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CANADIAN BAPTISTS IN NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

A Narrative Attempt

Non-Spanish North America is a hybrid territory. As melting-pot and mosaic, it has taken the willing and unwilling from the rest of the world and made Canadians and Americans of them. The Canadians, no less than their neighbours to the south, have come from many places besides the United Kingdom. Immigrants from (or via) the United States are an additional ingredient in the Canadian mixture, more noticeable among 25.3 million inhabitants than the many Canadians among 260 million in the States. Thus, Canada is not quite England, only partly France, definitely not America, yet so British as not to be Scandinavia, the Ukraine, Germany, India or West-Indies, and certainly not Native.

Baptists in Canada, therefore, are not exactly any of those national or ethnic labels either; rather, they are a potpourri of major and minor ingredients whose organizational variety reflects both the nation's history and the ecclesiastical-theological history of North America. The historical, theological, and ethnic identities will be outlined in this paper. A brief introduction will serve for the present.

Four groups are united in the Canadian Baptist Federation (CBF): United Baptist Convention of the Atlantic Provinces (UBCAP), Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec (BCOQ), Union of French Baptist Churches (UFBC/UEBF), Baptist Union of Western Canada (BUWC); these four have roots furthest back in Canadian history. Two other bodies have theological distinctions of equally long duration, though the latter has appeared only recently: Free Will Baptists (FWB), Seventh-Day Baptists (SDB). Three others are offshoots of CBF unions from which congregations and individuals separated in the wake of the modernist-fundamentalist controversies of the 1920s: Association of Regular Baptist Churches (ARBC), Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches (FEBC), and Canadian Conference of Southern Baptists (CCSB). Three fellowships persist out of ethnic origins among Swedish, German and Ukrainian immigrants. The Baptist General Conference-Canada (BGCC) and the North American Baptist Conference (NABC) have denominational structures, and in the urban and suburban communities where their churches minister the ethnic roots have no relevance. The Ukrainian national organizations (Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Convention of Canada, and Union of Slavic Churches of Evangelical Christians and Slavic Baptists of Canada) are more of an ethnic fellowship and most of their churches also belong to one of the other Baptist bodies. A count of the unaffiliated Baptist churches and the independent baptistic 'community' churches is impossible, though the total might be significant. Current statistics of the organized bodies are below.

Canada has been carved by war and negotiation out of what some of her politicians like to boast is 'the tough part of North America'. Early in the seventeenth century France established permanent fishing and fur-trading settlements in eastern (Maritime) Canada and along the St Lawrence River valley. England intermittently over a century and a

half contested French claims to the areas north of the earliest English colonies. In 1713, Britain gained Acadia (the later provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island), Newfoundland, and Hudson Bay as the War of the Spanish Succession concluded; in 1763, France ceded her northern North American claims to Britain as the Seven Years' War settled another half century of French-British conflicts. The 1783 Treaty of Paris which ended the American Revolutionary War defined the borders between British North America and the new republic; the War of 1812 (Treaty of Ghent, 1814) changed none of those limits.

CENSUS OF BAPTISTS IN CANADA*

	Churches	Members
Association of Regular Baptist Churches (ARBC)	10	c.1,500
Baptist General Conference-Canada (BGCC)	71	6,028
Canadian Baptist Federation (CBF)	1,120	137,590
UBCAP	555/67,078	
BCOQ	389/47,378	
UFBC	19/ 2,572	
BUWC	157/20,562	
Canadian Convention of Southern Baptists (CCSB)	80	5,440
Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches (FEBC)	450	53,468
Free Will Baptists (in Canada) (FWB)	17	1,875
North American Baptist Conference (in Canada) (NABC)	113	17,331
Seventh Day Baptists (in Canada) (SDB)	1	c. 40
Ukrainian and Slavic Baptists (UEBC/USCEC&SB)	[c.18]	[c.700]
TOTAL BAPTISTS IN ASSOCIATION	1,862	223,272

* Sources: Constant H. Jacquet, Jr., ed., *Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches*, Nashville, TN, Abingdon Press, 1986; and personal enquiries.

In search of a northern sea route to the Pacific, Britain became entangled in the sparring between Russian and Spain for the fur trade of the northwest coast of North America during the eighteenth century. Spain withdrew its exclusive claims to the northwest in 1794 and any territorial claims in 1819. By 1815, the overland Canadian fur trade had created permanent posts on the coasts and rivers of the west. Russian Alaska's eastern border was drawn in 1825, though the southern end of the coastal belt acknowledged as theirs was not defined until sixteen years later. The northwestern limit of the United States as specified by the Treaty of Ghent was extended to the Pacific along the forty-ninth parallel in two stages - 1818 and 1846.

The British North America Act of 1867 established Canada as a self-governing dominion, confederated out of the four eastern continental provinces which were joined in the next six years by Manitoba (part of the vast territories the Hudson's Bay Company had



administered since 1820 and the new dominion purchased in 1869), British Columbia (a crown colony since 1858, developed from trading posts built after 1820), and Prince Edward Island. Since 1900, Alberta and Saskatchewan (also originally part of the Hudson's Bay Company territories) became provinces; and Newfoundland voted for confederation and to end its colonial status.

Baptist expansion in Canada has paralleled the process of settlement by successive migrations into and within Canada since its colonial period. Traditionally, therefore, the Baptist story has been told region by region - Atlantic provinces, central Canada, west. Yet a time-line will disclose that similar developments were occurring simultaneously in the regions. Hence, this narrative of Baptist growth is divided into three periods: colonial (to 1867), dominion (1867-1920), and contemporary (1920-). The colonial era was the time prior to Canada's confederation during which Baptist churches, associations and societies in the east were solidly established and their public influence felt. After confederation in 1867, settlement of the western two-thirds of the country began; though circumstances were primitive, Baptists on the prairies, along the Pacific coast, and in the mountains between applied the existing structures of the east where Baptist life was coalescing into its current patterns. The modernist-fundamentalist controversies which began in the 1920s are a theological watershed from which, directly or indirectly, five of the Baptist bodies derive some, even all, of their impetus, while the post-World War II immigration of Germans and Ukrainians revitalized the independent existence of those two ethnic bodies.

Baptists in Colonial Canada

British North America's first ethnic influences were New English (Fitch; Kirkconnel - Full bibliographic citations for works by authors identified in parentheses in the text are given at the end of this paper). Intentional English settlement of the formerly French regions below the St Lawrence River began with the expulsion of the French Acadian farmers and fur traders in 1755. New Englanders from further south were induced to move into the vacated areas with promises that they would have the same kind of representative government and freedom of worship which Englishmen had developed during 125 years

in the New World. Part of the religious conviction they brought with them was the experience of the Great Awakening, those North American revivals with which George Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards, the Tennants and others were connected and which paralleled England's Evangelical Revival. This emphasis upon preaching that aimed at its hearers experiencing certainty of salvation had divided the churchmen of the older English colonies into pro-awakening 'New Lights' and anti-awakening 'Old Lights'.

Significant numbers of the 'Planters' who came into New Brunswick and Nova Scotia from Massachusetts and other English colonies during the years 1760-75 were New Light Baptists, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians. One group of Baptists came as an existing congregation accompanied by their pastor; in other cases, individual Baptist families (farmers, businessmen, pastors) moved into the new frontier. They gathered churches which were made up of immigrant Baptists and of others they persuaded to their views in the enthusiasm of the Great Awakening. However, the earliest churches thus established disappeared by 1775, evidently because the pastors and many of the church members returned to the older English colonies to the south.

The preaching of Henry Alline, a Nova Scotia New Light Congregationalist, during the years of the American Revolutionary War (1776-83) generated the 'Great Awakening of Nova Scotia' from which the Baptists especially benefited (Moody). Ministerial conferences among the New Lights were formalized in 1799 as the 'Baptist and Congregational Association'. The double name indicates a differing baptismal practice and reflected Alline's own doctrinal ambiguity. Although he had helped in 1778 to organize the first surviving Baptist church in the Maritimes at Horton (now Wolfville), Nova Scotia, he was indifferent to the distinction between a church of visible saints (Baptist) and one of visible saints and their children (Congregational).

At the 1800 meeting of the association, ministers from the thirteen member churches dropped 'and Congregational' from the name though several of the churches continued to practise 'mixed baptism' (i.e., immersion or affusion; personal testimony of assurance of grace still was necessary for one to be baptized) and open communion (i.e., any believer, on profession of faith, might participate in the Lord's Supper in a Baptist church). Discussion of the issues of immersion and communion continued until in 1809 the consensus was reached that the Association would be limited to close communion Baptist congregations.

Tied with open communion, another issue arose on which Baptist churches very early took different positions: Arminianism (Baxter; Fitch; Moody). The 'Free' or 'Free Will' Baptists antedate 1795; the Barrington, Nova Scotia, church was founded by Baptists of free-will convictions, though when it originated is uncertain. In New Brunswick a Free-Will Baptist conference was organized in 1832; it was composed of Baptist churches which objected to the majority Calvinism, practised open communion, and emphasized total abstinence from alcoholic beverages as part of the Christian lifestyle. One segment of the New Brunswick Free-Will association separated from the larger body in 1875; and when the various Maritime associations, free and regular,

merged in the UBCAP in 1905, some New Brunswick Free Will Baptists continued a separate existence as a 'Primitive Baptist Convention'. In recent years they have found fellowship with Free-Will Baptists in the United States whose national office is in Nashville, Tennessee.

The Maritime provinces experienced a second influx of settlers from the adjacent New England colonies at the conclusion of the American Revolutionary War (Fitch). The arrival of these 'United Empire Loyalists' disrupted the beginnings of religious pluralism. Pluralism had been designed in 1755 to encourage immigration and was further stimulated by the Great Awakening in Nova Scotia during which Baptists worked side-by-side with Presbyterians and Congregationalists; the introduction of the Methodists added another ingredient to the mix. The Loyalists in the 1780s, however, viewed religious liberty and republicanism as the soil from which the rebellion against the crown had sprung. Not only monarchy but Anglican episcopacy were, in their view, essential to a stable society in that part of North America still British. For the next seventy-five years, therefore, Baptists in the Maritimes and in central Canada struggled with other 'Nonconformists' against the establishmentarian efforts of Anglicans and Scottish Presbyterians. Issues and developments were similar in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and central Canada.

Central Canada (north side of the St Lawrence) was originally French and Roman Catholic. It had absorbed English settlers - farmers, entrepreneurs, government - rather amicably so long as the newcomers remained a minority. In 1791, to preserve the traditional French area, the territory was divided into Upper and Lower Canada (now, Ontario and Quebec) and immigration thereafter was predominantly into the western area. The earliest Baptist work in present Ontario, apart from immigration from the Maritimes, was largely the accomplishment of American Baptists, as travelling missionaries (evangelists and church planters) of the Shaftsbury (Vermont) Baptist Association, the Massachusetts Missionary Society and others succeeded in evangelizing numbers of immigrants from Britain and the United States (Iverson and Rosser). About fifteen churches were organized. Several of these formed a Canadian association; the rest were members of Baptist associations in Massachusetts, Vermont, or New York. Prior to the outbreak of the tragicomic War of 1812 between the United States and Canada, migration of settlers and evangelists had been open between the two countries; for a time subsequently, American immigrants were limited and received a chilly welcome when they arrived. Yet American-sponsored evangelism continued.

However, an influx of Scottish and English after 1810 brought with it a regenerated influence from Britain, specifically an influence marked by the Haldane revivals. James (and to a lesser extent his brother Robert) Haldane was a Scottish evangelist whose impact in Scotland, throughout Great Britain, and onto the continent deserves favourable comparison with John Wesley. About 1808, the brothers became Baptists; so significant numbers of the Scots who came to Canada were converts of the Haldanes and vigorously committed to Baptist principles.

Ontario Baptists multiplied and, like their Maritime brethren, soon ran into trouble with the Anglicans attempting to establish the Church of England in Upper Canada. The War of 1812 had aggravated suspicions about American religious as well as social and political patterns, renewing the antipathy to everything American which the Revolutionary War had generated. The Constitutional Act of 1791 which divided the two Canadas had set aside a seventh of the land as 'clergy reserves' for the support of the Anglican church in what has become Ontario (Pitman: 1960, 1980; Renfree). The Scots, however, asserted that the presbyteral Church of Scotland was also an established church. The Baptists and Methodists objected that no church should be established and that the lands and revenues of the Clergy Reserves should be diverted for nonreligious public use. The Baptists, though they held no seats in the Ontario legislature, were in the van of those who finally persuaded their elected officials to abolish the Clergy Reserves; in 1854, those assets were transferred to municipal public works, primarily education.

Education itself became a public issue for Baptists in both Upper Canada and the Maritimes. Religious tests were required of faculty and students at King's College, Halifax, Nova Scotia, which excluded Baptists from matriculating there (Ivison; Longley). The conversion of several prominent Anglicans in Halifax brought about their separation from the Church of England and the formation of a Baptist church there. They also possessed a concern for an educated ministry. In 1829, the Horton Academy was opened as a college preparatory school. When King's College remained adamant against admitting Nonconformists, the Baptists founded Queen's College in 1839 (though when Queen Victoria refused the use of her title in this way by Nonconformists, it was renamed Acadia College). Five years after the founding of the university, a theological department was added; that department has had an independent existence as Acadia Divinity College directly answerable to the UBCAP since 1968.

New Brunswick Baptists also struggled from 1836-72 to maintain a seminary in Fredericton (Ford; Moody). The school was intended to provide the churches of that region with better-trained pastors. The concern for theologically educated ministers was widespread. This was the period in which American Baptists also were establishing their first seminaries: in Hamilton, New York (1819), Newton Centre, Massachusetts (1825), and Rochester, New York (1850).

As the churches worked to provide pastoral education in the Maritimes, so also the churches in Upper Canada and Lower Canada were called upon to support Canada Baptist College in Montreal which opened in 1838 (Dekar and Ford; Ford; Zeman: 1980). It served the churches only until 1849 when it closed. But less than a decade later the Canadian Literary Institute was founded in Woodstock, Ontario. In 1881 it became Toronto Baptist College and, finally, McMaster University in 1887. Its theological department in 1957 gained separate existence under BCOQ control as the McMaster Divinity College, Hamilton, Ontario.

In the 1780s a Black Baptist vigorously evangelized in the

Maritimes, not only among the few slaves and freedmen but in public places and whatever church would lend him a pulpit (MacKerrow). With many of the blacks who became Christians under his ministry, he left Canada to make a settlement in Sierra Leone. Black congregations began to organize with some frequency after abolitionist sentiment in the United States encouraged some to seek freedom in central and eastern Canada. From the 1820s onwards, black congregations grew both with the immigration of converted former slaves and the conversion of Negroes who had come as freedmen or as escaped slaves. Ontario had an association of black churches early in the nineteenth century. The ethnic unity still exists, but the 'African Associations' of an earlier time are mingled with the white majority in several of the associations.

Though the settlement of Canada had proceeded vigorously in the century since Halifax, Nova Scotia, was founded in 1754, economically and technologically its condition was quite unsettled. Families and businesses were struggling and with them the churches and the schools. Repeatedly in this colonial period Canadian Baptists travelled in the wealthier eastern United States and to Britain to solicit funds for the Wolfville, Fredericton, Montreal and Woodstock schools (Fitch). Without that generous assistance, the education which was to benefit the Baptist churches in generations to come could never have been provided. The funds and the solicitation also brought an influence of teachers, pastors, and ideas from the United Kingdom and United States. As a consequence, the Baptist movement was neither the one nor the other, but Canadian.

Home mission was conducted by local associations and through the larger conventions which linked the associations in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Ontario, Prince Edward Island and Quebec. The Associations would temporarily assign one or more of its pastors or teachers to undertake evangelism and church-planting.

They also concerned themselves with neighbours of different ethnic backgrounds (Dekar and Ford; Fitch; Ford). In 1834 a Swiss widow opened a Baptist school in Quebec in order to evangelize and disciple among the French-speaking Roman Catholics of the area. The Grand Ligne mission which resulted received strong financial support also from Baptists and other evangelicals in the States. In the 1830s Germans began immigrating into Ontario in large numbers, settling in the wake of Pennsylvania Dutch immigrants, who had been coming out of the United States for the previous forty years. Evangelism among these immigrants began first under the auspices of the American Tract Society, then with help from the American Baptist Home Missionary Society, and less formally from the Canadian Baptists. But after 1851 German Baptist churches began appearing in Upper Canada. In time, many of these churches were absorbed into the existing English-language associations of their area and lost their ethnic distinctiveness; a few maintained connections with German Baptist associations in western New York and Michigan.

The Nova Scotia Baptists in 1847 assigned a home missionary to the MicMac Indians of their region, as the New Brunswick Association had been doing since 1826. New immigrants in the 1850s to Cape

Breton, just off-shore from Nova Scotia, were seen as an evangelistic challenge after 1853; the newcomers were Scottish Roman Catholics and ministry to them required the use of Gaelic. The same year the Nova Scotia Baptists addressed themselves also to the Roman Catholic descendants of the Acadians who had escaped the expulsion of 1755. The Gaelic mission produced churches who in time joined the Nova Scotia Association; the Acadian mission produced its own French-speaking association which is tied both with the churches which grew out of the Grand Ligne Mission in Quebec and the UBCAP (Fitch).

Foreign mission interests began very early in the nineteenth century among the Canadian Baptists. Their offerings were forwarded to the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Baptist Missionary Union of Boston, the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, and other such denominational and evangelical agencies. The first Canadian Baptists to go overseas went to Burma under the ABFMS in 1843. Mission societies at the association and conference level promoted both home and foreign efforts.

Just how stable the Baptist movement was in Canada at the end of the colonial era is difficult to assess. The churches were numerous in many places, but the Baptists were not a large proportion of the total population, except in the Maritimes. Associations in the Maritimes and central Canada had formed two regional conventions. Acadia College and Fredericton Seminary were serving the Maritimes as Canadian Literary and Theological Institute was serving Ontario and Quebec. Periodicals were published in the various regions and associations; since 1854, *The Canadian Baptist* has served as informer and persuader far beyond the BCOQ which initiated the weekly (now monthly). Immigrants were being evangelized, churches were growing in size and number. But there was significant dependence upon funds and personnel from the United Kingdom and the United States. The older histories give a sense that without these transfusions the varying theological emphases (Regular/Calvinist/ close communion and Free Will/Arminian/open communion), the different ethnic backgrounds (English, Scottish, American, German, French), and the erratic economic developments would have left Canadian Baptists floundering to fulfil their mission (Fitch). Yet the churches, associations, and societies which developed during colonial days upon British and American patterns carried the Baptists of eastern Canada even into the twentieth century as a vigorous body which had contributed to the spiritual, social and political shape of the country from its beginnings.

Baptists in the First Fifty Dominion Years

Something new was introduced into Canada's history with the preparations for the new Dominion, authorized by the British North America Act which Parliament passed in 1867. Previously, 'the northwest' had been a vague territory left to the trappers and traders who adjusted to the benign despotism of the Hudson's Bay Company. After 1869 it became the responsibility of the new dominion. The Baptists, as did the Presbyterians and Methodists, caught the vision for church-planting in the new lands.

Throughout the western prairies the French and English fur traders had established their posts, intermarrying with the natives from whom they learned the trapping and hunting which the trading companies desired. These Metis were generally French-speaking and preserved a lifestyle more Indian than European. After 1812 the Earl of Selkirk, who held an interest in Hudson's Bay Company, encouraged Scottish settlers to develop agriculture on the prairies around Fort Garry, along the Red River which flowed into Hudson Bay to the north. With the prospects of confederation, these settlers, especially the Metis farmers and hunters, feared that their settlement patterns and traditional ways would be disregarded by the Canadians. Their attempt to organize a provisional government to negotiate with the new administrator of the former Hudson's Bay Company interests was seen as rebellion. British regular troops and militia from Ontario and Quebec were dispatched to ensure that the Canadian-appointed government would function. The same issues which provoked this virtually bloodless Red River Rebellion precipitated the much more violent North West Rebellion fifteen years later and five hundred miles further west and north.

In the summer of 1869 as the transfer from Hudson's Bay Company to the Dominion of Canada was being prepared, Ontario Baptists sent two pastors to survey the region as to its prospects for Baptist work (Kirkconnel; Thompson). Their report was optimistic and urged that a missionary be sent. Because the Red River Rebellion broke out that very fall and support accumulated slowly, it was not until 1873 that the missionary from Ontario arrived on the field. No railroad yet linked the prairies with settled Canada; immigrants usually, due to the terrain of western Ontario, travelled through the United States by way of Chicago and Minneapolis, arriving in Winnipeg (the city which had begun to grow adjacent to Fort Garry) overland or by river boat up the Red River Valley.

Canadian and American agents now spread through Europe soliciting immigrants for the empty western prairies. From England, Scotland, Scandinavia, Germany, Ukraine, and elsewhere in the Old World, as well as from eastern Canada and the United States, they began to come. When the Canadian Pacific Railroad finally made the west accessible in 1886, new and transplanted Canadians poured onto the prairies and into the western valleys and coastal region.

The Baptists worked to fund, staff and encourage the work in the west. The work in the east was unfinished, indeed, but the west claimed lives, faith and tangible resources. Churches were established in communities which flourished briefly and expired, in places of little promise which burgeoned into major cities. The fruitfulness of the church was not directly proportionate to the well-being of the towns and counties. But the work progressed. The patterns of dependence on the east, on the States, and on the United Kingdom for funds and people continued here as well; the patterns of organization which worked in the east, in the States, and in the United Kingdom vied with one another for dominance.

About the time the Baptists' pioneer missionary arrived in Winnipeg, an Ontario layman moved to Victoria, British Columbia. The

fifteen whom he gathered into a Baptist church asked the Ontario Baptists to send them a pastor; their undershepherd arrived in March 1876.

The first Baptist church in Victoria was a racially mixed congregation; and although some evidence of racial tension can be found, the congregation which was formed after that first church dissolved adopted a positively non-discriminatory policy. Though black congregations are scattered in western metropolitan areas, they belong to one or another of the Baptist bodies of the area.

Settlement in British Columbia, until the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1886, generally had been an encroachment from the south, either Canadians who traversed the United States and moved northwards by land or sea, or Americans in search of furs, gold or new beginnings. The American Baptist Home Missionary Society had undertaken more church planters, churches, and pastors in the old 'Oregon Territory' than it realistically could support. But until 1897 it helped with fellowship, advice and funds; its Pacific secretary recruited pastors from among Canadian students in American seminaries or Canadians pastoring American churches. Assistance also came from eastern Canada - pastors, laypeople, money, prayers, literature, advice - though distances made the fellowship tenuous.

Organizational developments on the prairies and in British Columbia reproduced the eastern patterns: by 1881 the Baptist Convention of Manitoba was organized; in 1897 the year-old British Columbia Baptist Church Extension Society became a Convention when the ABHMS withdrew its financial assistance in church planting. After 1905 closer links with the Manitoba Convention were forged and a single Union was organized for western Canada in 1909.

Into the prairies during the 1880s-1920s had come German, Swedish, Ukrainian and other settlers. The Manitoba Baptists supported evangelism and church-planting among them. In 1886 the first German Baptist church was organized at Edenwald, Saskatchewan; the first Swedish Baptist church appeared in Winnipeg in 1894. Although the Canadian Baptists were their neighbours and demonstrated concern and support for their ministries, the Swedes and the Germans established ties also with the ethnic conferences their countrymen were developing in the States. These links were all the more natural because friends and family members settled in both countries as part of the same migration; and to the newcomers Canada and the United States were all 'America'. For the Germans the proximity of settlements in the Dakotas which included people they had known before immigrating was a stronger attraction than the German churches of Ontario, who were more integrated with Canadian life as a result of thirty-five years more experience in the country (Zeman: 1980). The growth of the prairie churches resulted in the organization among the German Baptists of a Northern Conference in 1905 which tied the churches of the three prairie provinces together in a structure paralleling that of the English-language Canadian Baptists, as well as formally binding them to the German Baptists to the south. Young men went to the 'German Department' of Rochester Theological Seminary for theological training; ministers moved freely between

pastorates in the United States and Canada.

The Swedes did the same. Their Bethel Theological Seminary in St Paul, Minnesota, had begun in 1871 as the Scandinavian department of the Morgan Park Theological Seminary (which in 1892 became the Divinity School of the University of Chicago); in 1914 it separated from its mother school and has been a cohesive factor among the Swedish churches under their sole support and direction.

Travelling to the States for theological education was, strictly speaking, unnecessary. The Manitoba Baptist Convention early in its history decided that 'western-bred' pastors were needed, however effective eastern-bred and immigrant men had been. From the very beginning, men called to ministry could travel east to McMaster or even Acadia for their pastoral training; some still do so (Ford; Thompson). But with the help of eastern generosity Prairie College was opened in 1880 in Rapid City, Manitoba. It struggled for three years and was summarily closed by the Convention, although eastern support was still pledged. The Baptist preparatory academy begun in Rapid City before the college closed, however, remained in operation. It moved to Brandon in 1889, where ten years later the Manitoba Baptists opened Brandon College, using the Academy building. Subsequently, Brandon College opened Swedish and German departments to minister to the arts and theology needs of the immigrants. Although until the 1920s significant numbers of Swedish young people and pastoral candidates attended the school, stronger attachments for these immigrants were forged with Bethel College and Seminary in Minnesota; the Germans, for some reason, did not respond to the invitation even in the arts curriculum, while for pastoral education the young men still preferred to attend Rochester.

British Columbia Baptists had a more tenuous existence, subject as they were to the economic vicissitudes of single-enterprise communities - gold, lumber, minerals, fishing. Nonetheless, they too dreamed of a school and in 1908 opened Okanagan College. Brandon arranged acceptance of coursework done there; but Okanagan never was a healthy baby, expiring in 1915.

The Canadian Baptist Missionary Society was organized in Ontario in 1874 to support missionaries to an as yet unevangelized part of the Telugu field of India in which American and English Baptists were labouring (Fitch). From that beginning Canadian Baptists have had both a field of their own and an agency in which their missionary support could be fully self-controlled. In 1898 another field was opened in Bolivia, the first Protestant mission in a strongly Roman Catholic land. In 1911 the Canadian Baptist Foreign Mission Board was chartered as an agency to serve Baptists in all the provinces through which to send foreign mission support and personnel. Through these Canadian agencies and through American and English Baptist and nondenominational agencies, Canadian young people scattered throughout the world as part of the 'Great Century' of Protestant missionary effort.

Canadian Baptists shared in the enthusiasm and growth of the 1800s which was truly a 'Great Century' for evangelicalism throughout

the world; not only mission but domestic benevolence, education, church growth, and denominational development received vigorous support. As the new century began, the brief shadow of World War I could not conceal the golden prospects for the Christian church as well as the whole culture. The enthusiasms of the first two decades of the twentieth century were almost millennial. In Canada conversations began for the formation of a United Church. Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian bodies had forged national unions along denominational lines and now dreamed of interconfessional unity. The Anglicans demurred when invited, as did the BCOQ who spoke the sentiments of all Baptists when in 1907 it courteously reiterated Baptist concerns which must keep it from participating in discussions on Protestant union (Nobles; Zeman: 1972). Thus they knew their heritage, and though none could speak for all, in their various regions they pursued the tasks of evangelism, Christian nurture, pastoral education, home and foreign mission which had been their concerns for nearly 150 years.

Baptist Responses to Recent Movements

The third era for Canadian Baptists was ushered in by the ideological changes of the later nineteenth century, the impact of the 'modernist impulse'. Physical, biological, and social sciences were transforming the self-understanding of Europeans and their New World cousins; those changes, with the influence of modern historical and biblical studies, challenged the very way in which the Christian Faith was understood. Academia was the primary arena in which these changes were occurring and from which they spread. McMaster University and Brandon College became the focus among Canadian Baptists of the same kinds of questions, doubts, criticisms, and accusations which tore apart Baptists as well as Presbyterians in the United States (Carter; Dekar and Ford; Ellis; Ford; Zeman: 1980, Tarr).

It was perceived that some professors at Baptist schools were treating the Bible and the Faith in a way that betrayed traditional truth in favour of the ('better') scientific knowledge of the day. Pastors were coming to pulpits full of the new human wisdoms but empty of Christian encouragement and evangelistic zeal; missionaries were denying the scandal of the Gospel by accommodating its exclusiveness to local cultures. The issues of the modernist-fundamentalist controversy, tragically, are too well known.

In the BCOQ, McMaster's defence, honouring, and employment of dubiously orthodox faculty over a twenty-year period resulted in the withdrawal of numerous churches from the Convention and uncounted individual members who left to form new congregations. Delegates from seventy-seven churches met to form the Union of Regular Baptist Churches in 1927. Four years later that group split over organizational disagreements; a third fracture occurred in 1949 over issues more apparently personal. The two earlier fundamentalist groups reunited in 1953 to form the Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches of Canada. By this time, the fundamentalist churches had multiplied at home; and through publications, a school and foreign mission projects, they had developed a balanced denominational life, coloured by its criticism of 'liberalism' in the BCOQ.

To the west the BUWC suffered a similar schism, predominantly in British Columbia and Alberta (Bonham; Thompson). The challenges to the orthodoxy of Brandon College faculty arose in the 1920s. Though a study commission presented a favourable evaluation in 1923 and the Vancouver Baptist ministerium had expressed satisfaction with response to the questions it asked of Brandon's theologian a year earlier, the British Columbia conservatives, nearly a third of the congregations in the province, withdrew to organize the Convention of Regular Baptist Churches of British Columbia in 1927. Only one Alberta and one Saskatchewan church withdrew from the BUWC, but significant numbers of individuals withdrew from existing churches and formed fundamentalist ones. These new congregations organized the Regular Baptist Missionary Fellowship of Alberta. Their vigorous church-planting efforts felt the impact of the depression of the 1930s more than the established churches and union; but slowly the fellowships grew. The Bible college the Alberta Regular Baptists opened in Calgary in 1934 produced pastors for the young churches (it closed during the war years and reopened in Coquitlam, British Columbia, in 1946). The small conventions sent missionaries to Manchuria, India and Japan. Despite these signs of health, some of the western Regular Baptists felt a weakness in the fellowship.

The west, as mentioned earlier, had historical ties with the north-west United States. In the 1950s, the British Columbia and Alberta Regular Baptist unions experienced tensions as some churches, who had begun using Southern Baptist curriculum materials and organizational ideas, sought alliance with the Washington-Oregon State Convention (SBC) for the sake of the stronger associational life it offered (Bonham). A number of Canadian churches thus left the Regular Baptists and aligned themselves with the Southern Baptists after 1953. The majority of Regular Baptist churches, however, preferred a Canadian alliance; the FEBC which had been formed in Ontario in 1953 became the focus of their interest. The Alberta churches joined the FEBC in 1963; two years later, the British Columbia Regular Baptists did the same. Thus, three provincial Regular Baptist groups, made up of churches originally affiliated with the older Canadian Baptist conventions supplemented by new churches planted since the 1927 splits, had found themselves together in a national union. More recently, some churches in the Maritimes also have joined the FEBC, forming regional associations of fundamentalist churches in the longest-settled part of Canada. The tone of exclusiveness which characterized the Regular Baptists at their beginnings is now moderated somewhat; but there remain the mutual suspicions of orthodoxy and of charity which created the divisions sixty years ago. On the other hand, there are instances of cooperation arising. For example, in a Joint Baptist Committee on Canadian Public Life, BGCC, BUWC, CCSB, FEBC and NABC representatives in Alberta seek to address the moral and religious implications of national and provincial government actions.

Since the first Canadian fundamentalist church formally joined the Washington-Oregon State Convention (SBC) in 1953, the status of those churches in the SBC had been disputed. The CBF and SBC have formally tried to work out policies to dampen the perceived 'southern Baptist invasion', which has been not only a movement of Canadian

Baptist fundamentalists to find fellowship with the SBC but also a movement of Southern Baptist laymen employed in western Canada's oil industry to preserve the style of church they knew in the United States before their employers transferred them to Canada. The last efforts for accepting Canadian messengers to the SBC annual convention failed in 1984 with the result that the following May the Canadian Convention of Southern Baptists became a national body with its own organizational identity. Mission funds and missionary appointees will tie in with SBC programmes; publications from the States and policies developed over the generations within the SBC are used in these churches. The Foreign Mission Board is providing the CCSB with a seminary which opened near Calgary, Alberta, in the fall of 1987; an earlier attempt to found a school in Saskatchewan in the 1970s failed. But the CCSB must be seen as a third offshoot of the modernist-fundamentalist controversies of the 1920s among Canadian Baptists.

The ethnic Baptist bodies in Canada are more ambiguously related to the other two strands: the historic and fundamentalist. The dual alignments of German, Swedish and Ukrainian Baptists with the older 'Canadian' Baptists which developed during the earlier settlement of these people in the 1850s and 1890s, have changed (Zeman: 1980). In 1919 the Northern Conference of the NABC decided to withdraw from its cooperation with the BUWC and BCOQ, though an annual joint Pastors' Conference is held in Banff, Alberta. The NABC itself was disturbed by modernism. Its association with Colgate-Rochester Divinity School was progressively weakened and finally broken by the move of the NAB seminary to Sioux Falls, South Dakota, in 1949. The withdrawal allowed the churches to preserve their school and maintain the conservative theological stance of the churches. But technically the NABC has not been self-consciously 'fundamentalist'; its ministries have been distinct enough for fundamentalist rhetoric to be unnecessary.

The Alberta NABs opened a Bible school in January 1940 which has stimulated church growth and cohesion for nearly fifty years; since 1958 it has trained pastors as well, although a graduate seminary programme was initiated only in 1980. The massive immigration of refugees after World War II of refugees swelled the NAB ranks and revived the declining use of German. In Ontario, the prairies and British Columbia these new churches composed of recent immigrants have multiplied themselves through church extension and are indistinguishable in the cities and suburbs from the BGCC, CBF, and FEBC churches who also labour in the same communities.

The Swedes ended their dual alignment with the BUWC in 1939. In 1910 their young people were encouraged to attend Brandon College; currently, significant numbers of their young people attend Winnipeg Bible College, an independent Christian school which arose as one of the non-denominational institutes in North America during the period in which denominational schools were being excoriated for liberalism. They took over a college in Vancouver, British Columbia and operated it as Vancouver Bible College from 1957-79. Though the Canadian churches in 1981 formed a conference distinct from the mother body in the United States, they continue to cooperate with them in mission and

through the St Paul, Minnesota, schools - Bethel College and Seminary. Currently they are considering cooperating with a seminary consortium to be begun in conjunction with Trinity Western University, an Evangelical Free Church liberal arts college near Vancouver.

The Ukrainians also have burgeoned since World War II due to immigration. But the churches have taken independent connections besides their ethnic fellowship. Some are the product of rather fundamentalist ethnic mission agencies from the United States; others are transplanted evangelical Baptists from the USSR. Consequently, although they form a Ukrainian Conference, most of the churches also participate in some manner with CBF, FEBC and NAB bodies. Coming after the controversies of 1900-1940, yet conservative in theology, they have no memories of the conflicts and, therefore, enjoy comfortable fellowship with the evangelically-minded churches in one or another of the older Baptist groups.

Since so much has been made in this last section of the modernist impulse among Canadian Baptists, the impression may remain that they are divided between the modernist CBF and the fundamentalist or evangelical others. Whatever dominance modernism once may have held among the older Canadian Baptist bodies has long since been diluted by the changes in liberal theology as well as resurgent evangelicalism since the 1950s (Dekar; Ford and Dekar; Zeman: 1972). Despite the Baptists' clear refusal in 1907 to join in discussion toward a United Church of Canada, there has been cooperation in the years since the UCC formed in 1925. Many CBF churches used the UCC hymn book. From 1937-65 Baptists shared in publishing a church school curriculum jointly with the UCC. However, in 1965 the combined curriculum project was discontinued; and in 1973 they produced their own hymnal which reflects the English and Scottish heritage in addition to the American evangelical one. The BUWC opened a Baptist Leadership Training School in 1947 which offers an eight-month programme each year. It has been so successful that Ontario Baptists instituted the same kind of training programme for post-secondary young people in 1984. Because of the distances to Ontario and Nova Scotia, coupled with a reluctance to train in other seminaries, the BUWC resumed theological education in 1980 after a forty-two year hiatus caused when Brandon College was turned over to public administration. Western young people can now receive a pastoral education at Carey Hall, the Baptist affiliate of non-denominational Regent College.

Admittedly, some would keep old antagonisms alive, maintaining old positions with the old intransigence and belligerence; but there is a greater theological and attitudinal unity among Baptists in Canada than their organizational diversity and its roots would suggest. Occasional talk of greater national cooperation among Baptists is heard in unexpected corners. Confusion about Baptist identity within the larger Canadian church picture continues. Until a clear sense of who we are vis-à-vis each other as Baptists and vis-à-vis the other Christian churches of the land has developed, there can be little thought of formal cooperation. Yet the regional partnership of five Baptist bodies in Alberta on public issues may prefigure other rapprochement. On the other hand, recent agitation in the Maritimes,

charging that outspoken 'liberalism' goes unrebuked within the UBCAP, recalls such voices seventy-five years ago in BCOQ and BUWC.

Canadian Baptists of every label stand in North American currents which will force us to continue to examine the common nineteenth-century Baptist understanding that 'Christ is the only Lawgiver to His Church' and 'the Scriptures are Christ's law to His Church'. Generic evangelicalism is probably a greater threat to Baptists in Canada than interconfessional ecumenism. But, as the twentieth century fades, the commitment to evangelism, Christian nurture, church growth, associational life, and ministry to the world continues in all the bodies among which Baptists are distributed across Canada.

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REVIEW

A Guide to the Manuscript Collection in the American Baptist History Society compiled by W. H. Brackney and S. M. Eltsder, 1986, 78pp.

This volume provides a useful guide arranged by author to the American Baptist Archive Centre at Valley Forge. The largest collections are the papers of Walter Rauschenbusch, E. T. Dahlberg and W. B. Saunders. Quite a few British Baptists appear in the lists though the number of items for each is small: William Carey, Morgan Edwards, John Foster, W. B. Gurney, Robert Hall, Samuel Hubbard (Seventh Day Baptist farmer), William Knibb, John Rippon, John Ryland, C. H. Spurgeon, John Stanford, William Steadman, William Walton (Yorkshire Baptist) and John Williams all appear, whilst such as James Manning from the American side maintained an ongoing correspondence with British Baptists. Whilst Mexico and El Salvador are separately indexed, unfortunately neither Great Britain nor the United Kingdom are, but Wales is.

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