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Editors' Foreword

The articles in the eighty-first issue of *Historical Studies* present aspects of twentieth century Catholicism that at first glance seem disparate and unconnected: mid-century anti-Catholicism, missions in Peru, religious education in Alberta, and Canadian Catholics engaging communist China. Yet there are common threads that reveal salient features of Canadian Catholicism in the 1900s: Catholic-Protestant relations, communism, missionary activity and Vatican II.

Both Kevin Anderson's paper on historian Arthur Lower's anti-Catholicism and David Webster and Sarah Zwierzchowski's article on the Canada China Programme illustrate how Catholic identity was forged in both antagonistic interaction and ecumenical dialogue with Protestants. The papers also triangulate Protestants, Catholics and communists, though with differing results. For Arthur Lower, Catholicism and communism were dangerous because they shared an authoritarian tendency that threatened a liberal Canadian state. Webster and Zwierzchowski reveal Canadian Catholics to be wary of communist regimes as they established more ambivalent relations with government-sanctioned Christians in Communist China than did their Canadian Protestant counterparts with whom Catholics collaborated in the Canada China Programme.

Missions are presented as sites for negotiating Canadian Catholic identity in Webster and Zwierzchowski's work on China and the article by Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Ana Jofré on Canadian women religious in Peru. In both cases, the changing political reality on the ground contributed to missionaries reformulating their identity and purpose.

Central to Matt Hoven's article on religious education in Alberta and Bruno-Jofré and Jofré's work on missions in Peru are Canadian Catholic responses to the Second Vatican Council. Both papers examine shifts from a hierarchical *modus operandi* to a more responsive and collaborative approach in the creation of a religious education program on the one hand, and governance of a religious congregation on the other.

Together these four papers present a shifting twentieth century Catholic identity, one that reacted to both local and international challenges, and responded to internal theological developments in tandem with external political realities.

We are grateful to those who submitted manuscripts, our anonymous reviewers, our editorial board and our colleagues in the CCHA who

together make this volume possible. We also acknowledge the support that St. Joseph's College, University of Alberta has provided Dr. Cuplinskas in carrying out her editorial duties. The journal and the association thank Fr. Edward Jackman, O.P., Secretary General of the CCHA, and the Jackman Foundation for the continuing generous support to the CCHA and its publication.

Indre Cuplinskas
Patricia E. Roy

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"I am … the very essence of a Protestant": Arthur Lower, Anti-Catholicism and Liberal Nationalism, 1939-1959

Kevin ANDERSON

In a letter to Arthur Lower, one Sister Mary Jean asked for an interview during her upcoming tour of Canada. She was nervous about teaching Canadian history at Saint Mary-of-the-Woods College in Indiana, as she had never taught the subject before. Sister Mary Jean wanted Lower's advice as she admired his popular textbook *Colony to Nation: A History of Canada*, particularly its readability and frank discussion of controversial subjects, and was planning to use it in her course. Lower responded by generously offering his time to her while she was visiting. Her valediction "Sincerely yours in Christ," however, compelled Lower to clarify that she was misinformed that he was a Catholic. He stated, "I am on the contrary, as possibly my writings show, the very essence of a Protestant, in that the right of personal decision means everything to me."[1]

There is little doubt that Arthur Reginald Marsden Lower was one of the most influential historians and public intellectuals in twentieth century Canada. Born in Barrie, Ontario, in 1889 to English immigrant parents, Lower grew up in a staunchly Protestant atmosphere, as Barrie was replete with Orange transplants from Ulster. His family's conversion from Anglicanism to Methodism profoundly affected Lower, even though it occurred before he was born. He was committed to Methodist ideals, focusing on the sanctity of individuals and their ability to achieve an ideal society by reforming the social order using Christian ethics. After he followed other Methodists into the United Church in 1925, Lower remained active in that church for much of his life as he became an award winning historian, first at Wesley (later United) College in Winnipeg (1929-1947) and then at Queen's University

[1] Queen's University Archives (hereafter QUA), Arthur Reginald Marsden Lower fonds (hereafter AL), Sister Mary Jean to Lower, 8 May 1956, file 5, vol. 3; Lower to Sister Mary Jean, May 1956, file 5, vol. 3.

(1947-1959), and an unswerving civil liberties activist.[2] While his ideas have been the subject of study before,[3] the anti-Catholic underpinnings of his thought from the outbreak of World War Two until his retirement in the late 1950s reveal a deep, and yet unexamined, irony.[4] Lower strove throughout his career to forge national unity between the "two races" of Canada, castigating those that he believed recklessly and offensively provoked French Canada. There was always a tension within Lower's thought. Because of his desire for unity based on liberalism above almost anything else, he was willing to accept and tolerate some dissension. Nevertheless, his own intellectual position regarding Catholicism, particularly the preeminence of the institutional church and the faith in francophone Quebec, caused him to perpetuate many of the same prejudices he opposed in others. Despite his much-lauded liberalism, and indeed because of his absolute faith in it, Lower feared the consequences of Catholic demographic dominance and the influence of what he perceived to be an ossified, illiberal Church over French Canada. In the postwar years, his concern that totalitarianism could overtake democracy, including both its Soviet and Catholic manifestations, amplified this view. Lower envisioned both Soviet Communism and Catholicism as presenting authoritarian alternatives to what he considered to be the only

[2] In fact, Lower co-founded the Civil Liberties Association of Winnipeg in the 1930s. Lower, *My First Seventy-Five Years* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1967), 4-9, 22-25, 163, 234-238, 336-338; W.H. Heick, "The Character and Spirit of an Age: A Study of the Thought of Arthur R.M. Lower," in *His Own Man: Essays in Honour of Arthur Reginald Marsden Lower,* eds. Heick and Roger Graham (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974), 20. As will be demonstrated, Lower was not without his concerns about the future of Protestantism and this included the United Church. In retrospective notes entitled "Church Union," he was quite negative towards the superficiality that could and did emerge from such a broad national church. "I FEAR LEVIATHAN," he stated, "whether in church or state." QUA, AL, Lower, "Church Union," 30 October 1965, file 26, vol. 51. Capitalized in the original text.

[3] Heick and Graham, *His Own Man*; Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing since 1900*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press: 1986), 112-136.

[4] Canadian anti-Catholicism has not been the subject for much analysis over the last 20 years, especially its twentieth century manifestations. Some notable exceptions are Nancy Christie, "'Look out for Leviathan': The Search for a Conservative Modernist Consensus," in *Cultures of Citizenship in Post-War Canada, 1940-1955*, eds. Christie and Michael Gauvreau (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 63-94; Stephen Kenny, "A Prejudice that Rarely Utters its Name: A Historiographical and Historical Reflection Upon North American Anti-Catholicism," *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 32, no. 4 (2002): 639-672; J.R. Miller, "Anti-Catholicism in Canada: From the British Conquest to the Great War," in *Creed and Culture: The Place of English Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930*, eds. Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 25-48; John Wolffe mentions Canada in his article "Anti-Catholicism and the British Empire, 1815-1914," in *Empires of Religion*, ed. Hilary M. Carey (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 43-63.

viable "way of life," one that embraced the individual and accepted the positive historical legacy of the Reformation and British institutions, namely liberalism.[5] This is not to suggest that all liberals or anyone extolling the virtues of the British connection were anti-Catholic, but rather that some, including prominent intellectuals like Lower, *could* and *did* conceive of the Catholic Church and Catholicism as antithetical to the traditions of Protestant nations. Raised in an atmosphere traditionally suspicious of Catholicism, Lower never abandoned such thoughts.[6]

Anti-Catholicism is a complex phenomenon that constantly adapts to changing contexts and is more than simple criticisms of theological traditions or positions on social, cultural, or moral issues. Rather it engages with a coterie of stereotypes, tropes and themes that present Catholicism as a ruthlessly authoritarian and/or false faith, relying almost entirely on superstition and a corrupt hierarchy, while questioning its position in modern society. Criticisms are rooted within a Protestant conception of history envisioned as the gradual triumph over despotism and feudalism, embodied most egregiously in the Catholic Church. In this context, Canada represented constantly progressing British traditions of individual liberty and freedom, emanating from the Reformation;[7] Catholicism was antithetical to

[5] Donald Wright has noted that this era was important for Lower intellectually as it saw the maturation of his conviction that historians should engage with wider society in order to preserve the great values of Western civilization. Specifically, Canada needed to provide its own version of Western civilization by constructing a distinct national culture and "national soul." Historians and others in the humanities and social sciences were to be integral in this process. Wright, *The Professionalization of History in English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 146-153.

[6] See statements he made in his memoir discussing the strong Orange character of his hometown of Barrie. Lower, *My First Seventy-Five Years*, 7-8, 31. I end my analysis in 1959 when Lower retired from Queen's University after arguably his most productive intellectual period, from the publication of *Colony to Nation* in 1946 to the publication of *Canadians in the Making* in 1958. Lower certainly continued to be a prominent public voice speaking on a variety of issues, including Quebec. His focus shifted, however. As the Quiet Revolution began to explode older Anglo stereotypes of *la belle province*, Lower became more concerned with separatism, as opposed to just nationalism, as it would destroy his life's work. See Lower, *My First Seventy-Five Years*, 358-372. Yet, in a lengthy correspondence with novelist Hugh MacLennan, Lower's anti-Catholicism was clearly still entangled with these new threats to national unity. Commenting on the recent October Crisis, Lower blamed the radicalism of the FLQ on the nature of the "French Catholic 'intellectual,'" as they gained an "authoritarian" education disconnected from reality, fitting easily into the dangerous ideology of "la race, la langue." QUA, AL, Lower to MacLennan, 5 December 1970, file 32, vol. 7. Underlined in the original text.

[7] Allison O'Mahen Malcom, "Loyal Orangemen and Republican Nativists: Anti-Catholicism and Historical Memory in Canada and the United States, 1837-1867," in *The Loyal Atlantic: Remaking the British Atlantic in the Revolutionary Era*, eds. Jerry Bannister and Liam Riordan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 212-213. Malcom notes that this understanding of history was particularly prominent not only

this narrative tradition. As Yvonne Maria Werner and Jonas Harvard assert, anti-Catholicism constructs a Catholic "unifying other," providing a "shared symbolic language" against which the self is defined.[8]

Lower's anti-Catholicism was similarly complex; his professed admiration of Catholicism was a patronizing one based on a caricatured understanding of the religion, of its influence on French Canada,[9] and his own ambivalence towards unfettered material progress. Lower consistently defined Protestantism as being a more complex, challenging faith because it relied on a personal relationship between one's conscience and God, as opposed to the ritualism and hierarchy of Catholicism. This focus on an individual's ability to decide what was good in the context of what was truly Christian, not what was decreed by the papacy, allowed democracy to emerge from Protestantism, particularly the English Reformation. Yet Lower saw anarchic tendencies latent within Protestantism stemming from the centrality of individual choice to the faith. If uncoupled from Christian responsibility, it became simple selfishness and materialism. The implication was clear: if Protestantism lost its spiritual moorings, which defined modern democratic society, it would cede moral and spiritual authority to the authoritarian Catholic Church, an outcome that Protestants could not allow. This balance

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among Orangeists, but also liberal intellectuals in North America. Michael Gauvreau has noted a specifically evangelical variation of this historical model that promised a "cyclical return to origins" to simple Christianity, eliminating the errors and blasphemy of Rome. This "return" was the result of the linear unfolding of history and would propel civilization towards prosperity, enlightenment and, most importantly, salvation. Gauvreau, "Protestantism Transformed: Personal Piety and the Evangelical Social Vision," in *The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1760 to 1990*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 83.

[8] Yvonne Maria Werner and Jonas Harvard, "European Anti-Catholicism in Comparative and Transnational Perspective, The Role of a Unifying Other: An Introduction," in *European Anti-Catholicism in a Comparative and Transnational Perspective*, eds. Werner and Harvard (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2013), 17-20.

[9] When discussing Catholicism, Lower often referred to the religion in general, not just in French Canada, and the institutional Church. For example, Lower saw the anti-communist extremism of Irish American Catholics as behind the rise of McCarthyist "fascism," noting that in Canada "we have managed to tame even our Irish Catholics, one-half of one of whom is now our Prime Minister [Louis St. Laurent] and a most amiable and tolerant gentleman." See QUA, AL, Lower to Edward C. Carter, 15 June 1953, file 32, vol. 2. In another letter he warned that while Barbara Ward of *The Atlantic* was a good writer, her family had converted to Catholicism and thus she could not be objective; she had "a typically Catholic cut and dried view of history." Lower to Tommy [no surname], 23 March 1949, file 32, vol. 2. His overriding concern, however, was how Catholicism interacted with French Canadian society and hindered Canadian unity. Lower certainly saw French Canadian Catholicism as more parochial and insular than other manifestations of Catholicism, but this was still based within his caricatured perception of the faith.

between individual choice and Christian responsibility for the good of society created and maintained the modern world.[10]

Lower's anti-Catholicism also demonstrates that while he was a nationalist dedicated to national unity and increased Canadian autonomy within the British Empire and Commonwealth, he accepted a historical narrative that saw only the Reformation and British traditions as the foundations of liberalism and democracy. R. Douglas Francis refers to Lower in this period as becoming less "threatened" by the British connection, seeing both a Britain of imperial dominance and a liberal one which had provided Canada with a rich heritage of freedom and democracy.[11]

The contradictions inherent in these ideas embody what Michael Gross has outlined as the historical problem of anti-Catholicism as a "prescription for modernity." Anti-Catholicism was never simply about shedding the weight of an archaic institution, but was integral to the formation of liberal identity. The motivation of the "visionaries of a modern age" in Germany, for example, was an idealism bred in the Enlightenment. They could only perceive a social order based on rationality and individual self-realization, excised of the insidious influence of the Catholic Church. Anti-Catholicism was constitutive of their liberalism, not a prejudicial aberration.[12] This perspective resulted in denying the validity of Catholicism as a religious system fit for a liberal democratic modern world.

Similarly, in the context of Lower's intellectual worldview, the Church was both threat and rival, representing a decidedly "un-British," authoritarian and thus "un-Protestant" challenge to modern democracy. For example, in a letter to then Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Jack Pickersgill, an

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[10] This sentiment is present throughout Lower's voluminous papers. For some examples, see QUA, AL, Lower, "A Historian Looks at the Church," rough notes, 1936, file 198, vol. 20; Lower, "Church and State in Canada," 1 November 1965, file 108, vol. 15; it is perhaps most succinctly stated in his autobiography: "The discovery that I was a natural Protestant came gradually, and only after it dawned on me that Protestantism simply means the necessity of individual decision. Individual decision can produce anarchy (as it often has) unless channelled." Lower, *My First Seventy-Five Years*, 25. Although he certainly exaggerates its ubiquity, Mark Noll has commented on the general Protestant view of Catholicism by mid-century: "To be an active Protestant in many parts of the world was of course to believe and practice certain Protestant verities. But it was also to be self-consciously and very seriously anti-Catholic." Noll, *Whatever Happened to Christian Canada?* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 2007), 52.

[11] R. Douglas Francis, "Historical Perspectives on Britain: The Ideas of Canadian Historians Frank H. Underhill and Arthur R.M. Lower," in *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration and Identity*, eds. Phillip Buckner and Francis (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 309-314.

[12] Michael B. Gross, *The War Against Catholicism: Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 28, 297-300.

old friend and colleague, Lower denied the intellectual integrity of Catholics (and others), portraying them not only as frustrated by the widespread triumph of modern liberal democracy, but also dangerously resembling irrational totalitarian enemies. He described French Canadian nationalists, such as historian Guy Frégault, as "members of that restless intellectual proletariat to be found in all Catholic countries, and most Asiatic, who feel defeated and would like to remake the world closer to their heart's desire. They are not far off from Mussolini and indeed Hitler." Lower condemned their parochial vision and argued for a nationalism based on the "higher doctrines" of freedom and tolerance, which, he declared, "unfortunately, are not prominent articles of Catholic practice." Exemplifying the connections he made between the Catholic Church and the new totalitarian threat, the Soviet Union, he added paradoxically that it "is no mere coincidence that Communism has not flourished in Protestant countries and that [Joseph] McCarthy is a Catholic. I could almost surmise … that some such influence has been at work in the Department of Immigration. I trust not."[13] The letter is rife with Cold War discourse, with a specifically anti-Catholic bent. In Lower's view, the Catholic Church was not only dangerously anti-communist but also facilitated the infiltration of communism through its penchant for producing demagogues and preventing democratic debate. Lower was explicitly echoing the sentiment of a *Maclean's* editorial that bemoaned the recent barring of known communist entertainer Paul Robeson from entering Canada by Pickersgill's Department. For Lower and *Maclean's*, this draconian action was reminiscent of the worst excesses of Soviet Communism.[14] Lower added to this refrain his suspicion that the Church, an institution and faith that had produced McCarthy, was behind these actions; the Church attacked communism as an evil, but perpetuated its violations of liberty and democracy.

[13] QUA, AL, Lower to Jack Pickersgill, 14 June 1956, file 41, vol. 7. Frégault represented the "Montreal school" of Quebec history, which has been characterized as believing that Quebeckers never truly recovered from the Conquest, viewing Anglo domination as the major characteristic defining the marginalized socio-economic status of French Canadians in Canada. Lower clearly viewed this approach as contemptible. In a diary entry he remarked that these new nationalist historians were "a very common type in Latin civilizations—intellectuals too sharp to be overly concerned with things religious and taking out whatever idealism they have in nationalism. Of such were Mussolini … the Cypriots and many more. There is nothing very constructive about them, and nationalism often goes sour when they achieve their objective of racial independence. I consider my own nationalism to be made tolerable by the value I have always put above nationalism, namely freedom." Ronald Rudin, *Making History in Twentieth-Century Quebec: Historians and Their Society* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 93-128. The diary entry is from 10 June 1956, file 10, vol. 51.

[14] "Barring Robeson Helps the Reds," *Maclean's*, 26 May 1956.

In the postwar era, anti-Catholicism was a thread woven into the fabric of liberal intellectualism in North America. The most prominent proponent of this idea was the American Paul Blanshard, who, in extremely successful books with titles such as *American Freedom and Catholic Power*, warned that the Catholic Church was as alien to the liberal democratic traditions of America as Soviet Communism. John T. McGreevy, writing about Blanshard, concludes that the preservation of individual autonomy, or "thinking on one's own," defined mid-century liberalism in America and was the undercurrent beneath Blanshard's success.[15] While Lower's anti-Catholicism embraced the American concern over the competing totalitarianisms of Soviet Communism and Roman Catholicism, it reflected his primary concern about the influence of Catholic French Canada, and his genuine desire for national unity, often couched in familiar British language.[16]

This was not simply the imperialist "Orange Ontario" nationalism that criticized French Canada and Catholicism at every turn; Lower's vision of Catholicism was much subtler. He did not advocate violence or organized political action. He caustically attacked the Orange Order and Anglophile Tories, such as Ontario Premier George Drew for these very reasons.[17] Lower saw their sycophantic and blind admiration for the British connection as causing organizations like the Order to offer an "anti-Canadian" and dangerous form of nationalism. In contrast, liberal nationalism was both truly Canadian and truly Christian.[18]

Lower saw himself as the evangelist of this creed, often speaking of his desire for national unity facilitated through understanding and compromise between Catholics and Protestants in Canada, particularly because of what he saw as the concentration and dominance of Catholicism in one of the "two races."[19] At the same time, Lower exemplified the mainstream prominence

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[15] John T. McGreevy, "Thinking on One's Own: Catholicism in the American Intellectual Imagination, 1928-1960," *The Journal of American History*, 84, no. 1 (1997): 98.

[16] I found no evidence that Lower read Blanshard, but his work was nevertheless quite popular for a brief time at mid-century.

[17] QUA, AL, Lower to Prof. Grube [presumably George Grube], 17 May 1939, file 12, vol. 1. Lower advised Grube to write a book on the reactionary elements in Ontario, such as the Orange Order, drawing attention to the circle around George McCullagh, the fiercely pro-British editor of the *Globe and Mail*, and Drew: "An article analyzing Drew: potentially the most dangerous man in Can. Public life, I think—because clever, plausible, more or less cultured. But completely reactionary." He even labelled Drew another Hitler, but without the ability. Lower to Charlie [no other name provided], 14 April 1940, file 14, vol. 1.

[18] QUA, AL, Lower, Letter to the Editor, *The Native Son*, 18 March 1944, file 22, vol. 1.

[19] For an example of compromise, Lower castigated the United Church for its enthusiastic support of the Hope Report, designed to restructure education in Ontario,

of anti-Catholicism as an organizing mental framework and cultural reference point among liberal nationalists, as opposed to the extremists of the Order. The presence of this sentiment in his thought reveals the tensions that existed for someone who prized the "universalism" of liberalism and its civic values of freedom, democracy and self-realization, but feared the illiberal consequences of an influential Catholic Church. This appeal to universality, grounded in the particularism of British political institutions and religion, which blurred the lines between ethnic and civic nationalism, was therefore a contingent universalism that required adherence to a strict set of "British values" defined by individuals who saw liberalism itself as the sole jurisdiction of Protestants. Lower's anti-Catholicism was, therefore, essential to defining his liberal nationalism.

Britishness, as both the idea and performance of a "collective inheritance," was strong in this period. The nature of this "collective inheritance" varies depending on time, place and promulgator, but at its core is/was a constellation of traditions, myths, symbols and ideas that posited the superiority or, at the very least, the normative character, of allegedly British values, institutions and history.[20] According to C.P. Champion, it was a defining feature of Canadian cultural and intellectual life for much of the twentieth century, with many admiring Britain for its unwaveringly liberal institutions and traditions. Thus, Liberals/liberals promoted an alternative vision of Britishness to Anglophile tories, as they embraced tolerance and individualism within a uniformly liberal society.[21] Catholicism did not fit into Lower's concept of Britishness.

Canada's transition from an ethnic, conservative nationalism to an inclusive liberal nationalism in the postwar era was, therefore, not linear, at least when examining Lower as a major proponent of this nationalism.[22] Certain civic values were laden with ethnocentric assumptions; Bernard Yack

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which would have been detrimental to Catholic separate schools. QUA, AL, Letter to the Editor, *United Church Observer*, 11 May 1951, file 87, vol. 14.

[20] Kate Darian-Smith, Patricia Grimshaw and Stuart McIntyre, "Introduction: Britishness Abroad," 14-15 and Bill Schwarz, "'Shivering in the Noonday Sun': The British World and the Dynamics of 'Nativisation,'" both in *Britishness Abroad: Transnational Movements and Imperial Cultures*, eds. Darian-Smith, Grimshaw and McIntyre (Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2007), 20-26. Also, see Phillip Buckner's various edited volumes on Britishness in Canada.

[21] C.P. Champion, *The Strange Demise of British Canada: The Liberals and Canadian Nationalism, 1964-1968* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 16-18, 27-29. Champion lists Jack Pickersgill, Graham Spry (by the 1960s), Lester Pearson and Lower as sharing this particular perspective of Britishness.

[22] See José Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945-1971* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 1, 4-5 for an account that privileges a more teleological narrative of the development of civic nationalism; Champion, *Strange Demise*, 8-9.

and other scholars question even the possibility of liberal nationalism and view the artificial dichotomy of civic and ethnic nationalism as a normative project, based on the major liberal democratic myth: the self-constituting, rational individuals who neutrally choose their political principles, community and national identity.[23] Lower thus based his proclamations of inclusivity on particularistic British Protestant values; the contingent universality of these values therefore defines his liberal nationalism in this period, of which his anti-Catholicism was a part. The faith and the institutional Church blocked Catholics from achieving individual development. In other words, they did not fit.[24]

One of Lower's most important intellectual statements was his presidential address at the Canadian Historical Association meeting in 1943, entitled "Two Ways of Life: The Primary Antithesis of Canadian History." Here he outlined his belief that the French-English divide was the defining characteristic of Canada, but that reason and compromise could resolve the inevitable conflicts between these "ways of life."[25] This address took place in a fractured atmosphere, as Mackenzie King's April 1942 plebiscite revealed a nation divided over conscription, largely along linguistic lines. Lower made his address in an attempt to promote an understanding of Quebec and counter the ardent anti-French Canadian statements of others.[26] Religion was one of the defining features of his analysis, determining the character and history

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[23] Bernard Yack, "The Myth of the Civic Nation," *Critical Review*, 10, no. 2 (1996): 194-198; Nicholas Xenos, "Civic Nationalism: Oxymoron?" *Critical Review*, 10, no. 2 (1996): 215-216. A major defender of liberal nationalism is Yael Tamir, who believes that the collectivity of the nation-state can accommodate the personal autonomy so valued by liberals because of the ability of individuals to choose the form and place of belonging within the particular cultural context in which they are embedded. In other words, "no individual can be context-free, but that all can be free within a context." Tamir, *Liberal Nationalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 6-14.

[24] According to Phillip Buckner, those intellectuals who promoted "autonomist nationalism," such as Lower, proved influential in making any study of British identity in Canada seem imperialist. In reality, Lower himself shared values and prejudices against Catholics and French Canadians with these so-called "imperialists." Buckner, "Introduction," in *Canada and the End of Empire*, ed. Buckner (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005), 2-4.

[25] Both Heick and Berger see this speech as representing an essential aspect of Lower's developing thought. Heick, "The Character and Spirit of an Age," Heick and Graham, *His Own Man*, 19-23 and Berger, *Writing of Canadian History*, 124-128.

[26] Lower, "Two Ways of Life: The Primary Antithesis of Canadian History," *Report of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association*, 22 (1943): 5, 9-10. Lower eventually grudgingly accepted conscription after attacking ardent conscriptionists for dividing the nation. In a letter to C.G.Power, Lower explained that King and the Liberals had done everything they could to compromise. Those remaining opponents of conscription in French Canada had to join with the Liberals or risk allowing the Orange Order and the Tories to implement their harmful vision. QUA, AL, Lower to Power, 25 November 1944, file 23, vol. 1.

of the two communities in Canada. Catholicism defined French Canada and Lower presented the Catholic Church as incubating a static, agrarian society as opposed to the dynamic, capitalistic one that emerged out of Protestant English Canada, labeling the French Canadian Catholic "way of life" the "peasant-spiritual … the primitive outlook on life."[27] While Lower admired the lack of materialism in French Canada, as he saw Protestant English Canadians sacrificing their vitality for crass material gain, he presented a simplistic habitant and a society prone to the "irrational" traditions that infected the world, as opposed to a society that had embraced the natural progression of history.[28] As Carl Berger has noted, Lower portrayed Catholics as impervious to the so-called Tawney-Weber thesis, which by directly linking the acquisitive ethic to Protestantism, especially Calvinism, connected Protestantism to social and economic progress.[29] Even with his ambivalence towards materialism, Lower was convinced that the solution was not for citizens to turn their backs on the modern world or for modern nations to counter the tide of historical development. The engine at the core of this teleological framework was English Protestantism.

Lower had elaborated this viewpoint in an earlier article entitled "French Canada and the World of Business," significantly written for a conservative periodical, *La Liberté*, dedicated to preserving the French Catholic fact in Manitoba. In fact, Lower scrawled at the top of a copy of this article in his archives that it was the inspiration for his "Two Ways of Life thesis."[30] Lower posited that "the Catholic" was too simplistic and thus prone to support corporatist solutions to socio-economic problems,

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[27] Lower, "Two Ways of Life," 12.

[28] Lower, "Two Ways of Life," 10-13.

[29] Berger, *Writing of Canadian History*, 124-126. Lower actually referred to Weber and Tawney in *Colony to Nation* when describing the "profound antithesis" of Canadian society. Lower, *Colony to Nation: A History of Canada*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1947), 67. For an analysis of Weber's thesis in relation to Catholicism, see John T. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History* (New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 2003), 176-178.

[30] QUA, AL, Lower, "French Canada and the World of Business," *La Liberté*, 1 January 1941, file 137, vol. 20. The fact that Lower published this article in a journal dedicated to the defense of the French Catholic fact in Manitoba and Western Canada in general is significant. Clearly, Lower viewed himself and was viewed by some as a moderate, perhaps even tolerant, voice in the ongoing debates between Catholics and Protestants and French and English Canadians relative to other participants. Nevertheless, the opinions expressed in this article and in much of Lower's other writings represent a distorted understanding of the role of Catholicism in hindering the development of French Canada and of Canada in general. See Hélène Chaput, "M. Donatien Frémont, journaliste catholique français de l'Ouest canadien," *Sessions d'étude-Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique*, 37 (1970): 100-101 for information on *La Liberté*.

a term that was often synonymous with fascism,[31] instead of embracing the economic forces that had built the North American continent. French Canadians had only themselves to blame for their domination by the more dynamic and materialistic English Protestants because, instead of pursuing business or acquiring technical expertise, they spent their time farming or mastering obscure Thomistic doctrines and gave their money to a Church which furthered their isolation from mainstream North American society.[32] Lower concluded his "Two Ways of Life" article with a call for compromise between modern, urban acquisition and the simplistic, fecund world of French Canada, thereby in his mind demonstrating that he opposed aggressive bigotry. Yet he asked a revealing rhetorical question: "'who has created the French race in America?' I make bold to say that the English industrialist has created about three-quarters of it."[33] The "Protestant man of business" had brought modern civilization into existence, reaching out to his otherwise hapless French Catholic compatriots and succeeding in convincing some that modernization was necessary to benefit the overall populace in both economy and size. Some, of course, clearly resisted this effort.[34] In other words, French Canadians had the "Protestant man of business" to thank for the progress in their society since the Conquest, enjoying the largesse of the English Canadian population. Any limitations to this largesse were the fault of the entrenched traditions of Catholic French Canada.

Perhaps Lower's most lasting statement of the postwar era, maybe of his career, was his Governor General's Award winning and often-used university textbook *Colony to Nation: A History of Canada*.[35] Lower himself

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[31] The prominence of corporatism amongst Catholics and in Quebec in particular at this time is controversial. Some in the Quebec clergy and society embraced a form of corporatism that admired Italian fascism and the society of other authoritarian regimes, such as Portugal and Spain. As Michael Gauvreau has concluded, however, there were powerful alternate strains, such as personalism, in Quebec and within Catholicism. In addition, much of the embrace of corporatism stemmed from Pius XI's 1931 encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, which strove to find a Catholic alternative to capitalism and socialism. Some corporatists in Quebec openly opposed fascist ideology, refusing to submit any economic matters to the state as this would result in the system in Italy; instead, they emphasized the spiritual aspects of corporatism. See Gauvreau, *The Catholic Origins of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, 1931-1970* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 9-12, 23; Terence Fay, *A History of Canadian Catholics: Gallicanism, Romanism and Canadianism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 202-208, 238-239; Gregory Baum, *Catholics and Canadian Socialism: Political Thought in the Thirties and Forties* (Toronto: J. Lorimer and Company, 1980), 180, respectively.

[32] Lower, "French Canada and the World of Business."

[33] Lower, "Two Ways of Life," 17-18.

[34] Lower, "Two Ways of Life," 17-18.

[35] *Colony to Nation* went through five editions, including five printings in three editions within the first ten years of publication. It was popular in academia, being added

noted that this book was explicitly nationalist, designed to inspire Canadians to embrace a united nation with a unique role in the world after a divisive war.[36] He repeated his "two ways of life" thesis almost verbatim, painting a well-worn picture of Canadian history as dominated, in fact defined, by the conflict between the Calvinist Protestant work ethic of English Canada and the simplistic and "careless" nature of Catholic French Canada.[37] One manifestation of the carelessness and simplicity of Catholics was the willingness of French Canadians and Catholics in general to have huge families. Casually, in a footnote, Lower articulated perhaps his darkest vision of the potential consequences of the decline of Protestantism, to go along with the collapse of liberalism and thus democracy: a nation swamped by the "mis-shapen [sic]." He noted that in 1941, 43% of the "deaf-mutes" in Canada were French Canadian, while 56% of them were Catholic, with statistics for the blind being similar. Lower concluded in this footnote that these "figures represent a whole economic, social and philosophical complex."[38] In contrast, in Lower's mind, Protestants, obsessed with material advancement, attending to their responsibilities and using birth control to regulate family size, were "decaying at the bottom."[39] He had made the argument even more forcefully in his "Two Ways of Life" speech, when he blamed English Canadians themselves, not the inherently virile, yet irresponsible, French Canadian for pushing English Canadians to the margins and committing race suicide in the name of a "high standard of living."[40] While laying the blame ostensibly

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to the curriculum at Queen's, Carleton and the University of Saskatchewan (and many more), with publisher Longmans Canada also having trouble fulfilling all of the requests from non-academic Canadians for the text. In addition to the Governor General's Award, it won the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire award and the Royal Society of Canada's Tyrell Medal. See Ryan Edwardson, "Narrating a Canadian Identity: Arthur R. M. Lower's *Colony to Nation* and the Nationalization of History," *International Journal of Canadian Studies*, 26 (2002): 60.

[36] Wright, *The Professionalization of History*, 151-153; Edwardson, "Narrating a Canadian Identity," 60-61.

[37] Lower, *Colony to Nation*, 66-69.

[38] Lower, *Colony to Nation*, 68n 11. For an excellent study of the importance of eugenics at this time, see Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945* (Toronto: McClellend and Stewart, 1990).

[39] Lower, *Colony to Nation*, 68-69, 181. Lower's concern about the "infertility" of Protestants continued until at least the late 1960s when he wrote his memoirs. He saw his generation as coming so close to an "arid, unfertile, negative Christianity that it almost extinguished itself," particularly if one examined the birth, marriage and death records. Lower, *My First Seventy-Five Years*, 41.

[40] Lower, "Two Ways of Life," 12-16. Lower had been concerned about the relative fecundity of Catholics and Protestants and the number of non-Protestant immigrants to Canada since at least the Depression. See letters he wrote to J.A. Stevenson, 1 December 1934, file 6, vol.1 and Rev. A.E. Kerr, 24 March 1938, file 10, vol. 1, bemoaning the decline of Anglo-Protestants. He repeated this concern in *Canadians in the Making: A Social History of Canada* (Toronto: Longman and Greens Company, 1958), 379-392. In

at the feet of sophisticated, urban Anglo-Protestants, what truly concerned Lower were the consequences for a nation sapped of the traditions and the people that had built it and the modern world. To add to this, Catholicism, unlike Protestantism, provided a united front against the materialism of the time, and Catholic Quebec represented the apogee of this monolithic institution and faith.

Lower's brand of anti-Catholicism revolved around his anxiety about the power of a homogenous Catholicism to infiltrate and undermine liberal democratic life, ultimately hastening the demise of a de-vitalized Protestantism as a spiritual and political force. In Lower's words, the religiously based homogeneity in Quebec, which began in New France and emerged almost fully-formed under Bishop Laval, was so extreme that all "French Canadians are, as it were, the same French Canadians" as the original settlers of New France, resulting in a harmful insularity.[41] He did not oppose the idea of a homogenous nation *per se*; in fact, he consistently opposed massive immigration into English Canada lest it undermine its ability to construct a suitable identity. Lower was instead ambivalent about French Canada's homogeneity, as he was about its opposition to materialism, and sometimes grudgingly admired the ability of French Canada to maintain its homogeneity throughout the centuries.[42] Nevertheless, he believed that the trauma of the Conquest and protection from the outside world by the Church created the same kind of inferiority and claustrophobia that was "the motive power behind Nazi-ism, Fascism, and 'Japanese-ism'."[43] Writing in the context of the fear within English Canada, continuing from the Depression and Duplessis' first mandate, of the alleged prominence of fascism within Quebec, Lower was attempting to explain the presence of these ideas to

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this latter account, Lower actually provided bar graphs to chart the changing racial and ethnic makeup of Canada since the Laurier years. His conclusion was familiar: "The British stocks have the lowest birth rates and the highest death rates, which means that they have the lowest rate of natural increase. This is in part a reflection of their infertility—which in turn is based on their economic and social status, their urban preponderance and their Protestantism," while Poles and French Canadians were reproducing at an alarming rate.

[41] Lower, "Two Ways of Life," 7-9.

[42] His position on immigration covered much of his career and was represented in many different mediums: see Lower, "The Case Against Immigration," *Queen's Quarterly*, 37 (1930): 557-574; QUA, AL, Lower to Jack Pickersgill, 1 December 1955, file 42, vol. 7; Lower, *My First Seventy-Five Years*, 164-165. Berger has noted Lower's desire to belong to a homogenous national community and to show how history could be used to promote this vision. Berger, *Writing of Canadian History*, 112-113. For his ambivalence towards French Canadian homogeneity and the potential threat it, combined with massive immigration, posed to a Canadian identity, see QUA, AL, Lower, Letter to the Editor, *Ottawa Citizen*, 3 May 1955, file 41, vol. 7.

[43] Lower, "Two Ways of Life," 10.

English Canada and, again, religion was central to his discourse.[44] Without the opportunity for "free expansion," meaning the inability or unwillingness of French Canadians to move beyond their "French island" in North America or to pursue an education that promoted action and industry instead of contemplation, as in Protestant English Canada, extremist nationalism and racialism were inevitable. The resentment felt by any Latin Catholic people cut-off from their religious and cultural centre, Rome, and forced to accept London as their metropole only exacerbated this attitude and, along with English Canadian chauvinism, explained the fervent opposition to conscription amongst French Canadians in World War Two.[45]

During the first years of the Cold War, Lower remained worried about maintaining the liberal democratic tradition in Canada in the face of a growing Catholic population consistently confronted with this chauvinism and potentially breeding authoritarianism. Every aspect of the "national structure" of French Canada, from the moment of the Conquest to contemporary Canada, was the result of a pre-Reformation people, simple in their rural traditions, acquiescent in the face of hardship and yet jealous of protecting their way of life, combating the control of the more energetic people. This went beyond just the antithesis of French and English Canada for Lower: to "the Catholic everywhere, but especially to the rural Catholic, life is more than livelihood. It is a series of ritual acts. … There is little need for striving, little occasion for the notion of progress." Within this world, "the Catholic," particularly in rural areas, was almost pagan, of the "simplest and oldest of all religions, Catholic almost by accident," suggesting that unlike the strong individual conscience it took to be Protestant, it was easy to accept Catholicism, if accompanied by the requisite rituals.[46] Catholicism was, in other words, a superficial faith. This superficiality explained its greater success in converting Indians than Protestantism, which demanded total conversion and a change in a "pagan" way of life, not just the borrowing of rituals and the performing of easy rites.[47] Lower portrayed Catholicism as an easy faith, resting on externalities, some of which were dangerously authoritarian, as opposed to the constant internal struggle and striving for progress that defined Protestantism and a modern nation.

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[44] There certainly were some in Quebec openly sympathetic to fascism during World War II, as Esther Delisle in *Myths, Memory and Lies: Quebec's Intelligentsia and the Fascist Temptation, 1939-1960* (Montreal: Robert Davies Multimedia, 1998) has demonstrated. It was far from the dominant ideology throughout Quebec society, however, as Paul Couture has noted. Couture, "The Vichy-Free French Propaganda War in Quebec, 1940-1942," *Historical Papers*, 13 (1978): 200-216.

[45] Lower, "Two Ways of Life," 9-10.

[46] Lower, *Colony to Nation*, 66-69.

[47] Lower, *Colony to Nation*, 25-27.

Even while attempting to posit a unifying national myth in *Colony to Nation*, Lower could not stop himself from characterizing Catholic French Canada in a patronizing and caricatured light. This time, along with portraying Catholic French Canadians as backwards, simplistic and unable to achieve self-realization, he presented them as effeminate and irrational. English Canada played the role of the masculine brute, constantly attempting to woo his clearly irrational mate into a union.[48] He admitted that Protestant English Canada had periodically acted chauvinistically, particularly during the Unionist government of World War One, but for the most part had been reasonable in the face of "a difficult people" who were "oversensitive, self-centred" and unwilling to participate properly in a modern nation, particularly during the World Wars.[49] Lower laid the blame for these attitudes at familiar feet: French Canada lacked the constitutional history and influence that English Canada enjoyed, due primarily to the absolute dominance of the "authoritarian tradition of the Roman Catholic Church." This tradition explained everything, from the seventeenth century Counter-Reformation zeal of Laval, whose fashioning of "absolute authority after the Jesuit pattern, has proved its strength, for it still holds in Quebec," to mid-century Quebec and the demagoguery of Duplessis. Only those Catholics exposed to liberalism, like Wilfrid Laurier, escaped this ultramontane trap. Laurier, in fact, had apparently saved his people from total clerical rule during the battles over race and religion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century by promoting that great liberal value: compromise.[50] The Church, therefore,

[48] Envisioning the Catholic Church and Catholicism as effeminate in comparison to a masculine Protestantism is a common trope in anti-Catholic discourse. At the core of this rhetorical strategy is the belief that Catholicism inhibits masculine values such as individualism, self-control and rational thought. See Gross, *War Against Catholicism*, chapters 3 and 4 and Timothy Verhoeven, *Transatlantic Anti-Catholicism: France and the United States in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), chapters 3-5.

[49] Lower, *Colony to Nation*, 467, 559-560.

[50] Lower, *Colony to Nation*, 31, 66-69, 417-418, 527. Lower feared the open persecution of Protestantism within Duplessis' Catholic Quebec through the infamous and egregious Padlock Act. Duplessis designed the Act ostensibly to stem communism, but Lower accurately argued that its broad mandate allowed it to attack all forms of "liberal" thought, including Protestantism. QUA, AL, Lower to Skipper, 10 August 1944, file 23, vol. 1. For an earlier example of this sentiment in Duplessis' first mandate, see a letter to Liberal MP L.A. Mutch in which Lower warns that if Quebec continued to persecute "liberal ideas of any sort, Protestantism included," a harmful Orange reaction was inevitable. Lower to Mutch, 8 April 1938, file 10, vol. 1. In fact, some Protestants were arrested in rural Quebec for making anti-Catholic remarks in 1947, but those incarcerated were conservative evangelical Baptists attempting to convert Catholics, not the liberal Protestants with whom Lower identified. What is revealing in this correspondence is, therefore, not just his legitimate criticism of Duplessis' regime, but his continued equation of liberalism and Protestantism. See John G. Stackhouse, Jr., *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to its Character* (Toronto: University of Toronto

was at least partially responsible for constructing a people who had few or none of the characteristics necessary to exist within liberal democracy, unless guided by an enlightened leader. Catholics and French Canadians in particular, were, instead, irrational women and children not to be trusted to lead Canada into the future.

In an unpublished article, written in 1949, Lower offered a glimpse into this possible future. He predicted that if Protestantism did not produce a new "crop of martyrs," it could disappear as a force by the twenty-first century. Lower hoped Protestantism would expand through humble means, by building chapels and quietly strengthening its resolve, but some blood might spill, as with the martyrs of old. Without Protestantism, there was only communism and Catholicism, with the latter increasing in strength due to its public and popular opposition to communism. Yet, "because of the nature of the societies growing up under Catholicism," once again referring to the totalitarian proclivities of the faith, communism was flourishing in Catholic countries everywhere, ironically creating the conditions which would inevitably force a new martyrdom for Catholicism as well. In the end, Lower turned to his panacea, compromise, this time between Christianity and communism, in order for the world to continue functioning.[51]

What Lower said in public was often much different from what he wrote in private. Another example is the advice he offered for revising the ninth draft of the Report of the Commission on the Church, Nation and World Order (CCNWO) compiled by the United Church in 1944. In section 153, the Report savagely criticized the political ambitions of the Catholic Church and its primary role in causing disunity within the nation, particularly during the ongoing conscription crisis.[52] The Church had "religio-political" ambitions; as the inheritor of the legacy of the Roman Empire it strove to create an "ecclesiastical imperialism based on Latin tendencies … authoritarian in its nature, distrustful of democracy except when it exists in a democracy." According to the Report, only when the people of French Canada finally shook off "the yoke of bondage" imposed by their clerical leadership and demanded a truly democratic church *and* government could Canadian unity be assured.[53]

Press, 1993), 32. For a first-hand account of the arrests, see Murray Heron, with Ginette Cotnoir, *Footprints Across Quebec: The Autobiography of Murray Heron—Pioneer Missionary to Quebec* (Dundas, ON: Joshua Press, 1999).

[51] QUA, AL, Lower, "A Portrait of the Future [of] the World in the Year 2,000," October 1949, file 36, vol. 19. There are no indications that this article was ever published.

[52] Lower served as an official consultant for the Commission. Phyllis 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), 131-133.

[53] QUA, AL, *Ninth Draft of the Report of the Commission on the Church, Nation and World Order* (1943-44[?]), 32-33, file 46, vol. 46.

Lower counseled moderation when he read this report. Even though he saw the sections concerning the Catholic Church as important since they defined the position of one Christian church to another, the language was essentially "declaring war on the Roman Catholic Church."[54] Lower stressed the need for discussion in the true Christian spirit of understanding, elaborating commonalities between the denominations instead of divisions. Lower's commitment to national unity trumped his anti-Catholicism, especially at a time of intense divisiveness, although he admitted "[m]ost Protestants will agree only too heartily with everything that is said in [section] 153, but the question is, is it politic to say it?" He warned that such language would lead to Catholics denouncing the Untied Church as being as bigoted as the Orange Order and thus undermine the Report's overall aim.[55] In his mind, so important was the cause of unity during wartime and in the postwar world that it was worth cooperating with the Catholic Church.

Rev. Gordon Sisco, secretary of the CCNWO, thought that the statements were neither inaccurate nor stereotyped, but should not appear in the final report because of the tensions they would create. He also argued, however, that if all the Protestant churches were to make them, they would present a united front against a monolithic Catholicism.[56] The final document excised these references to Roman Catholics and instead briefly addressed the positive aspects of the ecumenical movement.[57] Despite this ecumenical olive branch, the discussion reveals a United Church highly suspicious of the Catholic Church, but demonstrates Lower's unwillingness to support an organized attack on it and his willingness to engage in compromise when he deemed it necessary, even though he remained wary of the hierarchy and the political pretensions of the clergy.

Lower's hostility towards Catholicism did not rest solely in the interconnected strains of anti-clericalism or anti-French Canadianism.[58] The core of these strains remains within the historic narrative of progress he upheld, even if with some hesitancy. Quebec simply represented the clearest violation of this narrative within Canada. At the same time Quebec was one

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[54] QUA, AL, Lower, "Comments and Suggestions on the Ninth Draft of the Commission on the Church, Nation, and World Order," April 1944, 5-6, file 44, vol. 46.

[55] Lower, "Comments and Suggestions," 5-6.

[56] QUA, AL, Gordon Sisco to Lower, 4 May 1944, file 46, vol. 46.

[57] Commission on Church, Nation and World Order, *Church, Nation and World Order: A Report* (Toronto: Board of Evangelism and Social Service, 1944), 36.

[58] Anti-clericalism is a constellation of stereotypes that emerges in predominantly Catholic nations where the clergy enjoy certain socio-economic privileges that foment animosity within the lay population, as opposed to hostility to Catholicism as a monolithic belief system or the entire Church as an institution. Philip Jenkins, *The New Anti-Catholicism: The Last Acceptable Prejudice* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 10.

of the necessary components for national unity in a time of severe division in Canadian public life, caused by wars both hot and cold. Yet Lower did lash out at Catholicism in general, not just the institutional Church, blaming it for various transgressions against his cherished liberal democratic society. The tension within his thought, in which national unity through liberalism was paramount, explains how Lower could distrust and attack Catholicism in other venues while writing candidly to the doyen of liberal respectability, B.K. Sandwell:

> The difficulty with Catholicism with respect to liberalism, it seems to me, is historic. In order to safeguard and define the faith, it was natural for the official wing of the Church to press forward to an end it eventually obtained—absolute monarchy. On the other hand, there has always been a liberal element in the Catholic Church, but they have been an unofficial element which has always had to watch its step; and yet I feel it is the real custodian of all the Christian virtues.[59]

Lower hoped that Catholicism could be reformed from within, with the "truly Christian," although undefined, liberal element of the Church overtaking the corrupt absolutists in the hierarchy, a classic rhetorical strategy of anti-clericalism.[60] While such sentiment may differentiate Lower from extremists, it does not preclude his very real perpetuation of anti-Catholicism.

Lower was much more frank about his perception of Catholicism in a letter in 1944 to historian M. Seraphin Marion, a representative of *La Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église Catholique*. With Canada still in the midst of the bitter controversy over conscription, he angrily responded to Marion's charge that Protestants were entirely materialistic. Lower admitted that modernity had thoroughly infiltrated Protestant ranks, but asserted that, unlike the "authoritarian" defenses of the Catholic Church, Protestantism could protect itself against the total domination of the acquisitive spirit through its dedication to the individual. Displaying his belief in the backwardness of Catholics, and insinuating that French Canadians were shirking their national responsibilities, Lower questioned if Catholics were ready to prosecute the war effort in the face of the decline of Protestant Anglo-Saxons. "Your people are still too parochial for that," he stated, continuing "and even another century will hardly suffice for the training in initiative necessary to rule a continent."[61] At the same time, Lower admitted an admiration for the Catholic focus on community, which allowed them to maintain their "biological urges" in order to perpetuate their culture through

[59] QUA, AL, Lower to B.K. Sandwell, 8 August 1951, file 37, vol. 2.

[60] For a good definition of anti-clericalism, see Roberto Blancarte, "Personal Enemies of God: Anticlericals and Anticlericalism in Revolutionary Mexico, 1915-1940," *The Americas*, 65 (2009): 594-595.

[61] QUA, AL, Lower to M. Seraphin Marion, 22 January 1944, file 35, vol. 7.

large families, the so-called "revanche des berceaux."[62] Catholic contentment in this ideal, he argued, resembled the "attribute of irresponsibility, as in children, whereas the very essence of Protestantism is responsibility."[63] Their attitude towards modern life, he asserted, prevented French Canadian Catholics from achieving their potential in Canadian society, not widespread prejudice against Catholics in employment or other sectors.[64]

While he was critical of Catholics, Lower also saw problems within Protestantism, especially the rampant materialism and Protestantism's loss of vitality, which he believed was the result of the necessary but problematic link with individualism and liberalism. In a remarkable correspondence with Sisco, Lower theorized that this was possibly due to the end of the cycle of increasing liberalism that began with the Renaissance.[65] Protestantism was "painlessly extinguish[ing] [it]self" through its low birth rate, allowing Catholics to "confidently look … forward to the end at no great distance of time of the great Reformation heresy."[66] Foreshadowing his concerns of the Cold War and revealing the intersection of Lower's fears of Catholic demographic dominance and Catholicism's authoritarian sympathies, he warned Sisco that unless "we liberal Protestants" formulated a systematic, non-materialistic philosophy to counter the ideologies of the times, their enemies, such as "fascist authoritarianism … communist … [and] Catholic fascism," would dominate the future of the nation.[67]

Lower most comprehensively detailed his Cold War vision of liberalism in yet another Governor General's Award winning book, his 1954 *This*

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[62] Denyse Baillargeon traces the origins of this phrase, which translates to "the revenge of the cradle," to Jesuit Louis Lalande in 1918. It became an important refrain for the nationalist elite in Quebec for decades, which was attempting to preserve the distinctiveness of francophones in Canada. Baillargeon, translated by W. Donald Wilson, *Babies for the Nation: The Medicalization of Motherhood in Quebec, 1910-1970* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2009), 46-59, 268n61. Anglo-Protestants also used it to demonstrate the hostility and backwardness of the French Catholic population, a population willing to sacrifice quality for quantity in order to control the nation. For a particularly vicious account of the consequences of this "revanche" see C.E. Silcox, *The Revenge of the Cradles* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1945).

[63] Lower to Marion, 22 January 1944. This was not the first time Lower infantilized French Canadians or Catholics. In a letter to powerful newspaper editor J.W. Dafoe, Lower defended his position that Canadians should be emphasizing the "Canadian" nature of the war, as opposed to its inherent Britishness, since this was alienating Quebec. "The French are, in a way, children, who can be got to do a great deal if handled rightly but are the most obstinate people in the world if coerced." Lower to J.W. Dafoe, 19 July 1942, file 12, vol. 7.

[64] Lower to Marion, 22 January 1944.

[65] QUA, AL, Lower to Gordon Sisco, 25 March 1943, file 44, vol. 46.

[66] Lower to Sisco, 25 March 1943.

[67] QUA, AL, Lower to Sisco, 16 February 1943, file 44, vol. 46.

Most Famous Stream: The Liberal Democratic Way of Life.[68] In it, Lower expanded on the ideas he had presented to Sisco. He asserted that liberalism was not simply an ideal formulated in the Renaissance that had eroded in the intervening centuries, easily replaced by one form of collectivism, either Soviet Communism or Catholicism. Instead, it was a deeply human phenomenon, equivalent to the "eternal spirit of man," transcending history and alone being able to appreciate the value of the individual not simply as a means but as an end.[69] Lower based his specific conception of liberalism on the English tradition that had protected the world from tyranny throughout the ages and was doing so now against Soviet Communism. Indeed, Lower wrote the book to respond to Communist charges that the West lacked an ideological basis and did not believe in anything fundamental. For Lower, the foundations of Western values lay in liberalism and in the liberal institutions originating in England centuries ago. Without these traditions, there would be no "sure liberty" in the world.[70]

It is here that Lower most explicitly tied his liberalism to Christianity, positing that liberalism could not exist without centuries of Christian tradition and ethics. Liberalism and Christianity were dedicated to the same cause: the "harmonizing" of everyday life with eternity.[71] Protestantism, of course, was the preeminent form of Christianity. Lower grandiosely proclaimed, "[t]ake out English-speaking Protestantism and its derivatives from the modern world and the major creative force left is Russian Communism."[72] In Lower's opinion, nations outside of English-speaking Protestantism could not achieve balance. He contended that a successful liberal civilization, and thus a successful Christian civilization, required a balance between authority and freedom, the very essence of Protestantism. Freedom for the Catholic Church, however, throughout the centuries had meant only an increase in its own power.[73] This corruption of true liberty resulted in conflict over who had authority in the Christian Church, a dispute that contributed to the Reformation since the papacy refused to accept any undermining of its authority. If various reform movements had succeeded, Lower speculated,

> [the Catholic Church] might have found it possible in time to put itself clearly on the side of freedom, as Protestant churches have little difficulty in doing, and to have avoided many of those dubious and damaging associations which have

[68] Lower's initial title for this book was explicitly religious: *Foundations of Our Faith*. QUA, AL, Occasional Diary, 8 January 1951, file 10, vol. 51. He also contemplated calling it "The 'Isms and 'Ologies." Lower, *My First Seventy-Five Years*, 304.

[69] Lower, *This Most Famous Stream: The Liberal Democratic Way of Life* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1954), x.

[70] Lower, *This Most Famous Stream*, vii-viii.

[71] Lower, *This Most Famous Stream*, 11-24.

[72] Lower, *This Most Famous Stream*, viii.

[73] Lower, *This Most Famous Stream*, 30.

> always caused Protestants to think of it as an agency of illiberalism, reaction and despotism. But the constituted Church made its choice. Despite the fine, wide sweep of the philosophy which had been developed for it, it steadily pursued its way to the quasi-totalitarian structure which it has since achieved.[74]

The Church quashed all forms of liberty and retreated further into authoritarianism with the proclamation of papal infallibility in the nineteenth century. With obedience and power becoming its sole concerns, Lower concluded that the authoritarian "spirit of Roman Catholicism" violated the truly Christian/liberal values he upheld so fiercely.[75]

Not everyone agreed with Lower's analysis. In *Star Weekly Magazine* in 1959, journalist Richard Lunn criticized Lower's *This Most Famous Stream*, and other works, as pulling Canada apart at the seams.[76] According to Lunn, Lower overemphasized the contribution and greatness of the Englishman, allowing only him to be the bearer of liberty and democracy. Lunn's assertion that Lower embodied the expected prejudices of a Protestant from Ontario particularly angered Lower,[77] who always rejected such charges, believing that "vulgar"[78] organizations such as the Orange Lodge were tearing Canada apart. In fact, in *Colony to Nation* Lower attributed much of the religious strife in Canadian history to the arrival of the Protestant and Catholic Irish in the nineteenth century. The former, represented apparently as a whole by the Order, brought their ancient hatred of Catholics to Canada. The Order slowly adapted its hatred to the "primary antithesis" of Canada and shifted its target to papist Quebec, exacerbating tensions partially solved by the

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[74] Lower, *This Most Famous Stream*, 34.

[75] Lower, *This Most Famous Stream*, 36-37.

[76] Lunn was a well-respected and politically active socialist journalist who would go on to pioneer Ryerson's journalism program. Amorell Saunders, "Richard Lunn: Journalism Teacher," *Toronto Star*, 16 August 1987.

[77] QUA, AL, Richard Lunn, "The Angry Professor who Pulls Canada Apart," *Star Weekly Magazine*, 27 June 1959, file 5, vol. 62. Lower's clipping of this article has "cheap journalism" scrawled across the top of it.

[78] I am borrowing from Alan Mendelson's criticism of the artificial divide he perceives between "vulgar anti-Semitism" and "genteel anti-Semitism." For Mendelson, all types of anti-Semitism portray Jews as an inherently different people who exerted a harmful influence on society and are thus equally culpable in creating an atmosphere of prejudice and potential violence. Thus, despite the intellectual justifications of Canadian elites who saw Jews in this light, they were still expressing a caricatured and harmful portrait of Jews. While not equating anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism or the Orange Order and Lower, the anti-Catholicism of the Orange Order and of Lower was rooted in the same constellation of meanings but differed in Lower's desire to compromise in the name of national unity, his total rejection of violence and a lack of interest in organized opposition to Catholicism. This helps to explain how Lower could attack the Orange Order, yet repeat many of its prejudices towards Catholics. Mendelson, *Exiles from Nowhere: The Jews and the Canadian Elite* (Montreal: Robin Brass Studio, 2008), 1-7.

tolerance and wisdom of the Quebec Act.[79] Lower considered himself the purveyor of the liberal vision of nationalism, which was to save Canada by tamping down the latent tensions always close to the surface and expressed clearly in the bigotry of the Orange Order.[80] He was convinced that vulgar anti-Catholicism, along with an unfettered Catholicism, was intolerable in a nation such as Canada. These forces equally undermined the delicate balance necessary for the nation's functioning, as Lower demonstrated in his accounts of the Northwest Rebellion, the Manitoba Schools Crisis, both World Wars and other events throughout Canadian history.[81]

Lower even criticized the Fathers of Confederation in *Colony to Nation*. For him, presumably only referring to the Anglo-Protestant Fathers, their obsequiousness towards the British connection was too "Catholic … contrasting sharply with the pronounced individualism of their religious and secular Protestantism."[82] Catholicism was a trope within his discourse, used to describe actions and attitudes contrary to his worldview, steeped in the traditions of anti-Catholicism. Clearly, this statement reflects the conviction that Catholicism hindered the ability to "think for one's self" and was thus a "condition" to be avoided, particularly in a tense Cold War world. Yet in his self-evaluation, he was not anti-Catholic, because he was a liberal; he believed in compromise and Canadian unity. Lower was unable (or unwilling) to see the irony of actively promoting national unity through the forging of an independent and decidedly liberal democratic Canadian identity while perpetuating these distorted opinions of Catholics.

Lower's perception of Catholicism, the tension between it and his concern for national unity and his fear of authoritarianism influenced his correspondence as well during the Cold War. In one letter, Lower displayed this tension clearly to the Reverend Thomas Badger of the Norwood United Church. While discussing Badger's recent public opposition towards an ambassador to the Vatican (a constant Protestant concern),[83] Lower began by

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[79] Lower, *Colony to Nation*, 185-186.

[80] Letter to the Editor, *The Native Son*, 18 March 1944.

[81] Lower, *This Most Famous Stream*, 58. Lower, *Colony to Nation*, 366-367, 384-385, 417-418, 559-560. Lower was even accused of being a secret Catholic by one obstreperous letter writer for attacking the Orange Order, ignoring the United Church and speaking well of the Jesuits in *Colony to Nation*. QUA, AL, United Church Member, "The Church and History," *United Church Observer*, 15 January 1952, file 38, vol. 2.

[82] Lower, *Colony to Nation*, 326.

[83] There was consistent hostility towards appointing an ambassador to the Vatican within organized Protestantism for much of the twentieth century. The Canadian Council of Churches (CCC) polled its executives on the matter in 1949: they voted 34-2 against representation. In 1969 Pierre Trudeau established an ambassadorship in the Holy See, but he appointed a Protestant to calm any potential tensions. For the CCC poll, see F.J. McEvoy, "Religion and Politics in Foreign Policy: Canadian Government Relations

affirming his support for "the general principles of the separation of Church and State." After explaining that he shared "the usual Protestant fear and dislike of the organized Church of Rome," Lower added that he always kept his Protestant principles in mind when discussing public questions and tried to keep the compromise and tolerance inherent within Protestantism at the forefront even to the point of sacrificing some of his principles to ensure unity. He admitted that Protestant English Canadians had perpetuated much of the history of domination and persecution in "Canadian History." Thus, Catholics and French Canadians had many legitimate grievances. Despite this pragmatism, he reiterated that the foundation of English-speaking society was "the genius of Protestantism" and that he was writing a book on this very issue, presumably referring to *This Most Famous Stream*. In the end, Canadians had to solve the ambassador controversy along with the other major controversies between Protestants and Catholics in this context of compromise, but carried out by Protestants who, like Lower himself, were deeply suspicious of Catholicism. Lower revealingly contended that while he cared greatly for preserving the unity of the two races, he ultimately cared little for preserving the unity of the faiths, a curious statement since he had so often linked religion to the character of the "two races."[84] There were indeed limitations to his ability or willingness to accept Catholicism as a legitimate component of Canadian public life.

Lower was more subtle in his anti-Catholicism in this letter, to a more public figure like Badger, couching his language in an ostensible concern for national unity, while in others, presumably to friends or acquaintances given the informality and use of just one name, he was quite blunt. For example, Lower disagreed with the claim of his correspondent, Nelson, that Quebec was closer to socialism than the other provinces, *unless*, that is, Nelson was referring to communism, due to the tyrannical nature of entrenched premier Maurice Duplessis and "the authoritarian nature of the Roman Catholic church." Lower continued, "I always contend that communism cannot get too far in Protestant countries because debate always blunts its points." Repeating the concerns expressed to Pickersgill, Lower added, "Senator [Joseph] McCarthy, an Irish Roman Catholic, would not have debate. Neither does Quebec understand debate in the sense in which I use the word."[85] Thus,

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with the Vatican," *Historical Studies*, 51 (1984): 135-136. For the need for a Protestant ambassador, see McEvoy, "The Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between Canada and the Vatican, 1969," *Historical Studies*, 68 (2002): 81-83.

[84] QUA, AL, Lower to Rev. Thomas Badger, 23 December 1953, file 41, vol. 2.

[85] QUA, AL, Lower to Nelson [no other name provided], 15 February 1956, file 5, vol. 3. In a letter to Skipper, Lower expressed dismay at the recent return to power of Duplessis as he represented a "clerical-fascist regime" in Canada. The blame was clear: "I believe the RC church's almost wholly responsible." Lower to Skipper [no other name provided], 21 August 1944, file 23, vol. 1.

Catholicism was the culprit (and not just French Canadian Catholicism), both perpetuating the authoritarianism it shared with Soviet Communism, even if through militant anti-communism, and facilitating communism's infiltration by violating the traditions Lower upheld as specifically Protestant. For Lower, Protestantism and democracy were synonymous and any tradition outside of this framework was suspect.

Lower's anti-Catholicism was quite "genteel," in the sense that he was grudgingly and publicly able to tolerate Catholicism as long as it aided in maintaining the unity and progress of Canada. He was willing to compromise in the name of national unity, opposed any organized hostility towards the Catholic Church and abhorred violence. This does not detract from the fact that anti-Catholicism was central to his worldview, resulting in a fundamental tension within his liberalism between tolerating dissension and rejecting the perceived authoritarianism of Catholicism as counter to Canada's traditions. His was a worldview steeped in a particular understanding of history determined by the English Reformation. This, for Lower, was the foundational moment, which allowed for the release of the energies of individual man from the bondage of an authoritarian Church. While unbridled materialism was harmful and potentially anarchic, the individual freedom that Protestantism guaranteed was necessary to continue combating totalitarian foes in the modern world. Lower's vision of Canada, based on "universal" values of liberty, tolerance and compromise, attempting to put an end to the centuries of tension in the nation and create a specifically Canadian version of Western civilization, was in fact based on a contingent universalism inextricably tied to his own Protestant interpretation of history, democracy and liberalism.

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Reading the Lived Experience of Vatican II—Words and Images: The Canadian Province of the Sisters of Our Lady of Missions in Peru[1]

Rosa BRUNO-JOFRÉ and Ana JOFRÉ

Introduction

This paper takes a *longue durée* approach and goes back to the roots of the Sisters of Our Lady of Missions (Religieuses de Notre Dame des Missions/RNDM) in an attempt to explain continuities and discontinuities in the renewal of the Canadian province's missionary work and in the concept of mission sustained by the Congregation. In this sense, the approach is transtemporal because it tries to uncover linkages and comparisons across time.[2] By focusing on the mission in Peru from 1969 to 1986, when it was separated from the Canadian province, we examine the unexpected developments deriving from the response to *Perfectae Caritatis* (Vatican II Council's *Decree on the Adaptation and Renewal of Religious Life*) and trace a line of continuity that starts with changes initiated by the province in the 1960s.[3] These changes included a critical approach to the centralized hierarchical governance of the congregation, an expressed early commitment to work with the poor, and a request to the Congregation's General Council to change the habit and remove the veil. The locality as social context, following the theory outlined by Quentin Skinner, will provide the frame of reference for understanding the meanings of the Sisters' new utterances

[1] This chapter is part of a major research project funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC). Principal investigator: Rosa Bruno-Jofré.

[2] For a discussion of transtemporal history see David Armitage, "What's the Big Idea? Intellectual History and the Longue Durée," *History of European Ideas* 38, no. 4 (2012): 493-507.

[3] The Decree mandated that the renewal of religious institutes be based on a return to the sources of all Christian life and to the original spirit of the institutes and their adaptation to the conditions of our time.

such as notions of social justice, the historical conditions of their actions and the building of an intentionality permeating the mission from the bottom up, the grassroots. The intentionality refers to the 'illocutionary force'[4]—"a force co-ordinate with the meaning of the utterance itself, and yet essential to grasp in order to understand it."[5] The connection between Canada and Peru and its triangulation with the Generalate in England and later Rome gives the research a transnational character. The Sisters in Peru were inserted in overlapping configurations including their province's understanding of the need for change, expressions of social movements such as liberation theology, and the readings of Vatican II in Latin America as conveyed in Medellín (Colombia) and Puebla (Mexico).[6]

Documents and photographs are traces of the Sisters' search for a reinvigorating religious mission and of their process of identity construction, in terms of flexible selves. We assume the Derridean perspective that the archive cannot remain outside of what it memorializes; hence the images in this paper are not regarded as source documents, but rather as traces of identity construction. We read the photographs for signifiers of identity, noticing how the Sisters were represented, and how they represented themselves.[7] The photographs from the mission in Peru illustrate a renewed understanding of the missionary Sister.

The Canadian Province of Our Lady of the Missions (RNDM): Original Vision and Mission and its Crisis in the 1960s

The Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions, a pontifical congregation devoted to foreign missions, was founded in Lyon, France, in 1861 by Euphrasie Barbier (Marie-du-Coeur-de-Jésus). It was a teaching congregation whose mission was the Christian education of children and young women, above all in 'infidel' and non-Catholic countries.[8] The Congregation's intentionality, nourished in what Eric Hobsbawm called the age of empire,

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[4] Term originally coined by J. L. Austin and cited by Skinner in "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas," *History and Theory*, 8, no. 1 (1969): 3-53.

[5] Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding," 46.

[6] Christian Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 55, 56. Smith conceptualizes the emergence and growth of liberation theology in Latin America as a religious movement with an alternative theological worldview demanding a set of action commitments. As a movement, it intended to mobilize its members to generate social transformation, however, it had to succeed as a movement inside the Church first.

[7] Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

[8] Marie Bénédicte Ollivier, RNDM, *Missionary beyond Boundaries: Euphrasie Barbier, 1829-1893*, translated by Beverley Grounds, RNDM (Rome: Istituto Salesiano Pío XI, 2007). This is a non-hagiographical biography of the founder.

aimed at bringing civilization through Christian education to other cultures.[9] At the time of their arrival in Canada in 1898, the Congregation had missions in New Zealand and Australia, the Pacific Islands, India, and Switzerland. However, their arrival in Manitoba, Canada in 1898 signaled a re-signification of the original intentionality. In Western Canada, the Sisters conducted their educational work among children of Catholic settlers and Métis children.

The Archbishop of Saint-Boniface, Adélard Langevin, invited the Congregation to Western Canada after the Manitoba government eliminated in 1890 publicly-funded confessional schools and ended the status of French as the language of a founding nation in the province, while the government of the neighboring Northwest Territories (after 1905, the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta) was threatening to end government support for denominational schools.[10] The Prairies (the current provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta)—with their waves of Catholic immigrants, the Franco-Catholic struggles to keep their identity, and the colonization of the Aboriginal peoples—were a fertile soil for missionary work.[11] The building of the modern educational state and the public common school, with its assimilationist tendencies and its aim to preserve Canadians' heritage as members of the "great British Empire," was perceived as a challenge by the Catholic Church and by French Canadians in the prairies, and by Catholic immigrants from Europe.[12] Although their agendas could differ, the French and the new immigrants tried to achieve social recognition while building community identity.[13] However, the Congregation saw the Métis children and youth (those of mixed races, Aboriginal and French in this case) who attended their schools through a Western colonizing vision.[14]

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[9] Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875-1914* (London: UK: Abacus, 2012).

[10] When the RNDM Sisters came to Manitoba, its public school system was going through a process of reorganization and consolidation that began in 1890 and became a major national political issue. The crisis that developed between 1890 and 1897 is known as the Manitoba Schools Question. See Ken Osborne, "One Hundred Years of History Teaching in Manitoba Schools. Part 1: 1897-1927," *Manitoba History*, 36 (Autumn/Winter 1998-1999): 3-25; Roberto Perin, *Rome in Canada: The Vatican and Canadian Affairs in the Late Victorian Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), chap. 5, 127-157.

[11] Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

[12] Osborne, "One Hundred Years of History Teaching."

[13] The Congregation played a role in the building of what Marcel Martel calls the French-Canadian nation (Quebec and communities outside Quebec). In 1967, Quebec nationalists moved to self-determination and asserted that Quebec was the "national territory" and the "basic polity" of French Canada. See Marcel Martel, *French Canada: An Account of its Creation and Break-up, 1850-1967*, Canada's Ethnic Group Series, 24 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1998), 1-4.

[14] See Jonathan Anuik and James Ostime, "Métis Families after 1885: A Literature Review of Existing Narratives," *Prairie Forum*, 17 (Fall 2012): 27-56; Jonathan Anuik,

While the overall goal of the Church was to carve a space for a Catholic social order in the context of modernity, the locality contextualized the apostolic work. This explains the variations in aims and intentionalities behind educational work in various settings, which included private and public schools in French–Canadian settings, parish schools, private, and public schools, including Catholic schools in the Separate System, which were publicly funded in Saskatchewan.[15] The schools in Franco-Manitoban communities provide a clear example of how the politics of language, faith, and ethnicity became intertwined with the Canadian French issue.[16] The education of girls and young women, central to the Congregation, was reflected in the creation of private schools for girls. [17]

The Congregation went through the first half of the twentieth century adapting itself to emerging challenges. However, the post war era set a different scenario with demographic changes, economic prosperity, and the emergence of visions that would take shape into something new toward the end of the 1950s and the 1960s. It was a time of change and conflict. From the early 1960s, the Sisters' social self was losing its historical grounding. By this time, vocations were in decline. Furthermore, the RNDMs, along with other congregations, had a relevant role—through their teaching in private and public schools and their parish work—in elaborating the identity of what Marcel Martel calls the French-Canadian nation (Quebec and communities outside Quebec).[18] However, the understanding of Quebec as the 'basic polity' of French Canada in the 1960s and the movement away from building a common identity for all French Canadians created a new

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"Forming Civilization at Red River: 19th-Century Missionary Education of Métis and First Nations Children," *Prairie Forum*, 31, no.1 (Spring 2006): 1-16; C. Littlejohn, "The Schooling of First Nations and Métis Children in Saskatchewan Schools to 1960," in *A History of Education in Saskatchewan: Selected Readings*, eds. Brian Noonan, Dianne Hallman, and Murray Scharf (Regina, Saskatchewan: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 2006), 63-86; Raymond Huel, "The Anderson Amendments and the Secularization of Saskatchewan Public Schools," *CCHA Study Sessions*, 44 (1977): 61-76.

[15] See Brian Noonan, *Saskatchewan Separate Schools* (Muenster, Saskatchewan: St. Peter's Press, 1998); Huel, "The Anderson Amendments."

[16] The Association d'éducation des Canadiens-Français du Manitoba was active in developing French and religious educational programmes, administering French exams, and inspecting schools in Franco-Manitoban areas. They functioned as a parallel ministry of education.

[17] The education of girls and young women was central to the Congregation. In 1926, the Sisters created the Sacred Heart College for Women in Regina, to which the University of Ottawa granted credit for the first and second year. It provided an opportunity for Catholic women, even though the curriculum was quite conservative. An editorial in *Stella Orientis,* the 1942 Sacred Heart College yearbook*,* referred to the education received: the Catholic view point on all matters, and "the rightness of the Church's mind." "Editorial," *Stella Orientis* (Regina, SK: Sacred Heart College, 1942).

[18] Marcel Martel, *French Canada: An Account,* 3-5.

political and educational scenario. Aboriginal and Métis peoples were gaining political strength in the 1970s and asserting their own separate identity.[19] This had repercussions on the Sisters' schools, particularly the private ones, many of which closed. Education, at the core of the Congregation's apostolate, became construed within the theory of human capital in line with a technological knowledge-based economy, and this cognitive turn led to a scientific renewal of education. The school system was becoming more complex and centralized, leading in the 1960s (earlier in Saskatchewan) to the amalgamation of school boards. The counterculture of the 1960s, the protests against the war in Vietnam, the civil rights movement, and second wave feminism, challenged preconceived notions and traditional Catholic approaches. The various dimensions of the "illocutionary force," the intentionality behind the understanding of mission itself and related goals that gave meaning to the missionary efforts, had become historically anachronistic. Although the province had been sensitive to educational changes, the identity of the Sister-teacher and the approach to the education of girls were not in tune with the times. Feminist writers had started to unveil patriarchal power, not only in terms of the domination of women by men, but also by questioning "the socially constructed straightjacket of gender."[20]

Meanwhile the Canadian province had developed a sense of being Canadian that, during the renewal process after Vatican II, served as an explicit point of reference to question the centralized hierarchical governance of the Congregation. The Canadian Sisters, aware of the shift that was taking place, wanted to move forward, and started to question the old ways (habitus) and institutional structures affecting them as religious women. Many Sisters in the province were ahead of the Congregation. This was evident in the exchanges between the Generalate in Rome and the Canadian province in the process of preparing for the 1966 Regular General Chapter. The Canadian Sisters affirmed their local consciousness and their sense of being Canadian, wanted to keep their own ways of doing things and space, and advocated a consultative administrative style. They took a clear position in favor of changing the habit and removing the veil, which they linked to the reconstruction of their social self.[21] For them, rescuing the genealogy of

[19] Anuik and Ostime, "Métis Families after 1885."

[20] Daniel T. Rodgers, *Age of Fracture* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2011), 147.

[21] Superior General Mary Dominic Savio, Letter to our dear reverend Mothers and Sisters—Canadian Province, written in Hastings, Sussex, England, 1 May 1966. Box 14, file 17. RNDM documents. Le Centre du Patrimoine, Société Historique de Saint-Boniface, St. Boniface, Manitoba (hereafter CPHSB); Superior General Mary Dominic Savio, Hastings, Sussex, England, Circular Letter to Sister Delegates to the General Chapter, July 1966, 1 May 1966. Box 14, file 17. RNDM documents. CPHSB; Provincial Superior, Canada, Sister Jeanne Roche to Very Reverend Mother (Superior General), 29

the Congregation meant cleansing their original vision of the accumulated directives from the authorities of the Church and from Canon Law that were embedded in a patriarchal vision.

The habit and question of the veil were contentious issues pressed by the Canadian province. The issues went back and forth with input from the Vatican; however, in the end, the Chapter of Aggiornamento (chapter of renewal as per *Perfectae Caritatis*) of 1969 made the veil obligatory. While the sisters had to accept their orders, they continued to assert their individuality and control over how their identity was constructed and conveyed. The photograph in figure 1a, taken in 1970, shows Sr. Clemence Aquin celebrating her silver anniversary with the Congregation. The provincial decision to remove the veil had been rejected by the General Council that year.[22] Although she still wears the veil, she is dressed in a modified version of the habit that is in tune with current fashion, with a short skirt and stylish white shoes, with an elegant purse and beautifully matching gloves; these choices appear to be hers and express a youthful spirit that is also evident in her smile.

The picture in figure 1a contrasts sharply with the 1889 photograph in figure 1b of Sister St. Raymond (French), one of the foundresses at Lebret, Saskatchewan. While Sr. Clemence Aquin appears to express a sense of self by revealing her fashion tastes, the only personal signifier for Sr. St. Raymond is her face. While Sr. Aquin projects a personal identity with her choices of clothing and posture, Sr. St. Raymond's identity is expressed only in terms of her position within the Congregation. The picture of Sister Aquin illustrates how by 1970, the Sisters started to express a sense of identity that was sometimes in direct conflict with the central authorities in the Congregation.

The controversy over the habit and veil did not affect the fundamental nature of the Congregation. Two issues relevant to the Canadian province did. One was the interpretation of the goal of "going to the missions and working for the poor" backed by quotations from the foundress cited by the Canadian province, which the General Superior argued was grounded in a

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May 1966. Box 14, file 17. RNDM documents. CPHSB. The letter does not show the signature. See Rosa Bruno-Jofré, "The Canadian Province of the Religieuses de Notre Dame des Missions: The Horizon Reference and Reception of Vatican II, Moving toward a New Constellation of Meanings," in *Understanding the Consecrated Life in Canada: Critical Essays on Contemporary Trends*, ed. Jason Zuidema (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, forthcoming 2015).

[22] On 10 February 1970, Provincial Superior Cécile Campeau notified her Sisters that the General Council had not approved articles of the provincial Chapter Status dealing with permission for variations and that the use of the veil was obligatory, as per the 1969 General Chapter.

Figure 1a: Jubilee d'argent, 4 juillet 1970, Sr. Clémence Aquin avec Léona, Winnipeg

Figure 1b: Sr. St. Raymond, 1889

misquotation of the foundress who wanted the Sisters "to work for every type of people."[23] The Canadian province, in contrast, was conveying its own reading of the foundress in light of Vatican II documents. The other point of friction was the exceedingly centralized, hierarchical, and bureaucratic governance of the Congregation.[24]

These issues carried over into the new mission which began early in 1969. The experience in Peru brought the province face-to-face with issues of injustice that resignified that mission from the bottom up. Eventually, in 1984, the Congregation as a whole moved to a notion of mission and evangelization founded on evangelical renouncement and in communion with those who suffered injustice.[25] The originality of the spirituality of the Congregation's foundress, Euphrasie Barbier (1829-1893), resided in her understanding of mission as primarily the work of the Trinity, though she conceived of the missions as Church missions, not in a free relationship with

[23] Superior General Mary Dominic Savio, Letter to our dear reverend Mothers and Sisters—Canadian Province, Hastings, Sussex, England, 1 May 1966. Box 14, file 17. RNDM documents. CPHSB.

[24] Provincial Superior, Canada, Sister Jeanne Roche to Very Reverend Mother (Superior General), 29 May 1966. Box 14, file 17. RNDM documents. CPHSB. The letter does not show the signature. Bruno-Jofré, "The Canadian Province of the Religieuses de Notre Dame des Missions."

[25] *Witnessing to the Gospel. Beyond all Frontiers*: Twenty-Second General Chapter of the Congregation. B01-8, Box 16-12, p. 1. CPHSB.

the Spirit.[26] The illocutionary force behind the Congregation's understanding of mission that lingered over the postwar years was nourished by a theology that emphasized self-sacrifice, reparation for human sinfulness, salvation through conversion, and the advocacy of a Catholic social order. The missionary experience in Peru challenged the notion of mission as Church mission and its redeeming character and led to an original approach framed by the Peruvian context and the Latin American reception of Vatican II.

The Mission in Peru

Figure 2: Map designed by Graham Pope for the authors of the article.

After the regular international congregational chapter of 1966, which had decided that the Sisters would be sent to countries on foreign missions, the leadership of the Canadian province began to discern where they were being called to open a new mission territory. The Congregation's resolution was an early response to *Perfectae Caritatis*, the Congregation's attempt to return to its roots and its original spirit. In 1969, in her opening address at the

[26] Susan Smith wrote that in the hierarchical interpretation of the Trinity, the progress from God to Christ to Church ensured "that the radical freedom of the Spirit is controlled by subordination to ecclesiastical order and discipline." Susan Smith, RNDM, *Call to Mission: The Story of the Mission Sisters of Aotearoa New Zealand and Samoa* (Auckland, New Zealand: David Ling Publishing Ltd, 2010), 275.

Chapter of Aggiornamento, the Superior General called for a reassessment of their apostolate, especially the missions, to ascertain if they were best serving the needs of the Church.[27] Interestingly, the Canadian mission in Peru opened a window to the complexity of that statement and to a repositioning of vision and mission led by the missionaries.[28]

In December 1968, the Sisters went to Moquegua (see map in figure 2), where they joined forces with an existing mission founded by the western Canadian Franciscan province of Christ the King. Their own mission, which formally started early in 1969, was in response to *Perfectae Caritatis* and to the call by Pope John XXIII for a renewed mission in Latin America, which was in line with John F. Kennedy's Alliance for Progress, a plan to modernize Latin America. Interestingly, the Alliance for Progress was launched in Punta del Este, Uruguay,[29] on 17 August 1961, the same day that the Pope made his call. However, by 1969, neither initiative had given the expected results.[30] Latin Americans were critical of the close involvement of the Holy See and the North American hierarchy with American policies for Latin America. Furthermore, in 1967, Ivan Illich—who had directed a network of Centers in Cuernavaca, Mexico, including the Centre of Intercultural Documentation (CIDOC), and who had trained missioners going to Latin America—published "The Seamy Side of Charity." It was a harsh critique of the US mission to Latin America, conveying the strong anti-imperialist discourse dominant in Latin American leftist circles and among early advocates of liberation theology.[31] Liberation theology, an alternative theological world view that reconceptualized the Christian faith from the perspective of the poor and started theological reflection from praxis, had become a force in Latin American Catholic and Protestant circles, particularly in Peru.[32]

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[27] Address of Reverend Mother Mary Gertrude, Superior General, to the Delegates to the Special General Chapter, 19 July 1969, p. 5. B01-08, 14/22. CPHSB.

[28] The ecclesial nature of the RNDM missions, responding to the needs identified by the Church, did not change until the 1980s when missionary work was defined as a 'reignocentric' activity. Reignocentric refers to having the kingdom of God as point of reference.

[29] Jeffrey F. Taffet, *Foreign Aid as Foreign Policy: The Alliance for Progress in Latin America* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 205-223.

[30] Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Jon Igelmo, "The Center for Intercultural Formation, Cuernavaca, Mexico, its Reports (1962-1967) and Illich's Critical Understanding of Mission in Latin America," *Hispania Sacra,* LXVI, extra II (July-December 2014): 457-487.

[31] Rosa Bruno-Jofré and Jon Igelmo, "A Response to the Call from John XXIII to Send Missionaries to Latin America: The Radicalization of Monsignor Ivan Illich's Critique to the Institutionalized Church and the Formation of Missionaries, 1960-1966," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Brock University, 29 May 2014.

[32] Important Canadian research about missionary work in Latin America and liberation theology includes Catherine Foisy, "Des Québécois aux frontiers: dialogues et

Significantly, liberation theology approaches the relationship between world history and the history of salvation in a different way. The immersion of the Sisters in a theology that collapsed "the distinction between sacred salvation history and secular earthly history, while simultaneously insisting that the two are not synonymous,"[33] led to a new understanding of mission and of the "illocutionary force" (construction of intentionality) sustaining the mission. According to liberation theology there is no salvation history apart from world history; the incarnation of Christ dissolved this duality. This understanding was quite removed from the theology that had inspired the RNDM missions rooted in salvation through conversion, reparation for human sinfulness, and the advocacy of a Catholic social order (pre-Vatican II), and was even distinct from the more practical dimension developed in the Canadian prairies, particularly among settlers.

The RNDM Sisters arrived in Peru in December 1968, after learning Spanish in Puerto Rico, and started working in schools, teaching catechism, and doing social work. The outcome from the Conference of Latin American Bishops in 1968, in Medellín, Colombia, was fresh as a liberating utopia nourished in liberation theology, although the signs of its own constraints were there: Medellín kept continuity with the Council, which had been an expression of liberal progressive thought adapting the Church to developments in the Western world and within the capitalist system. Liberation theology aimed at a new model of society. Theologian Hugo Assman wrote that the reading of the Vatican II Council in Latin America and the positions taken at Medellín opened a space for radical positions taken by Christian groups nourished by liberation theology, and also for a reformist post-conciliar position, while conservative sectors, allied to the upper classes, remained attached to a traditional pastoral ideology.[34] In Peru, however, there was a unique convergence of the nationalist "Peruvian revolution" incited by the *coup d'état* led by General Juan Velasco Alvarado in 1968, and the progressive sector of the Catholic Church embracing liberation theology and Medellín. General Velasco Alvarado described the revolution as liberating,

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affrontements culturels aux dimensions du monde. Récit missionnaires d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine (1945-1980) (Ph.D. dissertation, Concordia University, 2012), in particular pp. 317-392. Michael J. O'Hearn, "The Political Transformation of a Religious Order," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1983).

[33] Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology*, 39.

[34] Hugo Assman, "La desilusión que los hizo madurar (sugerencias de autocrítica para los cristianos comprometidos)," La Tercera Conferencia del CELAM, Documentación Política 7, ALAI and Centre de Documentation D'Amerique Latine—SUCO (October 1974), 127-129. Reproduced from *Cristianismo y Sociedad*, XII (Buenos Aires: Tierra Nueva, 1978), 40-41.

leading to social justice and to the second emancipation of Peru.[35] Susan Fitzpatrick-Behrens has argued that the Velasco regime's reforms were made possible by "a mutually reinforcing alliance between the Catholic Church and the military."[36] This framed the work of the Sisters and became the initial force giving meaning to their commitment to the poor.

The Peruvian government promoted reform in the name of the poor from the top down and left little autonomy for grassroots political organization. The progressive Catholic clergy who opted for the poor soon distanced themselves from the government and supported those who suffered repression. The repression was accentuated when General Francisco Morales Bermúdez ended the "revolution" in 1975. The Sisters lived through the process and experienced divided positions within the Church itself.

What was different? The process of insertion moved the work in a direction of its own. This is not necessarily new, but this process developed at the intersection of Vatican II, the Peruvian Revolution, Medellín (Colombia), and later Puebla (Mexico), and in the cradle of liberation theology. The context is fundamental to understand the meaning emerging from the narrations, and early missioners' feelings that other members of the Congregation did not understand their experience.

When the Sisters arrived in Moquegua, Peru, in December 1968, social problems abounded along with racism against Aboriginal peoples migrating to the city, and a marked classism that the Sisters quickly discovered. Agriculture was underdeveloped and economic power was centered on the mining industry.[37] Marilyn LeBlanc testified: "We were missioned without any prior preparation other than that received through a study of the Vatican II documents. However, we were aware that we were there not to impose our own culture but to learn from the people among whom we lived and served." She went on to say: "our formation within the country was excellent, ongoing and deeply rooted in the principles of education propounded by Paulo Freire. Our missionary efforts became directed towards empowering

[35] Juan Velasco Alvarado, "Mensaje a la nación dirigido por el señor general de la división, don Juan Velasco Alvarado, presidente de la República del Perú en el 148 o aniversario de la independencia nacional," *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, 32, no. 5 (September-October 1970), 1353-1368. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3539555.

[36] Susan Fitzpatrick-Behrens, *The Maryknoll Catholic Mission in Peru, 1943-1989: Transnational Faith and Transformation* (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2012), 146. See also Milagros Peña, *Theologies and Liberation in Peru: The Role of Ideas in Social Movements* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995).

[37] Moquegua Mission, report, no date (the text leads to date it in 1982). Peru, filing cabinet J, Latin America, RNDM, General Archive, Rome, p. 2.

people through education for a growth of critical consciousness."[38] This is not surprising, since in 1972 the Velasco government introduced an educational reform whose architect was philosopher Augusto Salazar Bondy. Bondy adapted Brazilian pedagogue Paulo Freire's methods and theories in the literacy program.[39]

The international congregations working in Peru fully participated in workshops and conferences such as the Conference of Religious in Peru and the Conference of Latin American Religious, and members of the different congregations generated lasting bonds among themselves. In contrast, the diocesan congregations were more constrained and did not participate. Over time, the Sisters developed a semantic field in their internal publications that was nourished by their work and the workshops they attended. The workshops in Arequipa, Peru, in the 1970s and even the 1980s, included speakers such as Peruvian Father Gustavo Gutiérrez and Peruvian Father José Marins, who talked of indigenous culture and history.[40] Some of the RNDM Sisters were familiar with materials coming from Illich's centers in Cuernavaca, Mexico. The RNDM missionaries re-founded the basis of their missionary work, its intentionality, and re-articulated a missionary language framed by notions of social justice, the work of grassroots communities, the voices of the people, commitment to and solidarity with the poor, equality and inequality, and critical consciousness.[41]

Meanwhile, the government's nationalist discourse brought the *campesino* (peasant) and the indigenous population to the discursive arena. Quéchua became an official language, indigenous Inkarri festivals were promoted, and indigenous historical figures such as Túpac Amaru were highly valued. The Sisters, inspired by a renewed understanding of mission, developed a horizontal integrative relation with the indigenous communities, the *barriadas* (poor neighborhoods), and the rural poor, rooted in a commitment to the poor and their suffering. In the context, their Trinitarian spirituality took on a new dimension, since they lived the radicality of the gospel moving away from a Tridentine Catholicism that

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[38] Marilyn LeBlanc, "History Project" (questions relating to Canada and the Peruvian mission, prepared in August 2012 for the book Rosa Bruno-Jofré is writing on the RNDM in Canada).

[39] Deborah Barndt, *Education and Social Change: A Photographic Study of Peru* (Whitby, ON: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1980).

[40] LeBlanc, "History Project."

[41] For example, the Sisters worked with the parish S. Juan Baustista, Candarave, to produce *La Voz del Pueblo*, which included interviews with members of the community sharing problems, information on cultural activities, etc. The language of liberation theology permeates the bulletin. *La Voz del Pueblo*, Boletín Parroquial S. Juan Bautista, Candarave, 1 April 1983, 1, no 8. Peru, provincial administration, bulletins, provincial news, orange box, section 8, shelf 9.

had institutionalized the Spirit.[42] This led to a critical view of hierarchy and authority and to an understanding of the gendered perception of their work by the Church authority in Peru. One of the Sisters wrote:

> It would seem that the new archbishop of Arequipa appointed in 1980, Fernando Vargas Ruiz de Somocurcio, a Jesuit, was not open to liberation theology. I have a strong memory of his first *Ad Limina* visit to Rome. Before leaving he announced to the media that theology of liberation would be condemned at that time. However, when he returned he had to admit that it was not condemned but that the bishops were warned to avoid the extremes. Nevertheless, he continued his opposition to this theology in his own archdiocese. The Maryknoll Fathers had to leave the archdiocese. Nothing was said to the women religious and they continued to work quietly. Amongst ourselves we commented that as women we were not even considered.[43]

The apostolate in Moquegua, Peru, included social work, finding and building homes, adult education, literacy classes, religious education, and catechesis, among other works.[44] One of the major expressions of the Sisters' commitment to the community and of the Sisters living the people's poverty is the Group Home, later called *Hogar Belén*. It was not planned, but began when Sister Loretta Bonokoski found a nine year-old girl on the street, abandoned by her family. The *Hogar*, with the help of the Franciscans, cared for the young and the aged.[45] In 1971, the Sisters started a new foundation, the Catechetical Center, in Ilo (see map in figure 2), a neighboring town and a growing port on the Pacific Ocean, only an hour drive from Moquegua. The Catechetical Center aimed at creating a Christian community and offered extensive social services for the poor.

The 1975 coup of General Morales Bermúdez brought to an end Alvarado's Peruvian revolution and initiated a political shift to the right in an effort to gain investors' confidence and satisfy demands from creditors

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[42] The institutionalization of the Spirit refers to the progression "from God to Christ to Church, thus ensuring that the radical freedom of the Spirit is controlled by subordination to ecclesiastical order and discipline." Elizabeth A. Johnson, *She Who Is: The Mystery of God in Feminist Theological Discourse* (New York: Crossroad, 1992), cited in Smith, *Call to Mission*, 275.

[43] *Theology of Liberation and RNDM Missionary Endeavor in Peru*. Manuscript provided to the author by the provincial superior, August 2012, when visiting archives in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

[44] Moquegua Mission, report, [1982]. Peru, filing cabinet J, Latin America, RNDM, General Archive, Rome.

[45] Loretta Bonokoski, *Origins, Bethlehem Home, Hogar Belén, Moquegua, Perú*, pamphlet published early in the 2000s. The address of Hogar Belén is indicated as Prolongación Daniel Becerra Ocampo 509, CPM San Francisco, Apartado 89, Moquegua, Peru; for a tax receipt, donations could be sent to: Franciscan Missionary Union c/o Father Adam Sebastian, OFM.

amid a "degenerating economic situation after 1974."[46] The processes of denationalization, cleansing of the left, controlling of the press, and shutting of the national Peasant Confederation led to protests, while rising prices for food, fuel, and public transportation increased people's impoverishment. The government responded with repression. The Sisters remained faithful to their option for the poor and commitment to the progressive Church, even as leading sectors of the Church embraced right-wing positions.

The Sisters reported that Ilo felt the process of denationalization that followed the 1975 coup d'état; there were many desperately poor, unemployed families.[47] When, during the general strike of 1977, a large number of teachers from Ilo were arrested and taken away to Lima, one of the Sisters traveled to Lima and acted as a liaison between them and their families.[48]

In 1977, the Sisters established a mission in Candarave and surrounding villages, situated in the Andes Mountains, halfway between the coast and Puno in the *altiplano*, in the province of Tacna. The population was described by the Sisters as consisting of people of Aymara descent "with little Spanish mixture." The languages were Spanish and Aymara with Aymara customs prevailing. The Sisters reached the most distant villages in the parish on a regular basis. They crossed the Canyon on foot or by horseback; once a month, three of them crossed the canyon by jeep to celebrate Liturgies in three of the villages, and on several evenings, they packed up the jeep to conduct weekly prayer in nearby villages.[49]

In monthly workshops with village leaders, the Sisters covered not only the basics of the catechism but also the social teaching of the Church, as outlined in the outcomes of the bishops' meetings in Medellín (Colombia) and later Puebla (Mexico), which dealt with the social issues and systemic injustices facing the people of Latin America.[50] The Sisters used the principles of grassroots popular education to analyze the documents arising from the bishops' conferences.[51] One Sister recalled: "We knew we were

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[46] Dennis Gilbert, "The End of the Peruvian Revolution: A Class Analysis," *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 15, no. 1 (Spring 1980): 15-98.

[47] *News from Peru*, 16 May 1977, Ilo, Peru, signed by Sr. M. Monica (Irene), RNDM. Peru, provincial administration, bulletins, provincial news, orange box, section G, shelf 9.

[48] *Theology of Liberation and RNDM Missionary Endeavor in Peru*.

[49] *The Candarave Diary '83*, Peru, RNDM, General Administration, Rome. Peru, provincial administration, bulletins, provincial news, orange box, section G, shelf 9. The Sisters and the parish S. Juan Bautista. See also *The Reality*, Candarave, dated by the archivist September 1986, RNDM, General Administration, Rome. Peru, provincial administration, bulletins, provincial news, orange box, section G, shelf 9.

[50] LeBlanc, "History Project."

[51] Rosa Bruno-Jofré, "Popular Education in Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s: Mapping its Political and Pedagogical Meanings," *Bildungsgeschichte: International*

having an impact when the local police challenged us to refrain from anything other than leading prayers in the church. Social issues were not our or the Church's responsibility."[52] In 1984, the Sisters extended their work to the city of Arequipa, a *pueblo joven* (shanty town) in Buenos Aires.

In the 1980s, the Congregation as a whole moved to the re-creation of the understanding of mission. In Rome, at the Annual General Chapter of 1984, *Witnessing to the Gospel*, *Beyond all Frontiers*, the Sisters sought to be in tune with the world: "We too are called to listen to our world, especially to the poor, and to be attentive to the continually new movements of the Spirit. To listen well we need hearts that are free and ears that are trained."[53] Their re-signification of mission included the preferential option for the poor, the incarnation of the poverty of Christ, and striving to become inculturated into every milieu which they entered.[54] In 1984, solidarity with the poor was at the core of the Congregation's stated missionary vision. This was not always in tune with positions assumed by the Catholic Church at various levels, given the stances taken by the Vatican in relation to liberation theology particularly in the 1980s and 1990s.

Rebuilding Identities in the Context of the Mission in Peru

Photographs from the Sisters' time in Peru reveal, through the ways they chose to represent themselves, that their lived experience had transformed their sense of identity as Sisters.

The photographs in figure 4 illustrate a new relationship with the children in the missions, one that contrasts heavily with the type of relationship illustrated in figure 3 from the cover of *The Message* magazine, in 1935, which illustrates the conception of mission still prevalent into the 1950s. In that image, the founder appears at the center with the Virgin Mary, child Jesus, and a member of the Congregation bringing civilization through Christian education to "other cultures." The Sisters' placement in the composition relative to the children indicates an ingrained sense of superiority. The Sisters, who were incidentally white, occupy a position closest to God in this hierarchical structure and the children appear abstracted from their culture and history. In contrast, the photograph in 4a shows Sister Marilyn LeBlanc in affectionate contact with Luis, one of the children of

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Journal for the Historiography of Education, 1, no. 1 (2011): 23-39. In Peru, there was a movement of popular education with strong political components and geared toward a transformation of society

[52] LeBlanc, "History Project."

[53] *Witnessing to the Gospel, Beyond all Frontiers*: Twenty-Second General Chapter of the Congregation. B01-8, Box 16-12, p. 1. CPHSB.

[54] Ibid., 5.

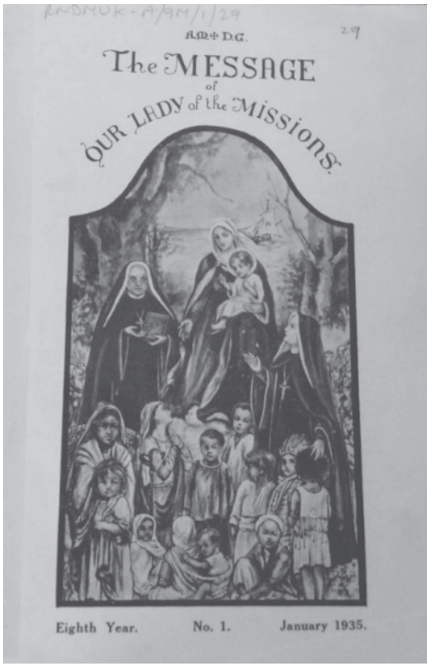

Figure 3: Cover of *The Message of Our Lady of the Missions*, January 1935

Figure 4a: Sister Marilyn LeBlanc, Moquegua, 1995

Figure 4b: Sister Loretta Bonokoski, Moquegua, 1975

Hogar Belén, on an outing to the park, Moquegua, Peru, 1995. Representing their renewed conception of mission, this photograph does not appear to 'other' the child, as the Sister, in plain clothing, places herself at the child's level and openly expresses affection towards him. Similarly, figure 4b is a photograph of Sister Loretta Bonokoski taken in 1975 in Moquegua, Peru, in which she is surrounded by a group of children at the *Hogar*; she does not place herself above them, but among them. These two photographs depict integration into the child's environment, as opposed to the differentiation between the Sisters and the children shown in the 1935 illustration.

The Sisters' approach to their mission shifted from one based on authority—as found on the 1935 cover of *The Message* (figure 3), in which the Sisters bring the word of God from above to their pupils—to a more people-centered and horizontal approach to teaching and to evangelization, as depicted in figures 5a and 5b. The photograph in figure 5a, taken in 1985, shows a youth group from Moquegua on an outing to the olive grove in Ilo, Peru. The Sister represents herself in camaraderie, sharing a laugh with the girls. Similarly, the photograph in figure 5b of Sister Juana Roche teaching young women how to knit in 1971 reveals an attitude of affection rather than authority.

Figure 5a: Moquegua youth group in Ilo, 1985

Figure 5b: Sister Juana Roche, 1971

Within the Peruvian context, the Sisters' identity as educators expanded beyond schoolteachers into community grassroots educators, and their realm of influence extended beyond religious life into public life. The photograph

in figure 6 documents their role as community educators. Sister Marilyn LeBlanc is shown tutoring a group of male catechists studying the document of Puebla in the program for formation of lay leaders.

Figure 6: Sister Marilyn LeBlanc with students

The collection of photographs in figure 7 supports the perspective that mission was no longer about 'bringing civilization' to the people, but instead about becoming a part of their community. These photographs, archived and preserved in a scrapbook binder, record Sr. Loretta Bonokoski participating in the Fiesta of the Cross in Moquegua. The top photo features her in the center and the caption in the binder notes that the people honored her for her work with the children in the *Hogar*. The documentation is telling of a shift in perspective and values. Aboriginal people, here, are not portrayed as needy children (as in figure 3), but as autonomous people whose approval is desired and valued. The photographs memorialize and respect their cultural rituals, and promote the idea that the Sisters are 'one of them' in this celebration.

Figure 7: Sister Loretta Bonokoski, Fiesta of the Cross, Moquegua

Structural Constraints and the Creation of the Peruvian Region

The mission in Peru had been founded by the Canadian province and the provincial authorities in Canada made all the decisions about who would be missioned to Peru pending approval from Rome. The request for approvals over different matters and the responses had to travel from Peru to Canada, from Canada to Rome, and back. Meanwhile the missioners in the various foundations in Peru behaved as a group and worked as a community. The appointment of a regional coordinator helped somewhat, but the process was frustrating. In July 1986, the enlarged general council announced the creation

of the Peruvian Region whose superior and her council would relate directly to the general council, not to the Canadian provincial council, although the latter would still provide financial support.

Consequently, the Peruvian mission became international with Sisters not only from Canada, but also from Australia, New Zealand, the British Isles, and India, along with local vocations from Peru.[55] The Sisters developed their own structures and expanded their work to the Peruvian port of Callao in 1990 and to Bolivia in 1992, first to Turco and, in 2004, to Cochabamba.

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[55] The Sisters who worked in Peru from 1968 to 1986 are:
Irene Oliver Mongrain, 12 December 1968 to l986 (she returned to Canada for health reasons);
Marie Jeanne Roche, 12 December 1968 to her death in Ilo, Peru, 7 October 1994 (Canadian);
Loretta Bonokoski Schnell, 12 December 1968 to present (Canadian, she continues in Moquegua, Peru);
Margaret Joan Dawson Nelson, 4 August 1969 to present (Canadian, she continues in Arequipa, Peru);
Theresa McCutcheon Thompson, 6 February 1970 to December 1987 (she returned to Canada and died 17 December 1993);
Marilyn LeBlanc Labrosse, 29 August 1970 to 20 December 1999 (she returned to Canada for health reasons);
Patricia Anne Orban Krasiun, 15 September 1973 to October l992 (she returned to Canada for health reasons);
Margaret Agnes Warnke Demert (Canadian, dates not registered);
Marie Bertha Chartier Alary, 20 September 1976 to 19 August 1988 (she returned to Canada for health reasons, but returned to Peru in 1990 until May of 1992, then returned to Canada permanently);
Cathrine Cairns, 10 March 1978 to 21 July 1979 (she returned to Scotland);
Elizabeth Welsh McNulty, April 1978 to 13 November 1986 (from the British Isles);
Alice Coleen Mader Forster, Novice, 15 November 1980 to 29 May 1982 (Canadian);
Veronica Mary Martin Dodd, 15 February 1982 to December 1992 (she returned to Australia);
Kathleen Ann Kelly O´Brien, 26 November 1983 to 15 February 1990 (she returned to Canada);
Claudette Elizabeth Moriarty, 18 September 1984 to present (Canadian, she continues in the Region, working in Bolivia);
Elsie Valenzuela Acosta, 30 March 1985 to 1997 (Peruvian, she served in the Senegal mission from 1997 to 2005, and at present she is working in Arequipa, Peru);
Annamma Thomas Kaithathara, 28 April 1986 to January 1992 (she returned to India for health reasons);
Joanne Elizabeth Morgan, 18 February 1986 to February 1997 (from New Zealand, she left the Region to work as a member of the CLT).
Since 1986, there have been 22 additional Sisters registered in the Region from other countries and from within Peruvian and Bolivian vocations, not noted here. Source: email correspondence with Margaret Dawson, RNDM.

Conclusion

Vatican II provided the institutional means by which to generate change, at a time when the Congregation's official discourse could not integrate new meanings emerging from contextual fields. It became an enabling force for a resignification of mission. This paper took a *longue durée* approach to understand the originality of the mission in Peru in relation to the processes of change taking place in the Canadian province.

The mission in Peru generated a renewed understanding of mission that developed as part of the Congregation's insertion into a structured space in which progressive sectors of the Church had embraced liberation theology. Its notion of salvation, which collapsed the distinction between sacred salvation history and secular earthly history without making them synonymous, set a basis for a renewed understanding of mission and its intentionality, a force coordinating its meanings.[56] When the Sisters arrived in late 1968, Peru was experiencing the unique convergence of the nationalist Peruvian Revolution led by General Velasco Alvarado and liberation theology supporters. When the contradictions of the "revolution" were unveiled—along with repression that became more acute from 1975 onwards with a *coup d'état* and the movement toward the right—the Sisters remained committed to social justice, even as important sectors of the Church moved away from liberation theology, while others had never accepted it.

There is an element of continuity between the early process of change in the Canadian province enabled by Vatican II directives and the direction taken by the mission in Peru, including the openness to change, early expressions of a desire to have a commitment to the poor, the questioning of hierarchical bureaucratic structures, and the desire of the Canadian province to reconstruct the collective self from the uniqueness of their experience. An examination of the photographs documenting the Sisters' experiences reveals the transformation in their identities, as we infer their notions of self from analyzing how they chose to represent themselves. In the complex interweaving of locality and lived experience, the Sisters asserted their own sense of living the radicality of the Gospel very early. The missioners were actually quite ahead of the Generalate of the Congregation. Only in 1984 did the Congregation as a whole embrace social justice and the option for the poor, though they still kept an ecclesiocentric approach to mission.

[56] Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology*, 39.

CCHA *Historical Studies*, 81 (2015), 53-71

‘Rare Beauty’ and Renewal: The Consortium Project for Alberta Catholic High School Religious Education

Matt HOVEN

The reforms of the Second Vatican Council signalled a new beginning for religious education. The Council’s openness to human experience and contemporary social challenges prompted Catholic religious educators to drop the question-and-answer style of popular catechisms and find better ways to teach the Christian faith using modern educational methods.[1] The Council’s pastoral message reflected catechetical concerns, according to historian and educator Berard Marthaler, in that it “focused on the interior life of the Church, seeking to renew its vitality by reaffirming the importance of living the evangelical message.”[2] Little wonder then that the Council acted as a “new impetus” for the modern catechetical movement, pursuing improved ways to communicate the Christian message.

The renewal of religious education in English-speaking Canada was most pronounced in the debut of the *Canadian Catechism* (or *Come to the Father* series) by the National Office of Religious Education (NORE) of the English Sector of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops (CCCB).[3] This 1960s series introduced elementary-aged children to God through a family-supported, developmental process of moral and spiritual awakening.[4] In Canada, in stark contrast to the United States, there were no national catechetical initiatives for high school students. A multitude of Catholic publishers produced high school religious education programs in the United States and, starting in the 1970s, American bishops established

[1] Ronald Nuzzi, “Spirituality and Religious Education,” in *Handbook of Research on Catholic Education,* eds. Thomas Hunt, Ellis Joseph, and Ronald Nuzzi (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001), 66.

[2] Berard Marthaler, *The Nature, Tasks and Scope of the Catechetical Ministry: A Digest of Recent Church Documents* (Washington, DC: NCEA, 2008), 12 and 11.

[3] *Canadian Catechism* (Toronto: Griffin House, 1966).

[4] Myrtle Power and John van den Hengel, “Religious Education: From Dogma to Method,” in *Vatican II: Canadian Experiences*, eds. Michael Attridge, Catherine Clifford, and Gilles Routhier (Ottawa, ON: Ottawa University Press, 2011), 454-455.

various textbook guidelines and frameworks to evaluate doctrinal orthodoxy and educational methods.[5] In Canada, school districts produced their own programs.[6] Because public funding for Catholic high schools varied from nothing, to partial, or full funding depending on the province (Ontario's schools, for instance, only received full funding in 1984[7]) these locally produced religious education programs were the norm for Catholic high schools until the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Designing a high school religious education program amidst the changes of the 1970s fired both enthusiasm and angst among Catholic educators in Alberta. The legal right of government-supported Catholic schools to offer religious instruction dated back to the Northwest Territories Act of 1875 and was confirmed by the Alberta Act, which created the province in 1905.[8] Despite this, funding for the minority Catholic schools, usually known as separate schools, was generally much less than the public school system[9] and did not support curricular development and teacher training in religious education. Furthermore, until 1970 religious instruction was restricted to a half hour at the end of the day.[10] Without provincial financial support or a national coordinated strategy for religious education, Alberta Catholic high schools resolved to develop their own religious education programming.

Although underfunded and hampered by the loss of many professed religious in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Catholic schools in Alberta experienced student growth.[11] In the mid-1950s, fewer than 800 teachers

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[5] Several documents provided guidance for American publishers of U.S. Catholic religion textbooks for high schools, including the United States Catholic Conference Department of Education, *Evaluative Reviews of Religion Textbooks* (Washington, DC: United States Catholic Conference, 1971), and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops/United States Catholic Conference, *Guidelines for Doctrinally Sound Catechetical Materials,* in *The Catechetical Documents: A Parish Resource*, ed. John Pollard (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 1996), 575-588. See Max Engel, "An Analysis of Catholic High School Religion Textbooks based on Identified Methods for Catechesis and Taxonomies for Cognitive and Affective Learning," (Ph.D. Diss., The Catholic University of America, 2013), 22-60.

[6] John Van Damme, "Curriculum Orientation within Religious Education Programs for Catholic Secondary Schools," (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1985), 280-99.

[7] *Ibid.*, 118.

[8] Robert Carney, "Religion and Schooling: Potential Controversy in Alberta Education," in *Curriculum Policy Making in Alberta Education*, eds. Max van Manen and Lorne Steward (Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta, Faculty of Education, 1978), 112-13.

[9] Nicolas Tkach, *Alberta Catholic Schools, a Social History* (Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta, 1983), xi-xii, 242-248 and 288-300.

[10] Carney, "Religion and Schooling," 116.

[11] This contrasts the declining student numbers of privately-funded U.S. Catholic parochial schools in the 1970s and beyond. David J. O'Brien, "Introduction: Conscious

worked in Alberta Catholic schools. By 1970-71, there were over 3,600.[12] In relation to the total number of teachers in the province, the proportion of Catholic teachers doubled over these two decades. At the same time, the number of religious teaching in the schools dropped to an almost insignificant number.[13] Increased numbers of lay teachers and enrolled students, coupled with changes in Canadian social fabric and educational research, underlined the need to secure the Catholic mission and identity of the schools.[14] The Alberta Bishops, school superintendents, Alberta Catholic Schools Trustees' Association (ACSTA), and others stressed religious education programming as a primary element of the schools' *raison d'être*.[15] This paper examines historical developments in religious education programming in Alberta Catholic high schools between 1971 and 1985, with particular emphasis on the ACSTA Religious Studies Program of 1984 as a "rare beauty" of collaboration between the Catholic community and the Alberta Government.[16]

The consortium project, of course, was aware of major changes in approaches to religious education world-wide. The early church term "catechesis" (from the Greek, meaning "to re-echo") had become synonymous in popular thought with catechisms containing doctrinal and moral teachings for memorization, as commonly found in the *Baltimore Catechism*. Religious education, argued theorists, could still engage learning in religion, but could also draw directly upon the science of education.[17] Despite some attempts to expand the meaning of catechesis to reflect a process of socialization or enculturation within a faith community, religious education became the predominant term to explain the means of educating in the Catholic faith for most of the remainder of the 20th century.

Despite previous catechetical movements following Josef Jungmann's kerygmatic theology and the German psychology of the Munich method,[18]

Choices, Deliberate Decisions," in *Urban Catholic Education: The Best of Times, the Worst of Times*, eds. Thomas Hunt, David O'Brien, and Timothy Walch (New York: Peter Lang, 2013), 4.

[12] Tkach, *Alberta Catholic Schools*, 300.

[13] Ron McGillivray, "High School Chaplain Sees Good in Teenagers," *Western Catholic Reporter* (hereafter *WCR*), 23 January 1984, 8.

[14] Tkach, *Alberta Catholic Schools*, 360.

[15] *Ibid*., 357.

[16] "Rare Beauty," *WCR*, 11 June 1984, 4.

[17] Thomas Groome, *Christian Religious Education* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980), 27.

[18] Jungmann's preconciliar kerygmatic movement challenged the static thinking of scholasticism found in traditional catechisms. In contrast, he focused upon the announcement of God's salvation as proclaimed in the New Testament. His work deepened catechists' appreciation of biblical and liturgical scholarship for transmitting the Christian faith. Mary Boys, *Educating in Faith* (Lima, OH: Academic Renewal Press, 1989),

the Second Vatican Council transformed how the Christian faith would be taught to new generations. Among many differences, the shift away from a preconcilar understanding of truth as contained in ahistorical propositions to a perspective of truth as conditioned by culture, time and place radically changed the content and means of teaching. Educational leaders around the globe sought a renewed vision of salvation where faith was seen as a liberating power not limited to intellectual assent nor strictly a Catholic experience.[19]

In Canada, in 1973, the National Office of Religious Education (NORE) undertook an overview of adolescent catechesis in part because, while working on the *Come to the Father* elementary program, it had overlooked high school studies. The report, written by Holy Cross priest Father Wilfred Murchland (and often referred to as the *Murchland Report*), highlighted the shifting complexities within the quickly changing field of adolescent catechesis.[20] The document emphasized high school work, yet also considered youth ministry and other forms of parish-based ministry since only an estimated 15% of Catholic youth attended a Catholic high school.[21]

Meeting with Catholic high school religious educators across the country, Murchland discovered that they used a diverse, overlapping set of approaches—catechetical, theological, religious studies and values education—and that there was no unanimity in content or methods of instruction. He candidly pointed to a palpable crisis in religious education because of

> biblical and theological research into the nature and meaning of revelation and faith, the Copernican revolution in catechetics [that] came with the shift from the deductive, intellectualist, dogmatic, authoritarian approach to the inductive, experiential, personal, questioning-discovering, life-centered, freedomful [sic] approach. Since that time many haven't really found their catechetical and pedagogical moorings but all have learned a great deal and it has been fruitful.[22]

These shifts, according to Murchland, were not "equally understood or accepted by everyone [which] represents a major source of tension, anxiety and polarization [leading] to fear, mistrust, and divisiveness in the

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93-94. The Munich method, popular in the early 20th century, maintained the content of the Baltimore Catechism yet introduced a German psychological approach for improved pedagogical presentation of church doctrine. Joseph Baierl, *The Creed Explained: According to the Psychological Method* (Rochester, NY: Catechetical Guild, 1943).

[19] Boys, *Educating in Faith*, 90-93.

[20] This paragraph and the next one draw on Wilfred Murchland, *Adolescent Catechesis in Canada: A Preliminary Report* (Ottawa: Canadian Catholic Conference, 1973).

[21] This is due in part because Catholic high schools in Ontario, unlike in Alberta, were not publicly funded beyond Grade 10.

[22] Murchland, *Adolescent Catechesis*, 15.

community." Despite the volatility of the time that had created some backlash and retrenchment, Murchland concluded by emphasizing the need for greater cooperation among organizations since the National Office alone could not manage the necessary experimentation and constant evaluation. Murchland recommended that locally developed programs for religious education in high schools would better respond to the complex circumstances of the early 1970s. This was no small task with the shrinking number of professed religious in the schools.

The Edmonton Case

Determining how educational theory should direct the design of programs and their use of conciliar theology caused extended controversy among educators in Alberta's Catholic high schools. Nevertheless, they embraced the call of a post-conciliar Church and their local bishops to empower lay leaders and produce locally-inspired religious education resources. The intensification of lay associations in different church social and youth movements[23] was captured in a local educational system navigating its way between progressive and traditional voices into the 1980s.[24] With a biblically-based, socially-aware, and experience-minded curricular approach to modern religious education,[25] the resulting consortium project embodied a collegial process that was highly consultative and reflective of the aspirations of the Council itself.

Embryonic signs of change in high school religion programming in Edmonton appeared around the time of the opening of Vatican II. In 1962, the Edmonton Catholic School District (ECSD) produced a Grades 1 through 12 resource introducing new catechetical methods. It began with an explanation of early twentieth century developments in the kerygmatic method and offered references to Canadian modern catechist (and future Toronto cardinal) Rev. Emmett Carter.[26] In spite of showing signs of newness, the resource maintained the importance of "memory work" taken directly from

[23] For example, see Peter Baltutis, "Experimenting Creatively with Being Church in the Modern World: The Social Affairs Commission of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1965-1984," in *Vatican II: Canadian Experiences*, eds. Michael Attridge, Catherine E. Clifford, and Gilles Routhier (Ottawa: Ottawa University Press, 2011), 253-275.

[24] Mary Jo Leddy, Bishop Remi de Roo, and Douglas Roche, *In the Eye of the Catholic Storm: The Church since Vatican II* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1992), 175-179.

[25] Berard Marthaler, "The Modern Catechetical Movement in Roman Catholicism: Issues and Personalities," in *Sourcebook in Modern Catechetics*, ed. Michael Warren (Winona, MN: St. Mary's Press, 1983), 275-289.

[26] Edmonton Separate Schools, *Teachers' Guide for Religious Instruction* (Edmonton: Edmonton Separate Schools, 1962), 1 and 76.

the *Baltimore Catechism*—including, for instance, memorizing that "the Church forbids Catholics to marry non-Catholics" (#300).[27]

New religious education programming came swiftly on the heels of the Council. ECSD was ready to implement the *Canadian Catechism* in the elementary grades by 1968, but no national program was available beyond Grade 8.[28] In response to student needs, high school teachers shared successful units and lessons,[29] introducing topics like challenges to modern youth and teaching religion through literature.[30] Copies of the Edmonton-based *Western Catholic Reporter* were even used as resources.[31] This radical shift to creative, responsive programming, coupled with a lack of formal training in religious education resulted in some educators refusing to teach the subject;[32] one compared teaching religion at the time as being akin to taking your life into your own hands.[33] In 1969, students told delegates at an annual Canadian Catholic School Trustees meeting in Calgary that they wanted less doctrinal teaching and more discussion of current problems. In a word, "We are tired of second rate religion courses alongside first rate academic courses."[34] Besides challenging the content of religious education, students had a practical grievance. Despite years of petitioning by Catholic school boards and ACSTA, the provincial government's department of education (hereafter, Alberta Education) did not give credit for religion courses.[35] In fact, the public schools had dropped most of their religious character.[36] Although some still opened with a scripture reading and recitation of the Lord's Prayer, formal religious instruction was limited to communities with a high degree of homogeneity or a skillful educator wishing to teach it.[37] Popular opinion appeared unsupportive of religion in

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[27] *Ibid*., 46-7.

[28] Tony Cashman, *Edmonton's Catholic Schools: A Success Story* (Edmonton: ECSD, 1977), 237.

[29] Pat Halpin, interview by author, Edmonton, AB, 22 December 2014.

[30] Frank Dolphin, "Religious Education Needs Variety, Experience, Team Effort," *WCR*, 5 October 1969, 7. I was unable to find any of these experimental programs.

[31] Edmonton Separate School Board Meeting Minutes, 1966-1973, 28 November 1966, p. 2923, Edmonton Catholic School District Board Office, Edmonton, Canada. Thanks to Andrea Klotz and Joanne Burghardt of ECSD's board office for their assistance with the meeting minutes, along with Helen Scarlett, archivist of ECSD, for arranging my research at the board office.

[32] "New Ways to Reach Youth," *WCR*, 5 October 1969, 14.

[33] Terry Lavender, "Edmonton Trustees Study Report on High School Religion Program," *WCR*, 8 December 1980, 16.

[34] Frank Dolphin, "Catholic Education: A New Set of Challenges," *WCR*, 5 October 1969, 3.

[35] "Religion May Get School Credit Status," *Edmonton Journal*, 5 March 1971, 47.

[36] "Council Wants Credits for Religion in All Schools," *WCR*, 16 May 1971, 2.

[37] Committee on Religious Education in Schools, *Religious Education in Schools of Canada* (Toronto: Department of Christian Education, Canadian Council of Churches,

the schools. Even Catholic high schools did not always require students to take non-credit religion courses that seemed to be increasingly disconnected from modern life.[38]

These concerns crystalized on 3 March 1971.[39] Staff members at Louis St. Laurent, a new high school in suburban Edmonton, grew increasingly frustrated by students skipping religion classes. Treating religion as a core academic course, the administration suspended two students who had missed too many religion classes. In protest, seventy-five of the school's 375 students clapped and chanted slogans during an afternoon sit-in in the school's hallways and front courtyard.[40] Local media covered the story. On its front page, the *Edmonton Journal* highlighted the students' challenge to a mandated course of questionable value.[41] School leaders responded swiftly. After an initial meeting between the student body and local administrators, Father Walter Fitzgerald, the supervisor of religious instruction, and Jean Forest, chair of the board (and future Canadian senator), faced questions from students and parents alike. Forest reported that the meeting was heated yet insightful, with attendees noting problems of the current situation and observing that searching for religious truth was no longer what it once was. She summarized the climate in religious education to the students and parents: "It's new and it's frightening."[42] In response to the uprising at Louis St. Laurent, a committee, led by Father Fitzgerald, met to design religious education programs for Grades Nine through Twelve. Six teachers worked half-time over a three year period to create the four programs. In short, ECSD poured significant human resources into a comprehensive programming resolution.

Two months after the protest at Louis St. Laurent, the Minister of Education approved a high school religious studies program that the Calgary Catholic School District (CCSD) had prepared independently of other Catholic school boards and ACSTA.[43] The influence of the student revolt on this approval cannot be determined, but the accreditation of religion courses

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1963), 18.

[38] Halpin, interview by author, 2014.

[39] Richard Wray, "Program Development (High School)," in *Memories: A Legacy for the Future* (Edmonton: ECSD Archives, 2013), 326. Halpin, interview by author, 2014.

[40] "High School Religion is a Major Challenge," *WCR*, 14 March 1971, 4; Terry MacDonald, "75 Students Skip Classes to Protest Religion Course," *Edmonton Journal*, 4 March 1971, 1.

[41] MacDonald, "75 Students Skip," 1. The article notes that the experimental course developed at Louis St. Laurent had three phases organized for three groups of students: those interested in religion, those opposed to religion and those uncertain about religion.

[42] Cashman, *Edmonton's Catholic Schools*, 236-7.

[43] Frank Dolphin, "Calgary Schools Get Religion Course Credit," *WCR*, 16 May 1971, 1; "Religion May Get School Credit Status," 47.

was a major breakthrough for Catholic schooling. Labelled a religious studies course, the Calgary program—with primary emphasis on the Judeo-Christian tradition—stressed religious knowledge and student understanding.[44] It was not a catechetical or faith development program, because the school and its chaplains were expected to promote Christian discipleship. The program was controversial.[45] Did it serve the best interests of Catholic schools, or was it a pragmatic solution to earn approval from the Minister of Education? In a period of uncertainty and experimentation, student and teacher approval would determine the success of the program.

Following the Calgary precedent, the ECSD, with the support of other Edmonton archdiocesan school boards and ACSTA, secured accreditation of its high school religion programs.[46] Students could now gain credit for the courses as electives but could not use them as part of the required subjects for university entrance. In the meantime, the ECSD introduced a new program in 1974, which Alberta Education included in its Curriculum Guide for Religious Studies.[47] With that imprimatur the universities accepted the courses as fulfilling part of the requirements for entrance.

Because of the new courses, teachers needed professional training, much of which came through school district initiatives. Some teachers attended one or two day long sessions called "live-ins," leading later to similar live-in and retreat events for students.[48] Accreditation stimulated teacher training in the colleges. School districts increasingly offered bursaries for theological education especially after Newman Theological College, founded by St. Joseph's Seminary in 1969, established a Bachelor in Religious Education program.[49] That program addressed relevant topics in theology and world religions for the predominantly lay student body. Beginning in 1977, the University of Alberta's St. Joseph's College offered pre-service religious education courses mainly for undergraduate students.[50] A greater sense of

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[44] Religious Education Office of the Diocese of Calgary, "Calgary Religious Studies: 'Proposing not Imposing'," *WCR*, 4 July 1971, 1 and 5.

[45] "Calgary Courses Deserve Study," *WCR*, 4 July 1971, 4.

[46] Frank Dolphin, "Board Seeks Religion Credits," *WCR*, 4 July 1971, 1.

[47] Cashman, *Edmonton's Catholic Schools*, 237-8.

[48] Edmonton Separate School Board Meeting Minutes 1966-1973, 3 January 1972, p. 3226, and 20 March 1972, p. 3238.

[49] Frank Dolphin, "Newman Theological College Launched With 82 Students," *WCR*, 5 October 1969, 7.

[50] John Van Damme, "The Identity Crisis is Over, But What a Contagion It Was," *WCR*, 18 February 1980, 11. By 1981, the trustees of ECSD moved to affirm their desire to encourage pre-service teachers to take the courses as part of their degree, along with stating a hiring preference for teachers with a background in religion and moral education. Edmonton Separate School Board Meeting Minutes 1981-1986, 6 June 1981, p. 3769. School trustees had offered bursaries in religious education prior to the founding of Newman Theological College, for example, ECSD had approved four such bursaries for

order developed as leadership responded with formalized programming and academic training.

The new student-centered courses were dramatically different from the doctrinally focused *Baltimore Catechism*. They explained faith beginning with human experience and drew on developmental psychology,[51] reflecting the new emphasis on an experiential meaning of salvation in students' everyday lives. Recognized for its cultural and developmental strengths, the program even won acclaim from public school educators who adapted parts of the courses into elective units for the Social Studies program.[52] Four main themes were followed in the courses: relevant religious questions in Grade 9, Christian morality in Grade 10, faith and belief in Grade 11, and World Religions in Grade 12. Its educational merit far surpassed pre-conciliar catechisms, not to mention its relevance to student concerns. For example, the Junior High Grade 9 program—*A NEW LOOK at Christianity*[53]—marked a dramatic deviation, as authors Sisters Barbara Rice and Mary Jackson wanted their fourteen-year old audience to address relevant religious questions. One optional theme examined tough decisions faced by young Christians, including a section titled, "Why I Don't Smoke Pot."[54] Not surprisingly some teachers no longer felt comfortable in religion class. The program encouraged teachers to be familiar with several American teacher publications and the *Dutch Catechism*, and used filmstrips and music recordings to engage students.[55]

Though heralded as a new era in religious education, the locally developed ECSD courses were not wholly satisfactory. In response, the school district's Director of Curriculum, Ric Laplante, oversaw what became the *Senior High School Religious Education Survey Report* of 1979.[56] The survey was no small undertaking. Twelve teachers and central office personnel interviewed 25 administrators, 48 religion teachers, 23 non-religion teachers, and 745 students. An additional 256 non-religion teachers and 5992 students were surveyed but not interviewed. It gauged both the courses and the overall climate for religious education. The results

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the 1968-69 school year. (Edmonton Separate School Board Meeting Minutes 1966-1973, 11 December 1967, p. 2997).

[51] Van Damme, "Curriculum Orientation," 190.

[52] Carney, "Religion and Schooling," 119.

[53] M.A. Jackson and Barbara Rice, *A NEW LOOK at Christianity* (Edmonton: Edmonton Catholic School District, 1973), 6. The *Canadian Catechism* followed the Ontario schooling system, where Grade 8 was the final grade before high school.

[54] *Ibid*., 58-61.

[55] *Ibid*., 11-12. See *A New Catechism* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1967).

[56] Ric Laplante, *Senior High School Religious Education Survey Report* (Edmonton: Edmonton Catholic School District, 1979), 57-58, 60, 64-65, and 23-30. The report was managed by Sr. Pat Halpin, a religious education consultant with the district.

revealed that teachers widely used the resources for Grades 10 and 11 and often updated the material on their own. The Grade 12 World Religions program was less kindly assessed. Teachers used it less frequently, half of them called for a program change, and school administrators heavily criticized it. Overall, the report recommended revising, not rewriting, the program. Laplante advised that to meet students' experiences the courses should better reflect basic concepts of the Christian faith, improve how they addressed questions of morality, and increase integration of faith into life. His recommendations were in part influenced by the survey's finding that the attendance of students at Mass and visits to the confessional were falling, sometimes drastically. The psychological emphasis of the program—as employed in these experientially-centered courses—was apparently not producing sacramentally-active young people. A revised program with a renewed theological basis appeared necessary.

Around this time, with fewer religious and priests working in the schools, members of the Alberta Catholic School Trustees' Association re-envisioned their role as overseers of publicly funded Catholic schooling. Leadership was needed, but what should the schools become within a changing Catholic landscape? Addressing Catholic educational leaders in 1981, Dr. Robert Carney of the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta, a former Catholic high school principal in the Northwest Territories, provoked his audience to take responsibility:

> While it would appear that a Catholic school system in Alberta has been established on a firm basis it would seem that those involved in its continuing stability and growth may have lost the vision of their predecessors, that they have lost their way, and that they are bobbing about in a time of great flux looking for a way out of the dilemma of their "success."[57]

Carney's stinging criticism challenged current leadership, naming an obvious problem yet underlining the possibilities that lay within the Catholic school system. In 1976, ACSTA had commissioned Carney to provide a framework for creating philosophical mission and goal statements at the local board level.[58] Internal conversations and discussions with the Alberta Bishops produced drafts of a working document expressing the theory and practice of Catholic schooling.[59]

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[57] R.J. Carney, "Winners are Losers," in *Developing Blue Prints for the Future: The Mission and Ministry of the Catholic School*, ed. ACSTA (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary, 1981), 1, as found in the Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Edmonton (hereafter ARCAE), ACSTA Blueprint for the Mission and Ministry of the Catholic School 1981-85, 1.8.1.2.14. Thanks to Shamin Malmas for her assistance in the Archdiocesan archives.

[58] Tkach, *Alberta Catholic Schools*, 360.

[59] ARCAE, ACSTA: The Theory and Practice of Catholic Schooling in Alberta, A Working Paper for Trustees, 31 December 1976 and 5 November 1977, 1.8.1.2.13.

In the meantime, in Rome, the Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education had promulgated a relevant document titled, *The Catholic School*.[60] As the first official education document since the Council, it reflected on the purpose and aims of Catholic schools in light of the understanding of the church and its positive relationship to civil society in *Lumen Gentium* and *Gaudium et Spes*. The release of this document delayed completion of ACSTA's working paper but reportedly enriched its content significantly.[61] While co-operation between ACSTA and the bishops culminated in a formal document outlining the mission and ministry of Alberta Catholic schooling, the bishops also wanted to revise the high school religion program. Noting the bishops' concerns, the executive director of ACSTA, Kevin McKinney, advised Bishop Paul O'Byrne that "the complexity of the subject demanded further study and consideration."[62]

Alberta Catholic trustees and bishops became heavily involved in revising the religion program. As they turned their attention to the high school courses, concerns and frustrations mounted. Fr. Leo Floyd, a long-serving trustee and priest of the Archdiocese, urged ECSD trustees to host a forum in the fall of 1979 to share concerns about "theological, moral, and educational" issues and to "deliberate on future directions" for high school religion.[63] The forum coincided with the release of the district's report on the 1974 program and enabled the larger Catholic community to enter the conversation. Soon after, the board—based upon the findings of the report and presumably the forum—decided to update the 1974 program and increase financial and educational support for teachers and administration.[64]

This reasoned response that supported past work of educators and administrators did not appease some members of the broader Catholic community who expressed their views through letters to the editor and columns in the *Western Catholic Reporter.* In fact, the newspaper solicited a special bi-weekly column from Redemptorist Father John Van Damme, a lecturer in religious education at St. Joseph's College at the University of Alberta. Van Damme, a university chaplain and a former parish priest in Toronto, wrote persuasively about the need to engage creedal and theological teachings of both ancient and modern thought. His explicit criticism of

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[60] Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education, *The Catholic School,* http://www.vatican.va/ roman_curia /congregations/ccatheduc/documents/rc_con_ccatheduc_doc_19770319_catholic-school_en.html, accessed 29 January 2015.

[61] ARCAE, ACSTA: The Theory and Practice of Catholic Schooling in Alberta, Bishop Paul O'Byrne letter to ACSTA, 9 February 1979, 1.8.1.2.13.

[62] ARCAE, ACSTA: The Theory and Practice of Catholic Schooling in Alberta, Kevin McKinney letter to Bishop Paul O'Byrne, 19 February 1979, 1.8.1.2.13.

[63] Edmonton Separate School Board Meeting Minutes 1974-1980, 28 May 1979, p. 3629.

[64] *Ibid.*, 29 October 1979, p. 3657.

ECSD's disputed mismanagement of the experiential high school religion upset educators. [65] Van Damme replied that "it is natural for administrators of any organization not to like outsiders discussing their department. But that does not invalidate the discussion."[66] His columns, which continued until the summer of 1980, led ECSD to sponsor another set of columns to defend its programming and future plans.[67] The school district was in a particularly difficult position because Van Damme based much of his criticism upon the newly released apostolic exhortation of Pope John Paul II, *Catechesi Tradendae*.[68] That text, drawn from the International Synod of Bishops meeting in Rome in 1977, dealt specifically with the tension between systematic and life experience learning. It argued that the two were connected, but firmly asserted that concentration upon life experience could not replace the orderly study of the Christian message.[69] In the eyes of ECSD administrators, Van Damme was dismissing the educational difficulties surrounding teaching religion in the 1970s.[70] Nonetheless, Van Damme's lively articles pushed the issue into the main stream of discussions, particularly for the fall 1980 trustee elections.

As the high school religion program became a central issue in the trustee election campaign, fourteen candidates took a variety of nuanced stances on the issue ranging from support to total opposition. For example, Mark Toth, a bank manager, claimed that the programs were akin to secular humanism and devoid of church doctrine.[71] Toth and the other two dissidents were not elected to the seven-person board, but had sent a clear statement to the elected officials: high school religion needed an overhaul. At the board meeting of 1 December 1980, the newly installed trustees moved to establish a long term plan for the senior high program.[72] Six weeks later they endorsed, in principle, cooperation with the Alberta Bishops and ACSTA to devise an entirely new province-wide senior high program.[73]

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[65] Van Damme, "Everyone Should Have Input Into the Religion Program," *WCR*, 11 February 1980, 12.

[66] Van Damme, "We Must Discuss the Issues—They're of Public Concern," *WCR*, 14 April 1980, 11.

[67] "Education Series Begins," *WCR*, 15 September 1980, 1.

[68] John Paul II, *Catechesi Tradendae*, 16 October 1979, *The Catechetical Documents*, 373-416.

[69] Jane Regan, "Overview of *Catechesis in Our Time*," in *The Catechetical Documents*, 368-371.

[70] Halpin, interview by author, 2014.

[71] "Here are Edmonton's Catholic Trustee Choices," *WCR*, 7 October 1980, 8-9.

[72] Terry Lavender, "Edmonton Trustees Study Report on High School Religion Program," *WCR*, 8 December 1980, 16.

[73] Edmonton Separate School Board Meeting Minutes 1974-1980, 1 December 1980, p. 3732, and 19 January 1981, p. 3741. The board approved a motion supporting

The 1984 Consortium Project for Alberta Catholic High School Religious Education

Over three years, the Alberta Catholic High School Religious Education Consortium Project designed a new program. When Alberta Education refused to pay to hire specialists,[74] twenty-six school districts co-operated to finance three full-time teacher-equivalent positions and one coordinator position at a cost of approximately $500,000 ($1.19 million in 2015 dollars).[75]

The idea of a thoroughly cooperative endeavor for religious education was unprecedented in Alberta. Smaller boards had used the earlier programs written by ECSD and CCSD, but this was different. To ensure a province-wide scope, school districts were asked to strike local advisory committees to liaise with their constituents and provide comments and feedback to the project team that would design the classroom materials.[76] The superintendents' committee and the steering committee composed of the bishops and ACSTA oversaw the entire project. The program was to have an unmistakable, home-grown feel.

The consortium was able to build on work done in the 1970s. By 1981, 80 teachers from ECSD alone had taken leave to study at Newman Theological College and, of the district's 37 high school religion specialists, half had earned a Bachelor's degree in Religious Education.[77] The large number of graduates supplied momentum and know-how for the consortium project. Significantly, lay educators now predominantly led the work.[78] The enthusiasm fostered a renewed spirit within the schools, making possible the collaborative production of a new provincial program.

Beginning in the fall of 1981 local groups throughout the province set out to determine the philosophical and pedagogical approaches of the program. A multitude of people—religious education consultants, teachers,

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the consortium, a funding framework, and a call for widespread consultation with all involved in Catholic education.

[74] Roma De Robertis, "Trustees Seek Money for Religion Class," *WCR*, 26 October 1981, 1.

[75] Final cost of the program as stated by ECSD Superintendent John Brosseau in Roma De Robertis, "King Approves Credits for Religious Ed," *WCR*, 9 April 1984, 3; "CPI Inflation Calculator," at http://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl, accessed 15 January 2015.

[76] Roma De Robertis, "Consortium Sees Jesus at the Heart of Education," *WCR*, 14 December 1981, 1.

[77] Roma De Robertis, "Teacher Found Spiritual Growth," *WCR*, 26 October 1981, 11. Teachers were paid 90% of their salary and had tuition costs covered. Other districts, such as Sherwood Park and St. Albert, also offered financial support.

[78] Lydia Misiewich, "Retiring Educator Watched the Development of the Laity," *WCR*, 27 June 1983, 7. The following two paragraphs are also drawn from this article.

students, parents, religious, lay Catholic groups, trustees, superintendents, theologians and the Alberta Bishops with their representatives—came to the table to discuss the aims of the program. Tensions inevitably arose. Differences became evident as local people offered their own visions for the project. According to an Edmonton teacher, some "people were very doctrinaire, wanting the old Baltimore catechism approach . . . [while others] were the social agitators." An Edmonton local committee agreed that the core message should center on Jesus; however, much discussion remained over the relationship of the curriculum to the local church, the interests and needs of high school students, the inclusion of both doctrine and social action, and whether the program should be compulsory.

William Myskiw, a former religious education head at St. Joseph's High School and later an administrator for ECSD, led the project team. Collegial in nature, Myskiw had to mitigate concerns of the local committees and subsequently direct the project team. In addition to Myskiw, the team was made up of three religious education specialists—Kevin Carr, Patrick McDonald, and Jan Moran—and Pallottine Father Winfried Wirtz. All were from Edmonton. After hearing from local committees, the project team agreed that the four basic student objectives were: to learn Catholic doctrine, to recognize Catholic identity, to integrate religious knowledge into life, and to incorporate Christian witness into community life. These guiding objectives reflected concerns of the local committees, as well as the 1979 ECSD report and the papal exhortation *Catechesi Tradendae*. With consensus building, the writing of the programs began in 1982, and teachers throughout the province piloted different course units.

Disagreements, however, continued. Coordinator Myskiw met local constituents and committees, especially in Lethbridge and Calgary, to discuss concerns over the direction of the project, its educational approach, and particular theological teachings.[79] From the outset, Myskiw was aware that he was responsible for the safe passage of the program by navigating positions among social progressives and doctrinal conservatives.[80] He ultimately satisfied individual concerns and kept the project team on track.[81]

Nonetheless, some remained critical of the consortium project. Catholics United for Faith, an organization reflecting a theological and philosophical position predating the Second Vatican Council, never stopped complaining.[82] Letters to the editor of the *Western Catholic Reporter* continued to question

[79] Myskiw, interview, 2015.

[80] Roma De Robertis, "Consortium Head Sitting on Rel Ed Hotseat," *WCR*, 7 September 1981, 6.

[81] Myskiw, interview, 2015.

[82] Myskiw, interview, 2015, and Boys, *Educating in Faith*, 101.

the lack of doctrinal centrality and an overemphasis on developmental theories. In spite of significant changes from the previous courses, former ECSD trustee candidate Mark Toth claimed it underrepresented the importance of Catholic morality.[83] Father Van Damme's column no longer ran, but he periodically wrote letters critical of the project and remained skeptical of the final product. Even the editor of the newspaper offered a positive assessment of a unit on Scripture, but criticized an overemphasis on literary forms and its use of complex theological material.[84] People continued to debate the final content of the program. These public challenges, coupled with the meetings of local committees, revealed a lively yet somehow functional democratic process in educational design. Despite the tensions, the program design process itself reconciled many segments of the Catholic community. In fact, it began to feel that the program would be a success.

Although tensions remained, the Alberta bishops publicly supported the consortium, served on its committees or had their representatives do so, and offered to cover the cost of the program's doctrinal review.[85] After a review by theologians at Newman Theological College, the Archbishop of Edmonton, Joseph MacNeil, granted his imprimatur.[86] The bishops' support was particularly critical for Myskiw who sought to maintain the backing of the approximately 400 school trustees.[87]

In the end, the content of the consortium program was all-encompassing. As a stand-alone curriculum, it rarely referred teachers to outside sources. The project team researched and developed the lesson plans with historical and theological explanations at the beginning of course units and lessons. One member, Patrick MacDonald, recalled half-jokingly that team members completed enough research in the process to have earned a doctoral degree.[88] The careful detailing of theological and social explanations within the course content was deemed necessary because few high school teachers were specialists in religious education or theology or able to teach modern understandings about the church or the sacraments.[89]

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[83] Mark Toth, "Letters to the Editor," *WCR*, 21 September 1981, 5.

[84] Glen Argan, "Scripture Course," *WCR*, 13 September 1982, 1.

[85] Roma De Robertis, "Consortium Sees Jesus at the Heart of Education," *WCR*, 14 December 1981, 1.

[86] Myskiw, interview, 2015. Church law stipulates that "Catholic religious instruction and education which are imparted in any school… are subject to the authority of the Church." James Coriden, Thomas Green, and Donald Heintschel, *The Code of Canon Law: A Text and Commentary* (New York: Paulist, 1985), c. 804.

[87] John (Jack) Kelly, interviewed by author, Edmonton, AB, 12 January 2015.

[88] Patrick McDonald, interviewed by author, Edmonton, AB, 29 January 2007.

[89] Myskiw, interview, 2015.

One obstacle, approval of Alberta Education, had to be surmounted before the program could be implemented. Accreditation of religion programming was still a rather new process and nothing guaranteed this program's approval, especially given the controversy among Catholic groups. In addition, there was an explosive atmosphere within Alberta Education over the Keegstra case. Raised in the Dutch Reformed Church, Jim Keegstra taught anti-Semitic propaganda and explicit hatred of Jews to social studies students in the town of Eckville in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Subsequent court cases drew international attention and placed Alberta Education and its curriculum under heavy scrutiny. Most pertinently, because Keegstra placed his Christian faith above Judaism, Alberta Education had acute angst over approving a program that might contain proselytizing material. In 1983, the Government of Alberta formed the Committee on Tolerance and Understanding headed by a former Member of the Legislative Assembly, Ron Ghitter.[90] In a speech to the Alberta School Trustees Association (ASTA) that November, Ghitter raised concerns about the potential dangers "if children are placed in schools which differentiate on religious grounds."[91] ACSTA, defending the teaching of religion in schools and the very existence of Catholic schools, offered a comprehensive brief that challenged the Ghitter Committee's reservations and equivocation.[92] The brief accomplished its goal. The Committee's final report, while dealing at length with private Christian schools quoted ACSTA's brief, saying: "Perhaps some religiously oriented schools do 'bring people apart'; but not all. Catholic separate schools certainly do not."[93] Recognition that Catholic schools played an important role fostering tolerance and understanding in Alberta was a major success, but Alberta Education remained uncertain about the merit of a theologically-based religious studies program.

To alleviate Alberta Education's concerns, professors in the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta conducted an independent review. They argued that the program, far from proselytizing, had an air of openness that left room for students to discuss religious questions despite its strong theological foundations.[94] The overwhelmingly positive review, along with

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[90] Glen Argan, "Catholic Schools ask Ghitter for Tolerance," *WCR*, 27 February 1984, 11.

[91] Agnes Buttner, "Ghitter Likes Diversity in Schools," *Edmonton Journal*, 19 Jan 1984, A11.

[92] Provincial Archives of Alberta, ACSTA, *A Brief to the Committee on Tolerance and Understanding*, 21 February 1984, p. 18, GR.1995.0105.BX4.A-137.

[93] Provincial Archives of Alberta, Committee on Tolerance and Understanding, *Final Report*, December 1984, p. 104-15, ACC.PR.2009.0195.503. The underlined section is a direct quote from the ACSTA brief. Thanks to Heather Northcott for her assistance with files pertaining to ACSTA and Catholic education.

[94] Myskiw, interview, 2015.

the endorsement by Ghitter's Committee, left Alberta Education with little reason to reject the program. Despite this, concerns remained about possible proselytizing within an approved provincial course. To ensure the program's final approval ACSTA was forced to accept the addition of a small unit on world religions at each grade level. Undeterred by the intervention of Alberta Education, consortium coordinator Myskiw celebrated that "all the original core Catholic material is intact."[95]

The approved religious studies program contained three separate courses. The Grade Ten course examined a post-conciliar ecclesiology, presenting Avery Dulles' models of the church to students.[96] Students learned that an institutional model of church was one of many approaches for conceptualizing the church, thus broadening their understanding and promoting fruitful ecumenical discussions. Grade Eleven students examined a Catholic understanding of scripture based on *Dei Verbum*, followed by a modern presentation of Christology.[97] The final year surveyed Christian lifestyles, including Christian vocations and the role of sacraments in Christian life. The program overall offered a Christocentric emphasis in light of *Catechesi Tradendae* and the teachings of Vatican II. Even though organized more explicitly by theological topics than by student experiences, it still attempted to incorporate student concerns in lessons by following Thomas Groome's shared Christian praxis approach—an educational method that balanced experience and theological content for educators coming out of the uncertainty of the 1960s and 70s.[98] How effectively the program could enable teachers—the vast majority without a specialization in religious education—to address student experiences, theological content, and participation in church life remained a question. To respond to this issue, ACSTA spearheaded a Religious Education Services (RES) Project, while individual school districts employed religion consultants who also assisted teachers and students in religious learning.[99] For instance, prior to 1990, ECSD alone hired as many as twelve religious education consultants. These support services responded to a variety of instructional challenges and institutional tensions related to teaching religion. By 1990, ACSTA stopped funding the RES Project and individual districts eventually invested less into religious support services.[100] In 1994, a new objectives-based curricular

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[95] Roma De Robertis, "King Approves Credits for Religious Ed," *WCR*, 9 April 1984, 3.

[96] Avery Dulles, *Models of the Church* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1974).

[97] The course relied upon Tom Zanzig, *Jesus of History, Christ of Faith*, 3rd ed. (Winona, MN: Saint Mary's Press, 1999).

[98] Groome, *Christian Religious Education*.

[99] Kevin Lynch, "Religious Education," in *Memories*, 324.

[100] ARCAE, ACSTA and Religious Education Services: Roles For the Future, For presentation and discussion at the ACSTA Area Meetings, May 1990, p. 2, 1.8.1.2.20.

framework replaced the lesson and unit plans of the consortium program with resources imported from the United States. This effectively marked the demise of religious education curricular design in Alberta Catholic high schools. Nevertheless, the Catholic educational community had successfully devised a program that stood as a significant achievement amidst the hostility that gripped the teaching of religion in the late 1970s and into the 1980s.

Conclusion

With the approval of the Alberta Bishops and the Education Minister, the Alberta High School Religious Studies Program officially began in September 1984. It was a proud moment for both educators and the larger Catholic community, especially given the collegial nature of the project. ECSD superintendent John Brosseau commented that "there has been far greater cooperation in the Catholic community among parents, teachers, school districts, bishops, and clergy" compared to past work in religious education.[101] As Myskiw recalled decades later, "Everyone developed ownership of the program. . . [as] all jurisdictions adopted the program."[102] Pouring considerable financial and human resources into the writing of the program enhanced trust and unity among the school boards. The collegial efforts even won over outspoken critic Van Damme, who, despite his critiques of the former program and school administrators, endorsed the courses as providing content that was solidly Catholic in both theology and social action.[103] An editorial in the *WCR* praised the consortium project regardless of the newspaper's past role as a forum for hostility toward earlier courses and piloted consortium content. In particular, it called the work an "item of rare beauty" because not often, it remarked, do the church and provincial government find agreement.[104] While acknowledging the importance of properly implementing the program, the editorial concluded: "What has been achieved so far—with widespread participation by the Alberta Catholic community—is a significant step forward for church renewal. The consortium has given us a homegrown religion program, designed with the needs of Alberta students in mind."[105]

The collegial nature of the consortium project was a significant event of church renewal for Catholic education in Alberta. Collaborative effort among school districts, post-secondary institutions, and the local parishes and

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[101] De Robertis, "King Approves Credits," 3.

[102] Pat Halpin and Bill Myskiw, "Alberta Religious Education Consortium," in *Memories*, 390.

[103] Van Damme, "Religion Program Wins Over Critique," *WCR*, 4 June 1984, 6.

[104] "Rare Beauty," *WCR*, 11 June 1984, 4.

[105] *Ibid.*

dioceses—all with trustful oversight from the bishops—created a cooperative experience for Catholic educators to embody the Second Vatican Council's call for an engaged laity. Despite beginning sixteen years after the close of the Council, the project was fruit borne of it and, thus, should be considered an inspired, local conciliar event. The consortium enabled progressives and traditionalists to speak to each other and determine a program that was theologically grounded in church teaching and social practices. The increased participation of the laity created momentum for the project, even if the declining number of professed religious teachers and administers directly contributed to this situation. Educating great numbers of lay persons with degrees at Newman Theological College, along with pre-service teacher learning at the university's St. Joseph's College, revealed possibilities for a renewed church, where lay people engaged modern theories and practices in religious education and conciliar theology. Both the educational leadership and the message of Catholic schools were changing. Learning from modern religious education assured real engagement with students' needs, while developing content that was trusted by Alberta's bishops and parish communities.

The collegial nature of this process was, in effect, transferred to the educational design of the courses themselves. Conciliar approaches to scripture and ecclesiology, along with particular emphasis on Christian social action, anchored the theological content, which conveyed a renewed understanding of the Christian faith. In a sense, the final product of the consortium acted like a blueprint for Catholic schools, as it was inspired from a grassroots experience. In the act of determining the content of faith for future generations, the consortium project uncovered how Catholic education could work in a post-conciliar church.

The capacity of the project to unite Catholic educators at all levels was perhaps its greatest gift, but this would become its greatest liability. The project established a system for assessing and revising the program and providing in-service training and resources for teachers, students and the Catholic community, but educators were unable to support this kind of institutional structure in subsequent years. Nonetheless, the work of the consortium project in the early 1980s reflects a renewed engagement with theology and religious education, inspired by the Second Vatican Council, and leading to increased collaboration among the local community, especially for lay persons.

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Inter-church Coalitions as Site of Ecumenical Contact and Conflict: the Canada China Programme, 1971-2000

David WEBSTER and Sarah ZWIERZCHOWSKI[1]

Studies of Canada-China relations in the 20th century have concentrated on three major aspects: missionary connections before the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949; political relations with a focus on Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's path breaking recognition of communist China in 1970; and trade ties.[2] The study of trade and politics intermingle, but accounts of the Canadian missionary presence end with the expulsion of the missionaries in the early 1950s. Yet did religious contacts cease? The existence of at least one organization, the Canada China Programme (CCP), suggests that they were still present in the later twentieth century. From the 1970s until the 1990s, the CCP was the major channel for renewed church-to-church contacts between Canada and China.[3] Its largely untold

[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented to the Canadian Catholic Historical Association annual meeting in 2014. Thanks are due to participants who shared their thoughts at that meeting and also to Theresa Chu RCSJ, Fleurette Lagacé MIC, Bruce Henry, and members of the Bishop's University Writing Group (Vicki Chartrand, Sunny Lau, Heather Lawford, and Anthony di Mascio). They are not, of course, responsible for any errors or shortcomings. This research was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council. Selected research materials are posted at the project website at http://transpacificchurches.blogspot.ca/

[2] Paul Evans and B. Michael Frolic, eds., *Reluctant Adversaries: Canada and the People's Republic of China, 1949-1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) has been followed by numerous articles and other examples of policy-oriented analysis. Recent books include Huhua Cao and Vivienne Poy, eds., *The China Challenge: Sino-Canadian Relations in the 21st Century* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2011) and Pitman Potter, ed., *Issues in Canada-China Relations* (Canadian International Council, Nov. 2011) available at http://www.opencanada.org/features/issues-in-canada-china-relations/. Most recently, see Paul Evans, *Engaging China: Myth, Aspiration, and Strategy in Canadian Policy from Trudeau to Harper* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014).

[3] The abbreviation CCP is used despite being the same as the normal abbreviation for Chinese Communist Party; where confusion may arise, we have spelled out the name in full or referred to "the Programme."

story helps to broaden our understanding of Canada-China relations, while also shedding light on an effort by Canadian churches to carry out their own alternative foreign policy.

The CCP was part of a constellation of ecumenical coalitions, sponsored by both Catholic and mainline Protestant[4] churches—Anglican, United and Presbyterian and representatives of the Mennonite Central Committee and Christian Church (Disciples)[5]—that flourished from the 1970s into the 1990s, as the churches sought to insert themselves into national debates on social justice, human rights and global partnerships.[6] In the China case, Canadian churches were torn between their desire to promote their principles and the need to satisfy the demands of their Chinese partners for relative silence. Paradoxically, while the CCP promoted ecumenical coalitions, it also saw inter-church competition. On one side were those who were willing to work with the Chinese government's approved churches; on the other, militant anti-communists who attacked the Programme as too pro-China. Additionally, the CCP experienced divisions between Catholics and Protestants over Canadian ecumenical politics and contrasting attitudes towards Chinese expressions of Christianity. Reflecting the diversity of its presence in China, Canadian Catholic representation initially included members both of the diocesan clergy and of several religious orders. When Canadian Catholics withdrew their organizational and financial support in the 1990s, the CCP fell apart and was forced to merge with the Canada Asia Working Group (CAWG), an ecumenical coalition with a very different emphasis. This marriage failed as the CCP's emphasis on quiet partnership with constrained Chinese churches clashed with CAWG's insistence on social justice and human rights principles.

This article examines the CCP through the two decades in which it attempted to revive and mend the political minefield of relations between Canadian and Chinese Christians. It draws primarily on the Programme's records, the first use of this collection, and supplements the archival record with publications and the minutes of the Canadian Catholic Round Table on China, an affiliated committee in which Catholics sought to map out a

[4] For the sake of convenience, Protestant in this article is used in an institutional rather than a theological sense to cover members of the Canadian Council of Churches, including the Anglican Church of Canada.

[5] Regarding the mandate and structure, see CCP 7-3; "Ecumenical Partnership and the Churches in Canada," [document for Canadian-Chinese Protestant consultations in Nanjing, 1997], Canada Asia Working Group papers (private collection, Toronto), box G6 file 7. On the shift in Canadian Protestant ideas of mission, see Ruth Compton Brouwer, "When Missions Became Development: Ironies of 'NGOization' in Mainstream Canadian Churches in the 1960s," *Canadian Historical Review*, 91, no. 4 (Dec. 2010): 661-93.

[6] Bonnie Greene, ed., *Canadian Churches and Foreign Policy* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1990).

divergent course from the Protestant churches that dominated the CCP.[7] Yet this essay does not seek to deconstruct the archival record of this little-known coalition. With Ann Stoler, we take "a less assured and perhaps more humble stance—to explore the [archival] grain with care and read along it first."[8] Reading with the grain, we see the CCP as an organization with its own goals and, at the same time, as a site within which Canadian churches cooperated and contended with one another.

After Mao Zedong's communists declared the People's Republic of China in October 1949, they moved to expel Western missionaries. The shock of "losing" China as a mission field is evident in numerous accounts by missionaries and their chroniclers.[9] Canadian Catholics, especially in Québec, had been in close contact with their Chinese contemporaries for much of the twentieth century, affecting each other culturally and politically.[10] Québec sent many priests and nuns through such orders as the Missionaries of the Immaculate Conception who served in China from their foundation in 1909 to their final expulsion in 1952,[11] and the Missionary Sisters of Notre-Dame-des-Anges of Lennoxville. In 1921, Canadian Catholic leaders had created the Société des Missions-Étrangères (SME) in order to give French Canadians a place in evangelization, rather than working with missionaries

[7] CCP papers are held at the United Church of Canada Archives (UCCA) in Toronto, fonds 2002.004C. The Round Table's records are on file at the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops Archives (henceforth CCCBA) in Ottawa, box U3173. References to CCP papers are given henceforth as CCP, box and file number. To our knowledge, neither collection has been accessed before. We are grateful to both archives for making these papers available.

[8] Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton University Press, 2010), 50.

[9] The attention of Canadian Catholics shifted from a trans-Pacific to a southward gaze, building on existing missionary presences in Latin America. See Maurice Demers, *Connected Struggles: Catholics, Nationalists, and Transnational Relations between Mexico and Québec, 1917-1945* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014); Catherine C. Legrand, «Réseaux missionnaires québécois et action sociale en Amérique latine, 1945-1980», *Etudes d'histoire religieuse*, 79, no. 1 (2013): 93-116; Elizabeth McGahan**,** "'In Peru We Learned about our Humanity': The Sisters of Charity of the Immaculate Conception of St. John, New Brunswick and the Peru Missions," paper presented at the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Brock University, 29 May 2014; Catherine Foisy, "Des Québécois aux frontières : dialogues et affrontements culturels aux dimensions du monde. Récits missionnaires d'Asie, d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine (1945-1980)," (Ph.D. dissertation, Concordia University, 2012).

[10] Serge Granger, *Le lys et le lotus* (Montréal: VLB éditeur, 2005); Serge Granger, "French Canada's Quiet Obsession with China," *Journal of American-East Asian Relations,* 20, no. 2–3 (2013): 156–74.

[11] Chantal Gauthier, *Femmes sans Frontières: L'histoire des Sœurs Missionnaires de l'Immaculée-Conception (1902-2007)* (Outremont: Éditions Carte Blanche, 2008).

from other countries. China was its first and foremost mission field.[12] Until the creation of the People's Republic, Canadians, notably in Québec, were generous donors to the Chinese missions. Québec led the French-speaking world in per capita contributions to China missionary work, through the Saint-Enfance and other collections.

The SME's English-speaking counterpart, the Toronto-based Scarboro Foreign Missions Society, maintained a mission in Zhejiang province.[13] Founded in 1919 as the first Canada-based mission society, it entered China seven years later, joined by the Grey Sisters of Pembroke, Ontario. By 1948, the Society's efforts were recognized when they were given a diocese (Lishui) that was independent from the French-run diocese of Ningbo to which they had previously reported. Though their numbers were only half that of Québec's SME, the Scarboro society played an influential role in drawing attention to China in Canada: its journal *China* reportedly had a circulation of almost 100,000.

After the creation of the People's Republic, anti-communist attitudes among Canadian Catholics contended with more sympathetic views towards China. The missionary who recalled that evangelization was "just beginning to come along when the Commies came in and spoiled everything" was typical.[14] At the same time, many missionaries hoped for eventual Chinese control of the dioceses of China. In this light, China's re-opening after the 1970s represented hope for a new beginning for Canadian Catholics as much as for Protestants.

Rather than being lumped together under the umbrella of Christianity, Catholic and Protestant churches in China acted as separate religions. Missionaries even had their own terms for "God," as if the Catholic term Tianzhu (Lord of Heaven) represented a different deity than the Protestant Shangdi (God on High) or Shen (Lord). This distinction, common throughout Asia, stems from the fact that both strains of Christianity made their biggest impact in tandem with late nineteenth and early twentieth century imperialism—a time when European Protestants and Catholics were often at loggerheads. One result has been the development of two separate historiographies. Historians tended to portray Protestant missions as progressing from pure evangelism, through medical and educational mission work, to an imperative of "partnership" with self-governing Chinese

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[12] Claude Guillet, « Cinquante ans de réalisation: la société des Missions-Étrangères », *Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique,* 38 (1971): 55-69.

[13] Grant Maxwell, *Assignment in Chekiang: 71 Canadians in China 1902-1954* (Toronto: Scarboro Foreign Mission Society, 1982). Zhejiang is the current spelling of what was previously transliterated in English as Chekiang.

[14] Maxwell, *Assignment in Chekiang*, 39.

churches. In contrast, they paint Catholic missions as being more purely concentrated on conversion, less changing, more conservative.[15]

With the founding of the People's Republic, an officially atheist regime deeply suspicious of missionaries, the officially recognized arms of the Protestant and Catholic Churches in China struggled to balance loyalty to the government and their mandate to witness to Christian values and speak up for social justice. Chinese Christians, who were already moving towards autonomy,[16] clearly saw that they had to purge themselves of foreign control. From this sentiment arose the Christian and nationalist Three Self Patriotic Movement, which called for Chinese churches to be self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating. Y.T. Wu, a Christian socialist who was willing to work with the Chinese Communists, led the movement. In 1950, Wu co-authored the "Christian Manifesto" which vowed to purge Christianity of imperialism. He was also one of the leading figures of the "Denunciation Movement," in which Chinese Christians condemned earlier foreign missionaries as unrepentant imperialists. With others who became Three Self leaders, he struggled to preserve the Protestant churches in Maoist China. His supporters praised his ability to keep the church alive; opponents chastised his willingness to make peace with power and even take part in purges of underground Christians, especially evangelical Christians.[17] According to the Rev. James G. Endicott, the prominent Canadian Protestant missionary who later headed a series of antiwar movements, won the Stalin Peace Prize, and published the *Far Eastern Newsletter*, Wu "showed the way for Christians to understand and support the great revolutionary changes which brought a large measure of social salvation to the Chinese people."[18]

The Three Self Movement was also the fulfilment of Protestant hopes for indigenous churches free of missionary control. It represented a new alliance of Chinese Christians with an officially atheist Chinese state. This had significant implications for Chinese Catholics—and not only for those who accepted membership in the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association

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[15] The early division is perhaps best expressed by comparing two classic works from the early twentieth century: Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929); Bertram Wolferstan SJ, *The Catholic Church in China From 1860 to 1907* (London: Sands & Company, 1909).

[16] Daniel H. Bays, *A New History of Christianity in China* (Malden MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012); Jean-Pierre Charbonnier, *Christians in China: AD 600 to 2000* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2002).

[17] Gao Wangzhi, "Y.T. Wu: A Christian Leader Under Communism," in *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, Daniel H. Bays ed. (Stanford University Press, 1999); Philip L. Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three-Self Movement, and China's United Front* (Maryknoll NY: Orbis, 1988).

[18] "In Memoriam: Dr. YT Wu 1890-1979" by James G. Endicott, CCP 12-4.

(CCPA), the Catholic equivalent of the Three Self Movement. Catholic observers like Sister Theresa Chu RSCJ, a Chinese-born member of the Society of the Sacred Heart, and second director of the CCP, reported a division between Catholics "who unquestioningly obeyed ecclesiastical authorities and those who tried to mediate between ecclesiastical and civil authorities."[19] In refusing any Vatican oversight, even over the selection of bishops, the Three Self attitude of the CCPA made full communion with the universal Catholic Church difficult, if not impossible.

Chinese government-approved leaders were very hostile to the Vatican and any foreign interference in Chinese church affairs. One Three Self Movement leader wrote bluntly: "Churches in old China were, in fact, the extension of foreign missions and consequently were unable to take root in Chinese soil for the propagation of the Gospel." He attacked the Vatican for "interference from abroad, regardless of its appealing slogans, [which] tells us that there are indeed some people overseas trying to sabotage our efforts to build up a Chinese church."[20] Anglican Bishop K.H. Ting (Ding Guangxum) made the same point more subtlety: "Ours is essentially the work of inheriting from a missionary past with both its strengths and weaknesses, and making the Church in China just as Chinese as that in Canada is Canadian, so as to make the Christian gospel communicable to our people."[21]

While many Chinese Catholics and Protestants refused to support the Three Self Movement or the CCPA and met unofficially in "house churches," the Three Self Movement and the CCPA asserted their sway over Chinese Christians after 1950. For some leaders of the two groups, loyalty to the new Communist rulers was a virtue; for others, a necessity. "Just as God long ago used Cyrus, so today He is using Chairman Mao to cleanse His church," one Christian—whose name was kept anonymous to avoid reprisals—wrote to a former missionary in Canada.[22]

From the beginning of the People's Republic until the launching of Chairman Mao's "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," Christians in China faced pressure to line up with the government-approved religious bodies, which were overseen by a government department in Beijing. Beginning in 1966, the Cultural Revolution turned its wrath even on these approved Christian groups as part of an all-out attack on religion. Consequently,

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[19] "Learning from Catholics in Wuxi" by Theresa Chu (Nov. 1987), CCP 7-5. Underlining in original.

[20] "International Relations of the Chinese Church" by Han Wenzao, paper delivered at "God's Call to a New Beginning" conference, Montreal, Oct. 1981, CCP 5-4.

[21] "Difficulties and Prospects" by K.H. Ting, paper delivered at "God's Call to a New Beginning" conference, Montreal, Oct. 1981, CCP 5-4.

[22] Katharine Hockin, *Servants of God in People's China* (New York: Friendship Press, 1962), 113.

even the official churches were forced into silence. Restrictions on religion softened after Mao's death in 1976. Under the more pragmatic leadership of Deng Xiaoping, China began to resume contacts with the West. It permitted approved Christian groups to resume their activities, including relations with foreign church groups. There would be no new missionary effort, but dialogue could resume. After 1979, Deng's government repealed laws that imposed special sanctions on religion; complete freedom of religion was not restored, but restrictions on worship vanished one by one until religious leaders felt free to promote their faiths, though not to criticize their government openly.[23] Buddhist, Christian and other religious leaders were allowed to form the first Chinese delegation to the triennial gathering of the World Conference on Religion and Peace held in Princeton, New Jersey, in 1979. Outreach from the Three Self Movement thrilled officials in the Canadian Protestant churches who had once had mission fields in China. The Canadian response came in the same form as China's churches: along ecumenical rather than denominational lines.

The CCP can be traced back to the founding of what was initially called the China Working Group in 1971 in Toronto. In an era when the understanding of mission was changing, and informed by the missionary and "world concerns" arms of the Canadian Council of Churches (then representing only Protestant churches), the organization initially aimed at "reawakening the institutional churches' interest in China." The CCP approached China in a non-triumphalist spirit, very different from the one that had led Canadians into early 20th century China. As one participant in the founding meeting warned, "The churches must not be poised on the border of China planning a new invasion."[24] China had remained on the minds of some Canadian Christians, but the note was less of triumph than of tragedy. The United Church booklets that once ran hopeful graphic illustrations of missionary inroads into the vast population of China in the 1950s and 1960s[25]

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[23] Philip L. Wickeri, *Reconstructing Christianity in China: K.H. Ting and the Chinese Church* (Maryknoll NY: Orbis, 2007); Karla W. Simon, *Civil Society in China: The Legal Framework from Ancient Times to the "New Reform Era"* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 228; "World Conference on Religion and Peace Records, 1967-1995, Swarthmore College Peace Collection descriptive note, http://www.swarthmore.edu/library/peace/DG051-099/DG078WCRP.html, accessed on 18 June 2015.

[24] China Working Group minutes, 5 Nov. 1971; "A Proposal to the Churches from the China Working Group of the Canadian Council of Churches, Nov. 1974," both at CCP 14-5.

[25] For instance *Our West China mission: being a somewhat extensive summary by the missionaries on the field of the work during the first twenty-five years of the Canadian Methodist mission in the Province of Szechwan, Western China* (Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1920).

now lamented lost hopes as they reported the suffering of missionaries who had been jailed, tortured, and expelled.[26]

Unlike the American "China lobby" of former missionaries and their supporters who drove opposition to any recognition of the People's Republic of China, a left-leaning group of former Protestant missionaries in China dominated the discussions that led to the formation of the CCP. They had some sympathy with the motivations of Chinese Communists and even admiration for their efforts to change their country, though some opposed recognition of the People's Republic. Left-liberal missionaries were more prevalent in Canadian churches than south of the border—not to mention somewhat freer from McCarthyist pressures. The initial chair, E.H. (Ted) Johnson, a former missionary who later became moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, was no communist. Still, he saw no reason to shake fists at the People's Republic, preferring a friendlier approach. So too did the others who provided early intellectual inspiration for the Canada China Programme. James Endicott had faced censure for his pro-communist views from the United Church of Canada. (When the United Church leadership vindicated him in 1982, CPP members celebrated that "joyous event" with a potluck supper in Toronto.[27] The leadership of the United Church had embraced one of the CCP's inspirations, a move the Programme saw as implicit endorsement of its own stance of approaching "Red China" in friendship.) Earl Wilmott, among the last missionaries to leave China, did so dressed in a Mao suit, with words of praise for the new China, rather than angry denunciations.[28] Katharine Hockin, who had witnessed Communist forces "liberate" Sichuan, felt that Canadian Christians had much to learn in revising their views of mission and not condemning the People's Republic. Canadian Christians might not agree with all that Chinese counterparts had done, she wrote in a book that was influential among CCP members, but she asked: "Can we not learn how to support them, rather than contributing on our part to the deepening alienation that brings into the Christian fraternity the tensions of the cold war?"[29]

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[26] For instance Stewart A. Allen, *Trial of Faith: The Imprisonment of a Medical Missionary under Chinese Communism, 1950-1951* (Brockville ON, no publisher, 1995).

[27] CCP staff memorandum to general committee, 30 Aug. 1982, CCP 14-5. On Endicott, see Stephen Lyon Endicott, *James G. Endicott: Rebel out of China* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).

[28] Peter Stursberg, *The Golden Hope* (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1987), 9-11.

[29] Katharine Hockin, *Servants of God in People's China* (New York: Friendship Press, 1962), 117; Hockin circular letter from Sichuan, 12 March 1950, CCP 10-7; Hockin, "God's Call to a New Beginning: An International Conference held in Montreal, October 2-7, 1981," CCP 5-11. See also Hockin's writings and remembrances of her life in the special double issue of *China and Ourselves* dedicated to her memory, vol. 18, nos. 2-3 (1993).

Programme meetings took place in Toronto, and Toronto-based Protestant churches dominated the CCP's governing bodies. By 1976, it hired a director—Raymond Whitehead, a Protestant theologian who moved from Hong Kong to Toronto to take the job.[30] The missionary legacy was reflected on the first page of the first issue of its newsletter, *China and Ourselves*, launched with a run of 750 copies. "Given the long history of Christian work in China, the continuing concern for development of peoples, and the impact of China on the Third World and the West," it noted, "the Program [sic] is particularly well placed for confronting issues of social justice and for developing dialogue among people of different world views."[31] Through *China and Ourselves*—a name chosen to highlight both information-sharing and reflection on the Canadian missionary legacy—the CCP shared stories that ranged from boat people to bicycle factories, religion to revolutionary thought.

Catholics only began coordinating their participation towards the end of the 1980s,[32] although two Canadian Catholic missionary societies (Missions-Étrangères and Scarboro), and several religious orders with a China interest (the Jesuits; Holy Ghost Fathers; Grey Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of Pembroke, Ont. and Missionary Sisters of Notre Dame des Anges of Lennoxville, Quebec) had earlier joined individually.[33]

In 1980, Catholic sources contributed 25% of the Programme's budget, not far from their share in other ecumenical coalitions, while the United Church provided 32%, the Anglicans 15%, and the Presbyterians 9%, with the balance from smaller denominations and other income such as honoraria for speeches.[34] Over half of the Catholic contribution came from the Scarboro Foreign Missions. The remainder, scattered contributions from religious orders and missionary societies, reflected a missionary legacy in China work. The Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops (CCCB) made no contribution at this time. In effect, Catholic participants took a relatively marginal position in the early years. When one issue of *China and Ourselves* criticized Vatican policy, a Catholic board member angrily returned a stack of copies to the CCP office. No change in the editorial line was evident.

The CCP's first major conference displayed its self-conscious links to the Protestant social gospel tradition. Held in Fort Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan

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[30] China Working Group minutes 1 April 1975, CCP 14-5.

[31] "Introducing the Canada China Program," *China and Ourselves* (*C&O)* no. 1 (May 1976), 1; CCP administration committee minutes, 8 Sept. 1976, CCP 14-5. All 75 issues of *C&O* can be found at http://transpacificchurches.blogspot.ca/

[32] "Catholic Roundtable on China: Introduction" (September, 1992), CCCBA, U3173-13.

[33] CCP provisional committee membership list, CCP 15-3.

[34] CCP statement of receipts and disbursements, CCP 15-3.

in September 1979, the 80-person gathering demonstrated an awareness of both changes in China and counter-culture protest movements in Canada. It portrayed "a church challenged by the Chinese revolution and the protests in Canadian society" and struck a note of repentance.[35] Organizers suggested that there was much ill in the China missionary legacy, but the social gospel experience offered a uniquely Canadian contribution to the global resumption of Christian dialogue with China.[36]

Progressive Canadian Christianity and the desire to take a non-confrontational approach to China continued to inform CCP initiatives. Its major partner was the China Christian Council, the official church of Chinese Protestants and the yin to the Three Self Movement's yang. Bishop K.H. Ting, who became head of the Christian Council in 1980, was the CCP's key partner in China. Ting had degrees from St. John's University, the college founded in Shanghai in 1879 by American Episcopalian missionaries, and from Columbia University. In 1946-47 he parlayed his work with the international church in Shanghai into a job with the Student Christian Movement in Toronto. He also worked for the World Council of Churches in Geneva before being consecrated Anglican bishop of Zhejiang (Chekiang). Fluent in North American English, Ting was familiar with the stone masonry and the carved pews of downtown Toronto's university and churches. In the 1980s he moved nimbly between Western Christian circles and the National People's Congress, China's rubber-stamp parliament, where he sat as a deputy. He developed a particular friendship with Ted Johnson, who praised him for "working to make the Christian Church something rooted in China so that it will no longer be accused and dismissed as simply a hangover of Western cultural imperialism"—in other words, for being self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating. *China and Ourselves* was similarly admiring of Ting as a major figure.[37] For its part, the CCP was able to open doors for Ting, whose Canadian speaking tour in 1979 included a lunch with Prime Minister Joe Clark arranged by Douglas Roche, the Conservative MP and prominent Catholic peace activist.[38] Ting spoke out for the stand-alone

[35] Molly Phillips, "Churches and Social Change," *BC Ecumenical News*, Sept. 1979; Elizabeth Smillie, "Lessons from China and the Social Gospel," *Catholic New Times* 1 July 1979; CCP general committee minutes, 18 Sept. 1979, CCP 14-5; CCP finance committee minutes, 19 July 1979, CCP 14-5.

[36] Christopher Lind, CCP intern, to Prof A.R. Allen of Montreal, 17 Jan 1979, CCP 3-11.

[37] Ting CV, CCP 4-1; "Notes on the Church in China" by E.H. Johnson and "Outline Report of China Visit of E.H. Johnson, April 8-28, 1975" both at CCP 11-1; E.H. Johnson, "K.H. Ting: Profile of a Chinese Christian," *One World*, May 1976: 23-4, CCP 4-2; *C&O* 17-18 (double issue, Sept. and Nov. 1979), 19 (Jan. 1980) and 20 (May 1980), entitled "Conversations with K.H. Ting." A sympathetic biography of Ting by one of his associates is Wickeri, *Reconstructing Christianity*.

[38] Roche to Ting, 25 Sept. 1979, CCP 4-1.

Chinese churches, and their rejection of the missionary connection. "The Three Self," Ting said, "is nothing but a movement by Chinese Protestants to make our religion truly autonomous. In other words, we want Christianity in China to be as national as the Church of England is English. We shouldn't be an appendage to American, British and Canadian Mission Boards."[39]

In the spring of 1981, the CCP began planning an international conference in Montreal, to provide an opportunity for Christians to meet informally. The conference was a continuation of inter-church dialogue with Chinese Christians, a process that went back to a 1974 colloquium in Louvain, Belgium when nearly 100 church leaders and some non-church people discussed the theme "Christian Faith and the Chinese Experience."[40] It also reflected the CCP left-liberal perspective. As its title reflected, the conference was conceived as "God's Call to a New Beginning" in church contacts with China that would seek to avoid the perceived missionary errors of the past. Prominent among the planners were left-leaning former Canadian missionaries to China, particularly the Endicott family. Preparations for the conference were under way when the CCP hired its second director, Sister Theresa Chu. A citizen of South Korea, Chu worried that she would not be welcomed home after arguing in her University of Chicago doctoral dissertation that there were some compatibilities between Mao's thought and Christian teachings. Whitehead, with whom she had worked in Hong Kong, nominated her as his replacement.[41] The board welcomed a Catholic to replace the outgoing Protestant director as a signal of continued Catholic involvement in the coalition, while making sure that she would not alter the Programme's direction.

Invitations to the Montreal meeting were a major concern. Should they center on the "leadership of the church in China," meaning those officially recognized by the Chinese government and organized within the China Christian Council and the China Catholic Patriotic Association? Or should they also seek out members of the underground churches in order to be "truly representative, especially from the Catholic side" (as one participant wrote)?[42] Chu asserted the independence of the CCP from the Europe-based Ecumenical China Study Liaison Group (ECSLG) and declined calls to invite all members of this group rooted in the Louvain gathering. Similarly,

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[39] Howard S. Hyman, "Is There Religion After Revolution," interview with Ting, *New China* Summer 1979: 15-17, CCP 4-2.

[40] Article on the Louvain Colloquium for *The Christian Century* by Raymond Whitehead (September 1974), CCP 12-2; Charbonnier, *Christians in China*, 473.

[41] Personal interview with Theresa Chu RCSJ, 17 Nov. 2014.

[42] Chu to Angelo Lazzarotto, 23 June 1981; John A. Cioppa to Chu, 29 June 1981; William Ryan SJ to Chu, 11 May 1981, all at CCP 4-8; Pamphlet "God's Call to a New Beginning, Montreal, Oct. 2-7, 1981," CCP 7-3.

no invitation was issued to Hong Kong evangelical leader Jonathan Chao, founder of the Chinese Mission Seminary in Hong Kong and a leading figure at Louvain. Instead, the CCP invited prominent leaders of both Catholic and Protestant churches in mainland China. Ten Chinese delegates joined Christian leaders from 25 countries in Montreal in "mutual respect and support."[43] No heed was given to the appeal from Catholics such as Father William Ryan SJ, who feared that giving preference to the government-sponsored CCPA would freeze out Vatican-supported underground Catholic churches.[44] Accusations of preference for certain Catholic groups in China haunted the CCP into the 1980s and 1990s, especially with its Canadian Catholic partners.

The goals of the conference were strongly tied to China's re-emergence on the international scene and its increased openness to the outside world, a dozen years after Canada and China established diplomatic relations. This gave the CCP an opportunity to spotlight the Christian communities of China in an environment that allowed for the safe and cordial exchange of ideas. As Chu wrote to CCP members and supporters, "the goal of the conference is a sharing of experiences of Christian life and witness in different parts of the world, including China."[45]

The conference took place at the Centre Marial Montfortain in east Montreal from 2-7 October 1981. The Chinese delegation included Michael Fu Tieshan, who in 1979 had been ordained bishop with government, but not Vatican, approval and two others from the Catholic Patriotic Association. From the China Christian Council came K.H. Ting, Assistant-General Han Wenzao, and five other leaders. After years of little to no Western contact with the Chinese Church, the conference had to unpack lingering assumptions and misconceptions. Each day began with a worship service, making the conference the first time that Chinese Catholics and Protestants worshipped together.[46]

In many ways the conference served as a platform for approved Chinese Christian leaders to explain their rejection of Western intervention and financial support and their commitment to build an authentically Chinese church. Presentations by the Chinese delegates included Patriotic Association Bishop Tu Shihua of Hanyang's criticism of Vatican-affiliated missionary churches for not sufficiently indigenizing the church in China.[47]

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[43] Memorandum by Theresa Chu, CCP director, 14 Nov. 1985, CCP 9-7.

[44] Ryan to Chu, 11 May 1981, CCP 4-8.

[45] Chu circular letter to friends of the CCP, 26 May 2014, CCP 4-8.

[46] Hockin, "God's Call to a New Beginning," CCP 5-11.

[47] Hockin, "God's Call to a New Beginning," CCP 5-11; Bishop Tu's conference paper, CCP 4-14.

The conference attracted wide interest. The official Chinese Protestant publication *Tian Feng* highlighted its positive value in introducing other Christians to the work of the Three Self Movement, in allowing for the exchange of theological ideas, and in encouraging friendliness and presenting an opportunity for the Chinese church to represent itself to the international community.[48] Cynthia McLean, an official with the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA and a future CCP director, welcomed the new "international context in which the Chinese Christian experience would be understood as being one among many" and "an opportunity for the Chinese to learn more about Christianity in the various countries represented."[49] The conference, however, was not without critics. Jonathan Chao assailed it for being an exercise of friendship with the Three Self Movement and the Catholic Patriotic Association, not an ecumenical and theological reflection. He especially complained of exclusions, notably of members of the Vatican-supported Catholic underground churches. The preference given to government-approved Christian groups, he claimed, "allowed Chinese opinion to force a division in the outside ecumenical community, which formerly worked together on theological reflection on China, and which used to encourage a wide spectrum of opinion among its constituents."[50] He believed the Louvain process was going off the rails in Montreal; the CCP leaders, on the other hand, were listening more to Chinese voices.

After the "New Beginning" conference and efforts to dialogue with both official and unofficial congregations in China, the CCP was increasingly identified with China's state-sanctioned churches. "From a Chinese point of view," Chu reported to her board in 1988, "the CCP has interpreted the Chinese Churches correctly."[51] Increasingly, however, some Catholic circles in Canada criticized the Programme for paying less heed to the underground churches. Unlike the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States, which took a similar line on partnership with approved churches, the CCP included both Protestant and Catholic Canadians. It could not, then, neglect the criticism, particularly the concerns raised by the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops who in 1983 affirmed "the CCP because it leaves the door open for relations with the Chinese church but negates our 'one-sided defence' of the Patriotic Association."[52] A year later, the

[48] *Tian Feng* account of the Montreal Conference, "A New Beginning: The Montreal International Christian Conference," CCP 4-14.

[49] "God's Call to a New Beginning," conference report by Cynthia McLean, CCP 4-14.

[50] Jonathan Chao, "The Three-Self Speaks: An Analysis of an International Conference," media release, 18 Nov. 1981, CCP 4-14.

[51] "The CCP's Changing Mandate" by Theresa Chu (report given to the Extended Executive Committee, 17 March 1988), CCP 7-6.

[52] CCP general committee minutes, 28 Sept. 1983, CCP 14-5.

CCP noted in its defence: "The term 'underground church' … means one thing to us and another to the Chinese. Whereas here, it is taken to mean heroic individuals loyal to their religious faith at any cost, there it means organization, structure and regular channels of communication with outside forces that are hostile to the New China."[53] The CCP did not intend to ignore unofficial churches, but the imperatives of partnership did not permit it to side with those who held up the "silent churches" as the sole authentic Christian voice in China.

In other words, the CCP was a site of Catholic-Protestant tension. When *China and Ourselves* published an article by an Anglican minister in training that asked "What Does the Vatican Really Want?" and painted the Catholic Patriotic Association as the sole authentic voice of Chinese Catholics, some Catholics objected.[54] This was not strictly a Catholic-Protestant division: most Catholic members of the CCP believed it was on the right path. Nevertheless, the Programme experienced a struggle in which critical voices tended to assert that the underground churches were overlooked in favour of the official churches. The CCP tried to treat all Chinese Christians as partners, but its critics—many of them Catholics—charged it with failing to do so.

Because of its perceived alignment with the official churches, in 1982 the CCP became the first group to be invited to send a delegation to tour China and meet the Catholic Patriotic Association. Delegates reported a thriving attendance at Mass and services, and that "every three or four days, a new church opens."[55] In other words, they vested great hopes in this revived partnership. A Canadian Catholic Friendship Delegation organized by the CCP in 1985 observed further growth in Christian numbers and confidence, the creation of open seminaries and convents, and finally, the formation by Chinese Protestants of their first approved non-governmental organization: the Amity Foundation, designed to deliver charity and relief projects to the poorest Chinese.

From small beginnings, in a little over a decade Amity gathered foreign funding to build an annual budget of $2 million.[56] Prominent China experts in

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[53] CCP AGM minutes, 30 June 1984, CCP 9-7.

[54] Father Hugh McDougall SFM to Chris Lind of CCP and Lind's reply, *C&O* 28 (Dec. 1981), 10-11.

[55] Theresa Chu, "Visit to Seven Dioceses in China, Sept. 23rd to Oct 20th, 1982," CCP 9-7.

[56] Report of Canadian Catholic Friendship Delegation to China by Theresa Chu (March 2-27, 1985); Wenzao Han, "Statement on the Formation of the Amity Foundation," 21 March 1985, CCP 7-3; Katrin Fiedler and Liwei Zhang, *Growing in Partnership: The Amity Foundation, 1985-2005* (Hong Kong: Amity Foundation, 2005); "The Amity Foundation: Steep Learning Curve for China's First 'Real' NGO," *China Development Briefing*, issue 1, March 1996, CCCBA U3173-14.

Canada hailed Amity, an approved CCP partner, as support for the mainline Protestant churches in China and a rejection of evangelical critics. Protestant leaders linked to the CCP, including Rev. James Endicott, told Bishop Ting that Amity had "the potential of undermining some fundamentalists' attempt to infiltrate China with funds of their own."[57] Amity appeared as a weapon for Canadian liberal Protestants in their battles with conservative evangelicals.

Bishop Ting, meanwhile, was confident enough of his own position to attack the European-based churches that had launched their own Christian dialogue with China in the early 1970s. He was particularly critical of the Ecumenical China Study Liaison Group (ECSLG), which included backers of the underground churches. Although both the ECSLG and the CCP had been part of the Louvain process through which Western churches began to re-engage with China, the CCP respected the wishes of Bishop Ting and his associates. In 1985 it decided to boycott future ECSLG meetings in favour of bilateral links between each country and the official Chinese churches.[58] At Nanjing in 1986 Three Self leaders hosted a follow-up meeting to the 1981 "New Beginning" conference, as an effort to reclaim Chinese leadership in the field of Christian contacts with China.

Changes on the Chinese side, such as the denunciation of the ECSLG and the formation of Amity, also led to changes in Canadian church contacts with China. This was a period of ecumenical coalitions with varying memberships, but almost always including Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians and the United Church. Coalitions formed on a wide range of issues and with various geographical focuses, from the Inter-Church Coalition for Human Rights in Latin America to GATT-Fly, the Ecumenical Coalition for Economic Justice. The CCP was unique among ecumenical coalitions in its focus on one country and its partnership with that country's official churches. This stemmed from Canadian efforts to overcome the negative aspects of the missionary legacy through a shift towards partnership. Meanwhile, China rapidly moved from Maoist isolation into economic growth and a more open foreign policy. It was easy to maintain a positive image of China until human rights took a higher profile after the Tiananmen Square killings of 1989.

No one defended the killings, but in 1991 the CCP published a broadside against "the impression that China is one huge gulag of repression and misery."[59] An entire issue of *China and Ourselves* consisted of a riposte by

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[57] Jim Endicott, Steve Endicott, Katharine Hockin, Cyril Powles, Marjorie Powles, Ray Whitehead, Rhea Whitehead, and Don Willmott to Ting, 22 Oct. 1985, CCP 7-3.

[58] "Joint Statement" by Zhong Huaide and K.H. Ting, 16 Oct. 1985, CCP 7-3; Philip Wickeri to Chu, 19 May 1987, CCP 7-5; CCP executive committee minutes, 8 Oct. 1985, CCP 15-3.

[59] *C&O* 16.4 (Dec. 1991). Chu had earlier noted her struggle "not to be polemic" in the pages of the newsletter. CCP general committee minutes, 18 Sept. 1982, CCP 14-5.

Cynthia McLean, an American Protestant and China watcher, who replaced Theresa Chu as CCP director in 1991. (The CCP had wanted a Protestant to succeed the Catholic Chu upon her retirement, and chose McLean, who had experience with the China work of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States.) McLean described the CCP as rooted in a shared concern for the people of China and solidarity with their struggles for independence, justice and peace. Its main organizing principles were partnership and mission. In a separate article she traced the development of the Programme through six periods: the missionary era (1888-1949), estrangement from China (1949-1970), the organizational beginnings of the CCP (1971-1981), the re-establishment of relationships with Chinese Christians (1981-1989), the Tiananmen crisis (1989), and the future of the Canada China Programme in the coming decade.[60] The larger historical arc of China was upward, McLean argued, and Tiananmen merely an interlude that had to be overcome in the quest for partnership.

Meanwhile, Catholic-Protestant divisions within the CCP deepened over issues of relations with official and underground churches. The Catholic side was now represented by the CCCB and the Scarboro Foreign Missions, which skewed the CCP more towards missionary memories and English-speaking Canada than the other ecumenical coalitions.

Under the leadership of Sister Fleurette Lagacé MIC and Father Michel Marcil SJ, Québec Catholics interested in China had formed a group called Amitié-Chine, which sought direct contacts with China, a step that removed the need for CCP intermediaries. Amitié-Chine also spurred the creation in 1988 of a Canadian Catholic Round Table on China (Table de concertation des catholiques canadiens sur la Chine), which grouped Canadian Catholics interested in China work. The Round Table's existence implied not only continued involvement with the CCP, but also the possibility of forming a separate, parallel organization. The Round Table centralized Catholic donations to the CCP.[61] This single channel freed the Programme from seeking funds from each missionary society and religious order individually, and at the same time created a single and magnified Catholic voice for dealings with the CCP. The CCP would no longer even know how much had been contributed by individual Catholic groups.

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[60] Cynthia McLean, "The Canada China Programme," in *Coalitions for Justice: The Story of Canada's Interchurch Coalitions*, eds. Christopher Lind and Joe Mihevc (Ottawa: Novalis, 1994): 117-133.

[61] "Canada China Programme Budgets," CCCBA U3713-73. At the time, Catholic donations came to 28.5% of the total, compared to 42.5% from the United Church, 22.5% from the Anglicans and 8.7% from the Presbyterians.

On the whole Amitié-Chine and the Round Table worked collaboratively with the CCP, seeing eye to eye on major issues, but the CCP was less and less dominant in church-to-church relations with China. In 1987 Amitié-Chine hosted the first formal Chinese Catholic visit to Canada. As earlier contacts had shown, Chinese Catholics were happy to meet with the CCP but did not consider it the best possible dialogue partner. The delegation was a high-powered group, led by the vice-president of the (Chinese government-approved) Chinese Conference of Catholic Bishops and a vice-president of the Catholic Patriotic Association. The links with the Patriotic Association were no barrier to a meeting with half a dozen bishops in both French and English Canada and to visiting the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops.[62] By 1992, Canadian bishops were willing to receive the "patriotic" bishop of Shanghai, Aloysius Jin Luxian, for a "friendly ecumenical visit," a step made easier by a tentative Vatican-China rapprochement. No heed was given to one priest's complaint that Bishop Jin's visit would "dishearten the loyal Catholics and strengthen the patriotic church which does not recognize the Pope as the Vicar of Christ on earth."[63] The visit fell through, but its planning indicated the CCCB's willingness to enter dialogue with the official Catholic Church even while, like the Vatican, it described government-approved Chinese bishops as "illegitimate."[64]

The position of partnership with official churches in China was not a problem for United, Presbyterian and Anglican participants in the CCP, but the problems it caused in Catholic circles at times shine through in Chu's correspondence with fellow Catholics. As Vatican-approved bishops operating underground continued to denounce the Catholic Patriotic Association, tensions mounted.[65] By the mid-1990s, the Catholic-Protestant divergence within the CCP proved irreconcilable. As access to China improved, Michael Murray SJ of the CCCB's missions office noted in 1988 that "The Canada-China Programme is not as vital as it once was for the conscientization of the Canadian Church to the Chinese reality." Meanwhile, Catholic CCP members saw themselves as having a vocation for China, being

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[62] "The First Chinese Catholic Delegation to Canada" by Theresa Chu (June 1987), CCP 7-5; Report of Canadian Catholic Friendship Delegation to China by Theresa Chu (March 2-27, 1985), CCP 7-3. A summary is Chu, "A Chinese Catholic Delegation in China," *C&O* 51 (Fall 1987), 2-4.

[63] "Friendly Ecumenical Visit of Bishop Aloysius Jin Lu-Xian, Catholic Bishop in Shanghai—October 14-29, 1992," CCCBA U3173-41; Rev. Michael J. Mckeirnan to "my dear bishops" (of the CCCB) 8 Dec. 1991, CCBA U3173-40.

[64] Michael Murray SJ, co-director of CCCB Missions Office, to CCP, 18 March 1988, CCP 7-6.

[65] "Bishop Urges Unification of Catholic Church in China," Catholic News Service, 18 Sept. 1996, attached to CCRT mailing in advance of meeting of 6 Dec. 1996, CCCBA U3173-15.

more independent-minded in approaches towards China and less bound by the imperatives of partnership. On the other hand, they often considered the Protestant members mere voices for their own church's bureaucracy.[66] As recorded in the Round Table minutes: "Chaque Église protestante accepte la décision chinoise commune; ce n'est pas l'approche catholique."[67] Catholics related to a complex reality of official and underground Chinese churches and also had to take account of Vatican-China relations; Protestants in the CCP merely had to relate to their main partner, the China Christian Council. "We, as a Catholic group, respect their option but do not see it as ours," the Round Table noted.[68]

Nevertheless, the Round Table remained within the CCP despite seeing it as an "area desk" for Anglican, Presbyterian and United churches tied to the Three Self Protestant church in China, a relationship which Catholics were unwilling to enter.[69] By 1996, when the CCP came up for remandating, the Round Table, backed by the CCCB, withdrew. United, Anglican and Presbyterian members could not afford to continue the CCP on their own, so they folded the CCP into another ecumenical coalition, the Canada Asia Working Group (CAWG).[70] That group had been formed in 1977 to campaign for human rights throughout Asia, with an early focus on dictatorships in the Philippines and South Korea. Since China came under the mandate of the CCP, the CAWG's mandate covered only other Asian countries. With fewer missionary connections to contend with, CAWG developed a very different version of partnership. Varied approaches to human rights, social justice and partnership led to ongoing clashes within the new coalition.

This was exacerbated by the fact that the merger of the CCP into CAWG added Catholic participants informed by such social justice issues as solidarity with the Philippine struggle against the Ferdinand Marcos dictatorship. CAWG members, including the two Asian-Canadian women who formed its full-time staff, had less time for the CCP core value of partnership with government-approved Chinese churches. When a member

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[66] Minutes of the Catholic Roundtable on China," 22 April 22, 1996, CCCBA, U3173-20.

[67] [Each of the Protestant churches accepts the common Chinese decision; that is not the Catholic approach.] Procès-verbal de la réunion du 6 septembre 1991, CCCBA U3173-48.

[68] "Minutes of the ad hoc Committee on Re-Mandating of the CCP from the CCCB Mission Office's Perspective," 3 June 1988, CCCBA U3713-72.

[69] Procès-verbal, Table de concertation des catholiques canadiens sur la Chine, 26 janvier 1990, CCCBA U3173-67; CCP finance committee minutes, 18 Jan. 1988 and 28 March 1986, CCP 15-3.

[70] Memorandum to persons and organizations associated with the Canada China Programme from Rev. Nan Hudson (chairperson, CCP), 3 Dec. 1996, CCCBA U3173-16; CCRTC minutes 9 Dec. 1994, CCCBA U3173-29.

of the former CCP board argued that "we have to take the lead from [our partners]," a CAWG staffer responded: "Part of our role is to gently prod our partners."[71] Sometimes it was not even a matter of prodding, but one of listening when Chinese partners were bold enough to stray from the topic and the official line, as happened after the Tiananmen Square killings in 1989.[72] The merged CAWG-CCP steering committee eventually decided not to criticize China's internal human rights record.[73] Tensions simmered until the churches folded all the ecumenical coalitions into one new body, called KAIROS, in 2001. China work was dropped entirely, allowing the new coalition to go ahead without this source of internal conflict.

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Reflecting on the Louvain colloquium on China in 1974, Raymond Whitehead noted the meeting was still caught up in asking why the great Western missionary effort in China had failed. "It will take, perhaps, another generation in the West, and a much greater initiative from non-western Christians, to move to a new agenda on China, more appropriate to the post-missionary age," he wrote.[74] In the following two decades, the Programme tried to work out a new agenda that accepted Chinese Christian equality, if not leadership. The main difficulty was accepting church organizations approved by the Chinese government as major partners. Working with these organizations made good sense for Protestant churches that felt a sense of repentance for some aspects of the legacy left by Canadian missionaries, but less for Canadian Catholics who could not ignore underground Catholics—a group that, unlike the Catholic Patriotic Association, remained in communion with the Holy See.

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[71] CAWG minutes, 7 April 1999, CAWG G7-18.

[72] At the end of one routine report, for instance appears this note from an Amity staff member:

"As I was listening to the news,
I thought about my ten-year old son.
I used to think that when he grew up,
He would not have to take to the streets.
I might be wrong.
If he has to join his fellow students on the streets,
I WILL SUPPORT HIM.
If he dies for the future of his people.
I WILL BE PROUD OF HIM…"

[73] CAWG minutes, 12-13 Sept. 2000, CAWG G7-20.

[74] "Article on the Louvain Colloquium for *The Christian Century*," by Raymond Whitehead, September 1974, CCP 12-2.

The CCP, unique in its origins among ecumenical coalitions, therefore emerged as a site of struggle especially between Catholic and Protestant voices. The CCP's archives show multiple efforts at contact across national and denominational borders, but they also reveal conflict over how best to approach China and who to partner with in China. Tensions become ever more evident as some Protestant figures viewed the Programme as a mainline Protestant act of partnership and equality, rather than missionary arrogance, in relating to Chinese Christians. They contrasted this approach to that of evangelical Christians still trying to convert China, whom they saw as replicating the errors of the missionary past. Catholic voices within the CCP could not share this vision. These Catholic voices narrowed from multiple actors, who had their own China missionary past, into a single Catholic Round Table linked to the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops. They subsequently moved from expressions of concern over the mandate and direction of the Programme and downgrading of contributions into a final break over clashing visions of how to relate to Chinese Christianity. The rise and fall of the CCP paralleled the rise and fall of the wider ecumenical coalition universe, but had its own unique characteristics. Catholic and Protestant differences could be bridged in regional working groups on Africa and Latin America and in issue-driven coalitions, but the CCP could never resolve the tension created by clashing visions of partnership with China.

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Abstracts/Résumés

Kevin ANDERSON

"I am … the very essence of a Protestant": Arthur Lower, Anti-Catholicism and Liberal Nationalism, 1939-1959

Arthur Lower was one of the most influential public intellectuals in twentieth century Canada. Although Lower has been studied before, the anti-Catholic underpinnings of his thought have been largely overlooked. The period between World War Two and Lower's retirement in the late 1950s reveals a deep irony: despite, or perhaps because of, Lower's liberalism he feared Catholic population growth, Catholics' alleged inability for independent thought and the influence of an "authoritarian" Church over one of the two major national communities. Lower strove throughout his career to forge national unity in Canada; yet there was always a tension between this goal and his own view of Catholicism, influenced by his interpretation of the British legacy in Canada and the unfolding of history since the Reformation, particularly when combating international fascism and communism. Because of this intellectual framework, Lower perpetuated many of the same prejudices towards Catholics that he opposed in others.

Arthur Lower était l'un des intellectuels populaires les plus influents du 20e siècle au Canada. Bien que ses pensées aient été étudiées auparavant, l'anticatholicisme qui formait le socle de sa doctrine avait été largement ignoré. La période comprise entre la Deuxième Guerre et sa retraite à la fin des années 1950 avait révélé une ironie immense : malgré son libéralisme ou à cause de son libéralisme qui lui faisait redouter la croissance de la population catholique, les Catholiques l'avaient présenté comme inapte à penser librement et dénonçaient son Eglise qui cherchait à assoir son « autorité » sur l'une des deux principales communautés du pays. Lower s'était battu tout au long de sa carrière pour former l'unité nationale au Canada. Cependant, une tension subsistait entre son objectif et sa considération du catholicisme influencée par son interprétation de l'héritage britannique au Canada et par le déroulement des événements depuis la Réforme, particulièrement lorsqu'il s'agit de combattre le fascisme international et le communisme. A cause de ce cadre intellectuel, Lower avait commis envers les Catholiques les mêmes torts qu'il condamnait chez d'autres.

Rosa BRUNO-JOFRÉ and Ana JOFRÉ

Reading the Lived Experience of Vatican II - Words and Images: The Canadian Province of the Sisters of Our Lady of Missions in Peru

This paper takes a *longue durée* approach in an attempt to explain continuities and discontinuities in the renewal of the Canadian province's missionary work. By focusing on the mission in Peru we trace the powerful effect of the missionary social, cultural, and political context. The locality as social context, following Quentin Skinner, will provide the frame of reference for understanding new meanings and the historical conditions of the missionaries' actions and their intentionality. The Sisters in Peru were inserted in overlapping configurations that were expressions of social movements including liberation theology as a religious movement, the readings of Vatican II in Latin America as expressed in Medellín and Puebla, and the province's own understanding of the need for change. Their notion of self and as missionaries was transformed in the complex interweaving of locality and lived experience; the Sisters asserted their own sense of living the radicality of the Gospel.

Cet article utilise une approche longue durée pour essayer d'expliquer les régularités et les discontinuités du renouvellement du travail missionnaire dans les provinces du Canada. En prenant l'exemple de la mission au Pérou, nous soulignons la forte influence missionnaire dans le contexte social, culturel et politique. La localité prise comme contexte social, en nous appuyant sur Quentin Skinner, servira de cadre de référence pour comprendre les nouvelles significations et les conditions historiques des actions missionnaires ainsi que leur intentionnalité. Au Pérou, les Sœurs s'inséraient dans des configurations entremêlées qui étaient l'expression des mouvements sociaux englobant la théologie de la libération comme mouvement religieux, les interprétations de Vatican II en Amérique Latine telles que exprimées à Medellín et à Puebla, ainsi que la perception par la province elle-même du besoin de changement. Leur position en tant qu'individus et en tant que missionnaires étaient forgée par la complexité de leur vécu et par l'influence de la localité. Ainsi, les Sœurs devaient trouver leurs propres pistes pour vivre selon la radicalité de l'Evangile.

Matt HOVEN

'Rare Beauty' and Renewal: The Consortium Project for Alberta Catholic High School Religious Education

Sparked by the uncertainty of high school religious education at the provincial and national levels in the late 1960s and 1970s, Alberta Catholics debated not only the content of the religion programs, but also the decision-making processes for the courses' design and revision. Catholic school trustee elections in the fall of 1980 marked the peak of these tensions, resulting in province-wide support for a cooperative consortium project that would create a new Catholic high school religious education program. Completed in 1984 at a cost of half a million dollars, the high school courses mirrored major shifts in the post-conciliar church and united lay educational leaders entrusted to complete a grassroots design to meet student and teacher needs. Overall, the experience embodies a lay educational movement inspired by the Second Vatican Council and modern religious education.

Bousculées par l'incertitude qui régnait dans l'enseignement secondaire catholique au niveau provincial et national à la fin des années 1960 et 1970, les écoles catholiques en Alberta avaient ouvert le débat non seulement sur le contenu des programmes de religion, mais aussi sur le processus de conception et de révision des cours. L'élection des administrateurs scolaires de l'automne 1980 marquait le point culminant de ces tensions qui ont donné naissance à un projet de consortium coopératif soutenu dans toute la province, dont la mission était de mettre sur pied un nouveau programme de religion pour l'enseignement secondaire catholique. Achevés en 1984 au coût d'un demi-million de dollars, les programmes de l'enseignement secondaire avaient connu des changements importants dans l'Eglise postconciliaire et leur mise en œuvre avait associé les dirigeants laïcs de l'éducation chargés de définir un programme de base répondant aux besoins des élèves et des enseignants. En somme, l'expérience avait donné naissance à un mouvement scolaire laïc inspiré du Concile Vatican II et de l'enseignement religieux moderne.

David WEBSTER and Sarah ZWIERZCHOWSKI

Inter-church Coalitions as Site of Ecumenical Contact and Conflict: The Canada China Programme, 1971-2000

This article explores the relationship between the Canadian churches that formed the Canada China Programme (CCP), from its inception in the 1970s to its demise in the new millennium. The CCP demonstrates the contacts

that existed between churches in Canada and China after the expulsion of missionaries in the 1950s. The work of the CCP, in both Canada and China, reveals a previously unexplored aspect of Canada-China relations, as well as the strategies that churches employed to advance their own alternative foreign policy. Throughout its history, the CCP was the site of internal debates among its Catholic and mainline Protestant members to balance their promotion of social justice issues and requests from their Chinese partners that they remain silent and uncritical of Chinese policies. The debate created an atmosphere of competition between churches, hindering the work of the CCP because it could not present a united front in its policies.

Cet article explore la relation entre les Eglises canadiennes qui formaient le Projet Canada Chine (PCC), depuis ses débuts dans les années 1970 jusqu'à sa dissolution au nouveau millénaire. Le PCC démontre les contacts qui existaient entre les Eglises au Canada et en Chine après l'expulsion des missionnaires dans les années 1950. Le rôle du PCC, dans les deux pays, révèle un aspect jamais exploré des relations canado-chinoises ainsi que les stratégies jadis employées par les Eglises pour promouvoir leur propre politique étrangère alternative. Tout au long de son histoire, le PCC était le théâtre des débats internes entre ses membres catholiques et protestants influents dans le but d'équilibrer leur promotion de justice sociale et de répondre aux demandes des partenaires chinois qui reprochaient aux autres leur légèreté ou leur silence face aux politiques chinoises. Le débat tournait souvent en compétition entre Eglises en devenant de ce fait un obstacle au bon fonctionnement du PCC parce qu'il ne pouvait présenter une forme unie de ses politiques.