped Agnes to get financial aid from a Bible class in Crystal City, Manitoba, to pay for her boarding at the Home.[73] She helped the Home by going to Chinatown to interpret for the missionaries and being an outstanding student. When Agnes planned to quit school to redeem her baby sister, who had been sold by her parents, the WMS in Toronto lent her money to accomplish that task. In return, Agnes established the Springfield Orphanage to care for abandoned children and orphans in Fatshan, China. To Agnes' orphanage, the Home girls later sent dolls in 1931.[74] From then on, Agnes remained active in doing missionary work in China.

Unlike Agnes Chan and Victoria Cheung, who worked for the Home until their deaths as missionaries, Annie's missionary life at the Home was short-lived. Annie contracted tuberculosis in the last year of her university life and ceased to be a home missionary after 1931. She then recovered from her illness at the Home, and attained her personal freedom to move to Tokyo in 1935. I speculate that the Home was unable to allow her to keep her teaching position because of her health condition. In 1942, Japanese girls at the Home were interned, and the Home ceased to exist. After that, Annie would have been unable to return to Victoria. In the 1970s, she retired in Toronto helping disabled elders at a Japanese senior home and was eventually buried with her parents at Rose Bay Cemetery in Victoria.[75] Annie expressed her gratitude for the Home's grace by demonstrating the effect of the Home teaching and her Christian womanhood: social justice and social welfare to the Chinese and Japanese communities in Canada. The reciprocal relationship between the Home and the Home girls persisted even long after the Home closed down in 1942.

Conclusion

The Oriental Committee (renamed Ethnic and Intercultural Ministry in 2012) at the United Church had a goal to acclimatize immigrants to their new lives in Canada through interculturalism long before Bouchard and Taylor wrote their report on that subject in 2008. Although not everyone who had lived in the Home liked the way that it imposed its cultural values on others, the Home was a living necessity to the group of Chinese slave girls who were sold by their natural parents into forced prostitution and Japanese picture brides who experienced unhappy marriages in Canada. Even though some Home residents preferred their previous lives as

prostitutes, Benson Tong believes the majority of Chinese prostitutes endeavoured to get out of the sex trade to establish their own families. He also applauds the white female missionaries for their selfless rescue of many Chinese prostitutes in San Francisco.[76] Similarly, Jeffrey L. Staley's mother-in-law also benefitted as one of the children who was raised and nurtured by San Francisco Oriental Home, which rescued 353 women and girls from 1870 to 1896.[77]

The women missionaries at both Homes showed great humanity towards their residents. Their hope was to give freedom to destitute Chinese and Japanese women who entered the Home by converting them to Christianity. Some true converts would become missionaries like themselves, but even those who resumed their former pursuits benefitted from the Home's philanthropy. At a time when few other church groups, government agencies, or social welfare organizations provided help to such women at risk, the Home lived up to the ideals of Protestant social reform. The compassion shown to the women and children who found their way there is remembered by their descendants and researchers, and will be remembered by future generations of Chinese and Japanese in Canada.

Canadian Methodist women work like Biblical figures such as Martha keeping financial autonomy at the Home, Mother in Israel demonstrating her great power at the Home, and Mary listening to Jesus' teaching of the egalitarian doctrine of sisterhood.[78] Based on this sisterhood, the Home evangelism provided latent and quasi-equality to the Home girls and improved their social class. Consequently, the relationship between the Home and the Home girls was both spiritually and financially reciprocal. Therefore the Protestant social reform movement carried out between the Anglo-Canadian, Chinese, and Japanese women at the Home possessed three normative elements of interculturalism: equality, mobility, and reciprocity. Moreover, the Home assisted Chinese and Japanese communities to be integrated into a larger Canadian environment while the two communities frequented the Home services. This interculturalism between the Home and its residents and its residents' respective communities helped the early Chinese and Japanese immigrants to acclimatize themselves to their new life in Canada. The Oriental Home model, initiated over a hundred years ago and carried out by the Christian social justice and social welfare movements, still has lessons for us to learn in promoting respect and recognition between races in a multicultural society such as Canada.

Endnotes

1. The Woman's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada, *The 7th Annual Report, 1887-1888* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1888), 54. Based on this report, Gardner began to rescue child prostitutes in Victoria more than two years before the establishment of the Home. Shelly Ikebuchi, *From Slave Girls to Salvation: Gender, Race, and Victoria's Chinese Rescue Home, 1886-1923* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2015), 4, 11. Ikebuchi also considers Gardner's actual rescue work began in 1886.

2. S.S. Osterhout, *Orientals in Canada: The Story of the Work of the United Church of Canada with Asiatics in Canada* (Toronto: General Publicity and Missionary Education of the United Church of Canada, 1929), 76; and Mae Ngai, *The Lucky Ones: One Family and the Extraordinary Invention of Chinese America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 250. "John Endicott Gardner: California Death Index," https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:VPQW-G86. Gardner was a direct descent of a Presbyterian missionary. He used his stepfather's name, Vrooman, to work in America, but he was known as Gardner or Gardiner after he arrived in Canada.

3. Marilyn Färdig Whiteley, ed., *The Life and Letters of Annie Leake Tuttle: Working for the Best* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999), 66; *Christian Guardian*, 7 January 1885, 11; "Home Saved Hundreds from Street: Shock of Child Prostitution Led to Foundation of Special Refuge," *Victoria Time-Colonist*, https://search-proquest-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/docview/34288446/99F243EF4372406DPQ/1?accountid=14771.

4. The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, *The 14th Annual Report, 1894-1895* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1895), 23. The Home accepted a Japanese girl, Mitsi (Mitsu) Kassawan, for the first time in 1894-95. The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, *The 16th Annual Report, 1896-1897* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1897), lxix. Morgan reported there were two Japanese boarding houses at that time.

5. The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, *The 24th Annual Report, 1904-1905* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1905), lxxxiv. Japanese picture brides were detained at the Home by the Immigration Officials for fear of spreading contagious diseases. The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, The 34th Annual Report, 1914-1915 (Toronto: William Briggs, 1915), xc. The Immigration officials stopped sending Japanese picture brides to the Home in that year.

6. The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, *The 29th Annual Report, 1909-1910* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1910), lxxi-lxxiii. The Home was still called the Chinese Girls' Home in the *28th Annual Report*

of 1908-9 on 31 August 1909.

7. The Woman's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada, *The 1st Annual Report, 1925-1926* (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1926), 189; Phyllis D. Airhart, *A Church with the Soul of a Nation: Making and Remaking the United Church of Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), xviii; and The Woman's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada, *The 18th Annual Report, 1942-1943* (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1943), 121.

8. Whiteley, *Life and Letter,* 66-91; Marilyn Färdig Whiteley, *Canadian Methodist Women, 1766-1925: Marys, Marthas, Mothers in Israel* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005), 8-9, 157-80; Marilyn Färdig Whiteley, "Eminently Woman's Work: The Chinese Rescue Home in Victoria, B.C." In "Oriental Work – Methodist, Presbyterian," Bob Stewart Archives, United Church of Canada, BC Conference (hereafter BSA); Phyllis D. Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 21; Rosemary R. Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient,1881-1925* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 161-212; and Shelly Ikebuchi, *From Slave Girls to Salvation*, 3-199.

9. Gerard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, *Building the Future: A time for Reconciliation Report* (Quebec: Legal Deposit-Library and Archives Nationales du Quebec, 2008), 115.

10. Jiwu Wang, *"His Dominion" and the "Yellow Peril:" Protestant Missions to the Chinese Immigrants in Canada, 1859-1967* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006), 1; Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 23; and Iyko Day, *Alien Capital: Asian Racialization and the Logic of Settler Colonial Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), 1-39.

11. Tomoko Makabe, *Picture Brides: Japanese Women in Canada*, trans. Kathleen Chisato Merken (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1995), 18; and Day, *Alien Capital*, 1-39.

12. Momoye Sugiman, ed., *Jin Guo: Voices of Chinese Canadian Women* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1992), 27.

13. Evelyn Huang and Lawrence Jeffery, *Chinese Canadian: Voice from a Community* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1992), 5; and Benson Tong, *Unsubmissive Women: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 9.

14. Tong, *Unsubmissive Women*, 13.

15. J.E. Starr, "A Report upon 'The Home' for Rescued Chinese Girls in Victoria, BC: The Origin," Oriental Home and School fonds, Box 563, file7a (1), BSA.

16. Jeffrey L. Staley, "'Gum Moon': The First Fifty Years of Methodist Women's Work in San Francisco Chinatown, 1870-1920," *Journal of the San Francisco Museum and Historical Society* 16, no.1 (2005): 4-25. Http://www.academia.edu/10513167/Gum_Moon_The_First_Fifty_Years_of_Methodist_Women_s_Work_in_San_Francisco_Chinatown_1870-1920.

17. Starr, "A Report upon 'The Home' for Rescued Chinese Girls in Victoria, BC."

18. The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, *The 6th Annual Report, 1886-1887* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1887), xiii. Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 66-67.

19. The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, *The 1st Annual Report: (1881-1882)*, 30. The object of the WMS was to "engage the efforts of Christian women in the evangelization of heathen women and children; to aid in sustaining female Missionaries and Teachers, or other special labourers in connection with mission work, in foreign and home fields; and to raise funds for the work of the Society."

20. The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, *The 8th Annual Report, 1888-1889* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1889), 55-56.

21. Ikebuchi, *From Slave Girls to Salvation*, 6.

22. Ngai, *The Lucky Ones*, 250.

23. Lee, *At America's Gates*, 63.

24. Whiteley, *Life and Letters,* 69.

25. Staley, "Gum Moon,"; and Whiteley, *Life and Letters,* 67.

26. Ikebuchi, *From Slave Girls to Salvation*, 86.

27. The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, *The 20th Annual Report, 1900-1901* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1901), xcv.

28. Ikebuchi, *From Slave Girls to Salvation*, 6.

29. *Interviews with Hana Murata,* Audio Tape JAP-6475-TAK, dir. Tomoko Makabe (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario Archive, 1980-02-05); and Makabe, *Picture Brides*, viii. In her 1980 interview, Murata revealed that she was born in 1895 which was not recorded in the Home Register.

According to Makabe, Muruta died before 1993.

30. Sugiman, *Jin Guo*, 27; "The Oriental Home Register (1886-1936)," file4a (reg#282), BSA. Margaret entered the Home on 30 April 1917 and her birthday was made 30 April 1906 by the Home.

31. "The Oriental Home Register (1886-1936)," file4a (reg#23 and 56), BSA. Eva was not sober enough to remember her real birthday; therefore, the Home gave two different birth dates for her. The second birthdate seems to be accurate based on the information that she contracted cataracts shortly before her death in 1923.

32. "The Oriental Home Register (1886-1936)," file4a (page 26-7: reg#61), BSA; Joyce Chan, *Rediscover the Fading Memories: The Early Chinese Canadian Christian History* (Burnaby: Chinese Christian Mission of Canada, 2013), 87.

33. "The Oriental Home Register (1886-1936)," file4a (page 60, reg#170), BSA. Based on the Home Register, Agnes Chan was born on 19 February 1898. Joyce Chan, *Rediscover the Fading Memories*, 65.

34. "The Oriental Home Register (1886-1936)," file4a (page 30, reg#75), BSA; Ann-Lee and Gordon Switzer, *Gateway to Promise: Canada's First Japanese Community* (Victoria: Ti-Jean Press, 2012), 289. Hereafter, I use girls' last name; however, I use first name for Margaret and Agnes to differentiate their common last name, Chan. Also, when I mention Agnes Chan and Annie Nakabayashi at the same time, I use their first name. I call Mrs. Wong Ah Dick "Eva" because I suspect that Mr. Wong had multiple wives whom he forced into prostitution.

35. *Victoria Times-Colonist*.

36. *Interviews with Hana Murata*.

37. *Interviews with Hana Murata*.

38. Sugiman, *Jin Guo*, 9, 27-28; "The Oriental Home Register (1886-1936)," file4a (reg#282).

39. The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, *The 10th Annual Report, 1890-1891* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1891), xl-i.

40. "The Oriental Home Register (1886-1936)," file4a (reg#23).

41. The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, *The 18th Annual Report, 1898-1899* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1899), lxxxix-xc. The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, *The 19th Annual Report, 1899-1900* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1900), xcii. Victoria Cheung's mother's position was important at the Home because the dates of her missed pay were

recorded in the WMS annual report.

42. The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, *The 21st Annual Report, 1901-1902* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1902), xcvi; Wang, *"His Dominion" and the "Yellow Peril,"* 49.

43. "The Story of Miss Agnes Chan, R.N.," Oriental Home and School fonds, Box 563, file4a (1-2), BSA. *The 28th Annual Report, 1908-1909*, lxxvii. The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, *The 30th Annual Report, 1910-1911* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), lxxxv.

44. *The 20th Annual Report, 1900-1901*, xcv.

45. New Revised Standard Version: Matthew 5:45: "Love for Enemies: But I say to you, Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, "so that you may be children of your Father in heaven; for he makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the righteous and on the unrighteous."

46. Annie Leake, "Missionary Leaflet, no date; 100 Cormorant Street; Victoria, BC; August 22nd, 1889 (note 9) in Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 89.

47. The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, *The 12th Annual Report: (1892-1893)* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1893), 50.

48. Whiteley, *Life and Letters*, 69.

49. *Interviews with Hana Murata*; "The Oriental Home Register (1886-1936)," Oriental Home and School fonds, Box 563, file4a (reg#320), BSA. Murata was admitted at the Home on 14 January 1920 for around six months. One of the families she served was Richardson's at 935 Moss Street. After her dismissal, she went to Vancouver.

50. *Interviews with Hana Murata*.

51. The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, *The 18th Annual Report: (1898-1899)* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1899), xci; *The 19th Annual Report, 1900-1901*, xcvii; *The Missionary Outlook, February 1900* (Toronto: United Church Archive, 1900), 47; and Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence*, 173-75.

52. *The 20th Annual Report of Methodist Church, 1900-1901*, xciii; The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, *The 23th Annual Report, 1903-1904* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1904), lxxvi; The Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, *The 32nd Annual Report of Methodist Church,1912-1913* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), xcix, c, cii; and *Victoria Times-Colonist*.

53. *The 32nd Annual Report of Methodist Church, 1912-1913*, c.

54. *The 20th Annual Report of Methodist Church, 1900-1901*, xcvi; New Revised Standard Version: Revelation 21:1: "Then I saw a new heaven and a new earth." Based on the Bible, there is only one heaven.

55. *The 20th Annual Report, 1900-1901*, xciii.

56. Sugiman, 28; and *Interviews with Hana Murata*.

57. *The 21st Annual Report, 1901-1902*, xcvi; "The Oriental Home Register (1886-1936)," Oriental Home and School fonds, Box 563, file4a (reg#75 & 170), BSA.

58. The Woman's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada, *The 5th Annual Report, 1929-1930* (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1930), 323.

59. *The 10th Annual Report: (1890-1891)*, xlii, xliii.

60. New Revised Standard Version: Second Corinthians 5:17: "So if anyone is in Christ, there is a new creation: everything old has passed away; see everything has become new!"

61. *Interviews with Hana Murata*.

62. "The Oriental Home Register (1886-1936)," Oriental Home and School fonds, Box 563, file4a (reg#282), BSA.

63. At the Home, there were four levels of conversion. The first ideal level was to become a Christian and then go out and convert others. The second level was to go out and establish a Christian family. The third level was to be an independent Christian. And finally, the lowest level was just to be a Christian staying away from prostitution and drugs.

64. The 19th Annual Report, 1899-1900, xciv; Ida Snyder, "Chinese Work in British Columbia: An Opium Eater Rescued," in *Missionary Outlook, February 1900*, 47; *The 21st Annual Report, 1901-1902*, xcvi; *The 32nd Annual Report, 1912-1913*, xcix, c, cii.

65. Joyce Chan, *Rediscover the Fading Memories*, 90.

66. Denise Chong, *Lives of the Family: Stories of Fate & Circumstance* (Toronto: Random House Canada, 2013), 1-217.

67. New Revised Standard Version: Colossians 2:7: "Fullness of Life in Christ: As you therefore have received Christ Jesus the Lord, continue to live your lives in him, 'rooted and built up in him and established in the faith, just as you were taught, abounding in "thanksgiving."'

68. *Interviews with Hana Murata*; "The Oriental Home Register (1886-1936)," (reg#320).

69. Charles C. Selden, "Letter to Maggie Smith, 26 August 1911," Oriental Home and School fonds, Box 563, File 14, BSA.

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Confronting Sexual Abuse in Anglican Canada: Second Wave Feminists

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"History takes shape in the person before me" (Michael Eric Dyson)[1]

This is a story of feminists in Canada's Anglican community who responded to sexual misconduct in their church. It is told through the personal histories of women whom I met while I was enrolled in divinity studies at Trinity College, in the Toronto School of Theology of the University of Toronto in the 1980s, and in my ministry over the following twenty-five years. The above quote from Michael Eric Dyson describes my historical perspective. Their stories, within the larger narrative of disclosures of sexual abuses of children and women in ministry relationships, reveal how the cultures of ecclesial silence and sexism began to be broken by the persistence of feminists challenging and changing the faith community in which they worshiped and served. From institutional margins they identified and addressed church leadership on sexual misconduct in ministry relationships to ensure justice for victims, holding the church accountable for its clergy, leaders, and volunteers. Telling the stories of feminists who confronted sexual violence helps keep the focus on the contributions of women transforming the culture around them and acknowledges their contributions to the continuing struggles of women decades later seeking freedom from harassment, sexism, and misogyny that continue to confront us. Ned Franks, whose son was a victim of the choirmaster of Kingston's cathedral, observed that confronting sexual violence is "the great gift of the women's movement to us all."[2] In writing

of the women who confronted the culture in which I studied and ministered, I am acknowledging deep thanks for their gifts of critical analysis, voice, language, advocacy, support, collaboration, and policies that are contributing to transformational changes in the church. I chose to write this history through their reflections and recollections as recorded in personal interviews in 2007.

In 2017 Constance Buchanan summarized reasons for studying women in religion, beginning with learning how women understood themselves, their social context, and their world.[3] Interviewing each woman in my study gave me an opportunity to learn how the women's movement, as well as relationships with those in her faith community, arose in the social context of second wave feminism, which then led to confronting sexual misconduct as an issue for the church in the communities it serves and within its own ministries.

In 2016 I presented the contributions of Marjorie Powles and Jeanne Rowles, who confronted sexism and misogyny in Anglican Canada with feminist perspectives informed by the Social Gospel. Their stories illustrated how religion and religious institutions have historically been a major sphere of women's activities. Powles was deeply involved with the Student Christian Movement in university and in her later professional life as one of its leaders. This was followed by twenty years in Japan with her husband, an Anglican priest and educator. Rowles was raised and educated in the Saskatchewan of Tommy Douglas. Her volunteer and professional life was with the YWCA in Canada and overseas in Tanzania and Pakistan. Both women returned to Canada as the women's movement was emerging in the 1970s and met in the Movement for Christian Feminism. I brought their stories to the Canadian Society of Church History in 2016.[4] Status of Women in Canada funded grassroots feminist activities across the country in the 1980s, including those in faith-based institutions that addressed violence against women. With this empowerment of women, disclosures of sexual abuse in Canadian religious institutions began to emerge. Bonds among women in Toronto's mainline faith communities led to collaborations such as that of Powles and Rowles who then merged their feminist perspectives and experience with those of second wave feminists Donna Hunter and Mary Wells in the Anglican Diocese of Toronto. This collaboration in the world of churches reflects the findings of Laura Weldon, illustrating how the women's movement was more influential on policy development in Canada in the 1980s than the number of social minorities (women) in governance.[5] These were lay women

outside designated leadership roles and, as such, corroborated what Jeanne Rowles observed, that changing the church is the work of those outside its hierarchical structures.[6]

Donna Hunter and Mary Wells were instrumental in developing and implementing the sexual misconduct policy of the Diocese of Toronto in 1991-92. Hunter was then Director of Programme Resources for the diocese, charged with overseeing a task force to respond to sexual misconduct in the diocese. Mary Wells, a social worker, and author of *Canada's Law on Sexual Abuse of Children*,[7] volunteered her services to the task force. Wells, a cradle Catholic, began worshiping with Anglicans while responding to child sexual abuse in her social work practice.

Confronting Sexual Abuse: Canada in the 1980s

There were several public disclosures and findings in Canada that brought the sexual abuse of children and women, violence against women, sexual harassment, and gender discrimination to the attention of Canadians in this decade. Investigative commissions and media reporting revealed the extent to which these tragic realities were part of Canada's social fabric. Canadians, especially those who had experienced sexual abuse as children or in relationships with clergy, teachers, coaches, or community volunteers, also learned the limits of Canada's legal, justice, social service agencies, professions, and churches to respond to them. According to Linda Gordon's study of the history and politics of family, women's movements have consistently been concerned with violence not only against women, but also against children. This concern grew when feminism was strong and ebbed when feminism was weak.[8] Feminism had been influencing social, political, economic, and cultural life in Canada since the 1960s, as has been well documented in social histories as well as federal commissions, reports, and programs that led to, and followed, the establishment of the Status of Women Canada in 1971.

In 1980 the Federal Committee to Study Sexual Offenses Against Children and Youth was formed. It issued its findings, known as the Badgley Report, with the stunning facts that one out of three adult males and one of two adult females in Canada had experienced at least one unwanted sexual act; four out of five of these unwanted acts occurred in childhood.[9] In 1986, when Jeanne Rowles was responsible for the Women's Unit of the Anglican Church of Canada, the General Synod received a report from that unit on *Violence Against Women, Abuse in*

Society, and Proposals for Change.[10] In 1986 Trinity College's Faculty of Divinity nodded to the increasing influence of women in the church, ten years after the ordination of women, by appointing Marsha Hewitt as Professor of Social Ethics and Peggy Day as Professor of Old Testament Studies. Kate Merriman, a Trinity graduate and priest, ordained in the Yukon, joined Trinity as its first woman chaplain that same year.

In 1988 Bill C-15, Reforms to the Criminal Code of Canada were made regarding sexual abuse and the testimony of children.[11] In 1988 the World Council of Churches declared an Ecumenical Decade of Churches in Solidarity with Women. Then disclosures of sexual abuse at Mount Cashel hit the press on Easter Sunday1989, generating critical concern about the extent of sexual abuse in Canadian religious institutions.[12] That May, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. John's appointed a commission to conduct hearings surrounding sexual abuse at Mount Cashel headed by the former Lieutenant Governor of Newfoundland and Labrador, an Anglican named Gordon A. Winter. The Winter Report, as it is commonly known, was submitted in 1990.[13] This was followed by the Hughes Inquiry into Mount Cashel that began public hearings in September 1989.[14] As Judy Steed notes in *Our Little Secret*, "The Hughes Inquiry crashed through our collective denial." According to Steed, for the first time in Canadian history, a group of adult victims of child sexual abuse were publicly identified as they told their story on television.[15]

That December a lone gunman, a disgruntled former student, murdered fourteen women, engineering students at L'Ecole Polytechinque in Montreal, because they were women. The observance of this day continues on campuses across Canada and in memorial services organized by the Women's Inter-Church Council of Canada (WICC).

In the United States, Marie Fortune, a United Church of Christ Minister in Seattle, Washington, began training local clergy to respond to sexual violence and domestic violence in 1977. In 1979 the USA Department of Justice asked Fortune to develop a pilot project in rural communities addressing domestic violence, using the churches as the base of organization. Training in five areas of the USA and Canada then began. Fortune's first book, *Sexual Violence, the Unmentionable Sin,* was published in 1980.[16] Churchwomen in Canada began to pay attention to Fortune's workshops and to read her books.

Although this period in Canadian Anglican history coincides with women entering ordained ministry, according to Wendy Fletcher, in the first decade following the ordination of women, most Anglican clergy

women did not self-identify as feminists, but rather emulated the roles modeled by their male forebears and mentors.[17] Fletcher's findings allow one to see that the ordination of women, in and of itself, is not a measure of the church engaging issues relevant to women and children or advocating transformative actions arising from feminism, again reflecting the findings of Weldon.[18]

Meeting Donna Hunter

Donna Hunter came to work for the Diocese of Toronto in November 1988 following eight years as Director of the Women's Interchurch Council of Canada. While she served with WICC, the Council developed *Hands to End Violence against Women,* a curriculum for theological colleges.[19] This publication was made possible with federal funding through Status of Women Canada, funding no longer available due to shifting government priorities on advocacy for women by 2007. Although Hunter claimed copies were sent to every theological college in Canada, I was not aware of this resource during my years at Trinity and the Toronto School of Theology from 1985 to 1988.

Prior to joining WICC in 1980, Hunter worked with the YWCA on a program for women in poverty, beginning in 1977, after she completed her degree in Sociology from York University. Hunter was the first in her family to earn a university degree and did so by studying part time for ten years while parenting four young children. Her early years at York closely followed the evolution of the women's movement in North America in the 1970s. Hunter recalled having read Betty Friedan and described herself at that time as one of the women with "a problem that had no name."[20] Hunter also spoke of being influenced by the National Film Board Studio D productions that critiqued the ways women were portrayed in advertising and the media.[21]

While Director of the Women's Interchurch Council of Canada, Hunter was introduced to the work of Marie Fortune, and became an international adviser to the Center for the Prevention of Sexual and Domestic Violence based in Seattle, now known as the FaithTrust Insitute.[22] Fortune not only wrote and preached about sexual violence; she also developed workshops and teaching programs to help congregations and seminaries name, define, and respond to sexual misconduct with justice for its victims. Outstanding among these was *Not in My Church*.[23] Hunter was impressed by the analysis of power that Fortune brought to

sexual and domestic violence and abuse. Hunter recalled attending a Fortune workshop at the Centre for Christian Studies (CCS), the ecumenical educational program for lay ministry, affiliated with the Toronto School of Theology at that time.[24] According to Hunter, in the 1980s a majority of CCS students were women, and among them there was an awareness of clergy sexual misconduct. This gender demographic is not surprising, as the Centre was formed as a merger of the United Church and Anglican Church Training Centres for Women.[25]

As the first woman to work for the Toronto diocese in a professional capacity when she joined the Programme Resources staff, Hunter noted she prepared herself for this singular role by personally determining this as her last professional position so that if it did not work out she need not include the diocese as an employer on her resume! Hunter observed that women might be visibly present on committees or boards of the diocese, but their voices were not heard. Ordaining women may have reflected some measure of equality for women, but, for Hunter, it did not recognize talented, educated, committed women who sought to teach or lead but who did not see themselves as clergy. To ensure using her voice effectively Hunter attended professional development workshops in the USA that "pushed women to look at their own behavior in getting heard in male dominated organizations."[26] When I asked Hunter how she maintained her leadership and direction during this period, she replied that she considered the women for whom she spoke and the gatherings of women in the church to whom she listened; with them behind her she felt empowered "to do things I would never have done." "Without them, I would have remained quiet." She noted that before any change can happen there needed to be a critical mass of persons with interest in the issue.[27]

The disclosures of sexual abuse at Mount Cashel occurred six months after Hunter came to the Diocese of Toronto. A Toronto parish priest responded to the Mount Cashel news by contacting Terence Finlay, newly installed as the tenth Bishop of Toronto. Finlay determined that a sexual abuse task force be formed to address possible allegations of sexual abuse in the diocese.[28] Donna Hunter was the diocesan staff person responsible for this initiative. This group included a forensic psychiatrist, two male and two female clergy, one of four suffragan bishops of the diocese, and Mary Wells. The task force struggled with the issue of sexual misconduct and confidentiality of confession, suggesting clergy could have been protecting their own interests.[29] Hunter reflected that collegiality with Mary Wells kept her from feeling alienated within the dynamics

of the task force; she relied on Wells to keep a focus on policy development and avoid pitfalls that would hinder its effectiveness. Wells, by then, had written the handbook on Canada's laws regarding the sexual abuse of children; she firmly grasped policy issues.

In 1991 Hunter was appointed Director of Programme Resources. Hunter's "critical mass" grew that year with the formation of the Bishop's Committee on the Sexual Harassment of Women Clergy chaired by Marjorie Powles. Committee members included Alice Medcof, Marsha Hewitt of Trinity's Divinity Faculty, and Mary Wells.[30] Ironically, Hunter's appointment as Director of Programme Resources occurred when the former director was appointed Dean of Divinity at Trinity, a vacancy that occurred when a University of Toronto Grievance Review Panel ruled in favour of Professor Marsha Hewitt who filed a grievance against Trinity and the dean regarding the terms of her 1986 appointment to the divinity faculty.

In 1994 the Anglican Diocese of Toronto and Bishop Finlay recognized Donna Hunter's outstanding leadership and contributions to the church and to women by installing her as a Lay Canon of the Diocese.

Mary Wells and Anglicans

Mary Wells has been specializing in child protection and sexual abuse in families and in churches and religious communities in metropolitan Toronto for more than forty years. In the 1970s she served with the Children's Aid Society of Metropolitan Toronto, and in the 1980s she helped launch Justice for Children and Youth, a non-profit legal aid and advocacy program serving eligible children and families in the Toronto area.[31] At Justice for Children and Youth she developed innovative methods to prepare and support child witnesses for legal proceedings. In 1981 Wells was the first director of the Crisis Intervention Program of the Metro Toronto Special Committee on Child Abuse, where she introduced a model of rapid response to sexually abused children and offered training for police officers and child protection workers on investigating child sexual abuse cases. At the time of our interview in 2007, Wells was Executive Director for Catholic Family Services of Durham, Ontario, in suburban Toronto.

Wells, born and raised Roman Catholic, began to worship with a Toronto Anglican parish when working with the Institute for the Prevention of Child Abuse during the 1980s, when the Catholic church was

involved in controversies surrounding disclosures of child sexual abuse. At the Institute she trained attorneys and agencies responding to child abuse and developed child protection protocols. Her first experience training clergy on responses to allegations of child sexual abuse was with the Roman Catholic Diocese of Alexandria Cornwall in eastern Ontario during investigations of child abuse in Cornwall that lasted more than twenty years.[32] In the decade following her work on the Diocese of Toronto's Sexual Misconduct Policy, Wells continued her consultation responsibilities on behalf of abused children, including services and support for Tikinigan Child and Family Services in Northern Ontario. There, she prepared the first complainants to testify against Ralph Rowe, an Anglican priest who in May 2017 became the subject of a multi-million dollar class action suit against Scouts Canada, the Anglican Church, and the Diocese of Keewatin for sexual abuse of children.[33]

Wells' Irish Catholic family in Toronto included numerous priests and nuns. She attended Catholic schools where she recalls the wisdom of a grade twelve teaching sister who told her "God gave you a brain and I guess He meant you to use it." This was when Mary, then in grade twelve, asked if she might read Teilhard de Chardin's *The Divine Milieu*, then on the Vatican's index of forbidden books.[34] "Read it and see what you think," was the sister's reply. This encouraged Mary to consider, analyze, evaluate, discern, and use her own good brain, guided by a belief that God intended her to do so. This critical thinking had barely begun when the grade-twelve class was given "the sex talk" by an embittered old priest. "It is hard to believe today, but we Catholic girls, ages 16 and 17 mostly did not have a clue about the mechanics of intercourse." The "sex talk" started with the priest pulling down a wall chart depicting a hermaphrodite. "I guess he thought he could cover off male and female genitalia in one fell swoop. It went downhill from there; pubic hair meant 'keep out.' If you got wet it was a venial sin, if you let a boy touch you it was a mortal sin!" We walked out of the talk stunned and horrified. "But then I got to thinking; if God made sex, and God is good, then sex is meant to be a good thing."[35]

> Thank God I had this foundation when I started to get referrals to counsel sexually abused children as a young social worker in the early '80s. At the time this was an utterly new field with very few guidelines, so I used what skills and knowledge I had as a children's therapist. I had two basic premises: 1) the children had to be helped, and 2) they needed a therapist who was comfortable with sex and

> sexuality. The goals of the therapy were helping children overcome their shock from the abusive behaviour inflicted on them, to help them to believe it was not their fault, and to hold out a hope for them that they would grow up to enjoy happy, normal relationships. If I did not believe that God created sex to be a good thing, I couldn't have done this.
>
> God made sex to be a good thing, but like all gifts it can be abused. The idiotic sex talk by the priest, also led me to consider the hierarchical structures of the Roman Church. I came to a point where I could no longer be affiliated with the misogyny, nor could I raise my son in such an oppressive atmosphere. So I left and began to attend the Anglican Church in my mid thirties and am still there today. No church is perfect of course, but I think I am very comfortable with the way the Anglican Communion has struggled with issues of abuse and generally attempts to do the right thing.[36]

When Mary Wells volunteered her professional services to the task force to develop a sexual misconduct policy and protocol for the Diocese of Toronto, she brought the structure of the legal system to the group, as well as an understanding of the culture of church authority, canon law, and theology. Like Hunter, Wells understood that working with sexual abuse was working with issues of power, especially power of the abuser. Due to her familiarity with law, she was able to focus on the criminal justice system as a means of offsetting the power of an abuser. And her understanding of canon law enabled her to direct the task group to canon law as a means of rooting the policy in the church's legal tradition. But as a social worker and therapist she also brought the fruits of feminist practice perspective on sexual abuse, generated by American therapists such as Alice Miller, Sandra Butler, and Judith Lewis Herman, that broke through the silence surrounding sexual abuse and enabled the ability to respond to it.[37]

As Wells worked with Hunter and the task group, she saw that the developing policy was in the forefront of those she had seen in North America as it included misconduct in adult relationships as well as sexual abuse of children. In her subsequent ten years working with the diocese she trained both clergy and laypersons to take ownership of the problem of sexual misconduct within the church community. Her support was invaluable to me in 1992 when a female priest and colleague filed a complaint of sexual misconduct against my ordination mentor, then a

regional dean. Close to a decade later Wells assisted my work with the parish in which I then served as we learned my immediate predecessor in the parish had been charged with sexual abuse in the course of his ministry in another diocese.

During that decade Wells also assisted the Anglican Primate of Canada to respond to parishioners of St. George's Cathedral in Kingston, Ontario, where John Gallienne had served as choirmaster.[38] There had been no care for this congregation for two years following disclosures of Gallienne's abuse of choristers. Judy Steed covered the Galliene story for the *Toronto Star* and in her book, *Our Little Secret.*[39]

Silence, Sex, and Episcopacy

Wells views episcopal power as critical to dealing with the whole issue of sexual abuse, beginning with a need to remove "silencing mechanisms" that fail to disclose sexual abuse complaints, as well as failing to speak about sexuality and sexual abuse. For Wells, speaking about sexuality and sexual abuse is redemptive work in which we claim the courage to advocate on behalf of others, whereas "proscribing sex lives is the most powerful thing a church can do; it is how a church keeps its power."[40] Wells sees churches in general not grappling with basic understandings of human sexuality and sexual development, including differences between male and female sexuality, and sexual orientation across a broad spectrum. For her, the debates about sexual orientation that have preoccupied Anglicans for more than three decades are closely linked with sexual misconduct and the role of women.[41] They are about church leaders keeping their power. Male sexual orientation has dominated these debates. Her insights and observations are named and corroborated in literature by gay Anglican and Roman Catholic clergy describing "an ecclesial field of silence" – a term used by Mark Jordan in his work *The Silence of Sodom: Homosexuality in Modern Catholicism*.[42] Jay Emerson Johnson, an Episcopal priest and program director for the school of Gay and Lesbian Studies of the Pacific School of Religion, notes "we know that our own Anglican structures and ecclesial patterns can, have and still do exhibit many of the same dynamics Jordan identifies."[43]

Wells is aware that it was very helpful to come from outside the Anglican community, as she did not know the "rules of being deferential" among members of the diocesan sexual abuse task group. She therefore could raise issues and ask questions critical to that group. These issues

otherwise might have been swept into the great silence surrounding abuse and deference to clerical authority.[44]

Mary Wells continues her work through contributions to the Anglican Communion Safe Church Network, an international body inaugurated in 2008 at Lambeth.[45] Twenty years after the Diocese of Toronto adopted the sexual misconduct policy developed by Hunter and Wells, Mary Wells was with global members of the Anglican Communion in their 2011 conference, *Partnering for Prevention*, held in Canada at the University of Victoria, supported by the Diocese of British Columbia and the Anglican Foundation of Canada. Her private practice as a consultant and trainer in the area of child sexual abuse across North America has included extensive work for numerous religious congregations and communities including the Canadian Jesuits, the Anglican Church of Canada, and most recently the Anglican Communion Safe Church Commission to which the Archbishop of Canterbury appointed her as Anglican Canada's Safe Church Commissioner in 2017.

Constance Buchanan's observations of the interplay of religious systems of meaning and belief and the cultural patterns that shape personal stories and give meaning to their lives are illuminated in the narratives of both Donna Hunter and Mary Wells.[46] They informed the manner in which both women held their ministry to women and to the church when professionally engaged in policy development in the 1980s and 1990s, and again as they reflected on their committed careers two decades later. As institutional outsiders, Hunter and Wells confronted sexual abuse and the cultural dynamics of power, sexism, secrecy, and silencing mechanisms in their Anglican community. Empowered by faith and feminism, they moved a church closer to social and gender justice.

In writing their stories I became engaged in recording events shedding light on legacies that many Anglicans would rather remain unseen. Grace Paley, an American poet, in a radio interview 1985, observed that when you write you illuminate what is hidden, and that is a political act.[47] Feminism, even in church, is political, as is the writing of it.

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John Webster Grant – John Moir
Graduate Student Essay Prize Winner 2017

The Ties that Bind: Intermarriage Among Quakers and Methodists Around the Bay of Quinte Area in the Early to Mid-Nineteenth Century

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Established in 1791, the Province of Upper Canada, formerly the Province of Quebec, was an area that remained a transatlantic religious and political borderland from its settlement to at least the mid-nineteenth century. The framework of borderland used here is borrowed from historian Bernard Herman's definition in which he argued that borderlands "are locations of indeterminacy, performance, conflict, and uneasy negotiation," essentially places of exchange where identities are questioned, uncertain, and where "old paradigms and canons falter and new explanations and categories emerge."[1] This certainly rings true for the communities of the Midland District that formed along of the Bay of Quinte and Lake Ontario, settled by United Empire Loyalists after the Treaty of Paris in 1783 and the so-called Late Loyalists who were enticed to the area soon after by inexpensive land. Far from being a cohesive group, those who settled represented diverse cultural and religious backgrounds, creating a space where various groups grappled with one another for power, influence, and ultimately their place in this ever-shifting area. The district was also a vast wilderness – a new frontier of sorts that was different from the homes settlers had left in places like New York. Though there has been much mythologizing

regarding the Loyalists and their settlements, the majority of those who settled the Bay of Quinte were humble farmers, some of whom had fought in the American Revolution, and others who were more or less reluctant Loyalists.[2] Among this mix were prominent pockets of Quakers and Methodists that grew into substantial religious communities. Both of these denominations experienced significant transatlantic religious disputes that had repercussions on these communities. The Bay of Quinte provides a fascinating study in regards to Quaker and Methodist interactions as both dissenting religions entered the area around the same time through the movements of political refugees and grew in numbers in part due to travelling preachers. Both religious populations consequently flourished in the district while maintaining faith ties with their brethren and Friends in the United States. Additionally, in her study of the Yonge Street Quakers, Robynne Rogers Healey argued that both Quakerism and Methodism were "religions of experience" in contrast to Anglicanism, which was a religion of order.[3] Though their modes of worship differed greatly, their shared belief in God's grace and one's own personal conversion experience meant they shared a relationship in a sense and also suggests, as Healey notes, why evangelical Methodism came to influence Quakerism so much in the mid-nineteenth century.[4] This article examines the extent of interaction between the Quaker and Methodist communities along the Bay of Quinte between early settlement and the mid-nineteenth century. It explores settlement patterns, involvement in each other's religious gatherings, and intermarriage between the two groups. The number of marriages between Quakers and Methodists suggests that religious fluidity was a factor in choosing a partner, as well as allowing local or community identities to supersede religious ties.

The Midland District and the Bay of Quinte were home to more than just Methodists or Quakers. Neil Semple points out that it included "Dutch-German Lutherans, Palatine Irish Protestants, New England Congregationalists, Scots and Irish Presbyterians and Roman Catholics, New Light Baptists, and English Anglicans and Methodists," as well as Quakers, Mennonites, and other sects that "created a heady religious mixture" in the area.[5] Many Quaker families came to the area as political refugees or followed family to the frontier and were settled in one of the Royal or Cataraqui Townships as either disbanded soldiers or Loyalists who had lost their land during the war. A concentration of Quaker families were early settlers on the fourth of the Cataraqui Townships, later called Adolphustown after one of King George III's sons. First settled by the

company led by Major Peter Van Alstine from New York, the party included Friends who had been disowned by their Meeting in New York for taking up arms, as well as Quaker Loyalist sympathizers who had not fought but, nonetheless, had been caught in the crossfire and forced to leave. A majority of these Friends had been, or were, still under the authority of the Nine Partners Monthly Meeting in Dutchess County, New York, and connections between Upper Canadian Quakers and American Friends are seen early on in the Nine Partners records. Some visited family who had left before or just after the Treaty of Paris, and religious visits took place as early as 1794.[6] As well, Nine Partners recorded that it was aware that Friends in Upper Canada met together for meetings of worship regularly; and the Adolphustown Preparative Meeting was established in 1797 in the home of Philip Dorland after committees from the New York Yearly meeting and the Nine Partners Quarterly meeting assisted and were present in its establishment.[7] Due to the distance between the Preparative Meeting in Upper Canada and the Monthly Meeting in New York, the new meeting was granted special privileges usually reserved for Monthly Meetings, including accomplishing marriages and accepting or disowning members. By 1801, the Adolphustown Preparative Meeting grew enough to become its own Monthly Meeting; from there new preparative meetings and meetings for worship sprang up under its care, following Quaker settlement. West Lake Preparative Meeting, established in 1803, was one of these new meetings.[8] By 1809, Monthly Meetings were held one third of the time at the West Lake Preparative Meeting and, due to population growth, West Lake took over as the Monthly Meeting in 1821, while Adolphustown was reduced to a Preparative Meeting.[9] Though the Religious Society of Friends flourished in Upper Canada, it was not immune to the devastating schism that took place in 1827-8 known as the Hicksite and Orthodox split.

The name Hicksite came from the name of the Quaker minister Elias Hicks, and those labeled as Hicksites were loosely associated by their beliefs regarding the importance of the Inner Light rather than scriptural or doctrinal authority.[10] Although the split only took place in North America, the London Yearly Meeting involved itself in the 1820s by sending weighty English Friends who supported the Orthodox side to travel to meetings in North America.[11] One of these was Elizabeth Robson, a weighty member from London who travelled throughout North American meetings for four years, attempting to bring unity. She visited West Lake Monthly Meeting in 1824 and the West Lake Women's

Monthly Meeting noted her "company and gospel labours have been comfortable and encouraging to us."[12] Despite the pleasant-sounding minute in 1824, doctrinal disagreements simmered and the 1828 schism tore apart Quaker communities in Upper Canada. These disputes quickly became hostile. In one instance, Hicksite adherent Anna Cronk "push[ed] the half years meeting clerk," although she later denied doing so to the West Lake Monthly Meeting.[13] Things fared little better in the men's meeting. The Orthodox meeting recorded that some of the Hicksites shouted at the Friends from the Yearly Meetings Committee and called them "[l]iars, deceivers, and promoters of disorder and many abusive expressions which cannot be recollected"; they also locked the meeting house and refused to give over possession of the key.[14] This is an example within the Quaker Atlantic where the transatlantic Quaker community influenced the local contexts of Quakerism.[15]

Methodism entered Upper Canada in a similar way to Quakerism, as the faith of political refugees during and after the American Revolution. Consider the Hecks and Emburys, originally German Palatines who were resettled in Ireland then later came to New York, who were among some of the first Methodist families in Upper Canada.[16] These families were instrumental in building the first Methodist church in New York in 1768; they repeated these efforts in 1785 after they settled in Augusta, the seventh of the Royal Townships, and began their own Methodist class there. Augusta became one of the points on the Upper Canadian circuit established by Reverend William Losee, a travelling preacher who had originally gone to Upper Canada to see family and returned soon after, in 1791, as a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church.[17] Losee helped build the first Methodist meeting house in Upper Canada, constructed in 1792 in Adolphustown. Upper Canada proved to be a rich mission field for travelling preachers sent by the American Methodist Episcopal Church. That changed with the War of 1812 and the arrival and competition of British Wesleyan Methodist preachers in 1814.[18] Historian Todd Webb notes that, as the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Britain began to send its own missionaries to Upper Canada, the distinct British and American factions had to share a space and mission field on and off until 1874.[19] This led to the Upper Canadian Methodist Episcopals breaking from the American conference in 1824 and, in 1828, establishing the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, which had no formal connection to their American brethren. Webb notes that the Canadian Conference joined with the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada in 1833, but that collapsed in

1840, leading to seven years of "bitter transatlantic conflict" until finally the British and Canadian Wesleyan Methodists reunited.[20] In his recent study, Webb argues that Upper Canadian Methodism "became increasingly integrated into a larger British world" after 1814 with the transatlantic connections vital to the growth of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Upper Canada.[21] These transatlantic religious bonds played an important role in relationships between Wesleyan Methodists and Orthodox Quakers, who both maintained distinct British religious links.

Settlement patterns facilitated interactions between Quakers and Methodists along the Bay of Quinte. Simply put, many of them were neighbours. Consider the small township of Adolphustown. Thomas Casey, a native of the area, noted that the first Quaker meeting house was built in 1798 about a mile west from the first Methodist church built in 1792.[22] Paul Huff, who lived on lot eighteen on the third concession, allowed the church to be built on his land overlooking Hay Bay. Though the first Adolphustown Preparative Meeting was held in the home of Philip Dorland, the construction of the Quaker meeting house six years later in 1798 was just one lot over on the land of Philip's brother, John Dorland, and his neighbour Garret Benson. Philip Dorland had owned the twenty-first lot in the third concession, while his brother and Benson held parts of the neighbouring twenty-second lot.[23] Hence, the Quaker meeting house was built just four lots from Paul Huff's land, making the first Quaker and Methodist meeting houses in Upper Canada just a ten minute walk down the road from each other.[24] Additionally, if one looks at the list of the twenty-two subscribers who agreed to pay for the Methodist meeting house in 1792, some of their names can be located as early landowners living within a few kilometers radius of the Hay Bay Church. These landowners include William Casey, Paul Huff, Joseph Clapp, William Ruttan, Henry Hover, Conrad Vandusen, and Henry Davis. The early land records of a small section of the first and third concessions from the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first few years of the nineteenth, show that known Methodists lived side by side with their Quaker neighbours. For instance, Jonathan Allen, a Quaker, lived beside William Ruttan, Joseph Allen, and James Parrott, all Methodists; similarly weighty Quaker Daniel Haight lived next door to Methodists Conrad Vandusen, Henry Davis, and Henry Hoover.[25] James Parrott originally settled in Earnesttown, the second of the Cataraqui Townships. He is recorded in the travelling Methodist minister Elijah Woolsey's memoirs as being a member of the church and providing a night's food and lodging for

Woolsey, Reverend Darius Dunham, and James Coleman in 1794.[26] In a word, in the early days of settlement and religious growth along the Bay of Quinte, those instrumental in helping both Methodism and Quakerism take root lived as neighbours. Those who lived in close proximity were likely to interact through local governance, selling and buying, various community gatherings such as barn-raisings or logging-bees, and reliance on one's neighbours especially during harvesting times.

There is also evidence of religious interaction between Quakers and Methodists in the area. Episcopal Methodists found revival meetings a popular way to bring others to Christ and increase membership. The Hay Bay Methodist camp meeting that took place in late September 1805 on the Bay of Quinte became legendary. This was the first camp meeting to take place in Upper Canada. It was a four-day gathering in which hundreds came to observe, dine, and listen to sermons, prayers, and exhortations. The location was near the original Hay Bay Church on the land of Paul Huff. George Rawlyk argues this was due to the spiritual importance of this area but, practically, Huff's farm was also accessible area for wagons, boats, and those on foot.[27] Not only did the camp meeting attract Methodists: it also attracted other curious settlers, essentially offering backwoods frontier entertainment for a few days. Nathan Bangs, the young itinerant minister who was basically the leader of the gathering, wrote about it in his journals. He estimated around 2,500 people were there on the final day, and stated, "the interest and excitement were so great and the crowd so large," yet the "impression of the Word was universal, the power of the Spirit was manifest throughout the whole encampment, and almost every tent was a scene of prayer."[28] It is hard to image that, with such large crowds and loud goings-on around the camp meeting, at least some Quakers in the area would not have gone to see the action, especially with so many living in the immediate area. The groaning, joyful shouts, and loud prayers of the Methodists would have been quite a sight for any Quakers who attended, especially seeing the 'jerks,' or jerking contortions that Bangs recorded took place – people began to shake and jerk as they became soaked in the spirit .[29] Rebecca Larson has noted that, though the Quakers were originally known for their religious outbursts and quaking in the spirit, worship in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries took on a quietist tone which discouraged such displays and instead highlighted inner-reflection.[30] Consequently, the displays at Hay Bay would have been entertaining to some Quakers, and at the very least provided a space of interaction between themselves and their Methodist neighbours.

There are accounts of Methodist preachers attending Quaker meetings in the area, as in the case in the journal of Hugh Judge. An active Quaker minister from New York, Judge travelled to Upper Canada in November 1799. He visited the homes of some notable Quakers in the Bay of Quinte, including Aaron Brewer, Philip Dorland, John Dorland, Daniel Way, Daniel Haight, and David Barker. During his travels, he wrote:

> Attended meeting at Aaron Brewer's in the forenoon, and had another in the afternoon a few miles westward: both were large and highly favoured opportunities . . . Near the close of the afternoon meeting, a Methodist teacher stood up, and wished liberty to speak a few words; and no one making any reply, he proceeded, and told the people to lay aside their prejudices, and receive the things they had heard delivered; for he had to testify among them that the truths of the everlasting gospel had been preached to them. After adding a little more he sat down, and seemed much affected, having delivered himself in a tender, feeling manner; and I felt well satisfied that what he said did no hurt to the meeting. When he rose, a Friend who sat next to me made a motion for me to request him to sit down; but I thought it would be less likely to interrupt the solemn covering that was over the meeting, to let him alone; and so I believe it proved. There is a great need of care on all hands. This man had with him most of his hearers, and divers of them were in a tender, seeking state; some having lately left them and come to Friends' meetings – so that his testimony would be likely to be confirming to those newly convinced. May the Lord prosper his own work.[31]

This extract from Judge's journal reveals that the local Quaker meetings were not immune from Methodist influence even early on, and *vice versa*. The fact that no one at the meeting spoke against the Methodist preacher or corrected him suggests this was probably not an altogether new experience. As well, the Methodist preacher must have known to some degree how Quaker meetings operated, as he waited in silence until he felt prompted to stand and deliver a heartfelt message, suggesting he was familiar with Quaker practice in worship. Additionally, Judge records that the Methodist did no harm and delivered his words tenderly. His final sentences suggest there were a number of new worshippers at the Quaker meeting. Perhaps they came from a Methodist background, as Judge notes that a number of those gathered had left the Methodist church and were interested in Quaker meetings.

A more open meeting is recorded in Rufus Hall's diary, in his second visit to the Bay of Quinte in 1804. Originally from Rhode Island, yet later settling in New York, Hall was a well-travelled and weighty Quaker who visited the Bay of Quinte in 1798 and in 1804. He wrote that, after setting out from Kingston with Hugh McMullen, a Quaker, and Lewis Cameron, a Methodist, they reached the home of Gershom Wing and "had a meeting in the evening among Methodists, Baptists, and others, to general satisfaction."[32] Again, this was not an unfamiliar event, as Hall records quite a few times where meetings were held with Methodists, Baptists, and Quakers in which people came to hear the gospel and a good sermon. When he visited Niagara, he mentions there was a gathering of "a few Friends, some Methodists, and many others who never before had been at a Friends' meeting . . . Although it was a new doctrine to many of them, yet they were willing to acknowledge it was a great truth, and too much neglected."[33] This demonstrates the close proximity in which these religions operated early in the frontier period.[34]

Marriage played a particularly important role in building and maintaining Quaker communities. Accordingly, local meetings strictly enforced endogamy amongst their members, and the process of marrying involved a couple proposing their marriage to their Monthly Meeting at least two consecutive months before being given approval to wed.[35] Moreover, Jerry Frost has argued that after 1755, the revival of disciplining out of order marriages resulted in severity when dealing with members that married someone outside the faith.[36] This was due, in part, to the belief that allowing "out of order" marriages would encourage others to follow suit, resulting in children raised outside of the faith and a weakening of the community.[37] The Quaker preoccupation with endogamy was not shared by Methodists. Peter Ward argues in his study of nineteenth-century marriage in Upper Canada that for Methodists, marriage was "peripheral to the preoccupation with conversion and the achievement of saving faith."[38] Hence, the repercussions for Methodists who married Quakers would have been slight or nonexistent compared to the consequences Friends faced when they married non-members. Though Methodists were as concerned as Quakers with adultery and pre-marital sexual offences, they were not as concerned with endogamy, nor did they have the elaborate discipline that Quakers had developed for dealing with such offences. Ward notes that Methodist ministers at times denied communion to those known to be living in sexual sin. Sometimes they refused admission to class meetings until repentance was obvious, but,

again, this did not compare to Quaker disownment and the process in place there for acknowledgement and acceptance.[39]

An examination of the instances of Quakers who did choose to marry non-members suggests that local identities began to overtake religious ones, and that greater religious fluidity was a response to marriage choices made in a particular frontier context. Due to the impracticality and near impossibility of identifying the religious identity of each of the spouses of Quakers who married out of order in the Bay of Quinte communities, it is impossible to know the precise number of Quakers who married Methodists. This is also due to the spectrum of religious adherence, with members ranging from the devout to the barely adherent. Though the devout are certainly easier to identity, the adherent are still considered part of a religious group. However, in those couples that were identifiable, there did not appear to be more female Friends than male Friends who married Methodists. This is interesting as it was much easier for male Friends to travel outside their meeting to find a spouse; and the Adolphustown Monthly Meeting minutes show that quite a few male Quakers did so, marrying women from the Yonge Street Monthly Meeting in Upper Canada, Queensbury Monthly and Nine Partners' Monthly Meeting in New York, and the Rahway and Plainfield and Galloway Monthly Meetings in New Jersey.[40] This implies that though suitable marriage partners – those who were Quaker and not too closely related—may have been more limited on the frontier, male Friends at least had the ability to travel to another community to find a partner, whereas women Friends did not. Though Quaker women experienced a great deal of spiritual freedom that enabled them to minister and even travel to do so, it appears they were still constrained by social norms and were at a disadvantage due to their gender when it came to travelling to find a marriage partner. Despite this reality, it seems that male and female Friends in the Bay of Quinte area married Methodists in roughly equal numbers, signifying less of a gendered response, instead favouring a local and community approach to choosing a spouse. In couples that are identifiable, what emerges are unique stories of Friends who dealt with marrying out of the unity by either fully joining Methodism, or acknowledging their transgression to their meeting in hopes of their acknowledgement being accepted. Healey argues that out of order marriages were treated like adultery, creating tensions and familial strains in the Quaker identity when it occurred in communities.[41] In choosing to marry a non-Friend, spiritual kinship was broken in favour of a more locally based

kinship.

An example of Quaker and Methodist intermarriage in the early community is seen in the 1812 marriage of Rhoda Bathsheba Haight to Daniel Ruttan. Rhoda was the fourth child of Daniel Haight and Mary Dorland, both active members in the Adolphustown Monthly Meeting. A complaint first came against Rhoda in April 1812 to the Adolphustown Women's Monthly Meeting, and she is noted as disowned for marrying out of order by the men's meeting that same month.[42] Both of Rhoda's parents were weighty members of their meeting for many years, and, although Daniel Haight was disowned from Nine Partners' in 1790, he acknowledged to the Adolphustown Monthly Meeting in 1798 and quickly became an important member again.[43] According to family records, Daniel Haight followed his father-in-law, John Dorland, to Upper Canada and set up a general store in Adolphustown.[44] John Dorland was influential in establishing the first Quaker meeting in Upper Canada, and is noted along with his wife and children as moving to Upper Canada in 1789 as members in good standing.[45] Daniel Haight was not only an important member of the Monthly Meeting, but he also held various offices in the township, including town clerk, overseer of highways, assessor, town warden, collector, and pathmaster until near his death.[46] Canniff Haight's narrative about his grandfather, Daniel, records a lengthy letter written in 1797 by Daniel to Darius Dunham, the Methodist minister, in which Haight states that he believed the early Methodist manner of passionate and noisy public worship not only to be grating, but also inconsistent with the New Testament.[47] In light of those sentiments, one can only imagine the tension that his daughter Rhoda's marriage in 1812 to the son of a prominent local Methodist might have brought to their family.

Rhoda Haight's husband, Daniel Ruttan, was the son of Lieutenant William Ruttan, a Loyalist who came to the Bay of Quinte with his wife and brother, Peter, who had been a captain with the British army.[48] In recording the history of the family in the Bay of Quinte, Thomas Casey wrote that the itinerant Reverend William Losee stayed in the home of William Ruttan on his first religious visit to Upper Canada, thus forming a Methodist society in the home of William Ruttan and establishing Ruttan as a class leader.[49] This early era of Methodism has been romanticized in Casey's work. "Mr. Ruttan used to take a flaming pine knot in hand and together with his wife, set out, following a blazed path through the forest, and walking sometimes three miles to a neighbor's house to hold a prayer meeting," he wrote, "The people along the line, when they saw

the torch of their class-leader coming, would fall in rank, all bearing torches."[50] This heroic frontier image of the Ruttan family leading the faithful through the woods to church, though likely exaggerated, demonstrates the commitment the early family had to Methodism. William's brother, Peter, was one of the louder of the local Methodists, and was known to shout constantly for joy and cry aloud, earning the nickname "Noisy Pete."[51] Both brothers subscribed to help build the original Hay Bay Church, with William giving ten pounds and Peter donating three.[52] William's son, Daniel Ruttan, was born just two years before the church was built and, thus, was likely raised in the Methodist teachings. Although we cannot be sure where the couple attended meetings in their early years of marriage, what does become clear is that Rhoda Haight Ruttan held on to her Quaker faith despite marrying a non-member. She acknowledged her out of order marriage in the Adolphustown Women's Monthly Meeting in 1829, six years after her wedding.[53] Rhoda's acknowledgement was accepted a month later, and a request was signed in 1824 by Daniel and Rhoda for their children to be accepted as members of the Quaker meeting.[54] This suggests that Daniel likely became a member at some point as well, and although his reasons for leaving his childhood church are unclear, their marriage demonstrates not only the proximity of the families and the impact of location, but also of their religious fluidity. Rhoda and Daniel may have met through community gatherings or neighbourly interactions; Rhoda's choice to marry outside her faith, despite its obvious importance to her, speaks to building community and local ties over religious ones.

The marriage of Phebe White and Thomas Wright is an example of intermarriage about a generation after Rhoda and Daniel Ruttan's marriage. Phebe's parents, Aaron White and Mary Palmer, came as Late Loyalists in 1794. Aaron White's petition to Governor John Simcoe requests a lot of two hundred acres in Sophiasburgh, Midland District.[55] Both Aaron White and his wife, Mary, became members of the Adolphustown Monthly Meeting in 1800, and soon after became actively involved in committee work, with Aaron being appointed to the station of Elder in 1804.[56] Though Phebe White and Thomas Wright are listed in Reverend Robert McDowall's register as being married in March 1833, the first mention of Phebe Wright's acknowledgement is listed in July 1834 in the Orthodox West Lake Women's Monthly Meeting though it was being revived so it certainly not the first time the issue of her marriage had been raised.[57] In October 1834, the clerk recorded that Friends appointed to visit

Phebe reported they had done so and believed they should continue her as a member for the time being but leave her case another two months. Yet, in December, a different committee was formed to visit her.[58] Finally, in June 1835 a decision was made, and Phebe Wright's acknowledgement was returned since the committee failed to "find her in a disposition to make friends satisfaction."[59] She was formally disowned in March 1836. Phebe's case suggests that, though she married a non-member, she still wanted to hold on to her faith. We can see this in her acknowledgement and long, drawn-out period of membership limbo. It is likely that she continued to attend meetings throughout this three-year period, though, when she was formally disowned, it was noted she had also been neglecting meetings at that time. It is possible that her frustration with the prolonged acknowledgement process drove her finally to leave the West Lake Monthly Meeting, and perhaps join the church of her new husband. Though no formal records indicate that her husband, Thomas Wright, was with certainty a Methodist when she married him, there are clues that he and his family adhered to that faith. For example, his uncle and brother are listed in 1830 as part of a committee in helping to establish a Wesleyan Missionary Society with the Reverend James Jackson.[60]

Additionally, Wright's cousin – Mary Armstrong – became Egerton Ryerson's second wife in 1833.[61] In the 1851 census of Canada West, Thomas and Phebe Wright are listed as "E. Methodist" along with their seven children, then living in York County.[62] Although the circumstances around the couple's marriage and subsequent church activities remain unclear, the reality that Phebe spent three years after her marriage waiting to be accepted back as a member to the West Lake Monthly Meeting reveals a firm desire to maintain her spiritual heritage while married to a man who was likely a Methodist. As noted in her formal disownment, at some point in this process she stopped attending meetings altogether and likely joined the Methodist church.

Identifying marriages that took place between Quakers and Methodists before 1831 is difficult because though Quakers left detailed records of disownments and out of order marriages, Methodist ministers were not legally able to perform marriages until 1831, when this right was granted to Methodists, Mennonites, Moravians, Baptists, Congregationalists, and Independents.[63] Some of the ministers who did perform marriages where one partner was a Quaker included Reverends John C. Davidson, Richard Jones, Daniel McMullen, Cyrus Richmond Allison, all of whom were originally part of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada until it

merged in 1833 with the British Wesleyans, becoming the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada.[64] Another reason why intermarriages become slightly easier to identify closer to the mid-nineteenth century is the doctrinal similarities that emerged between Wesleyan Methodism and Orthodox Quakerism that resulted in a slight upswing in subsequent intermarriage. As Healey has argued in her study of the Yonge Street Quakers, by the 1840s and 1850s, more disowned Quakers were marrying Methodists and even seeking membership with Methodist churches as their "belief structures were akin to one another."[65] Indeed, this appears to be true in the case of marriage of Elizabeth Haight and Robert Sills Cadman. Elizabeth was the niece of the aforementioned Rhoda Haight who married Daniel Ruttan, making her the granddaughter of prominent Friends, Daniel Haight and Mary Dorland. Her father, Consider Merritt Haight, married Deborah Mullet, who also came from a well-known Quaker family. Deborah Mullet came to Upper Canada from England in 1821 with her parents, William and Mary Mullett, and her ten siblings. She was seventeen years old when she arrived in the colony.[66] The family first settled in Adolphustown, then on Amherst Island when Deborah Mullet was twenty-one, and then moved back to the mainland with the financial help of their English family.[67] Deborah married Consider Merritt Haight on 17 December 1828. They had six children together before his untimely death in 1838, when his daughter, Elizabeth, would have been only nine years old.[68] After her husband's death, Deborah Mullet rented out their farm and opened a small co-educational school for children within the Adolphustown community, possibly the setting in which Elizabeth Haight would meet her spouse, Robert Cadman.[69] Deborah Haight is listed with her children in the Orthodox West Lake Monthly Meeting Register, and, coming from England, she would have certainly sided with the Orthodox Quakers over the Hicksites.[70]

Elizabeth Haight's husband, Robert Cadman, was certainly not Quaker, as a complaint arose against Elizabeth Haight in the West Lake Orthodox Meeting in July 1847 for her marrying out of order.[71] In August of that year her case was delayed another six months, until it was recorded in July 1848 that she had "joined another society and evinced no desire to make satisfaction to friends," after which she was disowned.[72] The difference between Elizabeth Haight's marriage to Robert Cadman and earlier Quaker and Methodist intermarriage is that Elizabeth Cadman never submitted an acknowledgment and likely stopped attending meetings soon after her marriage. She seems to have exhibited no desire

to correct her behaviour and likely informed the committee sent to visit her that she had joined another society. It can be inferred that she joined the Methodist church as she and her husband are both listed as "W. Methodist" in the 1851 census of Canada West, two years after she was disowned.[73] By this point in time, it would not have been too much of an adjustment for Elizabeth to join the Wesleyan Methodist faith due to its own British ties and increasing doctrinal similarities with Orthodox Quakerism, which gradually adopted more evangelical overtones.

Robert and Elizabeth Cadman continued to identify as Methodist until their deaths. Their names can be found in the 1871 census where they identified as "Wesleyan Methodist," in 1881, as part of the Methodist Church of Canada, and likewise in the 1891 and 1901 censuses. Elizabeth Cadman is last listed in the 1911 census, then a widow.[74] Whether the marriage between Robert and Elizabeth caused any tension in their families' homes is unknown, though from the entries in Deborah Mullet Haight's diaries, it appears the couple remained close to Elizabeth's mother, Deborah, and her second husband, Levi Vincent Bowerman, whom she married in 1850.[75] Deborah Mullet Haight's extant diaries, from 1874 to 1892, detail her everyday activities and thoughts. In July 1875, she lists her daughter Elizabeth Cadman as travelling with a Methodist minister from Whitby, and, later that month, she visited Elizabeth and Robert by boat along with her daughter and son-in-law, Rachel and Nelson Sills.[76] As well, Elizabeth and Robert's son and only child, William Cadman, is recorded as visiting his grandmother in 1879, along with Elizabeth who spent two weeks with her mother in 1880.[77] Deborah continued to record her daughter and son-in-law's visits until her death, and, just as Elizabeth and Robert remained Methodist for the rest of their lives, so too did Deborah Mullet Haight remain a faithful Quaker until her death. Elizabeth Cadman's marriage and subsequent family dynamics are a reflection of her choice not just to marry outside her faith, but also to transition fully to her husband's Methodist faith. Not only did she choose a local community connection over her religious affiliation, but she also adopted a new faith identity.

Intermarriage between Methodists and Quakers in the Midland District, more specifically the Bay of Quinte area, demonstrates something unique about this community in the early-nineteenth century. Though Quakers divided over doctrinal issues in 1828, and the Episcopal Methodist ministers chafed over the activities of British Wesleyan ministers in Upper Canada after 1814, the shifting reality in Quakers'

ability to marry outside their faith and remain Quaker, integrate into Methodism, or move between the denominations, indicates that lived experience changed the community. As the community matured, its relationships were focused less on religious or political identities and more on local and community ties. Though this study has only scratched the surface, the supplanting of religious identity for local, then national, identity, marks the end of the Quaker Atlantic, as suggested by Healey. As a frontier space – a borderland – the ties created and chosen by Quakers who married Methodists demonstrates a transitory space "between two iterations of belonging,"[78] where religious identities came up against local expressions of community when choosing non-member partners superseded maintaining an endogamous Quaker society. Location, integration, and intermarriage all contributed to this blurring of identities in the Bay of Quinte area.

Endnotes

1. Bernard L. Herman, "Parlor and Kitchen in the Borderlands of the Urban British American Atlantic World, 1670-1720," in *Building the British Atlantic World: Spaces, Places, and Material Culture, 1600-1850*, eds. Daniel Maudlin and Bernard L. Herman (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 253.

2. Norman Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists: The Ontario Loyalist Tradition and the Creation of Usable Pasts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 15.

3. Robynne Rogers Healey, *From Quaker to Upper Canadian: Faith and Community Among Yonge Street Friends, 1801-1850* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 11.

4. Healey, *From Quaker to Upper Canadian.*

5. Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism,* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 42.

6. Nine Partners Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1779-1811, 20 August 1794, Canadian Friends Historical Association, available online at http://www.cfha.info/NP1794-11.pdf.

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"A Canadian, then an English subject": American Impressions of Egerton Ryerson

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Egerton Ryerson was born to United Empire Loyalist parents in Charlotteville about a year after American Methodist Nathan Bangs established the Long Point circuit. More than twenty years later, when Ryerson was himself received on trial at Saltfleet in 1825, the young preacher found himself surrounded by Americans who, like Bangs, felt themselves called to spread the Methodist message not only in their own country, but also in British North America. Not including the six preachers received on trial that year, among them American-born Anson Green, almost 30% of the preachers in attendance were born, bred, and received on trial in the United States. Americans, then, were no strangers to the young Egerton Ryerson. And yet, later that summer, when Ryerson crossed the border into the United States for the first time in his life, he remarked in his journal, as though it came as a kind of revelation, that, "the manners of the people are not pleasant to me."[1]

To describe Ryerson's views of America and Americans as complex would be to understate the case. Contradictory might be nearer the mark. On the one hand, Ryerson often corresponded with American Methodists and more than once attended the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church as a Canadian delegate; he served as the emissary who personally solicited American Wilbur Fisk to serve as Canada's first Methodist bishop; and he did not scruple to acknowledge the great debt he owed to Nathan Bangs for the degree to which Bangs's *Letters to Young Ministers of the Gospel* had shaped and influenced him as a young

preacher. On the other hand, Ryerson was often at pains to distance Canadian Methodists publically from their American brethren; he routinely denounced any American influence that might further republican leanings north of the border; and not long after taking the helm of the province's educational system, he banned the use of American textbooks outright, even going so far as to argue that, "in precisely those parts of Upper Canada where the United States Books had been used most extensively, there the spirit of insurrection . . . was most prevalent."[2]

It is the purpose of this paper to explore how Americans and American Methodists responded to Egerton Ryerson. This is no easy undertaking. Even his fellow Canadians hardly took a single view of him. Ryerson was not a man known for his consistency and routinely angered those who felt betrayed by him. Even Ryerson's own brothers were often at odds with him. When his positions appeared friendly to American interests, American Methodists largely treated him as one of their own. When he stood against their interests, they distanced themselves from him. On a few occasions they also used him, or his name, to help resolve their own internal disputes. But for the most part, when they were not simply ignoring him, they seem to have been puzzled by him. For, in the words of one American observer, though universally acknowledged to be "a man of talents," he was also "a clerical politician despised for his political tergiversations."[3]

Despite the fact that Ryerson rose to undoubted prominence in Upper Canada as the editor of the *Christian Guardian* after 1829, it was not until the early 1830s that the American press much noticed him. Canadian Methodists had been independent of the American General Conference for several years by that time, and a merger with the British Wesleyans was then in the offing. In order to negotiate the terms of the union, Ryerson undertook a trip to London in March 1833 by way of New York. Just before embarking he met with Bangs, Fisk, and other Methodists and promised to send weekly updates from across the Atlantic to the *Christian Advocate.* This he did not do. Instead, upon his return to New York in September, he wrote a letter to the *Advocate* that seemed calculated to curry favour with his American brethren. After describing English Methodism as the very picture of harmonious prosperousness, he added pointedly: "I heard Mr. Bunting and other leading preachers speak in high terms, and in the most affectionate manner, of American Methodism, and of its economy. They do indeed regard it as Wesleyan, and hail it as *fraternal* in the highest sense of the expression." How generous.

Ryerson's letter also alludes ingratiatingly to the "truly Christian and liberal conduct" of the General Conference toward the Canadians and "the reciprocal feelings of brotherly love that exist between the American and Canadian Conferences."[4]

And yet the ink was hardly dry on Ryerson's New York letter when the *Christian Guardian* published his infamous "Impressions Made by our Late Visit to England" in October. The piece marked a sharp turn to the right and offered a thoroughgoing rebuke of republicanism. The antidote for both republicanism and radicalism was, of course, the "moderate toryism" of the British Wesleyans. Although the Americans did not go as far as William Lyon Mackenzie – his *Colonial Advocate* responded by denouncing Ryerson for having "gone over to the enemy" and "hoisted the colours of a cruel, vindictive tory priesthood" – American disapproval was equally unambiguous. A month after Ryerson's "Impressions" appeared in Upper Canada, the New York *Christian Advocate* effectively disowned him, reprinting from his "Impressions" "such paragraphs as are relevant to our purpose" and declaring that, "The American reader will bear in mind that Mr. R. is a British subject writing of British affairs." Had they said, with Mackenzie, that Ryerson had simply "gone over to the enemy" the verdict could not have been clearer. Ryerson had made himself a foreigner.[5]

The Americans paid little further attention to Ryerson until the union between the Wesleyans and the Canadians was in peril. In May 1838, Ryerson published a scathing rebuke of the *Christian Guardian* and the British Wesleyans in the *Upper Canada Herald* for supporting the executions of Samuel Lount and Peter Matthews in the wake of the rebellions. A month later, at the Canada Conference held in Kingston under the concluding presidency of British Wesleyan William Harvard, Ryerson stirred controversy once again by regaining editorial control over the *Christian Guardian* and, much to the irritation of the British Wesleyan Missionary Committee, set about using it as a platform to advocate for the secularization of the Clergy Reserves. Around the same time, an American visiting Toronto attended Ryerson's church with some eagerness to hear him preach. Like the British Wesleyans, however, he held that Ryerson's political advocacy was unbecoming to a preacher. "I had long disliked the man," he observed in the pages of the *New York Evangelist*, "for becoming a political champion, when he should have preached the gospel." Ryerson, moreover, preached a poor sermon. "I expected an intellectual sermon from him," the writer continued, "as a man of talents, and not one very

evangelical, as he was a clerical politician. I was disappointed: his style was diffuse and feeble – his sermon was not logical in its construction . . . without much unity or point."[6]

By the spring of 1840, an impossible impasse had grown up between the Wesleyans and the Ryerson brothers. In fact, things had deteriorated to such an extent that in May John and Egerton Ryerson attended the General Conference in Baltimore and made arrangements through Nathan Bangs to take pulpits in New York if their Canadian brethren failed to support them in the teeth of Wesleyan opposition. At the Canada conference next month, however, not only was Egerton Ryerson cleared of all charges: he was also selected, with his brother William, to visit England and deal directly with the Wesleyans. Not surprisingly, with delegates as objectionable as these, the Wesleyans put an end to the union almost immediately. The Americans were not displeased. "In the meantime," the editors of the *Western Christian Advocate* wrote, "we would just say, that the separation will be for the benefit of the Canadian Methodists." The same month rumours that Egerton Ryerson might be appointed a Methodist Bishop in Canada appeared in *The New-Yorker* and *Niles's National Register.* In a way that rumour was prescient. But it was in the colonial government, not the church, that Ryerson's promotion awaited him.[7]

In November 1843, Governor General Charles Metcalfe found himself in an awkward spot when his reform ministers resigned in the wake of a conflict over patronage. Metcalfe turned to Ryerson for advice in January and it is just possible that he offered him the position of Chief Superintendent of Education in exchange for his help. Ryerson responded by publishing a series of nine tracts in the *British Colonist* arguing in favour of Metcalfe's position. Hodgins called it, "unquestionably the most memorable act of Dr. Ryerson's long and eventful life." Predictably, however, the *Christian Advocate* ignored the whole affair. Like the Wesleyans and, indeed, the writer in the *New York Evangelist,* American Methodists seemed not to have been particularly enamoured with the idea of a preacher meddling in politics. But *The Albion*, a New York weekly known for reprinting articles from English journals (like the Boston *Atheneum* and the Philadelphia *National Recorder*), could not have been more delighted with Ryerson's interference. "Seven devils were cast out of Mary Magdalene," the paper enthused, "and if Mr. Ryerson can succeed in casting only one evil spirit out of Canada – we mean the spirit of discontent – we shall be willing to canonize him!"[8]

The next few years were difficult but heady ones for Ryerson. American Methodists ignored his appointment as Chief Superintendent of Education and the political struggles that role entailed. But not all Americans turned a blind eye to Ryerson's educational efforts. In fact, the first lengthy biography of Ryerson to appear south of the border was published in the *American Journal of Education* – the "most important periodical of its class" according to Frank Mott – in the spring of 1868. By that time Ryerson was firmly established in the role, but poor health had led to talk of an imminent retirement. The biography is remarkable chiefly for its inconsistency. Ryerson's activities as a preacher, for example, are presented as even-handed and reasonable – his conflict with John Strachan, his time at the helm of the *Christian Guardian,* his efforts on behalf of the Academy, even his infamous "Impressions" are glossed over as reflections "on various social, political and clerical questions in England, which attracted much attention, and created a good deal of discussion." It is somewhat surprising, then, that the piece goes on to detail at great length Ryerson's opposition to the use of American textbooks in Canadian schools, even citing his 1847 Special Report that drew a link between American textbooks and the rebellions. Even more surprising is that, though the piece does go on to discuss Ryerson's efforts to establish public school libraries in 1854, no mention is made of the fact that his 1857 catalogue of approved books included titles of British as well as American manufacture and origin. Were the readers of the *Journal* simply expected to accept Ryerson's anti-Americanism and not hold it against him on the grounds that he had done so much to further the cause of education more broadly? Or was this a deliberate effort at distortion? Further research is required.[9]

American Methodists had few opportunities to read about Ryerson again in their own publications until the Wesleyan Methodist Church, the Conference of Eastern British America, and the New Connexion Church united in 1874. On that occasion the *Christian Advocate* published a lengthy article describing "the first General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada" over which Ryerson served as President. The writer heaped praise on Ryerson throughout the piece in a way that seemed calculated to swell both Canadian and American breasts: "Of all the great men that Canadian – perhaps I should have said American – Methodism has produced, it has not produced a greater . . . than the Rev. Egerton Ryerson." The sentence can be read in two ways. On the one hand, the writer may simply mean that Ryerson ranks amongst not only the greatest

Canadian but also the greatest American Methodists. On the other hand, it could also mean that Ryerson is as much a product of American Methodism as he is of Canadian Methodism. In view of the fact that the piece itself is framed for American readers as something of interest because, "the Methodism of this country [Canada] is largely the development and outgrowth of the products of the pioneer labors of some of the early preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church," the latter reading is not entirely implausible. In any event, the ambiguity is telling.[10]

In February 1876, Ryerson finally retired as Chief Superintendent of Education and devoted himself to what he described as his true life's work: his two-volume study *The Loyalists of America and Their Times.* The first mention of this work appeared in the *Christian Advocate* some fifteen years earlier in a column titled "Literary Items"—the column was not signed, but its appearance perhaps suggests that Ryerson entertained hopes the work might appeal to readers in the American market. Among other things, the work was promised to include a history of Canada and to compare its government "with that of the United States and Great Britain." No mention of the work is made again until 1876, when a kind of warning about its contents appeared in a piece simply signed "X Y Z": "If the book is published at all . . . it will make an outcry in some quarters when it appears. In one part the claims of the Calvinistic Puritans to be the founders of religious liberty, whether in England or in America, are closely sifted. The verdict is given against them." When the book finally did appear in 1880, American Methodists all but ignored it. And this despite what seemed an effort on the part of Canadians to have it noticed. Although the *Christian Advocate* refused to review it, a letter appeared in *Zion's Herald,* written by a Canadian, pretending to be an account of Methodist activities north of the border. In fact, at least a quarter of the article comprised a close description – and even a kind of apology for – Ryerson's *Loyalists* – so that the letter seems almost a kind of pretext to advertise its publication to American readers. "While [Ryerson] is a staunch advocate of liberty to all classes," the correspondent admitted, "he does not sympathize with those who brought about the American Revolution; though in so doing it must not be supposed that the author does not entertain kindly feelings towards the United States." And, just in case anyone might want to order it, the writer added, "The work is published in two handsome octavo volumes, by the Methodist Book Room, Toronto."[11]

When Ryerson died in February 1882 a short obituary appeared in

Zion's Herald. Two lengthier obituaries, written by Canadians, appeared in March in *Zion's Herald* and in January in *The Methodist Quarterly Review*. Because Canadian Methodists authored both pieces, however, they must be understood to say more about how Canadians hoped Americans would perceive Ryerson than about how Americans themselves actually perceived him. A more accurate sense of what American Methodists thought of Ryerson after his death is contained in a review of *The Story of My Life* that appeared in the *Christian Advocate* in the summer of 1883. Here Ryerson is framed by the American reviewer as a commendable "leader of Canadian affairs . . . a scholar of a high order," but also as a kind of weird curiosity that no American would ever truly understand. "It seems strange to a citizen of the United States," the reviewer observed, "that, so near our own borders, there should be a nation troubled with just the questions which are seeking solution in England . . . Indeed, there is large evidence that some parts of Canada are more English than England, a slavish copying after English methods being manifest in a country whose social conditions make such imitation ridiculous. Dr. Ryerson was, first of all, a Canadian, then an English subject."[12]

The assessment is reminiscent of the *Christian Advocate'*s assertion in 1833, on the occasion of the publication of his "Impressions Made by our Late Visit to England," that Ryerson was "a British subject writing of British affairs." From a political point of view, then, there was little common ground between Ryerson and Americans or American Methodists. Even his adroit political agitations on behalf of Canadian Methodism were not viewed with much enthusiasm south of the border. And yet, when viewed primarily as a religious figure, American Methodists certainly had the capacity to appreciate Ryerson for what he had achieved. In a way, this harkens back to Ryerson's own experience as a young preacher being received on trial in 1825. He was at that moment surrounded by preachers whom he regarded not as Americans, but as American Methodists. Thus he could express genuine surprise that the manners of Americans – and not American Methodists – were disagreeable to him when he crossed the border. In this way the religious identities of North American Methodists seems to have trumped their political identities – at least in the denominational press – and this opened the way for transnational linkages and mutual respect between Ryerson and American Methodists founded on a common religious identity. It was thus that Ryerson himself could observe with truth, after a lifetime of political struggle in 1876, that he felt himself

as much united to American Methodists "this day as I did fifty years ago" and even that, had American Methodist Wilbur Fisk consented to his request, half a century earlier, to become Methodism's first bishop north of the border, "it would have been a great blessing to Methodism in Canada."[13]

Endnotes

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2. John Carroll, *Case and His Cotemporaries* (Toronto: Methodist Conference Office, 1871), 3:215; Sissons, *Life and Letters,* 1:575; Egerton Ryerson, *Special Report on the Operations of the Common School Act of 1846* in *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada*, ed. J. George Hodgins (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1900): 7:110.

3. "Ramblings of an Invalid," *New York Evangelist* (NY: New York), 14 March 1840, 44.

4. Sissons, *Life and Letters,* 1:171; Carroll, *Case and His Cotemporaries,* 3:362; Egerton Ryerson, *The Story of My Life,* ed. J. George Hodgins (Toronto: William Briggs, 1883), 115; and Egerton Ryerson, "Ryerson's Letter," *Christian Advocate* (NY: New York), 12 July 1833, 182.

5. Egerton Ryerson, "Impressions Made by our Late Visit to England," *Christian Guardian* (Toronto, Upper Canada), 30 October 1833; William Lyon Mackenzie, *Colonial Advocate* (Toronto, Upper Canada), 30 October 1833; "English Affairs," *Christian Advocate, 29* November 1833, 53. See also Sissons, *Life and Letters,* 1:193-205; and Goldwin French, *Parsons and Politics* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962), 142-44.

6. Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Canada, *Minutes of Conferences*, 188; Sissons, *Life and Letters,* 1:434; French, *Parsons & Politics,* 161; "Rambles of an Invalid," *New York Evangelist*, 14 March 1840, 44.

7. Sissons, *Life and Letters,* 1.453-54, 1.549-51; Ryerson, *Story of My Life,* 269-70, French, *Parsons and Politics,* 187-8; *New-Yorker,* 24 October 1840, 90; *Niles's National Register*, 24 October 1840, 128; and "The Methodist Church of Canada and the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of England," *Western Christian Advocate*, 9 October 1840, 98.

8. Ryerson, *Story of My Life,* 312*ff.*; Sissons, *Life and Letters,* 2.42-75; Egerton Ryerson, *Sir Charles Metcalfe Defended Against the Attacks of His Late Counsellors* (Toronto: British Colonist Office, 1844), *passim*; *The Albion*, 22 June 1844, 304.

9. Sissons, *Life and Letters,* 2:76ff; "Educational Biography, Egerton Ryerson, D.D., LL.D.," *The American Journal of Education* (April 1868): 577; Ryerson, *Special Report,* 7:110; and *General Catalogue of Books in Every Department of Literature for Public School Libraries in Canada* (Toronto: Department for Public Instruction for Upper Canada, 1857).

10. "The Methodist Church in Canada," *Christian Advocate,* 26 November 1874, 377.

11. Ryerson, *Story of my Life,* 592; Egerton Ryerson, *The Loyalists of America and Their Times,* 2 vols., (Toronto: William Briggs, 1880); "Literary Items," *Christian Advocate,* 30 May 1861, 175; "Our English Letter," *Christian Advocate,* 19 October 1876, 332; and "Correspondence, from Canada," *Zion's* Herald, 21 October 1880, 338.

12. "Brief Mention," *Zion's Herald,* 22 February 1882, 60; "Rev. Egerton Ryerson," *Zion's Herald,* 22 March 1882, n.p.; "Rev. Egerton Ryerson," *Methodist Quarterly Review* (January 1833): 76-96; and "Literature," *Christian Advocate,* 30 August 1883, 556.

13. Egerton Ryerson, "A Pleasant Letter From Canada," *Christian Advocate,* 1 June 1876, 174.

"His teachings are in want of faith": British Wesleyan Responses to Egerton Ryerson

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It is early February 1858 in Toronto. Eighteen years have passed since the first union between the Canadian Methodists and the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Britain fell apart; eleven years have passed since the two connexions achieved a reunion; and three years have passed since a dispute over the link between church membership and attendance at weekly class meetings troubled the waters of the Canada Conference. In contrast to these moments of disruption, the first weeks of February 1858 are a time of relative calm for Egerton Ryerson – the Canadian Methodist minister who played a central role in all three upheavals. Since accepting Sir Charles Metcalfe's offer of the position of superintendent of schools for Canada West in 1844, Ryerson has thrown himself into that difficult, but fulfilling, job. If the letters he writes to his daughter Sophia are anything to go by, Ryerson's home life is delightful, abounding in affection. And within a year he will find his beloved refuge from all the affairs of church and state at Long Bay Point near Port Ryerse.[1] So bucolic is the scene at the beginning of 1858 after the storms and stresses of previous years that one is tempted to apply John Milton's description of Samson to Ryerson:

> His servants he with new acquist
> Of true experience from the great event
> With peace and consolation hath dismissed,
> And calm of mind all passion spent.[2]

But then a letter lands on Ryerson's desk that suggests that not all passion has been spent, particularly among the British Wesleyan ministers stationed in the two Canadas.

The letter that Ryerson received on that cold February day was from John Borland, pastor of Adelaide Street Church, that Ryerson and his family were supposed to be attending. Born in Ripon, Yorkshire, in 1808, Borland immigrated to Lower Canada with his parents when he was nine, converted to Methodism when he was seventeen, and joined the British Wesleyan ministry in 1835. When he died in 1888, both the obituary printed in the *Canadian Methodist Magazine* and the funeral oration delivered at his graveside hit on the same point: that Borland was "a vigorous controversialist" and that "he was no lamb when he was roused."[3] That was putting things mildly. Throughout his career, Borland was a self-appointed guardian of clerical morality and a pamphleteer of brutal skill – a "polemical porcupine," to borrow a phrase from John Quincy Adams.[4] The good reverend was not above firing quills in all directions when in the midst of a fierce connexional battle, even attacking his opponent's grammar, though his own was far from perfect.[5] Borland was certainly a barb in the side of Egerton Ryerson, attacking him repeatedly, for instance, during the dispute over class meeting attendance.[6] Though that issue was officially settled in 1856, Borland would not, or could not, let it go. In his letter of February 1858, Borland accused an unrepentant Ryerson of shirking the other "social means of grace" of the Methodist church: preaching, the sacraments, love feasts, and so on. "There are some," Borland warned, "who do not hesitate to say that such treatment of our means of grace should be regarded as a virtual withdrawal from the church."[7] In turns haughty and threatening, Borland's letter revealed a deep-seated animosity towards Ryerson. In that respect, it reflected a wider, mutual animus that existed for years, both before and after 1858, between the British Wesleyans and the Canadian Samson.

The sometimes-venomous relationship between Egerton Ryerson and the British Wesleyans was the product of more than the transatlantic connexional politics that historians, myself included, have dwelt on in great, but always loving, detail.[8] It was also produced by emotional trauma. There was more going on when the union between the British and Canada connexions collapsed in 1840 than a fight over power and money, as important as those issues were in triggering that ecclesiastical catastrophe. Having welcomed Ryerson into the charmed circle of the British Wesleyan leadership in 1833, those ministers felt betrayed seven years

later – and Ryerson felt the same way. The battles that followed further embittered a formerly close relationship. Men who had addressed one another as brethren – as members of the great, ocean-spanning fraternity of the Methodist clergy – now saw one another as enemies. The reunion that took place in 1847 only partially healed the emotional wounds inflicted by this "parting of friends"; enmity lingered into the 1880s, ultimately affecting the way that the Canadian Methodists viewed their place in transatlantic Methodism and their own troubled history.[9]

Affection and Esteem

The ministers who gathered around Jabez Bunting at the head of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Britain, the Buntingities, were a notoriously tetchy group. During the mid-1830s, however, they quickly accepted Egerton Ryerson as one of their own. From the beginning, those English preachers saw something in Ryerson that appealed to their obsession with order and centralized power. During the negotiations that led to the union of 1833, Ryerson was the point man for the Buntingites. When he travelled to England to finalize the arrangement, the Wesleyan leadership listened to him carefully and hailed his "piety, talents, and general deportment," all of which had "secured for him the affection and esteem" of the British ministry.[10] In a demonstration of those warm feelings, Bunting and his allies extended what honours they could to Ryerson. They gave him the opportunity to take part in a fundraising meeting in Nottingham alongside some of the leading men of the connexion and to conduct his first service in England at the ground-zero of global Methodism: John Wesley's chapel in City Road, London. Ryerson was thrilled, noting in a memorandum that, at Wesley's chapel, he had preached within sight of the great man's tomb and the graves of Wesleyan luminaries such as Adam Clarke and Richard Watson.[11] Over the next year, this budding sense of transatlantic fraternity bloomed. The Buntingites sent Ryerson their regards while turning to him as the most reliable source of information they could possibly have about the condition and needs of Methodism in Upper Canada. Ryerson responded with his own good wishes and with the assurance that he would be "glad indeed" to hear from his British counterparts as often as their busy schedule permitted.[12]

Ryerson had a rougher ride with the British Wesleyan missionaries and laity in Lower and Upper Canada, but even there he found supporters and friends during the mid-1830s. Having tangled with the Canada

Conference since 1814, the members of the British Wesleyan community in the colonies distrusted both the union of 1833 and its main Canadian spokesman. Among the laity, however, that animosity usually faded once they met Ryerson. In Kingston, for instance, the layman Thomas Milner noted, in August 1833, that a union of the British Wesleyan and Canadian Methodist denominations in the town "might & would have been effected 12 months ago" had Ryerson been appointed to a local circuit. He was "a very able preacher warm & energetic," Milner enthused, and his sermons had "killed" every anti-union "prejudice dead to rise no more."[13] At the same time, the Wesleyan leadership in Britain clamped down on the anti-union – and often anti-Ryerson – agitation taking shape among several of their preachers in the Canadas. When the missionary John Barry tried to convince the Buntingites that Ryerson had deceived them in the union negotiations, they responded by suggesting that Barry himself was "guilty of bearing false witness against his neighbour; and that neighbour a Minister of the Gospel of Christ."[14] With Barry packed off to Bermuda, the way was clear for preachers like Joseph Stinson and William Lord who shared the Buntingites' warm regard for Ryerson. Stinson saw Ryerson as the "vigorous hand" wielding the "defensive weapon" of Methodism in the Canadas from the editorial desk of the denominational newspaper, the *Christian Guardian*. Lord viewed Ryerson as an essential man, too. He even suggested that the Canadian should be invited to take a circuit in England for a year. It was a perfect plan, Lord wrote. It would draw the bonds of transatlantic brotherhood even tighter, thoroughly imbuing Ryerson "with the spirit of Wesleyan Methodism" and saving him from the "the bane of Canada" – "a mean, selfish, party-spirit, [and a] want of lofty & honourable principle," which were entirely unknown in the Old Country, of course.[15]

Judas, Wolf, and Devil

Like many relationships, past and present, this one fell apart because of a disagreement over power and money. The trouble began when Egerton Ryerson returned to the editorship of the *Christian Guardian* in mid-summer 1838 after an absence of three years. Ryerson replaced Ephraim Evans – a British preacher of orthodox Buntingite views. Where Evans had avoided attacking the Church of England's claim to be the legally established church of Upper Canada, Ryerson vigorously assaulted such Anglican pretentions. And where Evans had towed the Buntingite

line, arguing that the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) in London, England, should control any government grant for mission work in Upper Canada, Ryerson demanded local control over funds earmarked for the gospel work in the province.[16]

As Ryerson's campaign unfolded, a distrust of his motives and character either reappeared or grew among the British Wesleyans in the colonies and the home country. In Kingston, in November 1839, the once supportive layman Thomas Milner noted that things in the town were now "in an uncomfortable state" thanks to what he saw as Ryerson's determination "to push things to the last extreme." Ryerson might attend a meeting of the connexional book committee and promise "perfect amendment" of his wayward course in church-and-state relations, but could he be trusted to keep his word?[17] The lay elite of British Wesleyan Montreal had already answered that question, cancelling their subscriptions to the *Christian Guardian* because of what they saw as Ryerson's "disloyal sentiments." The missionary Matthew Richey urged Ryerson not to overreact to the Montreal laity's actions, but Ryerson ignored that advice. He hit back at his Lower Canadian assailants, denouncing them as a gaggle of extremists – a "school of Bloodshed and French extermination."[18] The fraternal bonds between the Canadian Methodist and British Wesleyan communities in the Canadas were snapping. Even the missionary Joseph Stinson, who had no "personal quarrel" with Ryerson and who "on many accounts" respected and loved him, was increasingly appalled by "the *tendency* of his writings." By the end of May 1839, Stinson, like many of his fellow British Wesleyan preachers in the Canadas, had convinced himself that Ryerson never cared "a fig" for the union of 1833. He had only supported it for his own political and financial purposes.[19] The Buntingites also shared that opinion by the spring of 1840; they charged Ryerson with an "utter want of ingenuousness and integrity" in his dealings with the home connexion. When Ryerson and his brother William travelled to England that summer to attend the British Conference, the minister Elijah Hoole demonstrated how drastically the relationship between transatlantic brethren had deteriorated: Ryerson should not even be allowed to speak, Hoole warned his fellow Buntingites, "his teachings are in want of faith."[20]

The schism of 1840 was as ill tempered and unedifying as any other ecclesiastic division of the nineteenth century. Relations between Ryerson and the Wesleyans in Britain reached fever pitch even before the British Conference voted to sever its links with the Canada connexion. In a move that still shocks by its pettiness, instead of billeting the Ryerson brothers

with a local Methodist family, as was customary, the Buntingites shuffled them off to one of the sketchy boarding houses of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. During the actual Conference sessions, Egerton Ryerson and the Buntingites blasted away at one another with accusations of bad faith and willful destructiveness, despite the president's weary plea "have we not heard enough on this subject?"[21] It seems that no one had heard enough. As the union collapsed, the discourse of factionalism rapidly displaced the language of fraternity. In British North America, ministers and laity who sided with the Canada Conference labeled the British connexion the "English party," "inconsistent Tories" who adopted a "truckling tone" in their public pronouncements, and as the very epitome of "puffing, strutting" pomposity.[22] The British Wesleyans and their supporters in the colonies were more focused in their efforts to "hold the together the in-groups by anathematising the out-groups." They attacked the "*Ryersonian Methodists*," the "Ryersonian Conference," the "Ryersonian movement," the "Ryersonian party," the "Ryersonian faction," and the "*Ryersonian union trap*."[23] The British Wesleyans' anger with the collapse of the union and the man they held responsible for it also came out in a torrent of vintage mid-nineteenth century invective. In private and public, they charged that Ryerson was "mean & disingenuous," "wily," a violator of "courtesy & candor," an adept at "gulling," a man of "restless ambition," a mountebank minister eaten up by "infamous delusions and consummate hypocrisy," a "Cromwellite," a "Jesuit," and a "Judas, Wolf and Devil." He was full of "hate [for] the British Conference and the British Nation"; "shut up in his warm study scheming against British Wesleyan influence"; as full of "malicious endeavours" as any other modern-day schismatic; a panderer to "every kind of popular prejudice"; and a reprobate fit only to be taken "out of the provinces" and transported to "New South Wales for *life*."[24]

This bruising connexional warfare took an emotional toll on Egerton Ryerson. The Buntingite charge that he suffered from an "*utter want of integrity*" struck at his sense of self as an honourable minister of Christ. That insult, as well as the others that came cascading down on him, sank "deep into my own heart," he wrote. Such invective also blew apart the bonds of sociability established in the immediate aftermath of the union of 1833. If the Jabez Bunting and his supporters now thought that Ryerson was "unworthy *of the courtesies of private life*," he felt unable to pay them his "personal respects."[25] Indeed, so crushing did the weight of British Wesleyan calumny become that Ryerson wrote to the American Methodist

minister Nathan Bangs, bemoaning "the epithets" that had been "multiplied against" him and suggesting that an escape south of the border might be in order.[26] Ryerson never took that drastic step, but that the thought of abandoning Canadian Methodism entered his head at all suggests how deeply the factionalism of the 1840s affected him.

What Egerton Ryerson never seems to have considered was the impact of his own words on the Wesleyans in Britain and the Canadas. The Buntingites felt every bit as wounded as Ryerson by the connexional battles of the 1840s. Defending their self-image as the godliest of godly men, they complained that while they might be willing "to be represented as weak or inaccurate – as unduly fond of power – as Tory politicians," they could not abide being accused of "fraudulent intentions and proceedings."[27] On the other side of the Atlantic, the missionary Benjamin Slight was so hurt and angered by the charges leveled against himself and his fellow British Wesleyans that he wondered if it was even possible to consider the Canadian Methodists "as a genuine branch" of John Wesley's church.[28] Several other ministers and laity who remained loyal to the British Wesleyan connexion in the colonies felt the same. After talk of a reunion with the Canada Conference surfaced in 1846, various laymen stated that, "they would never approve of any Union in which" Ryerson or his brothers "should have control." The warhorse of Upper Canadian Methodism, the preacher William Case, was even blunter. "Before there was any 'hugging and kissing'" with Ryerson and his fellow Canadian Methodists, he stated, there would have to be "some 'confession.'"[29] The wounds inflicted by seven years of conflict could not simply be healed through a new arrangement between men who had committed themselves to a transatlantic brotherhood only to see that ideal collapse.

Spirits of Wesleyan Catholicity

Despite vehement opposition on both sides, the British Wesleyan and Canada connexions reunited in 1847, reviving the happy days of an ocean-spanning fraternity first experienced in the early 1830s – on the surface, at least. Just as they had fourteen years earlier, the Buntingites praised Egerton Ryerson for the "noble spirit of Wesleyan catholicity" in which he welcomed this new union. They also assured him of their "confidence that no elements will be hereafter permitted to disturb either our ecclesiastical relations, or our personal friendship." Once again, the Buntingites would "always be happy" to receive "free and full communica-

tions" from Ryerson, who made his own efforts to move on from past unpleasantness.[30] He even had a kind word for Jabez Bunting – noting, in 1850, that, despite being a physical wreck unable to step more than "six inches at a time," the old man's "intellect" was as "quick & powerful as ever."[31] Ryerson also rekindled his friendship with British Wesleyan missionaries like Joseph Stinson and successfully mended fences with the rabidly partisan lay elite of Montreal.[32] And this camaraderie continued in the decades after the reunion. When Ryerson travelled to Europe on government or personal business, he made sure to touch base with leading British Wesleyans, attending missionary society events and meeting with the president of the Conference.[33] These feelings of transatlantic goodwill culminated in the late 1860s and early 1870s in the partnership between Ryerson and the English preacher and head of the Canada Conference, William Morley Punshon. The two men worked well together and became genuine friends. Ryerson conducted the marriage ceremony between Punshon and his dead wife's sister; and, when Punshon's Toronto house was threatened by fire, it was Ryerson who helped him stamp out the flames and rescue his precious library.[34]

Such expressions of renewed transatlantic fraternity were undoubtedly genuine, but, below the largely placid surface of post-reunion connexional politics, the emotional trauma of the 1840s continued to complicate the relationship between Ryerson and the British Wesleyans. In 1850, for example, the recently arrived missionary Enoch Wood noted that his fellow British preacher, Matthew Richey, was suffering from a species of ecclesiastical shellshock. He was periodically "controlled" by "the old feelings which prevailed" during the divisions of the previous decade, Wood wrote.[35] Such unresolved feelings came out most forcefully five years later as the members of the Canada Conference argued the issue of class meeting attendance. Wood observed that "the brethren" had become so suspicious of Ryerson's "designs" in the debate "that they will not work with him." "It is the spirit of former days revived among these men," Wood lamented, "personal contention in the early history of this Conference was its heaviest curse; the hostility from without was nothing compared to the dissensions within."[36] With British Wesleyan hotheads like the prickly John Borland attacking him from all sides, and the Wesleyan leadership in Britain once again expressing doubts about his orthodoxy, Ryerson withdrew from the ministry – only to return a year later to an uneasy peace.[37] But, as was invariably the case with Ryerson, he had the last word. In 1882, the Methodist Book Room in Toronto

published *Canadian Methodism: Its Epochs and Characteristics*. Though his more conservative brother John wrote the chapter on the troubles of the 1840s, Egerton Ryerson added his own gloss to the tale. In footnote after footnote, Ryerson demonstrated just how far he was from forgiving his British Wesleyan brethren for the punishment he had endured at their hands decades earlier. In Ryerson's telling of events, the Buntingite errand into the British North American wilderness was motivated by untruths and exaggerations from the beginning. Led by men who were more loyal to the interests of the Church of England than the Wesleyan communion "in Canadian affairs," it resulted not in the spread of God's grace, but in "all the evils of schismatic division in Upper Canada."[38] This narrative, which entirely exonerated Ryerson himself from any blame, became the accepted version of the Canadian Methodist story well into the twentieth century.

Conclusion

When Egerton Ryerson died in 1882, the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* in London, England, printed an obituary that breathed the spirit of brotherhood that the deceased himself had abandoned in his last published work. The notice declared that Ryerson, "by conviction and choice a Methodist," was "not a bigot nor a sectarian, but always ready to fraternize with the friends of Christ, no matter by what name they were known among men." The schism of 1840 was relegated to a single sentence: "The union between the Churches in England and Canada was unhappily dissolved in 1840, which was a cause of great sorrow to him [Ryerson], but the Churches were reunited in 1847."[39] Perhaps the Wesleyans in Britain, unlike Ryerson, had recovered from the battles of the 1840s. That would be a neat way to read the situation – as an ironic reversal of Ryerson's narrative. Unfortunately, the facts will not allow so tidy an ending. Printed in a British Wesleyan journal for British Wesleyan consumption, this obituary was written by a member of the Canada Conference.[40] Negotiating the meaning, and preserving the substance, of transoceanic fraternity remained tricky tasks in the early 1880s – as tricky as understanding the past interplay of personalities, church politics, and human emotions is today.

Endnotes

1. C.B. Sissons, *My Dearest Sophie: Letters from Egerton Ryerson to his daughter* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1955), ix-xxxvi. Other key works on Egerton Ryerson include C.B. Sissons, *Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press / Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company Ltd., 1937-47); and R.D. Gidney, "Egerton Ryerson," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967-), 11:783-95.

2. John Milton, *The Complete Poems*, ed. John Leonard (London: Penguin Books, 1998), 511.

3. *Canadian Methodist Magazine* (May 1888): 472; Sissons, *Egerton Ryerson*, 2:365 n. 3.

4. John Quincy Adams, *Diaries II: 1821-1848*, ed. David Waldstreicher (New York: Library of America, 2017), 560. Adams was referring to the colonial New England controversialist and founder of Rhode Island, Roger Williams.

5. See, for example, the dispute between Borland and the lay grandee Peter LeSueur, writing under the pseudonym 'Scrutator': John Borland, *Dialogues Between Two Methodists, Algernon Newways and Samuel Oldpaths* (Toronto: John Donogh, 1856); Scrutator, *Letter to the Rev. John Borland* (1856); John Borland, *The Reviewer Reviewed* (1856); and Scrutator, *Letter (No. 2) to the Rev. John Borland* (1856).

6. For a short account of this complex dispute in the context of connexional factionalism see Todd Webb, "The Madness of his Method: Methodism, Discipline and the British World," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (2010): 24-25.

7. John Borland to Egerton Ryerson, 11 February 1858, Box 4, File 119, Egerton Ryerson papers, United Church Archives, Toronto, Ontario (hereafter UCA).

8. See, for instance, Goldwin French, *Parsons and Politics: The role of the Wesleyan Methodists in Upper Canada and the Maritimes from 1780 to 1855* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962), 134-64, 171-91, 217-42, 248-71; Neil Semple, *The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 76-99; and Todd Webb, *Transatlantic Methodists: British Wesleyanism and the Formation of an Evangelical Culture in Nineteenth-Century Ontario and Quebec* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 70-101.

9. A phrase borrowed from David Newsome, *The Parting of Friends: The Wilberforces and Henry Manning* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1993).

10. John Beecham to the General Superintendent and Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Upper Canada, August 1833, Outgoing Correspondence, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (hereafter WMMS), UCA.

11. Memorandum by Egerton Ryerson, 17 April 1833, Box 1, File 10, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; Memorandum by Egerton Ryerson, 29 May 1833, Box 1, File 10, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; and Egerton Ryerson to an unknown correspondent, 29 May 1833, Box 1, File 10, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA.

12. See, for example, Edmund Grindrod to Egerton Ryerson, 4 March 1834, Portraits and Letters of the Presidents of the Canadian Conference, UCA; George Marsden to Egerton Ryerson, 4 September 1834, Portraits and Letters of the Presidents of the Canadian Conference, UCA. The quote is from Egerton Ryerson to Robert Alder, 10 October 1833, Box 17, File 106, #23, Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Correspondence (hereafter WMMS-C), UCA. See also Egerton Ryerson to Robert Alder, 21 May 1834, Box 18, File 112, #22, WMMS-C, UCA.

13. Thomas Milner to John Douse, 3 August 1833, Box 1, File 1, John Douse papers, UCA.

14. Robert Alder to John Barry, 30 December 1833, Outgoing Correspondence, WMMS, UCA. On Barry's brief, hell-raising career in Upper Canada see Webb, *Transatlantic Methodists*, 61-62, 65-66 and Norman W. Taggart, *The Irish in World Methodism, 1760-1900* (London: Epworth Press, 1986), 148, 152-53.

15. Joseph Stinson to John Ryerson, 7 April 1838, Box 2, File 33, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; William Lord to Robert Alder, 1 March 1836, Box 20, File 129, #2, WMMS-C, UCA.

16. French, *Parsons and Politics*, 172-6; Webb, *Transatlantic Methodists*, 119-20.

17. Thomas Milner to John Douse, 7 November 1839, Box 1, File 2, John Douse papers, UCA.

18. Matthew Richey to Egerton Ryerson, 2 January 1839, Box 2, File 38, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; Egerton Ryerson to William Lunn, J. Ferrier et al., 7 January 1839, Box 2, File 38, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA. See also Matthew Richey to Joseph Stinson, 8 May 1839, Box 23, File 159, #4, WMMS-C, UCA.

19. Joseph Stinson to Robert Alder, 25 February 1839, Box 23, File 159, #16, WMMS-C, UCA; Joseph Stinson to Robert Alder, 23 May 1839, Box 23, File 159, #6, WMMS-C, UCA. Emphasis in original.

20. Resolutions of a Committee appointed by the British Conference of 1839 to decide finally in all matters relating to the Union existing between the British Conference and the Upper Canada Conference and to the Indian Missions in Upper Canada, 29 April 1840, Box 24, File 167, #9, WMMS-C, UCA; Elijah Hoole to Robert Alder, Resolutions proposed by various persons at the Canada Conference of 1840, July 1840, Box 23, File 168, #29, WMMS-C, UCA.

21. Sissons, *Egerton Ryerson*, 1:557; Benjamin Gregory, *Side Lights on the Conflicts of Methodism during the Second Quarter of the Nineteenth Century, 1827-1852* (London: Cassell and Company, 1898), 290-94. The quote appears on page 291.

22. Alexander Cruikshank to Egerton Ryerson, 12 June 1840, Box 2, File 42, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; Henry Mayle to Egerton Ryerson, 16 November 1840, Box 2, File 44, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; Matthias Holtby to Egerton Ryerson, 15 March 1842, Box 2, File 51, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA.

23. Matthias Holtby to Egerton Ryerson, 15 March 1842, Box 2, File 51, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; Joseph Stinson to an unknown correspondent, 29 April 1840, Box 23, File 167, #1, WMMS-C, UCA; Matthew Richey to Robert Alder, 26 December 1842, Box 26, File 177, #21, WMMS-C, UCA; *Wesleyan*, 12 November 1840, 65; William Harvard to Elijah Hoole, 21 November 1840, Box 23, File 161, #23, WMMS-C, UCA; Matthew Richey to Jabez Bunting, 3 July 1839, John P. Lockwood Collection, Methodist Archive and Research Centre, John Rylands University Library, Manchester (hereafter MARC, JRULM); *Wesleyan*, 21 January 1841, 105. Emphasis in original. The initial quote is from W.R. Ward, *Faith and Faction* (London: Epworth Press, 1993), 285.

24. John Douse to Eliza Douse, 13 June 1840, Box 1, File 1, John Douse papers, UCA; Journal, 7 August 1842, Box 1, File 2, Benjamin Slight papers, UCA; William Lord to Robert Alder, 12 September 1840, Box 24, File 167, #13, WMMS-C, UCA; Joseph Stinson to Robert Alder, 19 October 1840, Box 24, File 168, #9, WMMS-C, UCA; Joseph Stinson to Robert Alder, 2 November 1840, Box 24, File 168, #12, WMMS-C, UCA; *Toronto Patriot*, 9 October 1840; *Wesleyan*, 27 May 1841, 177; William Lunn to Robert Alder, 28 June 1841, Box 25, File 170, #29, WMMS-C, UCA; *Toronto Patriot*, 5 February 1841; William Martin Harvard to Elijah Hoole, 23 July 1840, Box 23, File 161, #15, WMMS-C, UCA; Joseph Stinson to Robert Alder, 2 November

1840, Box 24, File 168, #12, WMMS-C, UCA; Benjamin Slight to the General Secretaries of the WMMS, 2 March 1841, Box 25, File 169, #32, WMMS-C, UCA; *Toronto Patriot*, 20 November 1840; John Mathewson to Robert Alder, 25 March 1842, Box 26, File 178, #31, WMMS-C, UCA. Emphasis in original.

25. Egerton Ryerson to Jabez Bunting and Robert Alder, 24 November 1846, Box 3, File 75, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA.

26. Egerton Ryerson to Nathan Bangs, 10 May 1841, Portraits and Letters of the Presidents of the Canadian Conference, UCA. See also Nathan Bangs to Egerton Ryerson, 23 May 1841, Portraits and Letters of the Ministers of St. James Methodist Church, Montreal, UCA.

27. Robert Alder to John Ryerson and Anson Green, 4 July 1842, Box 26, File 184, #9, WMMS-C, UCA.

28. Benjamin Slight to the General Secretaries of the WMMS, 18 August 1841, Box 25, File 170, #21, WMMS-C, UCA.

29. Summary of the discussions between Robert Alder and the members of the Canada West District, 26 May 1847, Box 31, File 224, #[?], WMMS-C, UCA.

30. Matthew Richey to Egerton Ryerson, 28 June 1847, Box 3, File 76, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; Robert Alder to Egerton Ryerson, 17 September 1847, Box 3, File 78, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA.

31. Egerton Ryerson to John G. Hodgins, 8 November 1850, Box 3, File 86, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA.

32. See, for example, Egerton Ryerson to John G. Hodgins, 8 November 1850, Box 3, File 86, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; Charles De Wolfe to Elijah Hoole, 24 October 1848, Box 29, File 226, #32, WMMS-C, UCA; Charles De Wolfe to Robert Alder, 20 April 1849, Box 33, File 235, #6, WMMS-C, UCA.

33. See, for example, Egerton Ryerson to John G. Hodgins, 30 April 1867, Box 5, File 149, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; Egerton Ryerson to John G. Hodgins, 9 May 1867, Box 5, File 149, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; Egerton Ryerson to John G. Hodgins, 19 June 1876, Box 6, File 195, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA; Egerton Ryerson to John G. Hodgins, 27 January 1877, Box 6, File 198, Egerton Ryerson papers, UCA.

34. Egerton Ryerson to William Morley Punshon, 19 June 1867, Portraits and Letters of the Presidents of the Canadian Conference, UCA; William Morley Punshon to Egerton Ryerson, 10 July 1867, Portraits and Letters of the Presidents of the Canadian Conference, UCA; William Morley Punshon to

George Parkin, 18 August 1868, William Morley Punshon papers, UCA.

35. Enoch Wood to Robert Alder, 26 September 1850, Box 34, File 250, #9, WMMS-C, UCA.

36. Enoch Wood to John Beecham, 17 August 1855, Box 39, File 282, #16, WMMS-C, UCA; Enoch Wood to John Beecham, 5 October 1855, Box 39, File 282, #28, WMMS-C, UCA.

37. Sissons, *Egerton Ryerson*, 2:285-326; Webb, *Transatlantic Methodists*, 158-59.

38. Egerton Ryerson, *Canadian Methodism: Its Epochs and Characteristics* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1882), 303, 308.

39. *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* (May 1882): 329, 333.

40. Reverend Edward Barrass was born in England in 1822, joined the Primitive Methodist ministry in 1841, emigrated to British North America in 1853, joined the Canadian Primitive Methodist Conference in the same year, and was received on trial by the Canada Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1859. See George Cornish, *Cyclopedia of Methodism in Canada* (Toronto: Methodist Book Room, 1881), 65, and https://krassoc.wordpress.com/2012/10/14/edward-barrass-m-a-d-d-methodist-minister-author/

The First Protestant Thanksgiving in North America

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An Anglican clergyman, Reverend Robert Wolfall, first celebrated Protestant Thanksgiving in North America on 22 July 1578 in Frobisher Bay, Baffin Island. Wolfall had been taken aboard the ship *Judith* and given special accommodation in Frobisher's third northwest voyage, after Lord Burghley had requested that several Anglican ministers be included with the ship's company. Later Wolfall returned to his home in south England and was appointed cleric in several Somerset parishes. He died in 1610, aged sixty-six years. The location of Wolfall's Thanksgiving service, and his dream of Christianizing the Inuit, were forgotten for about 300 years.

In the United States, Thanksgiving Day was set on the fourth Thursday of November by President Franklin D. Roosevelt (approved by Congress in 1941) and in Canada on the second Monday in October by Act of Parliament (1957). The date of these two holidays does not correspond to that of the first Protestant Thanksgiving in North America – in the United States, at Chesapeake Bay, Virginia, (4 December 1619)[1] and in Canada, on Kodlunarn (Qallunaaq) Island, Frobisher Bay, (22 July 1578)[2] – but they were sufficiently removed from Christmas to become a popular respite from a busy year before, and close to the end, of harvest in both counties.

Baffin Island, 1576-67

Exploration of southern Baffin Island, termed by Queen Elizabeth

Meta Incognita ("land of the unknown extent"), and the Canadian Thanksgiving date back to the northwest voyages of Martin Frobisher. Frobisher's first voyage (1576) involved two ships and thirty-six men; his second (1577) involved three ships and 145 men.[3]

What was believed to be rich gold ore was discovered on the north shore of Frobisher "Strait" during the first voyage. The second and third voyages were essentially gold-mining ventures. But the gold content of the first mine, on Countess of Warwick (Kodlunarn) Island, was abysmally low (two parts per billion – or ppb), when samples of the *black ewer* were checked, after preconcentration, by modern methods.[4] They even dipped below the average of the Earth's continental crust, estimated at 3.5 ppb.[5]

Frobisher's Third Northwest Voyage to Baffin Island, 1578

Frobisher's third northwest voyage involved fifteen ships and 387 men. It was the largest voyage of all time to what became Canada's arctic islands, specifically to Countess of Warwick (Kodlunarn) Island, the focus of the present paper.

The ships' company included many men who had been pressed into service against their will. And the Queen's council, with Lord Burghley acting as spokesman, recommended "a minister or twoo do go in this jorney, and follow the ministration of devyne service and sacrament, according to ye Churche of England,"[6] and to preserve peace on board. Frobisher complied by taking four clerics: John Ayvie (or lvye), "minister and miner" in the *Thomas of Ipswich*; Stephen Ridisdaile, "minister" in the *Ayde*; and Robert Wolfall and William Dode, "ministers" in the *Judith*. We know nothing of Ayvie nor Ridisdaile, little of Dode, but more, via J.P. Francis,[7] of Wolfall.

Robert Wolfall had been born in Lancashire, northwest England, but was educated in Eton pubic school, Berkshire (1558-62), and Kings College, Cambridge (1562-5), where doctrines of the Reformed Church were rampant during Queen Elizabeth's reign. He emerged from Cambridge a staunch Anglican and was ordained (23 April 1569) by Edmund Grindall, Anglican Bishop of London. Later, as a married man with family and church parishes in Somerset county, England, he eagerly volunteered to accompany Frobisher on his third voyage and to remain in Baffin territory during the winter, to "save souls" and "reform infidels." It was a rather ambitious undertaking to convert a native people who lacked a written language, whose pronunciation was phonetically unintelligible to

Europeans, and who were openly hostile to immigrants treading on their domain.

The ships departed from Plymouth, Devonshire (3 June 1578), sailed up the Irish Sea, and then veered westward, past Cape Farewell, Greenland (1 July 1578). The *Bark Dennis* foundered off west Greenland (2 July 1578) in a blinding snowstorm, with loss of most of the building supplies for the winter house in *Meta Incognita,* but without loss of life. The *Thomas of Ipswich*, with the remaining building supplies, carrying the cleric John Ayvie, deserted and returned to England. Plans to overwinter were then abandoned.

Towards the end of this voyage, at the meeting of the ships *Gabriel* and *Michael, Judith,* and *Anne Francis* in Frobisher Bay, Wolfall gave the miners and mariners a "godly sermon, exhorting them especially to be thankful to God for their strange and miraculous deliverance, in those so dangerous places and, putting them in mind of the uncertainty of man's life, willed them to make themselves always ready, as resolute men, to enjoy and accept thankfully, whatsoever adventure his Divine Providence should appoint."[8] This was the first Protestant Thanksgiving in North America.

According to the ship's log of Edward Fenton,[9] this meeting took place on Tuesday, 22 July 1578 (Julian calendar), off Countess of Warwick, or Kodlunarn Island. Probably the ships' company of 105 men assembled on the *terra firma* of the island. They thanked the Lord "for delivery from dangers past and placing them in so safe a harbour." They then received Holy Communion. In the meantime, Martin Frobisher was away in the *Ayde*, attempting to thread the Northwest Passage and carrying with him a cleric, Reverend Stephen Ridisdaile. Wolfall gave a repeat Thanksgiving and communion after the arrival of Frobisher at Winter's Furnace (Newland Island) in late August 1578.[10]

In the *Judith*, Wolfall, Pillion, and Dode were accommodated under special circumstances. Wolfall's wages (fifty shillings a month, above room and board) were about twice that of mariners and miners. In addition, a servant, Thomas Pillion, and a cleric's assistant ("brother"), William Dode, chaplain in Middleton, Lancashire, were looked after by the mining company's treasurer, Michael Lok.[11]

Why was Wolfall so eager to go on the third voyage and what was the reason for his special treatment? It appears that Frobisher was acquainted with his family before the northwest voyages. Wolfall's older brother, Thomas, was linked with Frobisher in piracy ventures in 1565 and

1567, and these may have cemented a bond of friendship.

After the return of Frobisher's third northwest voyage, Wolfall continued as an Anglican preacher, with parishes in Somerset county, England. He died in 1610 at the age of sixty-six, an old man for the time.

Epilogue

As interpretation of Inuktituk language has importance in this story, the following passage may be relevant and has been principally taken from the account of Kenn Harper.[12] In the fall of 1852, John Bowlby, a British wine merchant of Hull, United Kingdom, in his tiny sloop *The Bee*, arrived as a whaler in Cumberland Sound, where he met Ebierbing (aged circa seventeen, nicknamed "Joe"), his wife Tookoolito (aged circa fifteen, nicknamed "Hannah"), and an unrelated youngster Akulukjak (aged circa five). These three Inuit travelled, enthusiastically, with Bowlby to England, where they were comfortably accommodated with the family of William Gedney, the ship's surgeon. Largely through the efforts of Robert Bowser, treasurer of Hull's zoological gardens, a twenty-minute audience (3 February 1854) was arranged with Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, and two daughters at Windsor Castle. Conversation, during tea, was entirely in English, which, by that point, Hannah and Joe spoke fluently. The Queen was presented with a pair of slippers, handmade and embroidered by Hannah. She was thrilled. It was her first meeting with Inuit from North America. Bowser was paid £25 for making the arrangement. Bowlby returned the three Inuit safely to their homeland in 1855.

Charles Francis Hall, journalist and explorer from Cincinnati, Ohio, set out in 1860 to discover the fate of Sir John Franklin's lost arctic expedition. On assessing stories passed down by Inuit oral tradition, Hall concluded that what they called "Kodlunarn Island" (White Man's island) corresponded to Martin Frobisher's "Countess of Warwick Island." The Countess had donated £65 10d to the enterprise of 1578. With Inuit guides Hannah and Joe, Hall visited the site on 21-22 September 1861, and described their "Ship's Trench," "Reservoir Trench" and Edward Fenton's stone house of 1578.[13] The precise location had been lost to the world for 283 years!

Today the island is known as Kodlunarn and Queen Elizabeth's "*Meta Incognita*" as Baffin Island in Nunavut Territory. Kodlunarn Island was designated a National Historic Site in 1964.

Wolfall's objective to Christianize the Inuit of *Meta Incognita* was

not accomplished, due to lack of time. It remained for the Anglican missionary Edmund James Peck to complete the task. Peck had been given instruction by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) of Reading (United Kingdom) and was ordained on 3 February 1878 by Bishop John Horden at Moose Factory, Ontario. After taking posts in northern Quebec, Peck was appointed Anglican minister of Blacklead Island in Cumberland Sound, Baffin Island.

The name "Blacklead" was a translation of an old German mining term "*schwarzblei*" in allusion to dark graphitic interlayers in pale quartzofeldspathic gneiss. The dark layers contained no lead, but the misnomer continues today with our term "lead pencil."

At the time of Peck's arrival (1894), Blacklead Island was a major supplier of whale oil for candlelight, a commodity that was soon to be replaced by incandescent tantalum, later tungsten, using electric power. The whaling station at Blacklead Island had been established in 1860, although whaling in the area had taken place since 1840.

Peck was given tight accommodation by the new proprietor, Crawford Noble of Aberdeen, Scotland, who had just acquired the station from Williams & Co. of New London, Connecticut. Peck was given housing in a building 20×10 ft., which was altogether too small for the main use, religious service, on an island with a population of 171, and many services were conducted outside in the open air.

Peck's clear delivery earned him the sobriquet *Uqammaq* ("one who speaks well") and, for his zeal, "Apostle to the Inuit." He successfully completed four two-year terms, from 1894 to 1905, as Anglican minister at Blacklead Island, punctuated with one-year furloughs to England, to visit his wife, Sara Ann (Coleman) Peck, and family. We have from him an Inuktitut translation of the *Four Apostle* chapters in the *New Testament* (1878), portions of an Inuktitut translation of the *Book of Common Prayer* (1881), an *Eskuimo-Grammar* (1919-54), and an *Inuktitut-English dictionary* (1925). A documentary of his work and achievements is given by Peck himself (2006),[14] and a summary of his feats by F. Laugrand (2005).[15]

Blacklead Island was designated a National Historic Site in 1978.

Endnotes

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CSCH President's Address 2017

Reflections on the Necessity of Canadian Church History[1]

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Historian Urban Holmes once suggested that the early Christians expected the *Parousia*; what they got was the church. It is sobering to think about what those early Christian martyrs, many of whom have lain for nearly two millennia in their final earthly resting place, might think of the way the church has unfolded. And yet, although the history of the church is fraught with failure, it is still the best reflection of the hope of the resurrection.[2]

Now we are historians, not theologians. But still, the variety of anniversaries being marked in 2017 is significant to the history of Christianity and to the hope that Christians place in the resurrection. Whether we are practising Christians or not, the 500th anniversary of the Reformation, the 375th anniversary of the founding of Montreal,[3] the 150th anniversary of Canada's Confederation, 100 years since Canadian forces won Vimy Ridge, fifty years since the successful Science and Faith exhibit at Expo 67 are all significant to us as practising scholars and teachers of Canadian church history. I do not know about you, but, in Montreal, we have been inundated with celebrations. And each one is a significant marker for Christianity as it has played out in Canada.

In the class on Canadian church history that I have been teaching for the past fifteen years at McGill University's Faculty of Religious Studies,

now School of Religious Studies, I begin the term by requiring students to read an article written by one of our Society's founders, the Presbyterian historian John S. Moir. "In Search of a Christian Canada" is based on a three-part lecture series that Professor Moir addressed to McGill University's Faculty of Religious Studies twenty-five years ago. He argued that addressing Canada's Christian origins and context is necessary as we attempt to come to an understanding of who we are as a nation.[4] Moir was concerned with the influence of Christianity on the development of the Canadian nation, but he was uneasy with what he termed "the balkanization" of Canada's history, separating it out in its various parts as social historians are wont to do.

For healing to be honest, to move forward in a healthy way, it is necessary to consider the history of the many Canadians who have been affected by a variety of manifestations of intolerance:[5] Indigenous Peoples, Chinese Canadians, Japanese Canadians, Canadians with roots in Eastern Europe, Africa, and South America, to say nothing of women of every cultural origin who still make up more than half the population.

Congress this year is appropriately themed "On Indigenous Lands." And alongside John A. Macdonald and Georges-Etienne Cartier, founding fathers of Confederation, Canada's commemorative ten dollar bill, that was released yesterday, features James Gladstone, the first Indigenous senator, and Agnes Macphail, Canada's first female Member of Parliament.[6]

I want to look more closely at the two groups symbolized by Gladstone and MacPhail: Indigenous Peoples and women. I have devoted much of my career to researching and writing on both women and Indigenous Peoples, and I have worked at integrating both into my teaching. We are acknowledging our complicity in colonialism and coming closer to recognizing women's contributions to Canadian society and the churches; commemoration is another important step, to celebrate alongside the blanks and the ugliness of the past. Four decades of scholarly work have shown me that without the contributions of women, and Indigenous Peoples, we would not have a history. Those histories are our histories as much as the leaders who have shaped the churches and our country.

In the next few moments I wish to make some suggestions about why the history of Indigenous Peoples and women is necessary for us as Canadian church historians. Why it is essential to incorporate these histories into our writing and our teaching. I know many of you have been

working at this, and I hope that by thinking together about the necessity of including women's history and Indigenous history in our inquiries, we can gain from each other's knowledge.

So Why is This History Necessary?

There are many reasons why the history of Indigenous Peoples and women is necessary, but, for purposes of this talk, I will suggest three: (i) because we avoid it; (ii) because history is essential in identity building; (iii) because the multi-faceted histories of Indigenous Peoples and women are necessary if we are to have fuller understandings of who we are as a Canadian people.

I

As Canadians we are known to avoid discussing controversial topics – possibly none more than religion. Some of you will remember Clifford Kraus's article published in 2003 in the *New York Times*, "In God we Trust . . . Canadians aren't so sure." When Yann Martel changed the way he wrote his *Life of Pi* to accommodate Canadian preference to be quiet about religion, it made news. Kraus cited two of our own society members – Marguerite Van Die and David Marshall – in an attempt to explain the Canadian reluctance to speak about religion.[7] As Canadians, we do not like controversy. Our tolerance means that we avoid controversial and divisive aspects of our history. We do not talk about them. But at what cost?

Three summers ago as I was heading down my street to do some errands, a student stopped me. She was studying at the Montreal School of Theology, where students are required to take Canadian church history; she had recently completed the class. She stopped, plunked her bag on the sidewalk and took out a book. You have to read this, she said as she thrust it into my hands. The book? Thomas King's *The Inconvenient Indian.*

I have to admit that she had already promoted King in class, and I really had no intention of adding him to my always-lengthy reading list. I saw King as a popular writer, a writer of fiction, someone that appealed to young people; I am a historian and, well, I have been studying and teaching native history for forty years. The book sat on my shelf for months – actually years. I lent it to my son to read; I bought a copy for my son-in-law for Christmas. But I avoided it. Then, finally, that student was coming up to graduation and I wanted to return her book. I wanted to

return it having taken it seriously; so I decided I must bite the bullet, and I read it.

"Novelist, short-story writer, essayist, screenwriter, photographer . . . Member of the Order of Canada and two-time nominee for the Governor General's Award." I discovered the truth in what the *Canadian Encyclopedia* says about Thomas King. Indeed, *The Inconvenient Indian* confirms King's reputation as "one of the finest contemporary Aboriginal writers in North America."[8]

Addressing the penchant to avoid Indigenous history, King opines, "this sloughing off of history is not an idea I came up with on my own. It is an approach to North American Native history that has been around for awhile and appears to be gaining in popularity."[9] King goes on to describe a book that came out in response to the Mohawk land claim in my home community, Caledonia, Ontario: *Helpless! Caledonia's Nightmare of Fear and Anarchy and How the Law Failed All of Us*.[10] *Globe and Mail* journalist Christie Blatchford's inflammatory journalism is something I usually avoid reading, but King's citation from the introduction of Blatchford's book underscores the point I am trying to make. What we do as church historians is necessary because many Canadians make a point of avoiding it, even outright ignoring it. Listen to Blatchford's insistence that the best way to approach history is to avoid it:

> This book is not about Aboriginal land claims. This book is not about the wholesale removal of seven generations of indigenous youngsters from their reserves and families . . . or the abuse dished out to many of them at the residential schools . . . This book is not about the dubious means of the reserve system which may better serve those who wish to see native people fail . . .[11]

Instead, Blatchford chose to highlight the negative effects experienced by the occupants of the Douglas Creek Estates and non-Indigenous Caledonians – and how the law failed to protect them.

As King so poignantly expresses, "ignoring the past is certainly an expedient strategy."[12] Yes, the history of Indigenous Peoples and land claims is necessary for us as Canadian church historians, because most Canadians avoid it at best – at worst, they ignore it.

As recently as while I was writing this talk, I had several confirmations of this mindset that characterizes Canadians. I would like to share one. For our theology students in the three colleges associated with McGill's School of Religious Studies – United Theological College, the

Anglican Diocesan College, and the Presbyterian College – Canadian church history is compulsory. Some students ask why? It seems irrelevant, they say. One student told me at the end of this past term that she wondered how we would ever put in a whole semester focusing on Canadian church history. Was not Canada only celebrating its 150th anniversary? she asked. What could be worthwhile enough to make it compulsory for students to spend an entire semester studying the history of the church in Canada? This student was surprised, and gratified, she told me at the end of the term, to learn that what has shaped us goes back hundreds of years, even millenniums. And she acknowledged that she had gained a great deal – including what she learned about Indigenous history, and women's history.

Another story: A few years ago a young man signed up for a course on women and the Christian tradition, which I also teach regularly. He sat in the very back of the classroom all term, a minority in a class sadly still mostly composed of women. Finally, towards the end of the term, he divulged why he was there. He was completing an honours History degree he told the class, and he realized he had learned almost nothing about women. He knew his education was incomplete and wanted to remedy that.

There are still students who worry that including Indigenous history and women will mean that some of the important aspects of Canadian history will be left out. At the same time, many of today's students are hungering for more – some tell me that they want more Indigenous history; others say they want more women's history. Why? Because they are sensing that the many histories of Indigenous Peoples and women are essential to understanding more deeply who we are as human beings; they are sensing that the many histories of Indigenous Peoples and women are essential to identity-building, as we broaden and deepen our understandings of Christianity and its place in the Canadian past.

II

About the same time as John Moir gave his lecture series "In Search of a Christian Canada," Hugh Dempsey addressed the important question of Indigenous identity. An honourary Blackfoot chief, Dempsey had been curator and director of the Glenbow Museum for twenty-five years. With his background we can be quite certain Dempsey knew what he was talking about when he said:[13] "Indians have good reason to be proud of

themselves and yet this pride is all too often lacking. I feel very strongly," he insisted, that if the Indians are going to progress as a people, they must have this pride or they must regain it.[14]

What do children – Indigenous and otherwise – see in the history books or in the media? As Thomas King has helped his readers see, indigenous children, like non-Indigenous children, grow up with movies of the Wild West, where the Indian is always the other, and often the bad guy. Images of Indians sell things, and their names are names of cities, parks, and recreational sites. In the area of southern Ontario between Caledonia and Brantford where I grew up, aboriginal images are everywhere. They are synonymous with towns: Brantford, Cayuga, Seneca; they are the names of colleges such as Mohawk College; they even sell gas – as the Mohawk gas stations across the country distinguished by the Indian headdress marker attest.[15]

As Hugh Dempsey insisted, "lack of pride is one of the most serious problems facing the Indians today." He goes on to cite a survey done among school children on the Côte Reserve in Saskatchewan. Given a list of ten ethnic and racial groups – English, German, Black, Indian, Chinese, to name some of them, these children were invited to order them in the preference of which they would choose to belong, if such a choice had been possible. Indians was at the bottom of the list for most of the Indigenous children of the Saskatchewan's Côte Reserve who participated in the survey. As Dempsey declared: "when you have a group of people who consider themselves so inferior that they place their own race at the bottom of the list of what they would want to be, you can be sure that there is a very serious problem."[16]

This is a problem indeed. Women of all cultures face a similar problem. I do not know of any parallel studies on women for children, but psychologists tell us that the absence of strong models in history leaves a huge gap in women's sense of identity. In my classes, I like to use psychologists Linda Tschirhart Sanford and Mary Ellen Donovan to illustrate this point:

> Probably the field in which men have been the most thoroughly showcased and women the most thoroughly excluded is that of history. Women have been all but entirely wiped off the standard historical record . . . This is both a direct consequence of women's subordinate status in a male-dominated world and an effective means of furthering it. Women were not deemed important, so women were not included in the history books, and the fact that women do not

> appear in history books perpetuates the notion that women are not important – never were and never will be . . .
>
> [T]he exclusion of women from history has a disastrous effect on our sense of worth. When a boy reads history, he is instantly validated; he finds strong images of male warriors, conquerors, explorers, inventors – images with which he can bond, and which enhance his self-esteem. When a girl reads history, she is instantly invalidated; she too, finds images of male warriors, conquerors, explorers, inventors. But these are not images with which the girl can readily identify. She looks, in longing, for strong female images, but does not find them . . . Conventional history gives the girl nothing, literally nothing. It is no wonder so many women feel "full of blanks" when the history of our sex is represented by blank spaces.[17]

Yes, *Women and Self-Esteem* could be categorized as a self-help book, and, similar to Dempsey's article, it was published twenty-five years ago. But unfortunately, despite the hard work of historians of women over the ensuing decades, if my students have any credibility, their response to what Sanford and Donovan say about women and history suggest that their assessment still rings true for many.

Strides have been made since the 1990s when Dempsey, and Sanford and Donovan were insisting that history was necessary for identity building. And yet, I hear over and over from my students, that their courses rarely reflect that. Students sign up for "Women in the Christian Tradition," which I also teach regularly for McGill's School of Religious Studies, for a variety of reasons. And sometimes it is as straightforward as knowing that, in that class, they will finally get a solid understanding of the often still veiled and mysterious place that women hold in the Christian tradition. Many students are also looking for a balanced treatment that will include Indigenous voices.

What is missing for both women and Indigenous Peoples is the commitment to being intentional about portraying them as agents and actors in history. For both groups this historical portrayal is essential to identity building. This is why history is necessary.

But there is more and this brings me to my third point.

III

In April 1982, Gerda Lerner, an American Jewish historian who is

credited as the founder of women's studies, spoke about the necessity of incorporating women into our understanding of history to the Organization of American Historians in Philadelphia. As Lerner would later point out in *Why History Matters*, although "women have been denied the power to define, to share in creating the mental constructs that explain and order the world, history shows that women have always, as have men, been agents and actors in history."[18]

Although she was addressing the need for women's history, Lerner's words ring equally true when considering Indigenous history. We do not have to look far to recognize this truth, for Canadian historians have provided us with excellent revisionist work on both Indigenous and women's history.

Last year as a society we were fortunate to collaborate with the Canadian Catholic Historical Association and the Canadian Historical Association, to hear J.R. Miller speak. "Canada Confronts Its History: Residential Schools and Reconciliation" was a helpful review of the work Miller has done over many decades, put in the context of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's report.[19] The revisionist work of Miller and numerous others "features prominently" in the TRC's wrap up report and the earlier Royal Commission Report on Aboriginal Peoples. Scholars such as Miller, John Milloy, Sarah Carter, Bruce Trigger, James Axtell, Allan Greer, and our own Canadian Society of Church History co-founder John Webster Grant, among others, have rethought Canadian history to include Indigenous Peoples.[20]

This year's Congress theme, "The Next 150 Years: on Indigenous Lands," is well chosen to reflect the Truth and Reconciliation Calls to Action, specifically the section addressing "Education for reconciliation." As historians, we are called on "to integrate Indigenous knowledge and teaching methods into [our] classrooms."[21]

Canadian historians of women – Alison Prentice, Wendy Mitchinson, Margaret Conrad, Lynn Marks, Franca Iacovetta, and from our society Marguerite Van Die, Marilyn Whiteley, Linda Ambrose, and many others – have made historiographical shifts that demonstrate beyond a doubt that it is essential to include women, if we are fully to understand our history.

And yet, despite the energetic research, how much influence have these historiographic shifts in aboriginal and women's history had on how Canadian history is done?[22] How much influence have they had on how Canadian church history is being approached through research and in the classroom? My students' concerns suggest not nearly enough.

As historians of Christianity, we need to be intentional about including these histories. They are necessary because the histories of Indigenous Peoples and women are essential to understanding what we are as Canadians. They are not just their stories; they are our stories.

As I contemplated over the past year on what I would talk about today, my desire to highlight the necessity of incorporating women's and Indigenous histories into how we research and teach was confirmed, of all things, by the commemorative bank note that came out yesterday. Whatever we make of the political intent of representing diversity on this ten dollar bill marking Canada's 150 years, it does symbolize the significance of women's history and the history of Indigenous Peoples.

Some of you may be familiar with Palmer Parker's work. In *The Courage to Teach,* Parker has suggested that "knowing of any sort is relational, animated by a desire to come into deeper community with what we know. Why does a historian study the dead 'past'?" he asks: "To reveal how much of it lives in us today."[23] A significant question for us as church historians, in addressing the necessity of history, is how much do the histories of women and Indigenous Peoples live in us today?

Curious about how the lives of James Gladstone and Agnes Macphail expand our knowledge of Canadian history, I decided to explore their stories. What do their contributions suggest about the necessity of including women's and Indigenous history in the way we research and teach church history? Is their history our history?

I found Hugh Dempsey's biography of James Gladstone, *Gentle Persuader*, published in 1986, and Terry Crowley's *Agnes MacPhail and the Politics of Equality,* published four years later in 1990, helpful in thinking about these questions.

Hugh Dempsey, whom I have already introduced as the curator of the Glenbow museum, was also James Gladstone's son-in-law. As a young man he fell in love with Gladstone's daughter Pauline, and they enjoyed a long marriage. Is Dempsey's account objective? Not fully. It takes an insider-outsider perspective, relating the difficulties Gladstone faced growing up in southern Alberta, in a Cree-Scots-French family, neither white nor Indian. It is a story of mixed race, mixed culture – Indigenous – Scottish-French; mixed religious background – Anglican and practitioner of the Sundance; it is a story of suffering as a young child in a residential school, of seeking belonging through joining the Blood Indians; it is a story of difficulties transformed to make the Canada of the mid-nineteenth century a more hospitable place for Indigenous People.

As president of the Indian Association of Alberta, Gladstone devoted his life to bettering the situation for his people; with his ability to bring different groups together, he fought for improved education, increased respect for treaty rights, and encouraged Indigenous People to involve themselves in administrating their own governing structures and land.[24]

Terry Crowley's biography of Agnes Macphail is also "relational." Crowley wrote it in response to his students' desire for more women's history. Crowley adapted his teaching priorities and offered the first women's studies course at Guelph University.[25] He carved out the time to research and write the life of a woman who distilled the challenges she faced as she defied the conventions of the rural Ontario community where she was born, a woman who turned to unorthodox Christianity – the Church of the Jesus Christ and the Latter Day Saints – to fuel her own deep heart for justice. She became a champion of rural Canadians.

Like Gladstone, Macphail transformed her particular struggles to improve the lives of her people. For Macphail, the desire to escape the conventions of rural Ontario became a lifetime of working for justice for rural Canadians from east to west.[26] Strongly influenced by the Social Gospel of James S. Woodsworth, the former Methodist minister and Labour Member of Parliament from Winnipeg, the Alberta Progressives, and "members of the Independent Labour Party, Macphail was a pacifist."[27] Deeply involved with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, well ahead of her time, she was also known for her commitment to inter-racial relations and rights, and prison reform.[28]

James Gladstone and Agnes Macphail – these two leaders whose images accompany those of Macdonald and Cartier on the commemorative bill put out to mark Canada's sesquicentennial – were non-conformists; neither fit in neat categories. Although Gladstone supported the Sun Dance, he remained a strong supporter of the Anglican Church throughout his lifetime. Despite difficult conditions in residential schools, he sent his children to his own *alma mater* St. Paul's.[29]

For her part, Macphail took "biblical injunctions against undo concern with material wealth seriously," and was known to be "charitable to a fault."[30] Late in life, she became active in the local United Church, teaching Sunday School, and recalling how many a time as she stood in the House of Commons, she "prayed for direction on how to vote."

As much as Macphail's belief in God undergirded her strong sense of justice and her call to work for the little person,[31] Gladstone also was known to make leadership decisions on what he knew of the Bible.[32]

At Agnes Macphail's unexpected death on 13 February 1954 at the age of 63, Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent lamented that he had hoped to appoint her to the Senate.[33] Four years later, James Gladstone became the first Indigenous person to become Senator.

Gladstone and Macphail are much more than convenient symbols on a commemorative ten dollar bill. Their history is much more than women's history and Indigenous history. Their images hold the potential to alter the way women and Indigenous People see themselves. As a Canadian people, they represent our history. As Canadian church historians, they represent our history.

As anyone who has worked at incorporating Indigenous and women's history into research and teaching knows, it is not obvious or easy. It means making decisions. What do we leave out, so we can add in? Who makes the decision about what is important, and what is not? How do we move beyond awkwardly adding to our already full agendas? How do we integrate histories of women and Indigenous Peoples, as well as other non-mainstream histories, into the big picture?

Until we have textbooks that provide balanced history, it may be messy and awkward at times. As we teach Canadian church history, as we search for a Christian Canada, do we look at how much our Indigenous past lives in us today? Highlighting treaty making, and of course the history of the church's complicity in residential schools, is important. But how has the resistance of Plains Cree and Blackfoot leaders also influenced the history of Christianity? Are there precursors to the Social Gospel as it played out in the history of Indigenous resistance in the Canadian West? Wallace Stegner, Ralston Saul, D'Arcy Jenish have provided memoirs, philosophical ideas, and histories that are suggestive in thinking about the Indigenous roots of the Christian Canada that has evolved post-1867.[34]

As we teach Canadian church history, as we search for a Christian Canada, do we explore gender roles, how much women's contributions live in us today? I have found Marguerite Van Die's "A Woman's Awakening," Elizabeth's Muir's work on Methodist women preachers, and Randi Warne's study of Nellie McClung's use of literature as pulpit, to name a few, to be thought-provoking and helpful in exploring the female face of Confederation and post-Confederation Canada.

Why is the history of women and Indigenous Peoples necessary? It is necessary in building a healthy past that includes those who were first on this land, and the women who have always been there. It is necessary for healing of individuals and of our nation. It is necessary for healing in the

churches. Underneath it all, the bottom-line, is that the history of women and Indigenous Peoples is necessary, because it is our history.

As we seek ways to explore the contributions and influence of Indigenous Peoples and women, we may find ourselves changed. I was struck hearing Allan Greer speak on the process of writing his bio-history of Kateri Tekawitha, the Mohawk Saint. His research led him to the conclusion that her confessor Jesuit priest Claude Chauchetière was converted by her witness. And he confessed, I changed, too, as I did this research.

Coming back to Parker Palmer, the past live in us today. The hope of the early Christians has not yet arrived. Many still await the *Parousia* or Second Coming. But as we celebrate 150 years since Confederation, as church historians we have the opportunity to take a fresh look at women's history, to take a fresh look at Indigenousparou history. As church historians, a significant part of our task is to continue to explore just "how much of it lives in us today."[35]

Endnotes

1. Thirty-five years ago, on 1 April 1982, Gerda Lerner spoke to the Organization of American Historians in Philadelphia, on "The Necessity of History and the Professional Historian." It has since been published in her thought-provoking *Why History Matters: Life and Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997): 113-28.

2. Urban T. Holmes III, A *History of Christian Spirituality: An Analytical Introduction* (New York: Seabury Press, 1981). See also N.T. Wright, *Surprised by Hope: Rethinking Heaven, the Resurrection, and the Mission of the Church* (New York: Harper Collins, 2008).

3. T'Cha Dunlevy, "Hotel-Dieu's last rites: Film captures the dying days of the 'soul of Montreal,'" *Montreal Gazette* (31 March 2017), http://montrealgazette.com/entertainment/local-arts/hotel-dieus-last-rites-film-captures-the-dying-days-of-the-soul-of-montreal.

4. J.S. Moir, "The Search for a Christian Canada," in *Christianity in Canada: Historical Essays,* ed. Paul Laverdure (Yorktown: Redeemer's Voice Press, 2002), 9-24.

5. For a helpful discussion, see Allan Levine, "Slow Road to Tolerance," *Canada's History* (April-May 2016): 41-47.

6. Bank of Canada, "Celebrating Canada's 150th" http://www.bankofcanada.ca/banknotes/banknote150/

7. Clifford Kraus, "In God we Trust . . . Canadians aren't so sure," *New York Times*, 26 March 2003 http://www.nytimes.com/2003/03/26/world/letter-from-the-americas-in-god-we-trust-canadians-aren-t-so-sure.html

8. Brian John Busby, "Thomas King," http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/ article/thomas-king/ (7 April 2008), ed. Daniel Baird (4 April 2014).

9. Thomas King, *The Inconvenient Indian: A curious account of Native People in North America* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 2002), 165.

10. Christie Blatchford, *Helpless: Caledonia's Nightmare of Fear and Anarchy, and How the Law Failed All of Us* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 2010).

11. Blatchford, cited in King, *Inconvenient Indian*, 166.

12. King, *Inconvenient Indian,* 166. In his review of Blatchford's book, Timothy C. Winegard has confirmed King's point. See *Native Studies Review* 20, no. 1 (2011): 117-19. http://publications.usask.ca/nativestudiesreview/reviews/20-1Reviews.pdf

13. Hugh A. Dempsey, *The Gentle Persuader: A Biography of James Gladstone, Indian Senator* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1986), vii-viii; Barb Livingston, "Hugh Dempsey: Author and Historian," *Calgary Herald*, 2 January 2016 http://calgaryherald.com/news/local-news/hugh-dempsey-author-and-historian

14. Hugh A. Dempsey, "Role of Native Cultures in Western History: An Alberta Focus," in *The Cultural Maze: Complex Questions on Native Destiny in Western Canada*, ed. John W. Friesen (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1991), 39.

15. King discusses the contemporary image of the Indian in *Inconvenient Indian,* 21ff.

16. Dempsey, "Role of Native Cultures," 39.

17. Linda Tschirhart Sanford and Mary Ellen Donovan, *Women and Self-Esteem* (London: Penguin Books, 1985), 184.

18. Lerner, *Why History Matters,* 207.

19. J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

20. John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999); *Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, Vol. I: *Summary Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*, (Toronto: Lorimer Press, 2015).

21. *Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, 331.

22. In "Truth and Reconciliation while teaching Canadian History?" Thomas Peace has raised this question for Indigenous history: http://activehistory.ca/2015/11/truth-and-reconciliation-while-teaching-canadian-history/

23. Parker Palmer, *The Courage to Teach* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1998), 54.

24. Dempsey, *Gentle Persuader,* 123-4; James Dempsey, "James Gladstone," *Canadian Encyclopedia* (30 January 2008) http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia. ca/en/article/james-gladstone/; Patricia Williams, "John Diefenbaker," *Canadian Encyclopedia* (21 February 2008); rev. Tabitha Marshall (4 March 2015) http:// www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/john-diefenbaker/

25. Terry Crowley, *Agnes Macphail and the Politics of Equality* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, Publishers, 1990), vi.

26. Crowley, *Agnes Macphail*, 88.

27. Crowley, *Agnes Macphail*, 73.

28. Crowley, *Agnes Macphail*, 65-66, 96.

29. Dempsey, *James Gladstone*, 68-72.

30. Crowley, *Agnes Macphail*, 60.

31. Crowley, *Agnes Macphail*, 201.

32. Dempsey, *James Gladstone*, 66.

33. Crowley, *Agnes Macphail*, 204.

34. See D'Arcy Jenish, *Indian Fall: The Last Great Days of the Plains Cree and the Blackfoot Confederacy* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1999) for a compelling and accessible telling of this story. Wallace Stegner, *Wolf Willow: A History, a Story, and a Memory of the Last Plains Frontier* (New York: Penguin Books, 1990) is suggestive regarding the unarticulated influence of Indigenous Peoples. See also Ralston Saul, *A Fair Country* (New York: Penguin Books, 2008).

35. Palmer, *Courage to Teach,* 54.