

Wilfrid Laurier University

Scholars Commons @ Laurier

Theses and Dissertations (Comprehensive)

1994

Native theological training within Canadian evangelicalism: Three case studies

Graham Gibson
Wilfrid Laurier University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholars.wlu.ca/etd>



Part of the [History of Christianity Commons](#), [Indigenous Studies Commons](#), and the [Missions and World Christianity Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Gibson, Graham, "Native theological training within Canadian evangelicalism: Three case studies" (1994). *Theses and Dissertations (Comprehensive)*. 124.
<https://scholars.wlu.ca/etd/124>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Scholars Commons @ Laurier. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations (Comprehensive) by an authorized administrator of Scholars Commons @ Laurier. For more information, please contact scholarscommons@wlu.ca.



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Notice - Note de lecture

Notice - Note de lecture

NOTICE

AVIS

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

NATIVE THEOLOGICAL TRAINING WITHIN CANADIAN EVANGELICALISM:
THREE CASE STUDIES

BY

Graham Stanley Gibson

Bachelor of Religious Education, Emmanuel Bible College, 1982
Bachelor of Theology, Emmanuel Bible College, 1983
Master of Theological Studies, Ontario Theological Seminary, 1987

THESIS

Submitted to the Department of Religion and Culture
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the Master of Arts degree
Wilfrid Laurier University
1994

©Graham S. Gibson 1994



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Voici votre référence

Ceci est votre référence

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-95841-3

Canada

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the attitudes of EuroCanadian, Protestant evangelical Christians, towards Canada's aboriginal peoples, particularly as they pertain to the training of Native ministerial candidates. In addition to EuroCanadian perspectives, Native voices are included in this examination, specifically, the opinions and attitudes expressed by aboriginal individuals who either have had experience as Native candidates under the tutelage of non-Native teachers and administrators, or who have spent many years observing the effects of such training upon their youth and their churches.

Chapter 1, a history of missionization in Canada, is a discussion of the historical context in which theological training institutions which serve Native candidates find themselves. To bring the reader up to date on socio-political changes which have affected indigenous peoples in Canada as they relate to the issue of the training of Native candidates for Protestant Christian ministry today, Chapter 2 presents a short discussion of the contemporary scene in Canada. Chapter 3 consists of an analysis of evangelical approaches to and attitudes towards aboriginal peoples and their preparation for ministry. In order to accomplish this, two case studies have been done, wherein I have made use of interviews and other data gathered from two evangelical Bible Colleges and a few other comparative sources. Chapter 4 presents a study of a northern Native Bible College in which Native voices may be heard on the subject of the training of their ministerial candidates, not in opposition to or as a response to non-Native perceptions and agendas, but for their own sakes. This thesis ends with some concluding remarks, including several personal observations and concerns for mission strategy and future academic research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	vi
Preface	vii
Introduction	1
Personal Background	1
The Problem	2
Protestant Church Adherent Statistics	10
Missionary Strategies and Goals	12
The Evangelicals	18
The Evangelical Problem	22
Research Methodology	27
Thesis Outline	31
1. Native Theological Training in Historical Perspective	34
Theological Training and Mission Schools	34
The Beginning: Catholic Mission Education History	35
The Recollets	35
The Capuchins	36
The Jesuits	36
The Sulpicians	39
The Oblates	39
Protestant Mission Education History	40
The Anglicans	42
The New England Company	43
The Moravians	43
The Congregationalists	44
The Methodists	45
The Baptists	48
The Presbyterians	48
The Mennonites	49
Secularization of Control	49
History of Mission Education: Other Readings	52
Historical Contexts of Missionization	53
Effects of the Mission Schools	55
More Recent Developments	57
Conclusion: The History of Mission Education in Canada	59
2. Contemporary Native Peoples and the Protestant Church in Canada	61
Native Peoples of Canada	61
The Canadian Government and Native Relations	62

"Registered Indian"	64
"Treaty Indian"	65
"Reserve Indian"	65
Contemporary Native Identity in Canada	66
Dunning's "Type A"/"Type B" Reserve Indians	67
Tennant's "Reserve Indian"/"Pan-Indian" Dichotomy	68
Assimilationist Assumptions	70
The White Paper of 1969	72
The Problem of External Definitions	73
Native Self-Identification	75
Native Identity and Christianity	75
Defining Nativeness for Native Christians	77
The Problem of Advocacy and Native Voice	79
Evangelical Native Christian Identity	82
3. Evangelical Theological Training for Native Candidates at Two Southern Institutes	85
Two Case Studies	85
Collection and Use of Interview Data	86
Non-Native Evangelical Awareness and Involvement	87
Native Candidates	90
Mission Orientation	91
What is 'Native'?	95
Theological and Cultural Implications	100
What is 'Virtuous' Instruction?	103
Academic Calendars: EBC1 and EBC2	107
Conclusion	107
4. Evangelical Theological Training: A Northern Case Study	109
'Native' Bible Colleges (NBCs)	110
Northern Evangelical Native Bible College: A Case Study	111
The Role of Evangelical Native Bible Colleges: Two Perspectives	118
The Problems of Native Bible Colleges: Some Native Perspectives	122
The Native Church and Native Culture	132
Autonomy and Dependency	135
Conclusion	140
Non-Native Evangelical Bible Colleges	141
Native Evangelical Bible Colleges and the Perspectives of Native Pentecostals	142
Radical Indigenization?	145

Appendices	150
Appendix 1: Historical Texts	150
Appendix 2: Mission Schools	156
Appendix 3: Census and Survey Data Tables	160
Appendix 4: Institutional Document	174
Appendix 5: Non-Native Evangelical and Mainline Attitudes	175
Appendix 6: Research Methods	178
References	181

LIST OF TABLESAppendix 3: Census and Survey Data

- Table 1: 1994 Protestant Aboriginal Adherents/Clergy/Churches: Totals and Ratios, By Sample Denominations
- Table 2: 1994 Protestant Christians of Aboriginal Origin, By Sample Denominations
- Table 3: 1994 Aboriginal Adherents in Mainline Churches: Percentage of All Aboriginal Peoples in Canada, Over Two Decades, By Sample Denominations
- Table 4: 1994 Aboriginal Adherents in Evangelical Churches: Percentage of All Aboriginal Peoples in Canada, Over Two Decades, By Sample Denominations
- Table 5: 1994 Native Theological Training Statistics: Aboriginal Candidate Enrolment and Graduation Records, Native and Non-Native Institutions, Mainline and Evangelical, By Denominations
- Table 6: 1994 Native Theological Training Statistics: Aboriginal Candidate Enrolment and Graduation Totals, Native and Non-Native Institutions, Mainline and Evangelical, By Denominations
- Table 7: 1994 Native Theological Training Statistics: Aboriginal Candidate Enrolment and Graduation Averages Plus Total Percentages, Native and Non-Native Institutions, Mainline and Evangelical
- Table 8: 1994 Native Theological Training Statistics: Institutional Involvement and Objectives, Native and Non-Native Institutions, Mainline and Evangelical, By Denominations
- Table 9: 1994 Native Theological Training Statistics: Institutional Involvement and Objectives - Totals and Percentages, Native and Non-Native Institutions, Mainline and Evangelical
- Table 10: 1994 Native Theological Training Statistics: Attitudes Concerning Christianity and Native Peoples, Non-Native Evangelical Institutions
- Table 11: 1994 Native Theological Training Statistics: Institutions Polled By Questionnaire, Native and Non-Native Institutions, Mainline and Evangelical

Table 12: 1994 Native Theological Training Statistics: Culture-Specific Needs Assessment with Percentages, Non-Native Evangelical Institutions

LIST OF CODES AND ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS:

BC - Bible College
 BNA - British North America Act
 BS - Bible School
 PAOC - Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada

CODES:

1A1 - 1st Administrator of EBC1
 1A2 - 2nd Administrator of EBC1
 1A3 - 3rd Administrator of EBC1
 1A4 - 4th Administrator of EBC1
 1A5 - 5th Administrator of EBC1
 1F1 - 1st Faculty Member of EBC1
 1F2 - 2nd Faculty Member of EBC1
 2A1 - 1st Administrator of EBC2
 2A2 - 2nd Administrator of EBC2
 A - Author of this Thesis
 CMS - Church Missionary Society
 DIAND- Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
 EBC - Evangelical Bible College
 EBC1 - 1st Evangelical Bible College in Case Studies
 EBC2 - 2nd Evangelical Bible College in Case Studies
 ESL - English as a Second Language
 MB - Manitoba, Canada
 NBC - Native Bible College
 NEC - New England Company
 ON - Ontario, Canada
 SPG - The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge at least some of the people who have made my research possible. First, I wish to recognize family and friends for their patience throughout my academic career, and the faculty and staff of Northland Ministries Bible College for their unconditional support. I thank those who allowed me to survey them via questionnaires or to interview them, and I specifically thank the faculty of the Evangelical Bible Colleges where I conducted interviews for this thesis, who patiently, openly, and even willingly endured my probing. Special thanks is extended to my sister, Evelyn, who persisted in the transcription of many, many hours of audio-taped interviews, a tedious and thankless task I could not have accomplished alone within the time allotted to me.

To the Graduate Studies office and Graduate Students Association of Wilfrid Laurier University I offer my sincere gratitude for their financial and other support, especially from Bev Freeborn who offered considerable assistance. Of particular note are the members of my thesis committee: Laird Christie, who advised me on aspects of Native cultures and religions and the impact of Christianity upon aboriginal societies; Kay Koppedrayner, who challenged my analytical and writing skills and encouraged me to pursue the academic direction I am heading in; and Harold Remus, who offered his editing skills and helped me to focus my study.

Before I conclude, I wish to recognize all those within the Native evangelical community - candidates, leaders, and friends - who have contributed, knowingly and unwittingly, to my study.

To my wife Linda I say thank you for her constant encouragement and her undying patience through many difficult times.

I dedicate this thesis, first and foremost, to my wife Linda; and to the Class of 1988: John, Rudy, Allan, Josephine, and Henry, who made such a strong impact on me with their spirits and their friendships during my first year at the Northland Mission Bible School.

PREFACE

This paper is the result of several years of contemplation on the experiences of Native peoples with Christianity, and mission schools in particular. During my tenure as Principal of a Pentecostal Bible college in northern Ontario designed for the theological training of Native ministerial and lay candidates, I recall comments made by the students attending there which disturbed me. I remember one student who had attended a Mennonite boarding school in a remote area stating soulfully one day as we were throwing firewood into the dining hall basement that he considered our adult institution to be just like the secondary boarding school. I wondered what he meant by this comment, but he seemed reluctant to elaborate. A year later, we had a woman student from a tiny community on the rail lines say within days of arriving at our college campus that she felt like she was back in prison.

It was difficult to understand what such comments meant. I am not a Native person, nor have I experienced life in a boarding school or a prison. I am a member of one of Canada's dominant cultures, so have never felt what it is like to be an ethnic minority. I am a male, and an academic, and was functioning from a position of power in that situation. My training in cross-cultural relations had taught me to listen to the voices of the 'other', but it had not taught me to evaluate the messages my culture and its institutions send out to these 'others'.

My personal quest is to explore what we Christian educators are saying to those of different cultures through our words, our actions, our institutions and our political structures. A second question is: What are we not saying to these peoples?

In this thesis, I want to explore the attitudes of EuroCanadian theological educators, and more specifically, those of white, Anglo-saxon, Protestant evangelical Christianity towards Canada's aboriginal peoples. I also want to look at the ethical and philosophical approaches taken by such non-Native theological educators.

I, further, desire to hear Native voices on this issue. Specifically, I will attempt briefly to represent the opinions and attitudes concerning theological training expressed by aboriginal individuals who either have had experience as Native candidates under the tutelage of non-Native teachers and administrators, or who have spent many years

observing the effects of such training upon their youth and their churches.

Because my quest for a greater understanding of the critical issues facing the theological training of Native candidates was instigated, probably unconsciously, by the comments of numerous Native Christians from remote and semi-isolated communities in the north, I intend to write this thesis with them as one of my audiences. Although it is an academic product, written for a second audience in fulfilment of academic requirements for graduation in the Master of Arts program for the Religion and Culture department of Wilfrid Laurier University, I perceive this thesis to have potential as a tool for the empowerment of Native Christians to further their own agendas through the expression of their thoughts and dreams.

A third party in my audience, of which I am particularly aware, is the non-Native evangelical community, and especially those theological institutions which may interest themselves in my work in this area. I shall postpone my discussion of the challenges I face in doing such a study in the presence of such a complex of audiences for a later time in this thesis. Suffice it to say that I write for all three audiences and desire each to be able follow my presentation.

It is imperative, however, that readers understand that I speak from my own perspective, and my comments and evaluations are not meant to represent anyone's but my own. It is my hope that my discussion of the issues will raise questions for future study and somehow add another dimension of understanding. I do not intend to present a packaged critique of the 'problems' in the field and the solutions to these, but rather to facilitate investigation.

INTRODUCTION

Personal Background

I have spent many an hour sitting by the shores of Little Tarp Lake near Pickle Lake, ON, the site of Northland Ministries Bible College, puzzling over how this 'Native' Bible school got there, how I got there, what it was we were supposed to be doing there, how effectively we were doing it, and why aboriginal individuals bothered to come there.

Engaged by the Western Ontario District of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, of which I am an ordained minister, I became involved in missionization work amongst the Oji-Cree peoples of Northern Ontario as the principal of a fledgling post-secondary theological training institution for aboriginal candidates. I went, having absolutely no training in Native religions or cultures other than what I had gleaned from some brief works put out by the Anishnawbe centre in Sudbury, ON. I was a EuroCanadian with no previous cross-cultural or missions experience, only a Master's degree in theology from an evangelical seminary in southern Ontario. It didn't take long for some very serious questions to arise in my mind concerning the missionization effort which I had become joined.

I shall state at the outset of this thesis that it is not my intent to defend the theology or practice of missionization. Christianity has been a missionary religion from the outset. Anthropological issues such as cultural relativism and non-interference, and the ethics of carrying a belief system to another people and the resulting impact this has upon the worldview of the missionized, are not dealt with here, although they are pressing issues in these times of self-assessment within Christianity.

Instead, the line of inquiry of this thesis will be two pronged, namely (1) to explore the attitudes and practices of evangelical Protestant missionary and ecclesiastical educators towards Native converts, church members and potential leaders, and (2) to explore the attitudes and practices of Native Protestant evangelicals, especially Pentecostals, towards their and the larger evangelical and Pentecostal church. Within this orientation, my focus will be on the question of the development

of indigenous leadership. Integrated with this examination of evangelical Native Christianity will be an investigation of the nature of Native Christianity, of the Protestant evangelical church with its creeds, theology, and theological and ecclesiastical institutions as it pertains to aboriginal Christians, and of the relationship of Native Christians to the Protestant evangelical church in Canada. Further, given the evangelical missionary goal of disseminating the faith and establishing it among other peoples, I will seek to consider reasons for the minimal success of Protestant evangelicalism in the establishment of a Native church, looking at such factors as ambivalence.

This thesis is biased, as are all academic writings, from the personal perspective of the author. I write as one deeply rooted within the evangelical tradition, and further do not find the task of missionization to be reprehensible, and there is my bias. Also, I continue to be involved with and actively support the efforts of aboriginal Christians who are lively and willing participants in the evangelization of their peoples.

The Problem

I am interested in the attitudes of missionary and ecclesiastical educators within Christianity towards Native peoples and in how missionization has been carried out. I have concerns regarding the ethics of missionization, for I do not consider that it should be performed on the basis of utilitarian ethics, that is, the end justifies the means. Thus I believe that attitudes and practices of missionaries, evangelical included, and particularly those of the ecclesiastical offspring of missionaries, cross-cultural theological educators, require examination. After several years of experience in Native missions and of relationships with aboriginal Christians, I have concluded that it is time, perhaps even past the time, to engage specifically in an evaluation of the Protestant evangelical enterprise.

I hope to offer in this thesis a critique of attitudes and practices of non-Native theological educators who have engaged in the training of aboriginal candidates for Christian ministry. I will pay considerable attention to evangelicals, for they appear most likely to continue to aggressively missionize Native peoples, and amongst these

the Pentecostals deserve special scrutiny as they represent the fastest growing Christian group within Native Canada.

One might question at this point the necessity of such a study in the face of current resurgence of traditional and indigenous aboriginal religions, since it might be assumed that there is little interest amongst Native peoples in Christianity. In response, it is important to note that Christianity still is an influential force in the lives and communities of many Native peoples today. The extent of the spread of Christianity within Native populations is considerable. According to 1991 census data (Statistics Canada 1993:Table 6), there are an estimated 400,960 self-identified aboriginal adherents to the Christian faith out of 470,615 self-declared aboriginal¹ individuals in Canada who responded to the 1991 census. This represents roughly 85% of all those who responded to the census question about religious affiliation.² However, this does not represent the total picture, as some 532,060 self-declared aboriginals apparently did not respond to the question. These do not show up in the data because no category was provided to include the number of survey forms which were left blank for this question. One can only speculate as to the reasons for this remarkably high number of non-responses,³ but it is safe to say that out of 1,002,675

¹ Statistics Canada indicates that the term "aboriginal" represents all those who declare themselves to be of aboriginal heritage over any other ethnic origin. The term does not limit identification to some genetic, linguistic or legal definition.

² Interestingly, of the 470,615 self-declared aboriginal individuals who claimed a religious affiliation, only 10,840 (or 2.3%) identified theirs to be a "Native Indian or Inuit" religion (Statistics Canada 1993:Table 1).

³ There may be several possible combinations of reasons as to why more than half of all aboriginal peoples in Canada failed to respond to the religious affiliation question. The most plausible might be that many lack any sense of belonging to a particular religious tradition or group. Further, there may have been linguistic barriers, such as illiteracy in English or French or a lack of translation services for aboriginal language speakers. Children may have been unrepresented in the responses. And we know from the Statistics Canada sources that entire aboriginal communities were missed, or failed or refused to report their data.

self-declared aboriginal peoples in Canada (Indian & Northern Affairs Canada 1993:1), at least 40% of them consider themselves to be Christians.

A further curious statistic is the percentage of aboriginal ministers who are active in the leadership of Native churches in Canada. These data, provided by the national administrative offices of several church denominations, reveal that, despite the considerable size of the aboriginal Christian population and the number of Native congregations, there are disproportionately few Native clergy offering leadership to these individuals and churches. According to these sources, there are 181 Native pastors serving 398 Native congregations: a 1:2.2 Native-pastor-to-Native-church ratio (Appendix 3, Table 1). Thus, only half, approximately, of the Native Christian churches in Canada have Native clergy leading them. These statistics support an interesting observation, that there exists a lack of indigenous leaders who are in charge of the Native churches, both mainline and evangelical, in Canada today.

As a former educator of aboriginal theological candidates, I contemplate why, after some 300-plus years of missionization and under perhaps 'ideal' conditions from the missionaries' perspective, there is now such a shortage of aboriginal church leaders.

The first task of classical missionization is to get people to convert (Hodges 1976:9-10; cf. Allen 1956:4,6). It appears from historical analyses (Ronda and Axtell 1978:41; cf. Grant 1984:41,68,81,242; Graham 1975:15-19,22,59-60), and present-day data mentioned above showing the presence and persistence of Christianity within aboriginal societies in Canada today, that this objective was accomplished to some degree of general missionary satisfaction (Axtell 1982:35). As one chief of the resistant Saugeen Ojibwa from the middle of the nineteenth century admitted, he was converting to Methodism "because everyone else [in the region] was" (Graham 1975:88). If the criteria now used by Statistics Canada are followed, namely that aboriginal people may categorize themselves as Christian and/or belong to a particular Christian organization, then it may be concluded that missionization saw success in its initial objective.

The second challenge of missionization is to establish the work in such a way that it keeps going. According to this missionization model, it is not enough to secure a presence of Christianity amongst other peoples. For missions to be successful, Christianity must maintain a presence amongst missionized peoples in order to ensure maintenance of orthodox beliefs and continuity of the Christian belief without the missionary's physical presence. Thus we come to the recognition of a need for indigenous leadership. To accomplish the task of establishing continuance, the work must become indigenized:⁴ self-propagating, self-supporting and self-governing (Hodges 1976:22). In the context of Native missionization, this task is filled by aboriginal clergy who are capable of continuing and furthering the objectives of Christianity.

The above are institutional objectives. They represent the hopes of those missionaries who remain committed to the cause of evangelizing and converting non-Christians to Christianity. The goal of theological educators, often agents of missionization within evangelical Christianity, then, is to recruit and prepare indigenous leaders to give effective leadership to the indigenous community which has been created.

Assuming that the church is at least at one level a human institution, it is helpful to consider some factors which shape such social organizations in order to offer an analysis of their development and function. Max Weber (1964) presents a model of the development of bureaucratic institutions which I find to be quite useful in the analysis of the missionary enterprise.

According to Weber's model of the "routinization of charisma" (Weber 1964:363-386), the organizational problem of every new movement is to make a successful transition from charisma to routine, to address the problem of inter-generational succession. The objective of followers of charismatic leaders or

⁴ Gualtieri offers the following useful definition of 'indigenization': "a process of cultural adaptation in which the fundamental meanings of an historical tradition are retained but expressed in symbolic forms of another, diverse culture" (1980:57n.2).

participants in a charismatic movement is usually to secure "the continuation and the continual reactivation of the community" (364), to see the development of a religion from "cult" to "sect" to "church" in Troeltsch's terms (1950:999-1000). Weber observes:

In its pure form charismatic authority has a character specifically foreign to everyday routine structures. The social relationships directly involved are strictly personal, based on the validity of charismatic personal qualities. If this is not to remain a purely transitory phenomenon, but to take on the character of a permanent relationship forming a stable community of disciples or a band of followers or a party organization or any sort of political or hierocratic organization, it is necessary for the character of charismatic authority to become radically changed. ...It cannot remain stable, but becomes either traditionalized or rationalized, or a combination of both (1964:363-364).

Thus, the routinization of charisma takes place. Since the charismatic leader cannot physically remain present indefinitely, followers must find a way to institutionalize charismatic authority, usually through the development of a hierarchical system, with order, a clergy, and a written text, creed or theology, to ensure the continuance of the movement, work, revolution, revitalization, or social changes initiated by the founder. It is at this moment of crisis of leadership succession that the process of routinization begins.

The classic Christian instance of the problem of routinization is the crisis of succession detailed in the Book of Acts. Here, authority of leadership needed to be transferred to the followers of Jesus Christ for the Christian movement started by this charismatic leader to continue. This would require the symbolic and public transmission of power, done through the gift of the Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost (Acts 1:7-8; 2:1-4), the selection of a replacement of an apostle, performed publicly through the casting of lots (Acts 1:26), the rationalization and preaching of a recognized and increasingly codified doctrine (Acts 2:14-42a), and the establishment of an institution, the church, which set in place the practices required of its members (Acts 2:42-47).

In the case of the missionary enterprise, the missionaries take on the role of the charismatic leader who wins the allegiance of those missionized and establishes local followings through the power of personal charisma.⁵ The crisis comes at the point of the removal of a missionary presence. If the missionary is to ever be able to leave her or his disciples and hope that the work will remain vibrant and regenerative, routinization must take place.

The problem, at least in the missionization of Native peoples in Canada, is that mission agencies have not planned for or encouraged and allowed for routinization. Missionary leaders are often replaced by more missionary leaders, possibly due to inattention to the preparation and instalment of local, indigenous leadership, or to fear that without this outside impetus or charismatic authority, the work would die. I have personally encountered the latter of these two sentiments recently, when discussing with one Pentecostal mission organization the need to indigenize Native work in Canada. The suggestion was made that this objective might not be attainable without the absolute removal of all non-Native missionary personnel. The response of those mission administrators present was one of fear or distrust, expressing concern that the withdrawal of their presence (their charismatic leadership) might cause harm to the Native church. This indicates a recognition of the dynamics of charismatic authority, but perhaps also a lack of understanding of the process of routinization of that authority.

Other possible explanations for the lack of indigenous leadership could include a lack of trust in the orthodoxy of Native Christians, a fear of a loss of control over doctrine or practice, centralization of power in the hands of shepherding, non-Native denominational leaders, and paternalism.

Protestants seem largely to be ambivalent about the Native church, unsure which direction it should take. Attitudes are mixed; theological educators offer code-switching expressions. Mission leaders are unsure whether the Native church should

⁵This is of course an "etic" perspective. The power may be in the leader as the result of what is perceived as a link to God.

be quasi-autonomous, not so closely tied to the agendas of mission agencies, and hence possibly different in kind and in spirit from the churches of their non-Native overseers, or whether outside control is necessary to ensure that deviance does not creep in.

Roland Allen's Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours? (1956) is a classic among Protestant missionary texts. A proponent of indigenization (cf. Hodges 1976; Hesselgrave 1975), Allen denounces the practices of the roving missionary who seeks to convert without establishing lively and viable churches as harmful and irresponsible:

Men have wandered over the world, "preaching the Word", laying no solid foundations, establishing nothing permanent, leaving no really instructed society behind them, and have claimed St. Paul's authority for their absurdities.... They have wandered from place to place without any plan or method of any kind, guided in their movements by straws and shadows, persuaded they were imitating St. Paul on his journey from Antioch to Troas.... We have seen missionary work made ridiculous or dangerous by the vagaries of illiterate or unbalanced imitators of the Apostle (1956:6).

Another missionary, whose written report has been recorded by missiologist and author Melvin Hodges, declared after lengthy service overseas:

Why, today, do we still have a weak church organization that after years of growth cannot stand alone? Why has this church, after being organized...for more than twenty years, not been able to produce the type of national leadership necessary to develop, sustain, and consolidate gains made during periods of revival outpourings? After studying this question for the past ten years, we have come to the conclusion that our problem lies in the *failure to work for an indigenous church* (Hodges 1976:15, italics added).

Allen suggests that a better strategy, one claimed to be demonstrated by St. Paul, is to establish churches which can, and are expected and required to, maintain themselves with the objective of the early permanent removal of the missionary. In his model, "[the missionary] disappears, the Church remains" (1956:197). He states,

It is of the first importance that he [sic] [the missionary] should keep this always before him and strive by all means to secure that the absence of a foreign superintendent should not result in that deplorable lapse from Christianity which we have only too often observed, with shame

and grief, to follow upon the withdrawal of foreign support in the past. It is his first duty to prepare the way for the safe retirement of the foreign missionary (1956:198).

As Hodges, professor at the Assemblies of God Graduate School of Theology and Missions, puts it:

The true measure of success is not that which the missionary accomplishes while on the field, but the work that still stands after he [sic] has gone (1976:18).

In missionary terms, the challenge is to create a thriving, self-sustaining and self-propagating church which will continue in the inevitable absence of the missionaries and their early converts. The proof of missionary success is the permanence of the church institution transplanted by the carriers of Christianity to new soils. The task of missionization includes entrenching the work in the society of the peoples being converted.

However, the record of Christian missions in Canada indicates that no mission agency has managed to create a self-supporting, self-propagating, indigenous Native church, the declared objective of most mission agencies involved in Native missions. Even if Native and non-Native peoples may have different conceptions of what indigenization might mean, their ideas are likely to entail such issues as ecclesiastical wardship, autonomy, self-government and sovereignty. These are all themes to be addressed throughout this thesis. However, the words of John Webster Grant never ring more true than here:

If the measure of success is that most Indians have become Christian, the measure of failure is that Christianity has not become Indian (1984:262).

The 1991 statistics cited earlier (Appendix 3, Table 1) reveal that the missionization enterprise amongst Canada's aboriginal peoples has ultimately been a failure in mission terms.

There is a notable lack of aboriginal church leaders in positions of leadership which can effect control and direction of aboriginal congregations. Often, where aboriginal leaders are not in place, non-Native leaders are installed to direct and maintain the local work (Cowan 1991:24; cf. Peters 1988), purportedly until Native

pastors can be installed. Most mission organizations view non-Native leadership of Native churches, not as the goal of missionization, but rather, an 'unfortunate' necessity for the maintenance and growth of the work in settings where Native leadership is lacking in local churches.

Protestant Church Adherent Statistics

It is useful, here, to note Native church adherence patterns in Canada, gathered over a period of time, to determine if there is evidence of the existence of a "critical mass" or of a process of fusion within Native Christianity. Tables 2, 3 and 4, seen in Appendix 3, are based on data covering the past twenty years. These demonstrate the growth and decline in the number of aboriginal adherents to Christianity within those organizations which appear to have been most active in Native missionization in Canada.

It appears that the historic or mainline Christian denominations are generally no longer effectively attracting or holding aboriginal adherents, in spite of efforts to make amends for historic wrongs. Over the past 10 years, Anglicans dropped 3% of their Native adherents, the United 13%, Presbyterians 38%, and the Lutherans 30% (Appendix 3, Table 2). Further, the percentage of Native adherents as per the total aboriginal population of 1,002,675 in Canada fell from 20.3% to 17.3% for Anglicans, 8.6% to 6.6% for the United, 1.1% to 0.6% for Presbyterians, and 0.4% to 0.2% for Lutherans over the same period as above (Appendix 3, Table 3).

The statistics also demonstrate that more recent churches, particularly evangelical, are doing no better, with the possible exception of the Pentecostals. It is estimated that approximately 41,300 of all aboriginal Christians consider themselves to be evangelical Protestants (Appendix 3, Table 2). This means, then, that 10.3% of all 400,960 aboriginal Christians are evangelicals, which is 26.2% of the total 157,615 Native Protestants numbered. At first glance, this might be interpreted by some as a sign of missionary numerical success. However, upon consideration of Table 4 (Appendix 3), wherein adherence rates are based on the total aboriginal population in Canada rather than simple comparisons with other denominational totals, a different picture begins to develop, suggesting failure in numerical terms. The percentage of

Native adherents as per the total aboriginal population of 1,002,675 in Canada fell from 1.3% to 0.9% for Baptists, and 0.4% to 0.2% for Mennonites over the same period as above (Appendix 3, Table 4). Salvation Army numbers also decreased slightly, by 185 Native adherents (Appendix 3, Table 2).

The state of general decline in aboriginal adherents to Christianity coincides with a parallel, general, and steady decline in church adherence and attendance in Canadian society at large over the same period. In most cases, church adherence rates amongst aboriginal parishioners is simply in step with what is happening in the rest of the nation. It would appear that Protestant churches generally may not have the critical mass of active parishioners required to keep the Native churches amongst them thriving and self-propagating.

One significant exception to the pattern of decline, according to these tables, is the Pentecostals. This grouping of churches, dominated in numerical terms by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, not only represents the largest segment of Native evangelical adherents, but also alone is currently experiencing considerable and sustained growth in the number of Native adherents professing a Christian faith. Further, this growth of Pentecostalism is outpacing current growth rates within the aboriginal population, the latter due to recent Native politicization, religious revitalization, and cultural self-identification movements as well as rapidly increasing aboriginal birth rates.⁶ According to Table 2 (Appendix 3), Pentecostal numbers rose from 13,890 in 1981 to 19,120 in 1991, an increase of 5,320 or 37.6%. Within the total aboriginal population of 1,002,675 in Canada, this group saw their percentage of

⁶ The 1985 adoption of Bill C-31, an amendment to the Indian Act, brought about an end to gender discrimination by recognizing the legal status of Indian women married to non-Native spouses and their descendants. This created the opportunity for "tens of thousands" of aboriginal peoples, who previously were not included in legal definitions as status Indians, to identify themselves as "Native" in subsequent census (Miller 1991:241-242). Also affecting Native census rates were a dramatic rise in birth rates during this period (Lindner 1992:13), plus a rise in interest in aboriginal religions correspondent with the rise in Native politicization which caused many to renew their identification with their Native heritages and so identify themselves as "Native" in more recent surveys.

this population rise from 3.4% to 4.1% over the same period (Appendix 3, Table 4). It might be argued that Pentecostals are amongst the most effective missionaries to Native peoples in Canada in recent times.⁷ Possible reasons for this state of affairs might include shared values between much of traditional aboriginal ways and Pentecostal ways, such as an emphasis upon individual religious experience or an emphasis on personal spiritual encounters with room granted for ecstatic emotional response.

Missionary Strategies and Goals

Reasons for such Protestant failures to create a Native clergy vary somewhat according to ecclesiastical histories and perspectives, mainline or evangelical. However, before I turn to these reasons, a clarification of what is meant by 'mainline' and 'evangelical' is in order.

Sociologist Reginald Bibby uses the terms "Mainline Protestants" (1987:26) and "Conservative Protestants" (47), stating that these are common labels within his field (26). What Bibby refers to as "Conservative Protestant," Christian writer Len Cowan calls "evangelical" (1991:23). Following Bibby's definition and delineation of Conservative Protestantism (26) and my own conservative sense of theological dividing lines, I will consider for the purposes of the Tables in this thesis the following to be 'evangelical': Pentecostals, some Baptists, the Salvation Army, modern Mennonites, Methodists, the Christian and Missionary Alliance, Reformed Bodies, the Church of the Nazarene, and the Evangelical Missionary Church. 'Mainline' Protestants include Anglicans, the United Church, Presbyterians, and Lutherans, plus a minimal representation of theologically more liberal Baptists in Tables 5 to 8 (Appendix 3). This inclusion is in keeping with sociologist Harold Fallding's categorizations of denominations (1978:145). Based on these criteria for classification, I offer the following summary observations concerning the difference I perceive to

⁷ At least two administrators and faculty members of one Protestant evangelical non-Native Bible college from which I obtained interview data for this thesis stated that they see Pentecostals as the primary group to speak to about recent Native missions in Canada.

exist between these two ecclesiastical camps in their approach to Native theological training.

Of the material written about missionization to date, most of the attention has been focused upon the historic ('mainline') Catholic and Protestant churches. Scholars and aboriginal 'survivors' of overzealous and hurtful missionization efforts have laid considerable blame at the feet of these churches for social dislocation and disintegration presently experienced by Native peoples. Missionary reluctance, and even withdrawal by some, has resulted from this harsh criticism, and aboriginal adherent numbers in these churches have dropped. Note in particular the decline experienced between 1981 and 1991 in the following churches, as it is presented in Appendix 3, Table 2:

Anglican	- dropped 2570 (3% of their Native adherents)
United	- dropped 4545 (13% of their Native adherents)
Presbyterian	- dropped 1750 (38% of their Native adherents)
Lutheran	- dropped 500 (30% of their Native adherents)

I suggest that there may be several significant factors which, combined, have created this state of affairs, including the rise of nativism, in ecclesiastical awareness of Native issues, and a lack of zeal for missionization within these churches. Apologies, criticisms, and re-appraisals concerning mainline missionization of Native peoples have all played a role.

Nativism⁸ has stirred fires in Native hearts. With nativism has come a rise in interest in more traditional Native 'spirituality', and the resultant resistance to and direct opposition to Christian evangelism in the Native community has caused mainline Christians leaders to lose interest in and a vision for all but interfaith and humanitarian involvement. Much of Christianity has been singed by accusations of religious colonialism, and mainline parishioners are wary.

Recent literature concerning aboriginal issues is replete with increasingly politicized, vocal and vociferous discussions relating to the plight of Native peoples in

⁸ For a discussion of the political roots of nativism, see Chapter 2 of this thesis.

North America (Cardinal 1977; cf. Melling 1967; McCullum 1975),⁹ beginning in Canada in the 1970s with such Native publications as the Red Paper.¹⁰ Parallel to this revitalization of Native agendas there has occurred a new awakening within the historical churches to Native political issues (Walsh 1956:23; cf. Gualtieri 1980:55). Today, statements such as the one below made by Samuel de Champlain cause Christians today to cringe at its racist and ethnocentric tones:

[Finding the aboriginal peoples of North America] living without God and without religion like brute beasts, I thereupon concluded in my private judgment that I should be committing a great sin if I did not make it my business to devise some means of bringing them to the knowledge of God (quoted in Walsh 1956:23).

At the same time as such recent rethinking about Native missionization has been taking place, the concurrent resurgence of nativism has both informed and influenced Christian missionary strategy. In 1965, Pierre Berton gave a serious poke at the consciences of parishioners of such mainline churches in his popular book, The Comfortable Pew (1965), a critique of the contemporary Christian church commissioned by the Anglican Church of Canada (14). In it, he attacked the major Protestant denominations, indicting them for complacency and irrelevance (139), accusing them of causing considerable social and cultural damage as a result of two

⁹ Harold Cardinal, an experienced aboriginal political leader, is the author of The Unjust Society (1969), considered by some to be "a standard text on the Indian situation in Canada" (comment printed by Hurtig Publishers on the jacket of Cardinal's The Rebirth of Canada's Indians 1977).

¹⁰ The "Red Paper", properly entitled "Citizens Plus", was produced by the Indian chiefs of Alberta as a counter-proposal to the government's 1969 White Paper on Indian Policy (Frideres 1983:102-104,114,197; cf. Dickason 1992:387-388). In it, aboriginal peoples rejected "wardship", whereby non-Native governments supported and managed the lives of Native peoples, particularly in reserves. The White Paper proposed to end all special status of aboriginal peoples, making them Canadian citizens and in so doing, ending their wardship. The aboriginal authors of the Red Paper advocated the opposite approach, preferring the recognition of their special status according to the treaties, arguing that "citizens plus", the view that "since Indians were the first inhabitants of Canada, they should be afforded special status and rights," would serve to offer 'real' opportunity for Native peoples to meet their own needs, states Frideres (1983:114,197).

centuries of apathy and opposition towards issues of race, particularly with regard to the plight of aboriginal peoples in Canada (46), and charging them with being more concerned with the maintenance of the religious establishment than with social reform (82). Or, in the words of another critic of the church, "Religion in Canada is saying little to culture that culture is not already saying to itself" (Bibby 1987:203), and it is failing to improve life for the marginalized. Although Berton's report was not instigated by Anglican desires to address the Native scene in particular, he spares no punches in his condemnation of the church's disregard for Native hopes and dreams.

The United Church of Canada and the Anglican Church of Canada were amongst the first to apologize publicly for their participation in the policy of religious and cultural genocide or assimilation of aboriginal societies into mainstream EuroCanadian society. In their repentance, these churches went on to offer their unreserved support for aboriginal self-government and social justice (Dickason 1992:402).

Hugh and Karmel McCullum, both members of a project team of the Anglican, United and Roman Catholic churches on northern development (he a former editor of the Anglican Church's official publication the Canadian Churchman), outline this growing awareness amongst ecclesiastics (1975:181-182,185-189). In an editorial report on the 31st General Council of the United Church of Canada, held in Sudbury in 1986, Hugh McCullum records in the United Church Observer the apology extended to the aboriginal peoples of Canada by this Church organization "for the racist attitudes that confuse western culture with Gospel values" (1986:9-10). A similar sentiment appears in an editorial published in the Anglican Churchman the very next year (Hames 1987:4).

An additional and corresponding explanation for mainline failure to create a Native clergy involves the absence of a 'critical mass' within the Native churches necessary for the production of aboriginal candidates. With the secularization of Canadian society and the growing unpopularity of Christianity in aboriginal circles in recent times, plus the current resurgence of traditionalist and pan-Indian religions, there may simply be too few Native individuals who are interested and willing enough

to commit themselves to any religious faith, or more specifically, who believe in the mission and message of the Christian church enough to significantly identify with a church or to pursue a vocation which is dedicated to the propagation and implementation of such a perspective in the life of people today. The theory, then, in nuclear physics terms, is that the reactor (the Native church) lacks the critical mass of fusion-creating materials¹¹ (Native parishioners) to produce self-sustenance; there are not enough Native individuals who are interested in maintaining Christian work in their own communities to keep it active or alive.¹²

Wholehearted support for efforts to train aboriginal candidates is absent within mainline circles. This appears to have to do with the commonly held belief that it is inappropriate to do so. The prevalent approach amongst these more 'liberal' Protestants appears to be to adapt to recent political and cultural pressures by concentrating their efforts on the maintenance of their existing churches while adopting a "Social Gospel" emphasis; social justice and assistance for the underprivileged are pursued rather than the goal of evangelizing those who do not consider themselves Christian.

Further, it might be argued that the worldview of such churches as the Anglican admits a large measure of variation and options in ideas and theology (although it is perhaps not so tolerant ritually), and so seeks to give more room to things indigenous. The perception is that the historic Christian churches do not have a monopoly on spiritual knowledge, but rather are now advised to listen and learn from the religious ways and views of the 'other'.

¹¹ The Webster's II New Riverside Dictionary (1984) defines fusion as: "3. A nuclear reaction in which nuclei combine to form more massive nuclei, with the release of huge amounts of energy." In church growth terms, then, when enough active and energized Christians are massed together, a larger, self-propagating group is produced.

¹² For further discussion of the differences between mainline and evangelical attitudes and approaches see Appendix 5.

Not considered a particularly confessional church, is it possible that the core of what is critical and essential in liberal Anglicanism¹³ is rather small compared to the scope of what is optional, ancillary and variable? There is considerable theological latitude in a church which can accommodate the views of Robinson, Bishop of Durham (author of Honest to God) while conservative evangelicals like John Stott remain within its boundaries. This organization is thus reasonably capable of incorporating Native 'spirituality' and Native understandings of the world. This might help to explain the existence of far less fervour within liberal Anglican ranks for the Christian conversion of aboriginal peoples than is found in evangelical Anglicanism. In contrast, evangelical absoluteness, or the belief in the exclusivity of the evangelical gospel, as described in The Lausanne Covenant (Stott 1975:14-17), creates the primary motivation for missionization missing in many mainline churches. This document was produced by theologically evangelical-minded participants of the International Congress on World Evangelization at Lausanne, Switzerland, held July 16-25, 1974. In it, Canon Michael Green is quoted as stating his interpretation of the apostle Paul's motto, "Great flexibility in presentation, but great firmness on content was his emphasis" (15). The declaration made by the Congress was: "We reject as derogatory to Christ and the Gospel every kind of syncretism and dialogue which implies that Christ speaks equally through all religions and ideologies" (14).

The goal of liberal Anglican ministerial training efforts aimed at Native candidates is likely to be to provide a Native clergy to serve existing aboriginal Anglicans in an effort to indigenize what is already there, and to work amongst Native peoples in socio-political activities, but rarely to 'save souls'. In this way, mainline and evangelical groups appear, with some exceptions, to hold considerably different views concerning the spiritual 'lostness' of non-Christian aboriginal peoples. To most mainliners, these spiritual practitioners are not 'lost' but on an alternate and parallel track. To many evangelicals, Native non-Christians, like members of other ethnic

¹³There are, of course, evangelical Anglicans. e.g. John Stott, the author of The Lausanne Covenant (1975).

groups who may not profess a personal, lifestyle-altering conversion to Christ and his church, are considered 'lost' and utterly 'pagan'.

Questionnaire responses of mainline theological educators appear to reveal little zeal in mainline attitudes for the missionization, or theological preparation for Christian ministry, of Native peoples.¹⁴ Although culture-specific theological training programs for Native candidates have been established amongst especially the United and Anglican churches,¹⁵ efforts to attract and equip a Native clergy have been less than inspiring. Few trained aboriginal candidates are graduating from these Native institutions, only 18 in the past ten years (Appendix 3, Table 6), and there remains a disproportionately low ratio of Native clergy to Native congregations (1 for 3 in the Anglican Church and 1 for 1.7 in the United Church according to Appendix 3, Table 1) serving within these religious organizations. This can also be generally said of evangelical institutions. The reasons for disinterest and non-involvement, however, differ to some degree, as shall be delineated later.

The Evangelicals

Missionization within evangelical Protestantism is unlike that of theologically more 'liberal' Protestants who serve in historical, mainline churches, in that it generally continues to be aggressive in its proselytizing for converts from all cultures. There continues to exist amongst most evangelicals an unabashed vigour for missionization, as evidenced by the recent rapid spread of evangelical Christianity throughout the world. Christian sociologist Reginald Bibby cites statistics which indicate that, although "organized religion" in Canada has experienced considerable

¹⁴ Questionnaires (see Appendix 3, Tables 8 and 9) were returned by theological training institutions, with answers concerning efforts being made to attract and serve the specific needs of aboriginal candidates.

¹⁵ The following is a list of mainline Native training programs, the first two of which are Anglican, the third United, and the last jointly run by the Anglicans and the United Church of Canada: Arthur Turner Training School (Pangnirtung, NWT), Henry Budd College for Ministry (The Pas, MB), Francis Sandy Theological Centre (Paris, ON), and Vancouver School of Theology: Native Ministries Program (Vancouver, BC).

decline in attendance rates in the 1960s and 1970s, "there are strange signs that religion is far from dead" (Bibby 1987:22,23). Theologically conservative Protestant groups, like "the Pentecostals, the Christian and Missionary Alliance, and the Salvation Army, have grown faster than the population [in Canada] during this century" (Bibby 1987:27; cf. Houston 1991:43-44). Pentecostalism, for instance, largely a North American phenomenon in its genesis, presently shows growth of more than 150% over the last decade worldwide (Legge 1991:43-44),¹⁶ thanks to its missionary zeal.

In accordance with present levels of missionary zeal, many in evangelical circles today speak of a new era of opportunity in missions, where Canada's immigration policy is serving to facilitate the outreach of foreign missions here. Such evangelicals believe that the gospel can be communicated to peoples from around the world with ease and little financial burden now that they are so much more geographically accessible.¹⁷ Says Victor Adrian, former President of Ontario Bible College and Theological Seminary:

A phenomenon is happening in our history as God has been bringing into our country peoples of all nations. Surely it is God's providential way of opening up to us the opportunity to evangelize the whole world, because if we reach these people with the gospel here and establish them in a viable church, then they can reach back to the home country, sending their own missionaries behind doors that may be closed to us. This then is the phenomenon that God has worked in our day -- the possibility to evangelize the whole world without leaving our doorstep! (1987:2).

Within this present framework of missionary fervour, numerous evangelical BCs are creating theological training programs to meet the needs of various immigrant

¹⁶ The rapid growth of Pentecostal Protestantism worldwide prompted a conference on the study of Pentecostalism for anthropologists, religionists and theologians, held in Calgary in 1991. The article quoted here is a report from this conference.

¹⁷ For evangelical comments concerning the implications of immigration and Canadian multicultural policies for evangelicalism, see Miriam Adeney's "Color-blind or Colorful?" (1989); W.E. Nelles' "A New Wave of Ethnic Church Growth" (1989); Ian Rennie's "Third-World Church in Canada: Threat or Promise?" (1989); W.D. Morrow's "District Superintendent's Report" (1993).

ethnic groups.¹⁸ Some even envision the creation of multicultural theological institutions:

I think we need to change into a multicultural college, and by that I mean I think we need to adapt a model of multicultural education so we are training people, first of all, to minister in a multicultural society, and secondly, that we are making training available to people who come from other ethnic groups. So, I would see that, the emphasis on Natives, fitting into that larger picture.¹⁹

Further, unlike the mainline churches, evangelicals have not been quick to publicly acknowledge responsibility for the plight of aboriginal peoples in Canada. Evangelical writer Leslie Tarr did publish a piece in Faith Today in 1987, in which he condemned the historic negative impact of the church-run residential school system and decried the deplorable social conditions amongst Canada's Native populations, challenging the evangelical church to wake up to the call for practical expressions of its faith (Tarr 1987:26,33). However, many within this camp do not actively promote a social gospel and so relegate social activism to a much lower priority than do mainline churches, preferring rather to emphasize radical conversion to Christianity as the source of help for social ills.

Moreover, the psychological and physical withdrawal and the diminishing of missionary zeal observed in mainline churches have not occurred in some other sectors of Canadian Christianity. Some Protestant evangelicals are and remain very active in Native missions. Somehow, this aspect of Native-non-Native contact has largely been overlooked and unmentioned in academic writing. It would appear that scholars of

¹⁸ Eastern Pentecostal Bible College has recently offered its assistance in the establishment of a quasi-satellite Spanish campus in the Toronto area. Says Ken Birch (1993) in his "Report of the Executive Director of Home Missions and Bible Colleges" of the PAOC, "Undoubtedly, that [the addressing of "our burgeoning ethnic populations in Canada"] will be the number one priority for the work of this Department in the days immediately ahead" (98).

¹⁹ This is the expressed vision of Barb Sparks of the Missions Department at Emmanuel Bible College, as related in a conversation with this author on January 14, 1994.

missionization view Christianity as no longer being evangelistic, or that 'conversion'-oriented missionary work amongst aboriginal peoples ended with the public outcry of the 1960s and 1970s.

However, the zeal so typical of evangelical missionization elsewhere apparently is not generally extended to the Native mission field in Canada. Census Canada statistics supplemented by surveys show that, within evangelicalism, there has been a failure to produce a viable Native clergy that is capable of serving the needs of all or even most of the Native congregations in Canada, in spite of the notable and, in some instances, growing number of aboriginal adherents to Christianity (Appendix 3, Table 1). Of the 398 Native congregations in Canada reported by those Christian agencies polled in Table 1 (Appendix 3), approximately 28.7% (114) of them are evangelical Protestant. Within Native evangelical circles, there are only 69 Native pastors serving these 114 Native congregations, a 1:1.7 Native pastor to Native church ratio. Thus it can be stated that, in spite of missionary fervour, neither evangelical nor mainline are succeeding in the routinization and indigenization of the Native Church.

It should be noted that this is not the case within Pentecostalism, where the trend is towards vigorous missionary activity and Native adherent numbers are growing significantly. Pentecostal numbers rose 37.6% between 1981 and 1991 (Appendix 3, Table 2). Within the total aboriginal population of 1,002,675 in Canada, this group saw their percentage of this population rise from 3.4% to 4.1% over the same period (Appendix 3, Table 4).

Pentecostal growth may be taken by some as a sign that these are thriving Native mission works, and apparently are not suffering significant numerical decimation from secularization as some might assume based on experiences in other sectors of EuroCanadian society.²⁰ These growth-decline statistics suggest that

²⁰ The United Church of Canada, for instance, has been decimated reportedly in large part by secularization, the belief that science and reason can explain those aspects of life which at one time were reserved for spiritual or supernatural/supranatural explanations, claims United Church member Ross Salmon (Sweet 1994:16). Its numbers have dropped from approximately "one million members in the 1970s to about 700,000 today", and "if

Pentecostalism be given particular attention within this study, for it may be the only segment of Native Christianity with enough critical mass to cause fusion to take place. This indicates one area of research needing further exploration beyond the limits of this thesis.

Admittedly, though, the general lack of indigenous leadership and self-determination which exists within mainline and evangelical, and even Pentecostal, Native Christianity points to the existence of weaknesses in strategy or performance for mission agencies. In spite of the existence of an arguably sufficient critical mass to create and sustain a Native clergy capable of meeting the demands of the present aboriginal Pentecostal constituency, Pentecostals have failed to do so in significant numbers. They have only 53 Native pastors serving 91 Native congregations, revealing a 1:1.7 ratio of Native clergy to Native church, the same ratio as in the United Church. This reveals, again, an inadequate number of Native pastors for this ecclesiastical population. In most cases, Native congregations are still led by, or at least directed and supported by, non-Native missionaries and their organizations.

It is both appropriate and necessary to ask why the failure to indigenize this work, particularly amongst those groups who have conversion as their main objective and are unashamedly aggressive in the pursuit of the same. Since evangelicalism is the focus of this thesis, the record of Protestant evangelicalism, therefore, requires scrutiny.

The Evangelical Problem

Evangelicals are not primarily concerned with the task of educating Native individuals so they can improve their lives. The ultimate and consuming objective is, rather, "to illumine peoples' hearts and minds to the saving gospel of Jesus Christ." The evangelical missionary movement of this century is anxious about the 'salvation'

it fails [to return to its scriptural roots and the recognition of the divinity of Christ], Salmon envisages the death of what was, until recently, the largest Protestant denomination in Canada" (16).

of souls; the improvement of the quality of people's lives is seen as a byproduct of this salvation and not the primary focus.

The Bible college movement flows from this theological and philosophical perception of the mission of the church. The majority of such institutions are conservative Protestant. Tom Dow, church historian and a former president of the Canadian Association of Bible Colleges, states that "the Bible college movement was sort of a reaction to established educational philosophies and methodologies" of the latter part of the nineteenth century, wherein it was felt, particularly by some within evangelicalism, that there was insufficient stress placed upon evangelism and missions in seminary ministerial preparation (Dow 1994).

The training of adults for Christian ministry in formal academic institutions has been a focal point for EuroCanadian Protestant evangelicals nearly everywhere during the last century, as this has been seen as the most effective way of preparing 'mature' and 'qualified' leadership within the church. It is thus believed by these same evangelicals that a well-trained clergy, at least in the area of theology and ecclesiology, would produce effective workers for the church. This is the EuroCanadian view of the need which exists in the evangelical Native Church held at least by those who perceive a need for an aboriginal clergy in Canada. As a result of this emphasis upon adult training, those evangelical groups most recently-organized, that is, within the last century, have generally not attempted to enter the field of Native education in Canada except in the area of adult ministerial training.

A problem arises, however, when EuroCanadian evangelicals discover that they are unable to locate enough aboriginal candidates who meet the standards for entry to theological training as set by non-Native administrators. Requirements of academic achievement and Christian character are products of EuroCanadian institutional systems and are based upon EuroCanadian evangelical values which may be foreign to certain segments of the Native population, yet these are the tools by which aboriginal candidates are selected. The consternation amongst non-Native leaders that results from the lack of aboriginal candidates who either can or even desire to meet such ethnocentric standards causes many to become ambivalent towards a self-sustaining

Native church; if such a goal remains at all, it is unknown by EuroCanadians how a Native clergy can effectively be created, and what is to be the nature of the Native church for which they are to prepare these candidates. Many are unsure even whether the evangelical community in Canada is to be homogeneous or heterogeneous, and there is uncertainty, given the history of domination, stewardship, dependency and resistance in Native-non-Native relations about Natives' place and potential role in Native Christianity. Often, discussion slides between questions of autonomy, homogeneity and particularism. It is within this context of ambivalence that the issue of the theological training of aboriginal candidates is addressed, and this is what makes it such a difficult thing to pin down in interviews and questionnaires. However, some general observations can be made.

The practice of the recent past, especially amongst evangelicals, has often been to offer or send non-Native adult leaders of varying educational qualifications to provide leadership in Native churches where trained aboriginal adults were unavailable (Peters 1988). The strategy has generally tended towards paternalism resulting in intense Native resistance and renewed resentment towards non-Native mission agencies. Most missionaries now realize that this strategy has proven ineffective and destructive.

EuroCanadian evangelicals have, as a result of re-assessment, concluded that people belonging to one more or less homogeneous unit can reach their own people best because cultural barriers are presumedly eradicated as a factor in this model of evangelization. Says Roland Allen:

Many years ago my experience in China taught me that if our object was to establish in that country a Church which might spread over the six provinces..., that object could only be obtained if the first Christians who were converted by our labours understood clearly that they could by themselves, without any further assistance from us, not only convert their neighbours, but establish Churches. That meant that the very best groups of converts must be so fully equipped with all spiritual authority that they could multiply themselves without any necessary reference to us: that, though, while we were there, they might regard us as helpful advisers, yet our removal should not at all mutilate the completeness of the Church, or deprive it of anything necessary for its unlimited

expansion. Only in such a way did it seem to me possible for Churches to grow rapidly and securely over wide areas... (1967:1-2).

The absolute denial of any native Episcopate at the beginning seemed to me to render any wide expansion of the Church impossible, and to suggest at the very beginning that there was something essentially foreign about the Church which demanded the direction of a foreign governor (2).

If the first groups of native Christians are not fully organized Churches which can multiply themselves, but must wait upon a foreign bishop to move, they are in bondage (3).

The equipment of small native congregations of Christians with full power and authority as local Churches would remove most, if not all, of the present causes of trouble (4).

Dan Kelly,²¹ a staunch supporter of the homogeneous unit principle, applies this concept to the Native Canadian context, arguing that aboriginal peoples need their own "indigenous Indian church[es]" with Native pastors who are "spiritually and culturally satisfying" to and "accepting" of Native people (Kelly 1987:42). The implication of this principle, for theological educators today, then, is to prepare a clergy for those homogeneous groups which present a need for culture-specific ministry. Many mission organizations now perceive a need for theologically trained Native workers to act as cultural bridges who deliver the message of Christianity from the EuroCanadian context to the aboriginal population.

It should also be noted that not all evangelical groups, or mainline for that matter, have entered the field of the theological training of Native candidates. Some declare openly that it is not within the objectives of their institution to provide culture-

²¹ Dan Kelly is a seasoned Anglican missionary amongst Native peoples, and president of Okanagan Bible College in British Columbia. In a course called "World Evangelization" (Kelly 1986), taught at an evangelical institution in Willowdale, Ontario Theological Seminary, Kelly argued that the Christian church should organize itself for evangelism according to the "homogeneous unit principle", encouraging people to reach out to those who perceive themselves to belong to the same socio-cultural group as the person doing the reaching out.

specific training at all, or at least for candidates of Native heritage. Often aboriginal individuals enter the theological institutions of non-Native evangelicals and receive training there with little or no attention given to their particular cultural background. No specific attempt is then made to acknowledge or address the particular needs of Native candidates, apart from addressing those needs believed to be universal. Other groups like the Pentecostals redirect Native candidates to institutions with programs that are more cultural-specific, but without the success they would like to see. In my experience, most Native evangelicals, if not also a majority of non-Native evangelicals who are in the know about Native theological training, perceive existing theological training programs presently serving aboriginal candidates as ineffective, for the most part, in the preparation of a Native clergy.

The question, then, remains: Why is there a lack of aboriginal church leaders, particularly within evangelicalism? Or, what has caused the apparent blockage in the process of indigenizing the evangelical Native church in Canada, and why are there a disproportionate number of Native clergy for these Native churches? It is my hypothesis that there exist, within administrators and faculty members of evangelical theological training institutions, attitudes about Canada's aboriginal peoples which contribute to the creation and continuation of the dilemma of missions outlined above. I contend that the singular, most significant cause of evangelical failure to create indigenous leadership relates to attitudes, actions, and structures of non-Native theological educators and their institutions which hinder the development of a Native clergy. The failure of missionization to create a thriving, self-sustaining, self-propagating, self-governing, indigenous, aboriginal, Christian church finds its reason in the strategies and underlying attitudes of these non-Native theological educators and missionaries.

As this thesis addresses attitudes and strategies surrounding the theological training of Canada's evangelical aboriginal Christians, particular attention will be given to evangelical BC educators, and the Native constituencies which they are attempting to serve. It is the object of this research to determine causes of failure in theological training given to aboriginal ministerial candidates.

Research Methodology

To ascertain present activity in Native theological training and to gather data which might indicate present attitudes pertinent to this area of study, I have chosen to utilize several means. Primary and secondary textual sources were consulted, in order to situate this study in a historical context (see Chapter 1), that being the mission school movement in Canada. Amongst written sources consulted for the presentation of the contemporary context (see Chapter 2) of theological education, were such works as Statistics Canada census tables. Official publications and faculty handbooks of various theological institutions provided insight for Chapter 3, as demonstrated by the doctrinal statement of one institution in Appendix 4. Field research consisted of the processing of questionnaires sent to forty-nine Protestant theological training institutions and to several denominational headquarters offices, a telephone survey of denominational headquarters, and the interviewing of Native and non-Native individuals, particularly those involved in the administration of two representative evangelical BCs.

Questionnaires were distributed for the purpose of collecting contextual data for a study (Chapter 3) of two evangelical BCs which have had varying levels of involvement in the preparation of aboriginal candidates for the Christian ministry. A conscious effort was made to select a fairly balanced number of mainline and evangelical schools, and to include at least some of those specifically or exclusively oriented to aboriginal candidate training. Those contacted were chosen from lists of Canadian theological and religious studies programs identified in published sources such as catalogues of post-secondary institutions or suggested to me by word of mouth.²²

Administrators of these institutions were asked in this questionnaire to respond to questions concerning the degree and kind of involvement in the theological training of Native candidates each is engaged in, and to offer their rationale for the actions and

²² A discussion of the process by which my target institutions were selected appears in Appendix 6.

policies of their institutions. This was done with a more pressing question in mind, to obtain from these responses some understanding of attitudinal and systemic barriers which confront Native candidates in these religious academic institutions.

It is acknowledged that there are institutions not represented in this list, and their stories have not been collected. Those omitted in the survey will also need to be the subject of further research.

The study will confine itself largely to nine non-Native evangelical institutions which appear in my list of respondents in Appendix 3, Table 11.

Denominational figures concerning the number of Native clergypersons and Native congregations, for use in Chapter 1, were collected by phone. Sometimes this information was not readily available, as many groups do not keep statistics on the cultural identity of candidates, and so it had to be sent to me later through the mail.

As for the interviews, data gathered through this medium provide the largest segment of the material presented for analysis in Chapter 3, the study of two non-Native evangelical BCs, and in Chapter 4, the pursuit of non-Native and aboriginal perceptions about Native theological education. I include in this an interview of myself to provide a case study of an exemplar NBC.

I travelled many miles back and forth across eastern Canada to meet with two non-Native Christian faculty members, seven non-Native administrators of 'non-Native' BCs (institutions particularly designed to serve non-Native candidates) and two of 'Native' BCs (institutions particularly designed to serve Native candidates), four aboriginal church leaders, three aboriginal students in 'non-Native' BCs, and one aboriginal graduate of a 'Native' BC. The last of these was located at too great a distance from me to interview in person, so questions were submitted by telephone and replied to by letter. This is how these break down institutionally:

EBC1 (the first Evangelical BC reviewed)

5 Administrators:	1A1
	1A2
	1A3
	1A4
	1A5
2 Faculty:	1Fi

3 Native Students:	1F2 Cindy (pseudonym) Ruth (pseudonym) George (pseudonym)
<u>EBC2 (the second Evangelical BC reviewed)</u>	
2 Administrators:	2A1 2A2
<u>Pentecostal Native Bible Colleges</u>	
2 Administrators:	Kelly (pseudonym) Clarence (pseudonym)
<u>Pentecostal Aboriginal Churches</u>	
2 Native Elders:	Moses (pseudonym) Peter (pseudonym)
2 Native Pastors:	Aquila (pseudonym) Priscilla (pseudonym)
1 Native Graduate:	Joseph (pseudonym)

It was necessary, due to the immensity of the task and the amount of data collected, to organize the responses into theological categories which some might find restrictive. Unfortunately, this appears to be unavoidable. Therefore, I have designated three general categories: Catholic, mainline Protestant, and evangelical Protestant. Roman Catholic institutions were not included in this survey in order to keep the scope of the thesis manageable. It was deemed by myself and my thesis committee that since the focus of this thesis will be on Protestant evangelical institutions this group should be excluded.²³

Further, although some data were obtained from mainline theological training institutions, the information is used only where appropriate to provide comparison with evangelical institutions. As suggested above, present mainline involvement is based upon far different philosophical and theological underpinnings than is that of evangelicals and so is not directly comparable to the subject at hand. Much more

²³ For a discussion of reasons for the exclusion of Catholic, particularly Roman Catholic, institutions from this thesis, see Appendix 6.

could and should be done in this area of research, but it is beyond the scope of this thesis.

I have chosen, as noted above, to distinguish between mainline and evangelical theological institutions and ecclesiastical organizations. By 'mainline' Protestant I mean those institutions administered by church organizations which are older and are generally considered historic. They include, in no particular order, Anglican, United, Presbyterian, as well as some theologically non-evangelical Lutheran, Baptist and Mennonite institutions which do not actively pursue 'conversion' missionary agendas. These will be referred to henceforth as 'mainline'.²⁴ I have purposely avoided any attempt to delineate theological boundaries any further than this, e.g. Conservative vs Liberal, for fear of causing considerable discomfort to those who may feel they fall somewhere along a continuum between these two theological positions.

Those categorized as 'evangelical' Protestant are those schools administered by groups which are generally considered to be of more recent vintage, and which clearly classify themselves theologically as evangelicals in their literature or other writings.²⁵ They include, again in no particular order, Northern Canada Evangelical Fellowship, Pentecostal, Missionary, the theologically evangelical Baptist and Mennonite, plus independent and multid denominational evangelical institutions. These will be referred to as 'evangelical'.

²⁴ 'Mainline' could, for some, include Catholic groups, the most historic of all the major Christian denominations. However, for the purposes of this study, mainline denotes historic Protestantism.

²⁵ Most 'evangelical' theological training institutions declare in their literature that they are administered by clearly evangelical organizations or are supported by evangelical church constituencies, and they often state that they require their faculty to have clearly evangelical theological commitments. Notable for example is the "Doctrinal Statement" in EBC 1's Calendar 1993-95 (see Appendix 4), which characterizes the institution as "reflective of conservative evangelicalism" (3); students are expected to agree with the statement and faculty members are obliged to sign it.

For further detail on the methodology used in the collection and use of questionnaire and interview data, see Appendix 6 of this thesis.

Thesis Outline

My material, then, for this thesis, will be addressed as follows. Chapter 1, a history of missionization in Canada, is a discussion of the historical context in which theological training institutions which serve Native candidates find themselves, as the making of Christians and the making of ministers is all a part of the historical background to Protestant Indian missions. To bring the reader up to date on socio-political changes which have affected indigenous peoples in Canada as they relate to the issue of the training of Native candidates for Protestant Christian ministry today, Chapter 2 presents a short discussion of the contemporary scene in Canada. Chapter 3 consists of an analysis of evangelical approaches to and attitudes towards aboriginal peoples and their preparation for ministry. In order to accomplish this, two case studies have been done, wherein I have made use of interviews and other data gathered from two evangelical BCs and a few other comparative sources. Chapter 4 presents a case study of one evangelical NBC and an examination of NBCs from both Native and non-Native perspectives. Following the tradition of Hugh Brody in Maps and Dreams (1983),²⁶ wherein aboriginal peoples are given an opportunity to talk about their ways and thoughts about life "on their own terms" and "in the people's own terms of reference" (xvi), this chapter offers an opportunity for Native voices to

²⁶ Brody describes what might be called the economics of research, wherein conflicts of interest and agendas are worked out in negotiations between the researcher and the contributors (1983:xiv-xvi). Both have agendas (Brody wanted to use his pick-up truck to serve his research travel needs, while his Native hosts needed it for their own errands), and in a recognition of the relatively equal power relationship between researcher (who has political and economic benefits to offer, particularly through the publication of his findings) and the hosts (who control access to information the researcher needs), the two parties enter into an exchange of benefits. In this academic and economic contract, one of the elements it may include is the granting of control of some part of the research product to the contributors. I have not entered into such an agreement formally, but I did agree to do my utmost to offer my Native contributors their own space to express their own voices.

be heard on the subject of the training of their ministerial candidates, not in opposition to or as a response to non-Native perceptions and agendas, but for their own sakes. I shall be devoting only one chapter to this, though what is actually needed is an anthology of such Native works.

Allow me to expand on this last point about Native voices a little more. Native self-determination is of vital concern, and since self-determination is served by the empowering force of self-expression, Native voices need to find opportunity for expression. Therefore, Native voices concerning the study of evangelical theological training will not be presented as in reaction to the histories, descriptions and agendas of non-Native institutions.

I have not engaged a Native co-author to write a parallel history from an aboriginal perspective, one means of having a Native voice presented in this thesis. Further, I do not include, in the historical survey of Chapter 1, accounts given by Native individuals, such as those found on audio-visual recordings or in print made by Indian speakers about tragedies in the residential school system²⁷, or histories of contact and missionization as retold by aboriginal authors (see Johnson 1988; Ross 1992; Jones 1861). Omitted in the first chapter also are Native statements about the resistance of indigenous peoples, who have taken from the 'white man' only what they considered necessary and useful.²⁸ Even vivid personal accounts, written by Native converts (though often edited by non-Native associates), about experiences as teachers and proponents of education find no place in that chapter.²⁹

²⁷ See testimonials of Mohawk survivors of the Mohawk Institute, such as Lorna McNaughton, on the video Search for Healing (1992).

²⁸ See the comments of Iroquois speakers concerning their distaste for the education of their children in 'useless', distant, abusive and assimilative mission schools (Axtell 1985: 196,209,281). Compare with Grant's descriptions of "direct", "conceal[ed]" and "indirect" responses to (1984:256), and of resistance movements against, missionization pressures (242-243).

²⁹ See, for example, the Rev. Peter Jones' (1860) autobiography as a Mississauga Methodist missionary to his people, or his expositions concerning the need for a manual labour school in his community and his later rather negative assessments of this

The intention behind the writing of this first chapter is to represent the history of mission education and theological training from the perspectives of the institutions themselves. However, because of the problems of ethnocentrism in historical missionary texts, it is helpful and necessary to hear Native constructions of their experiences apart from the usual EuroCanadian accounts. As a result, Native self-definition and the self-expression of evangelical Native individuals as to their own perspectives about where they have been and where they are headed are given their own room, especially in Chapters 2 and 4. Chapter 4 will function, in part, as a forum for Native histories and perspectives to be expressed. The reasons behind my perception of the need for such an approach are mostly ethical, but more shall be said further on in the thesis.

This thesis will end with some concluding remarks, including several personal observations and concerns for mission strategy and future academic research.

The stream of literature on missionization and Native Christianity which I now enter is a vast flood. Research is abundant, and the current swift and treacherous. Yet I believe I have found an eddy in this overflowing stream into which relatively few have waded. It flows at times in an opposite direction to the mainstream of writing being done today, but with unsuspected surprise it also swirls around to carry one along in more common directions. It is necessary by virtue of the whirlpool nature of this eddy that the reader, like myself, be allowed and encouraged to be moved by the material.

experiment in Native education as recorded in his History of the Ojibway Indians (Jones 1861:191-203,237-238). See also Ojibway chief and Methodist preacher George Copway's (1850) comments concerning the benefits of education and his account of the history of his people's experiences since contact with the Europeans.

CHAPTER 1

NATIVE THEOLOGICAL TRAINING IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Theological Training and Mission Schools

The story of the religious instruction of aboriginal peoples begins in "pre-contact" times. Before the advent of the European on North American soils, Native religious instruction was a part of everyday life. Learning took place in both formal and informal settings, in the home at a grandmother's knee, around the fires with the community, or in a lodge under the tutelage of some shamanic practitioner.

However, Native theological training in Canada goes back to the era of European exploration and colonization, when particularly French explorers and missionaries such as Cartier and Le Jeune brought with them Christian instruction and mission schools under the papal mandate to take the knowledge of Christ to the "savages" of the 'New World'. Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries have ever since included the education of the indigenous peoples of this land in their mission mandate; mission schools were an integral part of the 'Christianize and civilize' scheme.

Further, Bible Schools (BS) were birthed in the waters of evangelical and missionary fervour. As has already been indicated in the Introduction to this thesis, the Bible college (BC) movement flows from this theological and philosophical perception of the mission of the church, the majority of these institutions being products of evangelical Protestantism.

At the time of the conception of BSs in Canada, mission schools for Native children were still very much in vogue. Some organizations offered catechism and lay training classes for aboriginal converts to the Christian faith, but most formal theological institutions oriented themselves to the unicultural preparation of EuroCanadian adult candidates for ministry. In more recent times, as Christian educators have focused almost all of their attention upon the training of adults for Christian life and service, some effort has been exerted toward the preparation of Native candidates, but utilizing the institutional tools of the past such as the residential

school and the day school. This is not to say that all Christian groups have had in mind the preparation of a Native clergy, but rather, that most appear to have enlisted at least some aboriginal Christians in their programs of training.

In the following discussion of Native ministerial training, I shall begin with a brief history of mission education to the present. While an emphasis will be placed upon efforts to train Native church leaders, it should be noted that this is not a historical or ethnohistorical treatment, but an overview of Roman Catholic and Protestant mission education strategies.¹ This discussion will then end with a summary of the historical factors which may be at work behind the scenes of Protestant evangelical training programs.

The Beginning: Roman Catholic Mission Education History

Christian missionaries became involved in educating Native adults and children almost from the day they arrived on these shores. Father Paul le Jeune's letters to his overseers in France inform us of Jesuit intentions to establish a "seminaire", a boarding school for children (Thwaites 1959:266; cf. Stanley 1949-1950:335-337), in Quebec for the training of aboriginal, as well as French, Roman Catholics as early as 1635. Although neither the Jesuit experience in training adult converts nor their efforts to educate Native children were successful to any notable degree, due at least in part to cultural mistakes made by these missionaries, it is apparent that their mission strategy did include the education of Native adults from the beginning. It is here that the historian observes what is perhaps the first link between mission schools and Native theological training; BSs for Native candidates get their heritage from mission education.

The Recollets

A "particularly strict branch" of the Franciscans, the Recollets, believed strongly that "Frenchifying" had to precede "Christianizing" (Miller 1991:19,34-35). They began with the Hurons around Georgian Bay between 1615 and 1625 (Jaenen

¹ For a discussion of the limitations of historical study, or the problems of the historiography of missions, see Appendix 1.

1986:48), but found greater success elsewhere. At times they followed the old missionary tactic of sending boys to France for a few years of acculturation, but few survived the ordeal (Axtell 1985:55-56). In 1620, a "seminary" for children was initiated at Notre Dame des Anges, near Quebec, but this initiative petered out due to a lack of Native support (Jaenen 1986:54-55). The Recollets departed from the colony in 1629, but upon returning in 1670, their work among the Cayuga of the Fort Frontenac region in the 1670s bore a little more fruit, succeeding at least in teaching some Native individuals to read and write (Jaenen 1986:48,52-59; cf. Axtell 1985:50,55; Miles 1872:180; Grant 1984:50).

The Capuchins

The Capuchin order established mission schools for Native peoples, as early as 1632, at its mission at La Hève in Acadia. Concerned with education for francisization,² the Capuchins soon began to apply their practices, perfected in what is now Brazil and Guiana, of sending Indian boys to France for education to form an "elite" class of Native teachers, catechists and priests, a pattern temporarily picked up by Recollets and Jesuits until deemed ineffectual by them (Jaenen 1986:48,50-51).

The Jesuits

The Jesuits, though not the first missionaries on the Canadian scene, were major Roman Catholic agents in the early days of contact. J.R. Miller considers the Jesuit order to be "one of the most formidable teaching and missionary orders of the Roman Catholic church" (1991:33), and in Cornelius Jaenen's opinion, these

² The policy of francisization entailed the encouragement, through education and the mixing of races, of aboriginal peoples in North America to take on French ways and the French language in an effort "to produce 'French' Indians" during the early days of contact (Koppedraye 1993:292-295). French Roman Catholic missionaries participated fully alongside the crown in the implementation of this policy in the hopes that Native peoples would convert to Catholicism once they had been 'elevated' to French civility. The Jesuit order abandoned this enterprise after a re-evaluation of its effectiveness, turning instead to the isolation of Native peoples from the spiritual 'pollutants' of life in New France (293). For a fuller discussion of francisization, see Stanley (1949-1950:333-348).

missionaries were not against the use of "'mildness and force, threats and prayers' to instruct and convert" (1986:48),³ so fervent was their missionary zeal.

Boarding schools, deemed by the Jesuits to be more effective for education than day schools or schools in France, were established in settled Native and French communities after the departure of the Recollets in 1629 (Jaenen 1986:52-59). An elementary boarding school for Indian children was established at Quebec in 1635, with limited success (Axtell 1985:55; cf. Grant 1984:35; Jaenen 1986:52,55; Miller 1991:53; Thwaites 1959:266). Axtell argues that this was due to Jesuit lack of understanding of local Native socio-cultural factors, such as the absence of influence in homes where parental and community influences tended to undermine the efforts of and compete against the values and agendas of the Catholic missionaries (1985:58). Miller adds another reason for failure in this venture, that being the unhappiness of the children themselves, especially in boarding schools (1991:53). The Jesuits also determined to direct future education efforts towards adult populations.

Initially labouring among Algonkian bands, the Jesuits moved on, after settlement of conflicts between the French and the British, to missionize the Hurons and Mohawks where conditions were perceived to be more conducive to their approach; Jaenen (1986:48) suggests the 'settled' lifestyle of these Iroquoians made the work of a local priest easier than did the 'nomadic' one of the Algonkians. After 1640, the Jesuit policy veered away from that of most other missions. Unlike the Recollets, who came to New France with a "preconceived plan...which remained impervious to experience" (Axtell 1985:49), the Jesuits considered experience to be their guide. They evaluated the effectiveness of their approach and took corrective action. One of the changes they made was to take their Christianizing instruction out into Indian territory away from 'corrupt' French centres (61-62).

Beneath this divergent approach lies a basic dissimilarity in thinking. Axtell maintains that Jesuit and Recollect ideas about indigenous peoples were quite different (1985:61-72,273,276-279). It would appear that most missionaries, both Roman

³ This statement was made by Jesuit missionary Father Jean Pierron.

Catholic and Protestant, in the early days of contact believed that the Native peoples were 'pagans' caught in Satan's 'demonic' web of witchcraft and sorcery (71-72,93,132-133). One Recollect is quoted as remarking that he considered Indians to be "stupid, gross and rustick Persons, uncapable of Thought or Reflection" (51). In contrast, Jesuit attitudes seem to have been different, holding that these peoples "possessed innate civility and goodness which needed only to be plated and polished by Christianity to make them complete 'men' [sic]". One anonymous missionary wrote to the French king in 1671 complaining about Jesuit unorthodoxy, and arguing that Jesuit missionization was allegedly a failure, attributing the cause largely to their overestimation of the intellectual capacity of Indians to grasp difficult religious concepts (107). This criticism was harsh, and this anonymous missionary writer may have overlooked the difficulties encountered in attempts to communicate theological views in understandable terms for those of a very different language and world view. Nonetheless, the Jesuits persisted, and the francisization goal they had once shared with the other Catholic orders was considerably modified (64; cf. Stanley 1949-1950:337-347).

This rather new perception of the missionary task was at least in part based upon the thinking of a fellow Jesuit missionary in China, Matteo Ricci. He had developed a strategy of indigenizing and enculturating Christianity, or contextualizing it for peoples of cultures different from that of the European missionaries. He emphasized the importance of language learning, accommodation of indigenous ritual practices wherever possible, and drawing of parallels between non-Christian and Christian values, beliefs and lifestyles (Aveling 1981:180-188; cf. Beaver 1953:333-334; Donnelly 1967:36; Koderá 1989:95-98; Mitchell 1980:144-162; Pomedli 1987:280-281; Walsh 1966:50). Ricci's successes in China appear to have considerably influenced Jesuit cross-cultural strategy in New France.

During the 1630s, the Jesuits ventured into Ontario to missionize the Hurons, with notable success, but were forced to leave by raiding Iroquois in 1648-1649, before any schools were established in Huronia (Miller 1991:54). They returned in the 1840s to carry out their work at such Native communities as Walpole Island and

Manitoulin Island's Wikwemikong (100).⁴ Remnant Jesuit missions were also established in Quebec and on Christian Island.

The Sulpicians

Sulpician priests in 1677 were unable to entice any Native children to learn under their instruction at their mission at Quinte, despite having the funds available to them for the task (Jaenen 1986:48). However, by the early nineteenth century, they were presiding over several Christian reserves in Lower Canada (Miller 1991:91).

The Oblates

Among other Roman Catholic orders that have been active in missionizing aboriginal peoples, the Oblate Missionaries of Mary Immaculate, founded in France in 1816, took Canada as their first mission field in 1841 (Carrière 1979:3). They entered western Canada in 1845, and soon moved on up the Fraser Valley into the Cariboo and Carrier districts during the mid- to late 1800s (1979:5-6). The first school was opened at Reindeer Lake in 1862 (1979:9), and the education of Inuit children became one of the dominant objectives of the Pelly Bay mission, which opened a school at Chesterfield Inlet in 1954 (Remie 1983:59-60).

Later, with government support, the Oblate brothers and the Gray Nuns of Montreal operated rather elaborate residential schools in the north and mid-west (Miller 1991:130,148,205; cf. Carrière 1979:21), often in conjunction with their "Durieu System", wherein Native converts were gathered into Christian settlements for the "repression of faults" and for "character formation" (Miller 1991:149). In the industrial schools set up by these Oblate missionaries (Lavoie 1994:26-28), discipline was strict and the speaking of aboriginal languages was forbidden, causing "historical hurts [which] are very much alive today" (28). One Cree recently told an Oblate priest at the Poundmaker Reserve in Saskatchewan that "just meeting [him] brought

⁴ Elizabeth Graham claims that the Jesuits made only a very limited religious or cultural impact on this region, perhaps due to their failure to use Native leadership (Graham 1975:9,58).

back all kinds of painful memories of his days in residential school" (Lavoie 1994:28).⁵ The Oblate priest at Poundmaker asked Native people openly "whether the church should be here at all" (Lavoie 1994:28).

There have been other Catholics who have been actively involved in missionary activity as well, such as the Russian Orthodox amongst the Tlingit of Alaska.⁶ However, the impact of these other groups has been minimal within the geographical boundaries of Canada, and so are excluded from this historical account.

Protestant Mission Education History

Protestantism also played an important role in mission education. For these early missionaries, education was the panacea for all social ills. Although EuroCanadians generally deemed Native peoples through the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries to be 'blinded' by 'demonic' religions and thus incapable of understanding their need for salvation, they looked to education to "reduce" (Axtell 1985:131-137) the Indian peoples to the point where they could understand their need. Redemption was seen to require

⁵ In a study of the Arviligdjuarmit of Pelly Bay (N.W.T.), Cornelius Remie makes a strong case for the ultimate retention of traditional culture and religion in the face of Oblate change techniques (1983). Similar findings come from the ethnographic study of the Dene of the Mackenzie Valley (Abel 1985:502A) and the Athapaskans (McCarthy 1981:815A) with whom the Oblates also worked.

⁶ The entry of Russian Orthodoxy into Arctic life came in the form of preaching points and mission schools. Sergei Kan's ethnohistorical study of the Tlingit peoples of Alaska was done under the auspices of the Orthodox church, which still has a large place in Tlingit life (Kan 1989:xi,1-2). Massive conversion to Orthodoxy at the turn of this century, possibly as part of a resistance movement against American assimilation pressures (Kan 1985:200), ushered in a new era of missionary work for Orthodoxy. Kan found that mission education was the major emphasis of Orthodox activity among the Tlingit peoples in the early 1900s (1985:200). However, these schools, like those of their Presbyterian predecessors, targeted the eradication of "'pagan' customs, deeming them incompatible with Orthodoxy" (1985:201), though Kan believes there is strong evidence for the survival of traditional Tlingit ways in spite of missionary efforts (1985:215, cf. Kan 1989:28-29).

... nothing less than renunciation of the last vestige of their former life. For a Christian and a savage were incompatible characters in the English cosmology, and only a willing departure from what he had known, all he had been, could prepare an Indian for a life of Christ. In English eyes, no native characteristic was too small to reform, no habit too harmless to reduce (Axtell 1985:167).

According to Axtell (1985:131), Protestants since the time of contact to the present have tended to hold to the humanistic belief in the power of education to transform people, and that all people were educable. For example, most English Protestants believed in the absolute superiority of the European way of life, and that there was a cause-and-effect relationship between English affluence and the English God who rewarded 'true' followers. Many were, at least initially, convinced that Native peoples would convert to British religion and lifestyles with eagerness once they had been taught to understand and acquire the material and other benefits of European life. Thus, education formed the basis of almost all Protestant missionization. These schools were generally located in or near non-Native communities where the influence of EuroCanadians could be felt and Native children could be somewhat isolated from the distractions and interference of Native parents (Axtell 1985:209).

Schooling, religion and agriculture, the policy of "the Bible and the plough" (Miller 1991:131), sums up the objectives of the Canadian government in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The agenda also included the settlement of Native peoples onto reserve lands, and the freeing up of farm land for EuroCanadians. It should be noted that mission settlements such as Sillery, Jeune Loreite, St. François de Sales, Oka and Sault St. Louis (now Kahnawake) foreshadowed the reserve system (Stanley 1949-1950:347); even Joseph Brant's land grant, purchased by the Mohawks of the Six Nations Reserve, was a form of reserve.⁷ In line with this 'civilization' policy, the 1816 Common School Act of Upper Canada opened the door for

⁷ In the mind of the British, that is, the land obtained by Brant's people formally became a reserve in the 1840s, but the debate goes on since modern conservative Iroquois consider that it never was a reserve (i.e., Crown territory).

government-supported Christian schools, thus cementing a relationship between the government and religious educators which would last for decades (Watson 1990:6-10; cf. Grant 1984:81-82). The policy of "the Bible and the plough" was brought to western Canada by the Anglicans as early as the 1820s, during the westward-moving agricultural expansion and immigrant settlement (Miller 1991:131).

The Anglicans

The Anglican Church enjoyed official government support in Canada in their endeavour to educate Native Canadians (Graham 1975:28,42,62). Like the Oblate Roman Catholics, Anglicans were given a large part of the responsibility for educating Native children, and they placed great emphasis on the importance of Indian schools and catechist training centres (55).⁸ Church Missionary Society (CMS) representative Edmund Wilson is reported to have 'twisted some arms,' so to speak, "to gain such influence over the Indians [at Kettle Point] so as to gain a majority in his favour in their council, so the CMS could establish a school." Such was their educational fervour (64).

A dominant theme of both the government and most missionaries throughout the first half of the twentieth century was the assimilation of Canada's aboriginal peoples. Christian residential schools, the preferred means of assimilation between the 1920s and the 1950s, came to the west and the north after the signing of the numbered treaties (Miller 1991:196,204; Porter 1982:4333A).

In British Columbia, where only the northeast corner of the province was covered by a treaty, William Duncan, the first lay CMS missionary and teacher to the Tsimshian Indians of the northwest Pacific coast (Stevenson 1986:35), became infamous for his social engineering in the creation of the Christian Indian community,

⁸ Tyendinaga and Grand River Iroquois, previously converted by the Anglicans in pre-revolution times, had proven themselves faithful allies of the British crown. Elizabeth Graham records a charge made that other Natives nominally joined the Church of England in order to gain access to mission and governmental benefits which the Anglicans were perhaps best positioned to provide, one piece of evidence being that one group engaged in "gross immorality" and "lapsed into paganism" after the closure of their Anglican mission (1975:37-38,45,47,55,62,87-89). Schooling was one of these benefits.

Metlakatla (40-41). At Fort Simpson, he began a school for Indian adults and children in 1858 (39), and his "teaching" for "industry and intelligence" became the foundation for the new community (Stevenson 1986:41; Fisher 1977:Plate 17;125-129; cf. Miller 1991:149; Patterson 1982:25,28).

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), which also came to birth in the Church of England, worked primarily among the Iroquois at the Grand River (since 1823) and Tyendinaga (since 1794). Early attempts at schooling on the latter reserve failed (Graham 1975:8-9,13-14).

The New England Company

The non-denominational New England Company (NEC) of London, England provided the first Protestant missionaries to the Maritimes. From the 1780s to the early nineteenth century, they attempted to provide the Indian peoples there with education and assistance. Miller suggests they failed in these endeavours because the government misappropriated missionary funds (1991:89). Hamilton, in turn, argues that failure was the inevitable outcome of any Protestant missionary endeavour due to strong historical ties between the French Roman Catholic church and the Micmac and Maliseet peoples of the region (1986:3-5).

Elsewhere, boarding schools were established by the NEC in Native communities like the Six Nations reserve, in 1827, and at Scugog and Mud Lakes. "Cultivation" was one of the mainstays of NEC curriculum (Graham 1975:8-9,13,42,46,65,76).⁹ This institute was closed due to government withdrawal of support for residential schools in 1970 (13).

The Moravians

The Moravian Missionary Society, among the earliest and most successful Protestant missionaries and educators, has long been involved in the missionization of the Muncey Delawares south of the Great Lakes, with surprising success. Opposed by

⁹ Elizabeth Graham is presently working on a compilation of Native and non-Native accounts of the experience at The Mohawk Institute, a daunting and disturbing task for any AngloCanadian (Graham n.d.).

American expansionists¹⁰ who did not share the Moravians' fairly optimistic and benevolent perceptions of the aboriginal peoples of the area and wanted their land, the Moravians removed themselves and their Native converts northward to Canada. Land was purchased by the Moravians during the 1781 to 1830 period of large-scale land surrender by Native peoples in Southern Ontario, and a Christian Indian community was established at Fairfield along the Thames River (Graham 1975:11; cf. Miller 1991:100). At this village, residency was voluntary but exclusive to the strict brand of Christianity espoused by the Moravian Brethren. An agricultural school, perhaps the earliest industrial school in Canada, was started here in 1793 (Wilson 1986:66-67). Non-Natives did the teaching; although Indian converts were used as "assistants", their training as teachers was not a priority (Graham 1975:57-58,75,84-85). Cultural change was extensive for the Delawares under this regime, and schooling played a significant part in the enforcement and propagation of Moravian "civility" (8,11,56-58). In addition to their work among the Delawares, the Moravians' activity in the Arctic is noteworthy. They were the first Protestants to reach Inuit peoples, and were active among the Native peoples of Labrador as early as 1771 (Tarr 1987:30).

The Congregationalists

Though not directly involved in educating Natives, Congregationalists provided funds for such through its Central Auxiliary Society for Promoting Education and Industry in Canada (Wilson 1986:69). Assistance was directed particularly towards the teaching and administration efforts of American Methodists. "Schools of Industry" were established to civilize and moralize Indian boys and, more, to equip them with "useful skills...which would prepare [them] to engage in productive activity" (69). Though the training of Indian teachers was desired, the Society closed in 1829 before this goal could be achieved (69-70).

¹⁰ The Moravians were forced from the Ohio Valley area by American expansionism by the 1790s (Graham 1975:11; cf. Miller 1991:100).

The Methodists

The Methodist Episcopal Church Missionary Society of New York produced what are considered by some to be "the most effective" Protestant missions in Upper Canada (Miller 1991:100). These missionaries were instrumental in the conversion and education of many southern Ontario Ojibwas and some Iroquois during the nineteenth century (e.g., Mississaugas and other Ojibwas of the Credit River, Belleville-Kingston, Bay of Quinte, Rice Lake, Lake Simcoe, and Saugeen areas), although others such as those around Munceytown, Lake St. Clair, Walpole Island, and Bay of Quinte and Six Nations Mohawks, generally rejected missionaries while often desiring teachers and schools (Graham 1975:4,14-22).

The revival at the Credit Reserve in particular, sparked by the radical conversion and call into ministry of the Mississauga Peter Jones in 1823 (Jones 1860:9-14), produced results which cannot be underestimated. Under the leadership of this convert, much of the southern Ojibwa populations came into Methodism as the first Native Protestant missionaries in Canada were put into active service (Smith n.d.:14). According to Smith,

In the mid - and late 1820s the Ojibwa and other Indian groups in Upper Canada in large numbers joined the Methodist Church. Nearly 2,000 Indians received religious instruction in 1829, and a dozen native helpers worked to spread its message (14).

Further results of this movement were the creation of a church with its own Native clergy, plus the establishment of residential and day schools for the preparation of Native children for whom their parents desired the acquisition of European language, political and economic skills as well as Christian instruction.

There existed among Methodists, both Native and non-Native, an enormous sense of missionary fervour. The zeal of this drew many 'into the fold' and almost immediately launched them out again into evangelistic service amongst their own peoples all across southern Ontario. With this fervour there was an emphasis on the 'moving of the Holy Spirit'. Further, theirs was a highly confessional church, requiring adherence to strict moral as well as doctrinal codes. Smith (n.d.:7-9,14,16) suggests that numerous aboriginal converts considered this code to be needed,

particularly in times of social upheaval and dislocation, for it offered a sense of order and cohesiveness. Moreover, Methodism encouraged the participation in and control by Native converts in the leadership of the Native church. Peter Jones became the first Native missionary to his people, with unchallenged success. Others followed his example, and a Native clergy and an indigenous church emerged. Remarkably, virtually none of these Native church leaders were formally trained, either theologically or otherwise; the American Methodists appear to have not considered that necessary to the success of their mission, perhaps in part because they were themselves amongst the least educated of all the missionaries in North America. The prospect of the development of Native leadership might have brought about the emergence of an enduring, indigenous, evangelical church, had union between Congregationalists, Methodists and Presbyterians in 1925, forming the United Church of Canada, not brought an end to Methodism as it was known institutionally and distracted the newly formed group from the former Methodist missionary agenda. The result, however, was a brief moment of indigenous vitality in the Native Protestant church.

So successful were these American Methodists during their heyday of 1822 to 1867 that the government of Upper Canada attempted, rather unsuccessfully, to emulate their methods with the help of the less politically threatening British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society and (CMS) Anglicans (Graham 1975:22; Smith 1987:101,105).¹¹

As for Methodist educational goals, J.D. Wilson states,

The annual reports leave no doubt that the Methodist schools were primarily intended for converting the Indians to Christianity. ...After

¹¹ The government feared the influence of such American Methodist educators as the Rev. Egerton Ryerson (a Canadian by birth), particularly during the 1830s when rebellion was feared in Upper Canada, and so opposed the Canadian Conference of Methodists which sought to function autonomously. It was thought by some that these Americans were attempting to stir up trouble amongst the Indian peoples concerning land deals and treaty rights while the government was still engaged in these negotiations (Graham 1975:4,27-28,37).

conversion, the main purpose of educating Indians was to tender moral instruction (1986:69).

Weekly religious and moral instruction classes were conducted, largely under the leadership of trained Native converts (Graham 1975:54,83). Manual Labour schools, combining "elementary instruction with domestic economy," were also used, with model farms attached to day schools (31,65,68). Methodists were particularly "noteworthy for their efforts to teach trades, crafts, and agriculture" (Miller 1991:103).

Peter Jones, Methodist convert, founded one of the first residential manual labour schools at Mount Elgin in 1850 (Graham n.d.:3). By 1830, Methodists had eleven Indian schools and teachers, and four hundred students 'eager' to learn (Wilson 1986:69).¹² Native students, it was believed, needed to be given the tools enabling them to come to know God and the Christian scriptures, which in turn would produce a change of heart and morals. This, they were sure, would produce good citizens. The production of Indian teachers was encouraged (Graham 1975:55,75), perhaps due to some egalitarian ethic whereby all peoples should have access to positions of power and influence in an Anglo-dominated world, or, because of current Christian notions that Indians were 'advancing in civilization', and education was what would help them along. It was also widely acknowledged that the Native work would not succeed without the activity and involvement of aboriginals who could act as cultural bridges (Axtell 1985:225; cf. Graham 1975:89; Grant 1984:43-44,76-77,260). Likely each of these motivations were involved within this seemingly indigenized education strategy.

Methodism spread across Canada, following the Anglicans' and Oblates' entry in the mid-nineteenth century into the Pacific region (Miller 1991:150; cf. Brown 1981; Stevenson 1986), and so became a nation-wide missionizing and educating force. However, the 1820s are known as "the 'Golden Age' of Methodist Indian

¹² The impressive success of the Methodist mission was due largely to the efforts of the mixed-blood cultural go-between, Peter Jones, Native leaders such as John Sunday, Peter Jacobs, David Sawyer and George Copeway, and the non-Native educator Egerton Ryerson (Graham 1975:39,89; Miller 1989:100; Wilson 1986:68; cf. Grant 1984:76; Jones 1861:238 Smith 1987:4,51,62-63,74,80; Smith n.d.:14).

mission work..., the decade in which the Methodist Church had an Indian face" (Smith n.d.:16).

The Baptists

Little is known about the New York State Baptist Missionary Society's work among Native peoples. What we do know is that it operated a mission amongst the Tuscaroras of the Grand River in the 1840s, established through the defection of an Anglican Tuscarora catechist who became ordained in 1857 (Graham 1975:8-9,58; cf. Grant 1984:79). It is difficult to determine how this American Indian received his ministerial training, or even if any was required of him at all. Another Baptist Native missionary, J.D. Cameron, a half-Ojibwa, ministered in the Lake Superior region (Grant 1984:79). It is unclear whether any effort was made by Baptists at this time to provide formal school education for Native individuals.

The Presbyterians

Presbyterians were involved in helping shape government school policy for Natives by 1908 (Coates 1986:148n9). Though they were very active in the United States during the nineteenth century (Coleman 1987), their education work among the Indians of eastern or central Canada does not receive a great deal of attention in current historical writing. Kan, however, describes Presbyterian mission schools in Alaska, and later the public schools, with their rules of obligatory attendance. He judges these institutions to be "the greatest threat to the traditional Tlingit culture and society" (Kan 1985:199). To explain this statement, Kan says:

The price paid by Tlingit youngsters for acquiring the new knowledge was high. In the Presbyterian school, the use of the native language was forbidden, while the students were persistently indoctrinated in Protestant-American values and taught to despise their parents' way of life. Graduates were strongly encouraged to intermarry, disregarding the rule of moiety exogamy, and to set up nuclear family households in American-style cottages built by the mission away from the native community and its "evil influence" (199).

These Presbyterian mission schools played a significant role in furthering the assimilation objectives of the state, especially from 1878 to the 1890s (199-200).

The Mennonites

Mennonites entered the Canadian field of Native education only recently. The Mennonite Brethren's Canada Inland Mission (CIM) began work among the Indians of northern Manitoba in 1943, and in British Columbia in 1949 (Penner 1987:32,41). They withdrew from their Indian missions by about 1970, after being informed by anthropologist J.A. Loewen that their approach to Native work was ineffectively oriented, that is, it was too Eurocentric (Penner 1987:82,148-149). From this point on, they concentrated on sending Mennonite teachers to the Indians and Metis of Canada (85,148). No mission schools are known to have been established by this group in the west.

I am aware of three Mennonite residential secondary schools for Native youth that operated until recently in northern Ontario. The last of these schools was closed in 1992. Their only remaining school, the Debwewin Bible Institute, a lay Bible training program located in Dryden, ON to serve northern Ojibwa and Cree adult converts, also folded, in 1993. According to the administrative body of the Northern Youth Programs of Dryden, ON, which I contacted by telephone, these secondary and post-secondary Mennonite education institutions closed under the increasing pressure of Native resistance to non-Native run residential schools, perhaps having fallen under the shadow of an unshakable reputation assigned to all mission educators, that of being abusive and racist towards aboriginal children in their care. No public explanations have been given for these closures, thus presenting an opportunity for future study. Some Mennonites, it should be noted, continue to operate Christian day schools on some reserves.

The Mennonite mission schools of northern Ontario, then, are among the last of the mission schools to have operated in Canada. The age of the mission school in Canada, as of 1994, appears to be over.

Secularization of Control

During the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century, church and state were almost indistinguishable in the field of education for Native peoples. The government entrusted the preparation of children

for civilian life to the churches, who in turn staffed and operated schools. Therefore, what appeared up to the middle of this century was a church-run education system, wherein religious as well as cultural instruction made up the curriculum with the objective of creating 'useful' Christian citizens. The residential schools of this period, utilized in the education of Native youth, like the mission schools of the past, thus had as their foundation the old missionary goal of mixing proselytization and 'civilization'.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Mission schools had come under increasing pressure to close down their operations. The federal and provincial governments of the day were entering the field of education to a greater extent than before, due to an increasing awareness of public desire for publicly-funded and -run educational systems.

The Rev. Egerton Ryerson, first permanent Methodist missionary from the United States to the Ojibwa peoples (Smith 1987:80), and later superintendent of education in Canada West (226), had been pressing for a more egalitarian system of education in the mid-1800s. He believed that education was necessary for the betterment of all peoples, including Native peoples, and that the only way to provide such on a fair basis was to make all schools public and free, requiring sizable expenditures of government money (Miller 1991:107,196; cf. Watson 1990:7-8; Graham 1975:27-28).

Others, too, saw assimilation through education as the only answer to the dilemma, namely, the collapse of social and religious order and cohesion within Native groups, in which aboriginal peoples of the time found themselves (Miller 1991:107; cf. Graham 1975:72; Riegert 1980:24). Even a number of Native people pressed the government for publicly-funded schooling for their children (Miller 1991:196; cf. Smith 1987:183,193).

Ryerson and those of like mind received encouragement for their scheme from an unlikely source. The government of Canada, under Governor General Sir Charles Bagot, had commissioned a study on the state of Indian affairs just at the time Ryerson was promoting his idea of public schooling for aboriginal children. In 1844,

the Bagot Commission issued its report. In it was a proposal for educational reform along the lines of Ryerson's idea (Smith 1987:183).

This was not received by the non-Native administration with unmixed support. The federal government was coming under increasing pressure from EuroCanadians to settle the Indian 'problem'. The administration of Indian affairs was becoming a nuisance, draining both time and money which could be allocated to concerns more pressing to non-Natives (Miller 1991:198). Some even believed, as Lieutenant-Governor Sir Francis Bond Head, an earlier governor of Upper Canada, had in 1835, that the Indian people were on the brink of annihilation, and that the only thing to do with them was to remove them all to one region of the country until they disappeared (Grant 1984:85; cf. Graham 1975:27-28). However, his plan was never to be carried to completion.

What Ryerson set in motion was the birth of the modern public day school system which eventually replaced the mission school. The government began to take increasing responsibility for the support and administration of public education, resulting in the gradual squeezing out of denominational schools and mission schools. The practice of operating residential schools, however, did not cease for some time to come, but rather was simply taken over by the state, with little if any change to the assimilationist agendas. Government support dwindled over the decade following the Bagot report, causing the costly residential schools to lose ground to the less expensive industrial day school by 1883 (Miller 1991:196). By 1970, the government relinquished its responsibility for residential schools, causing the closure of such schools as the Mohawk Institute (Graham n.d.:13). Some public residential institutes for Native students had lasted as late as the 1960s, and other comparable, private mission schools endured even into the 1980s.

Thus came the demise of the mission school movement. The education of aboriginal youths slowly became the legal responsibility of the state. There was a general movement in the late 1800s away from denominational education to public education, although this occurred considerably later for Native education. Religious education of Native children by Christian missionaries continued to some extent after

this period, but today takes little more than the form of children's programs such as Sunday School.

History of Mission Education: Other Readings

It appears from this brief survey that most Christian organizations operating within Canada became involved, at one point or another, in the education of aboriginal peoples. With recent recognition of the absolute necessity of including Native voices in the search for more inclusive readings of history, there have appeared many tragic accounts of oppression at the hands of non-Native missionaries.

Perhaps nothing since the time of European contact has had such an impact on the lives of aboriginal peoples in Canada as mission education, and more specifically, residential schools. It would appear that today, Native peoples want Canadians to know how deeply they have been hurt and how profoundly the actions and attitudes of missionaries have affected their ways.

Stories of abuse have drawn a great deal of attention to the plight of aboriginal peoples who suffered at the hands of the missionaries who operated these schools. The testimonies of Native survivors, such as Lorna McNaughton¹³ of the Six Nations reserve in southern Ontario, give cause for serious reflection concerning the history of missionization in North America and elsewhere. I have talked with Native peoples personally and heard their stories of tragedy. These accounts are disturbing to the EuroCanadian collective conscience, and influence present-day readings of this history, causing an emotional backlash against Christianity. It is difficult to imagine how any in Canada could yet be unaware of this tragic history of the experiences of aboriginal children.

It is doubtful that these Christian educators intended harm, but many of the Christian organizations which sponsored these educational institutions now admit their

¹³ Lorna McNaughton's (1992) accounts of her experiences at 'The Mohawk Institute', an Anglican residential school near Brantford, ON, are recorded on videotape by the Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Communications for Native Ministries and The Residential Schools Working Group in 1992. The documentary is called Search For Healing.

contributions to this sad state of affairs and are seeking to make amends. Christianity as a whole everywhere is being asked to acknowledge and take responsibility for the 'sins' (not just 'mistakes') of the past, regardless of whether this generation or any particular group believes they had any direct participation in hurtful missionary actions. A description of recent church apologies, found in Chapter 2, gives an indication of the level of remorse some have expressed concerning this history of injury.

I have observed in accounts provided by Native survivors of these missionary institutions that the greatest 'crimes' seem to have occurred in residential schools. A closer look reveals that there are elements within the whole system of formal education used by non-Native Christian educators which have proven to be manipulative and harmful. I have heard personal accounts of several Native adults who have come through the experience of ministerial training under the supervision of EuroCanadian missionaries, teachers and administrators. Some aspects of their stories are not altogether different from those of their younger counterparts of the residential schools.

Historical Contexts of Missionization

The historical, and cultural, context of the non-Native missionaries who ran these schools played a large role in the shaping of mission thinking, strategizing and reporting. The factors which shaped and influenced these institutions are discussed in Appendix 2 of this thesis, but to summarize, the socio-religious, historical and geographical context of the missionaries who have had such a profound impact on the world of the North American aboriginal peoples is of particular importance. These missionaries were historically and culturally bound individuals, and their voices must be heard with that understanding.

One might ask why missionaries of the past made formal teaching an integral part of their strategy in their dealings with indigenous peoples. There are perhaps two parts to the answer.

First, education was already an integral part of both Roman Catholic and Protestant mission strategy. Catholics such as the Recollects and the Sulpicians

viewed the instruction of Natives as useful and necessary in the effort to "Frenchify" and so convert them to Christianity (Axtell 1985:53; cf. Barman 1986:4; Jaenen 1986:45-48). These missionaries believed conversion required the radical reform of the whole culture and mental outlook: "None could ever succeed in converting them, unless they made them men before they made them Christians" (Axtell 1985:53).¹⁴ By the nineteenth century, Catholics were quite active in "using formal schooling as an instrument of cultural change" (Gainer 1979:207).

For the Protestants, education was the very foundation of their mission strategy (see Graham 1975:73), based squarely "on the Protestant humanists' faith in the power of education" to transform (Axtell 1985:131). By the 1760s, conversion to Christianity was believed to be impossible without the prior inculcating of civility (133).¹⁵ And by the nineteenth century, education had evolved into the "universal panacea" for virtually every social ill (Miller 1991:195).

A second reason education was given such a prominent place in mission strategy is that it often served to open doors.¹⁶ The non-Native missionary needed to gain a place within the social system in order to be effective, and this was often done by performing such roles as doctor (medicine man), politician, or school teacher, or at least overseeing others who did (Graham 1975:89-90). Teaching became a means of "establishing rapport, or a place for the missionary in the communities" (72).

¹⁴ The Jesuits, renowned for their educational skills and effectiveness (Axtell 1985:273; cf. Crouse 1979:17; Donnelly 1988:151), are reported to have begun to steer away from 'civilize-first' education after 1640 (Axtell 1985:276; cf. Jaenen 1986:59).

¹⁵ The Indians, it was thought, needed to be "humaniz[ed]" (Axtell 1985:135) or "reduc[ed]...to civility" (131) and ultimately to Christianity. The missionaries "believed that God willed the conversion of the Indians", and were confident that the Indians could be "transformed" (Stevens 1978:1792A).

¹⁶ Religious instruction was not always something Indians desired. However, often other aspects of European education were in demand, something discussed at greater length later in this paper.

Effects of the Mission Schools

In summary, during the eighteenth to early twentieth centuries, Native peoples were generally seen as dependants of Canadian society, incapable of managing themselves, and thus in need of paternalistic protection and nurture by those of the dominant culture (Graham 1975:23-27,40-41,81-84; cf. Axtell 1985:180-181). In EuroCanadian thinking, the care of aboriginal peoples had become part of the nation's moral responsibility (Grant 1984:85), as evidenced by the paternalistic language of and conditions set down in the Indian Act.¹⁷ Thus, it was deemed necessary to provide these 'unfortunate' people with the ability to 'better' their position in life.

Missionaries, particularly of this period,

assumed that the 'improvement' of the heathen was an essential part of their becoming Christian, and for the European of the nineteenth century 'improvement' meant westernization (Fisher 1977:124-125).

Mission schools have fallen under intense censure and ridicule in recent days, and the residential school is deemed the worst amongst the culprits. The history of these "institutions of total power" (Graham n.d.:14-19) contains stories of personal injury and cultural genocide, the effects of which continue to later generations.

Today, there are proportionately far more aboriginal peoples in Canadian jails today,¹⁸ perhaps indicating the failure of schools to socialize a significant proportion of the aboriginal population into cultural values and behaviour considered acceptable by EuroCanadians. The cycle of violence and self-destruction begun for some in the residential school system is the manifestation of what some now call the 'residential school syndrome', the continuation of self-genocide.

¹⁷ See the introductory paragraph of "An Act for the Protection of Indians in Upper Canada from Imposition, and the Property Occupied or Enjoyed by Them from Trespass and Injury" (August 10, 1850).

¹⁸ Lindner claims concerning the imprisonment of aboriginal peoples that, "on a percent basis, the native peoples of Canada are the most imprisoned people in the world. They comprise 85% of some provincial prisons (1992:13).

Further, too many have failed and are not succeeding in present school systems. According to 1986 Canadian census reports, 37% of the adult Indian population is illiterate or have less than a Grade 9 education, 5% of Native youth graduate from high-school, and no more than 1% ever graduate from university (Comeau 1990:94-95). There may very well be an unseen connection between these negative social conditions and the relegation of Native peoples to the periphery of Canadian life as 'deviants' that few know what to do with.

However, it is essential to note that the effect of mission schooling, or particularly residential school education, has not been all negative. Graham argues that many former residents of the Mount Elgin and the Mohawk Institute schools in southern Ontario offer stories of success:

There are...many who liked their school and believed that they were given opportunities in life that their economic circumstances would have denied them otherwise. Others formed friendships that lasted them through their lives and gave them a 'family' which they would not have had otherwise. Others found a home better than the abusive foster home or family they came from (n.d.:19-20).

It must be remembered that these schools were advocated by a good number of aboriginal peoples. Peter Jones went to England to raise support for the founding of the school at Mount Elgin in representation of the wishes of a number of Indian parents. The Chief of the Mohawks at the Bay of Quinte managed to convince all but one chief of those assembled at a meeting to vote to support the move towards the establishment of a residential industrial school for their children, arguing that it would ensure their cultural survival (Graham n.d.:4). Native parents withdrew their support when the quality of the teachers was in question or when a school no longer was successfully inculcating industrial and cultural skills considered needful for the future survival and prosperity of their communities in a EuroCanadian dominated world (6).

These are not the convictions of a people who were diametrically opposed to EuroCanadian education or the concept of schools, even residential. The expressed desire of aboriginal parents was to have access to quality education which, taking into account their cultural values, still offered instruction to their children which would

produce useful citizens within their own communities. The results of these institutions may to some degree vindicate these wishes, for many of the aboriginal leaders active today in political and other spheres acquired the skills required for such vocations, like learning English, professional training, and an understanding of EuroCanadian institutions and systems from the very institutions others castigate. Therefore, it should at least be acknowledged here that these schools were both helpful and harmful to aboriginal peoples; there is a balance to the story.

The story of the theological training of aboriginal candidates compares closely with that of the above. Present BCs and seminaries operated by non-Native administrators have been established by their Christian constituencies with the precise purpose of "discipling" or shaping the character, spirit and mind of those who attend. Entrance is voluntary, and it is assumed that those who attend do so with full knowledge that they are subjecting themselves to a socialization process. Whether candidates, particularly aboriginal ones, actually are aware of this function of their prospective academic institutions or of the culture in which these schools promote and operate is difficult to ascertain. Thus there are implications for the utilization of such educational structures and systems for the theological 'training' of Native peoples, a discussion which will be returned to in later chapters of this thesis.

More Recent Developments

It is important to consider the context of more recently founded Protestant denominations which too have become involved in mission education and Native theological training (Cowan 1991). These church organizations were not on the scene during the early years of Canadian missionization, and so do not share the same Native education history. The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, for instance, received its federal charter as a religious organization in 1919 (Miller 1994:66), and the Evangelical Missionary Church of Canada, formerly the Mennonite Brethren in Christ, evolved out of a period of revivals and mergers among the "Old" Mennonites in Ontario during the latter part of the nineteenth century (45). These more recently formed groups are not directly linked institutionally with the abuses of the past as they

were not themselves involved and on the whole have not been involved with operating such institutions as residential Indian schools.

While most new Christian groups have not become involved in the education of Native children, these new groups have carried on some of the same assumptions of Protestant educators of the past; they adhere to similar Protestant evangelical beliefs such as the necessity of evangelizing all peoples, they verbalize a desire to see the creation of an indigenous church in all cultures, and they utilize similar models of education, namely the use of formal instruction in EuroCanadian institutions. These connections thus link by implication newer evangelical groups with older ones and with the history of mission education; the connection is institutional, theological and ecclesiastical. Evangelical, or Pentecostal, successes in the conversion of aboriginal peoples in Canada may be attributed to such factors as shared perceptions of the spirit world, and thus the potential for some religious continuity with formerly held traditional beliefs. The presence of large numbers of Native conversions does not, however, constitute evidence of non-linkage with historical missionary error, nor does it indicate that Native peoples have offered to evangelicals absolution from responsibility for past injury. Evangelicals may be viewed by many aboriginal peoples today as being culpable, too, and as needing to be held responsible for the historic atrocities committed by older orders.

Grant suggests that the recent successes of conservative evangelicals amongst Native Americans may be due to the fact that "they do not have to answer for the irritations of the old regime". He goes on to say that "only Pentecostals and other forms of conservative Protestantism are currently expanding [in Native circles]" (Grant 1984:264-265).¹⁹ In my view, Grant's contention may in fact be faulty. It would

¹⁹The latter is an observation apparently shared by Ron Grimes, professor of Religion and Culture at Wilfrid Laurier University. In a lecture on Indigenous Religions (Grimes 1992), he commented on the strong representation of Pentecostalism particularly amongst Navajo peoples in the American southwest. Grimes sees a connection between Navajo attraction to such Protestant evangelical fundamentalist missions and their emphases on healing, the existence of demons, and the seriousness of witchcraft.

appear that modern evangelicals are committing many of the same errors as their forbearers, based upon many of the same paternalistic attitudes. Pentecostalism, although succeeding in numerical terms, has not yet managed to end its parenting role within Native missions and hand over control to indigenous leadership.

Conclusion: The History of Mission Education in Canada

The above has been a summary presentation of a history of mission education and theological training, up to recent times, as I perceive it. This cursory survey of the education activities of various significant mission agencies in Canada serves to illustrate that mission activity has been a significant part of Native-non-Native relations since contact, and that education in turn has been an important component of that. It also establishes that missionization, having begun at the same time as colonization, utilized a method of socio-cultural instruction, namely, the isolation of Native peoples into communities and schools maintained by EuroCanadian administration. Further, it seems that the establishment of schools for Indians was one of the most prominent ingredients in the strategy of both Catholic and Protestant missionization. Apparently, education was seen as the most effective way to enter and alter the Native American's world.

Also noteworthy in this history is the failure of Protestant mission agencies and denominational bodies to significantly indigenize the Native church, apart from perhaps the Methodist enterprise of the nineteenth century.

Behind the scenes of this history lie several factors which may have helped to shape events. Among these are the degree with which Christian organizations commit themselves to a missionary gospel of radical conversion, the actions of secular and ecclesiastical government bodies in 'managing' and 'civilizing' Native peoples, the changing stance of public opinion on the issues of Native-non-Native relations, and the responses of aboriginal peoples, such as the rise of nativism, to the above influences. These appear to be some of the variables which contribute to the differing histories and experiences of those touched by mission education in Canada.

The review of history presented in this chapter has been undertaken for the purpose of setting the exploration of attitudes of persons involved in the theological

training of Native candidates within a historical context. Chapters 2 to 4 will offer a discussion of what is presently happening in the area of the theological training of Native peoples and what attitudes appear to surround this issue, particularly within evangelical Christianity.

CHAPTER 2

CONTEMPORARY NATIVE PEOPLES AND THE PROTESTANT CHURCH

Native Peoples of Canada

According to 1993 census data, there are 1,002,675 self-declared aboriginal people in Canada (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 1993:1). The Indian Act requires that Native peoples be identified in very definite, legal terms. Herein lies the basis of much controversy today.

Aboriginal peoples in Canada have been given many names and have been classified variously by non-Natives since contact. The general term "Indian", used in historical documents since the fifteenth century and earlier to refer to the indigenous peoples of North America who were neither East Indian nor one in ethno-political terms, illustrates this point. This term has since become a legal one, used for the administration of Native peoples. Such designations have been imposed upon these very diverse peoples by those from outside their geopolitical and ethnic boundaries.

However, a second category of classification exists, that of self-definition. These are names and classifications which are self-applied, originating from within aboriginal communities. They are not legal terms, but functional ones, useful for self-identification and for the study of aboriginal societies along religious, cultural and political lines which certain aboriginal peoples may find more suited to their perspectives and agendas. Thus in recent years tribal and linguistic identifiers have become important self designators and symbols of identity: Anishinabe, Kwagulth, Nuchanulth, Innu.

Sally Weaver, in her assessment of the process of government policy-making and the implications of such for Native-non-Native relations, argues that a major theme in Indian protest since the Canadian government's White Paper in 1969¹ has been public acceptance of Native self-identification, particularly as ethnonational entities. She states that some within the Native community argue that the White Paper

¹ The White Paper will be discussed under the section "The Canadian Government and Native Relations" in this chapter.

contained imposed definitions which failed to sufficiently distinguish aboriginal peoples from their ethnic counterparts in Canada, and which had the potential to extinguish certain legal rights on the basis of the elimination of former definitions (1981:5-6). In her discussion, Weaver distinguishes between "private" and "public" ethnicity, noting that those aboriginal individuals and groups with whom she interacted "reasserted their cultural uniqueness, emphasizing their social distance from the dominant society" (6).

The identification of what is Native, and for that matter what is Christian, has become a contentious issue within Christianity as well. In this chapter, we will consider conflicting definitions of what it means to be Native, and Christian, with a view to ascertaining the implications of self-identification for the Christian enterprise of training aboriginal candidates for Christian ministry.

The Canadian Government and Native Relations

The scene today in Native Canada is considerably different from that of the sixteenth and seventeenth century contact era. As with missionization, government policy-making has made a tremendous impact upon the life that aboriginal peoples now live. This new context must be considered before an assessment of present issues is pursued in this thesis.

Possibly the most dramatic change for aboriginal peoples has been the transformation of their political status from being considered officially sovereign nations, at least in British perceptions, to the state of being treated, not as full subjects, but as legally managed human resources and "wards" of the state (Melling 1967:41n.1). Many Indian peoples decry this policy, and resent the imposition of certain aspects of the Indian Act, a legislative document, an instrument of colonial governance created to govern the identification and administration of Indian peoples (Cardinal 1977:89-135). Particularly pertinent to this study is the development within this Act of legal definitions of status, non-status and treaty Indians, and the creation of the reserve system and its impact on aboriginal culture.

The Indian Act (1876) was the creation of the Canadian government. The spirit of this act is in contrast to the spirit of the British Crown's Royal Proclamation of

1763, designed to provide protection for the Indian peoples of Canada and their lands from the encroachment of European settlement (Miller 1991:71-73,113). During the early days of contact, a generously broad definition was deemed adequate, whereby Native peoples were considered "Indians" if "they exhibited a certain way of life" (Frideres 1983: 6). However, as miscegenation occurred between Native and European peoples and land appropriation became a growing concern to EuroCanadians, it was deemed necessary by more local, Canadian civil authorities, for largely economic reasons, to create a more restrictive definition (Frideres 1983:6-7; Miller 1991:98).

Legal identity began with the Act of 1850. The 1850 Act for the Better Protection of the Lands and Property of the Indians in Lower Canada defined "Indian", for the first time in legal terms, as:

First. - All persons of Indian blood, reputed to belong to the particular Body or Tribe of Indians interested in such [Indian] lands, and their descendants.

Secondly. - All persons intermarried with any such Indians and residing amongst them, and the descendants of all such persons.

Thirdly. - All persons residing among such Indians, whose parents on either side were or are Indians of such Body or Tribe, or entitled to be considered as such.

And Fourthly. - All persons adopted in infancy by any such Indians, and residing in the village or upon the lands of such Tribe or Body of Indians, and their descendants (Smith 1975:40).

The 1876 Indian Act, in line with the spirit of the 1857 Gradual Civilization Act and the Act of 1869, contained enfranchisement clauses aimed at the absorption of "assimilated" Indians; it was an act based upon an extermination-through-assimilation agenda concerning aboriginal peoples as contrasted with Royal Proclamation isolationist and protectionist clauses (Miller 1991:99-100,114-115; cf. Dickason 1992:284; Frideres 1983:23). The Indian Act has been seen by historians as constituting a tool for the 'management' of aboriginal peoples in Canada rather than for their 'protection', and the entering into of treaties and the establishment of the reserve system is arguably the result of the imposition of EuroCanadian interests (Melling 1967:40; cf. Miller 1991:92-100).

The Indian Act has undergone continual changes, and so too have legal definitions of "Indian". For almost three quarters of a century, patrilineal descent, descendancy from any man who, pursuant to the Indian Act, was registered as or was entitled to be registered as an "Indian" under the BNA Act, was the basis of entitlement of Indian status. "Indianness", the exhibition of social, cultural and racial attributes typically associated with being recognized as "Indian", carries no legal weight (Frideres 1983:9-10). Nor does self declared membership in an Indian nation or tribe.

Aboriginal peoples have offered resistance to the imposition of such narrow legal definitions and interpretations (see Cardinal 1977:118,139-145,147-152; cf. Frideres 1983:31-32). Yet, control of such matters still lies with non-Natives and the administration of aboriginal peoples continues to fit the agendas of the dominant culture within Canada, and any so-called "rights" based upon measures in the Indian Act are tenuous at best. Says Frideres, "these rights are not 'vested'; even without amendments, much of the protection afforded to Indians can be removed at any time under the Act by the Governor of Council (Cabinet) or by the Minister of Indian Affairs" (1983:33).

As it stands today, Native people are defined by the Indian Act according to the following categories: registered (status) and non-registered (non-status) Indians, treaty and non-treaty Indians.

"Registered Indian"

A "registered Indian", according to the Indian Act, is a Native individual who "is attached to a band and on the 'roll' in Ottawa" (Frideres 1983:9). Intermarriage, enfranchisement, or simply ancestral exclusion from pre-BNA Act registration lists could nullify Indian "status". Thus, those of the same aboriginal ancestry who fail to be defined legally as "Indians" are denied access to the resources and protections allocated under the Act (33). Inuit ("Eskimos") were deemed "Indians" for administrative purposes in the Act of 1924, although they were never included in its legal definition of "Indian" (26). As a result of the 1985 Bill C-31, which repealed federal control of band membership, and the 1985 amendment to section 12.1.b. of the

Indian Act reinstating the rights of aboriginal women, an unusually high birth rate, and increasing life expectancy, Native growth rates now surpass that of the Canadian population as a whole (Dickason 1989:418,331).² It is estimated that by 1991, 69,593 Native peoples had recovered their status (1989:332).

"Treaty Indian"

A "treaty Indian" is a status Indian whose ancestors belonged to a band which treated with the British Crown or federal government of Canada. Not all registered Native peoples hold treaties (e.g., the Six Nations Iroquois who emigrated to Brantford, ON, or the majority of Native populations in British Columbia, the Yukon, Quebec and the Atlantic Provinces), and so now find themselves in need of engaging in land claim settlements to secure geographic and economic security (Frideres 1983:9).

"Reserve Indian"

Although not a term of legal status or a category under the Indian Act, the third level of classification is that of "reserve" and "non-reserve Indians" (Frideres 1983:9).³ In recent decades, as Native migration to urban centres has increased, reserve and non-reserve residency has become a fact of life to be considered. With the advent of Bill C-31, and its ramifications for Indian status, particularly for Native women and their descendants, a number of Native people have returned to their reserves as legal barriers to band membership were removed from the Indian Act. Further, some Native peoples, though possessing treaty agreement with the Canadian government (e.g., Treaty #11, Indians in the Northwest Territories), have not as yet

² Bill C-31 and the amendment of the Indian Act in 1985 "grant[ed] women the right to retain their status upon marrying non-Indians and to pass it on to their children; bands were given the right to control their own membership. Also reinstated were persons who had lost their status through such actions as enfranchisement or having obtained a university degree. In effect, Bill C-31 sounded the death knell of the official policy of assimilation" (Dickason 1992:331).

³ On the evolution of the reserve system, see Robert Surtees (1969).

been provided with reserve lands, while others (e.g., British Columbia Indians)⁴ who have never taken treaty have lived on reserves for some time (9). Non-reserve status Indians are legally Indian but since many of the provisions of the Act apply to the reserve, they do not come under them. For example, aboriginal peoples are required to pay property and income tax if they live off the reserve.

Reserve life presents challenges and privileges unique in Canada. The Act purportedly protects and theoretically enables the retention of the socio-cultural fabric of the Native peoples residing there. However, in practice, the culture of such communities has undergone radical change due to the restrictions and pressures created by the reserve system, and in numerous cases "anomie" has resulted, due to experiences of isolation and marginalization (Tennant 1990:71-72).

Many over the years have chosen to live off the reserve, in rural and urban settings. Some do so to seek education, employment or a different lifestyle. Others simply have not been welcomed back to the reserve, perhaps due to overcrowding and overburdened resources. The result is that, of the 69,593 new recipients of status, only 6,834 or 2.4 percent have returned (Dickason 1992:332). According to numbers presented by Dickason for 1989, there were 466,337 status Indians, with 596 bands on 2,283 reserves in Canada (1992:418). In 1993, DIAND statistics reveal a self-identified aboriginal population of 1,002,675 (or 3.7 percent of the total Canadian population), with 605 Indian bands and 2,364 reserves (Indian and Northern Affairs 1993:1-2).

Contemporary Native Identity in Canada

The problem of the legal identity of Indians, and the distinctions between reserve and non-reserve peoples requires much more discussion than I can give it here. I note simply that such distinctions fail to recognize the diversity of cultural and philosophical perspectives and practices existent both on and off reserves. Moreover, there are many non-reserve or non-status Native persons whose experiences and

⁴ For an example of a description of the development of "reserves" and the reserve system, particularly in British Columbia, see Tennant (1990:26-38).

opinions have not appeared in studies and census statistics because they do not fit into the above categories. Statistics Canada, in recognition of the inability of such means of classification to include and accurately represent some Native peoples, has in recent years taken to the practice of encouraging people to categorize themselves according to culture. Internal rather than external identification appears to be the new trend. However, many in recent times still attempt to classify aboriginal peoples in terms not employed or approved by those peoples.

Dunning's "Type A"/"Type B" Reserve Indians

R.W. Dunning has suggested another approach to defining Native peoples. He groups them into "Type A" and "Type B" Canadian reserve Native communities (1974:60; cf. 1959:217).⁵ The Type A reserve is a northern, remote and isolated community where traditional patterns of life and language have managed to remain largely intact. Native individuals who demonstrate traditional traits, such as the retention of their aboriginal languages, and the maintenance of their traditional kinship systems and economic patterns are considered to be Type A Indians (60). Type B reserves are southern, have been dramatically affected by "a considerable history of contact", and have lost, to a significant degree, their traditional life through non-directed and directed cultural change (60).⁶ These are Native individuals who do not possess external traditional traits such as those mentioned above, and who live in English or French-speaking communities where "indigenous sanction systems [which maintain traditional social systems]...appear to have disappeared" (6). Dunning goes so far as to suggest that "it would be justified to draw a horizontal (very approximately) line across the country to separate the remote, non-English (or French)

⁵ For a complete discussion of Type A and Type B Native reserve communities, see Dunning's chapter on "The Problems of Reserve Indian Communities: A Case Study" in Frideres' Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts (1974:59-85).

⁶ J.R. Miller offers a helpful discussion of the effect of "non-directed" and "directed" cultural change upon aboriginal peoples since European contact (1991:95-96).

speaking peoples - Type A - from those with a considerable history of contact together with a knowledge of the national language and culture - Type B" (60).

It is perhaps fair to say that the greater the urbanization or geographic closeness to EuroCanadian population centres, the greater the loss of aboriginal language or traditional social patterns is likely to be due to the increase in contact. Some northern reserves express this in very concrete terms. I know of Native peoples in several remote communities in northern Ontario who oppose the development of permanent roads into their communities on the basis that this would result in greater EuroCanadian contact and the invasion of undesired elements of outside cultures.

However, systems of classification, or even generalization, are subject to critique; Dunning's categorization constitutes an imposition of external criteria by the dominant culture upon aboriginal peoples. He presents a caricature of reserves which is artificial and overgeneralized. It excludes those Native peoples who consider themselves to "retain powerful and emotional attachment to ancestral community, tribal group, and territory", typically Type A reserve community dwellers (Tennant 1990:14), but do not reside in a Type A reserve and may even have chosen to live in an urban non-Native setting. In Dunning's classification, there is an underlying suggestion that Type A Native persons are more 'native' than are his Type B peoples, as the former appear externally to retain more of the traits typically associated with nativeness than do the latter. With the recent resurgence of Native identity, urban Native individuals may consider themselves to be traditional Natives, too. Dan Kelly, a long-time observer of the life and ways of modern aboriginal peoples, suggests that, when cultural self-definitions are used instead of more traditional legal definitions (e.g. 'status' Indians), "more than half [of Native peoples in Canada] now reside in urban areas" (Kelly 1987:34). Yet, there is no evidence to suggest that this either precludes or ensures a certain cultural identity.

Tennant's "Reservation Indian"/"Pan-Indian" Dichotomy

Paul Tennant offers another classification. He suggests that Native peoples be categorized, not only geographically, but also philosophically and culturally. He sees the existence of two camps, one being the traditional "reservation Indians" and the

other being the "pan-Indians" (1990:68-69). According to his definitions, reservation Native peoples are those who live within Native communities where "traditional loyalties and identities remain vigorous" (68). Pan-Indians are those who have "spent their formative years away from their home reservations as boarding pupils in...schools or as foster children," have "no strong attachment to their tribes of origin" as a result of their off-reserve upbringing and EuroCanadian culture inculcation, and "identify with Indians in general" (69). The latter may even have a stronger tendency than the former to buy into assimilationist ideals of the dominant culture concerning aboriginal peoples (69).

Though perhaps perceived by non-Natives as helpful in the ascertainment of the possible religio-political leanings of various segments of the Native population, this method of classification is also too restrictive. Its validity or usefulness may be challenged on the basis of its overgeneralization of the religious and political aspirations of those it would impose these categories upon. For instance, not all who live on reservations reject assimilative objectives, though they may believe themselves to be too marginalized or remote geographically to obtain access to those services which would make assimilation possible. Some young people in these communities, at least at some point in their lives, appear to struggle with the desire to be like those they see via satellite television and to have the opportunity to live an urban non-Native life in a world where no one would treat them like an 'Indian.' It is certainly a stereotype, on the other hand, to depict off-reserve Native peoples as having little cognitive or emotional and spiritual attachment to their home reserves. Moreover, "Pan Indian" implies a politicized, urbanized perspective identified with nation-wide aspirations--a focus upon 'Indians' as a whole. However, many culturally conservative Indians are tribally focused--for them 'Indian' means Anishinabe or Micmac. This model seems to polarize Native peoples into micro versus macro Indian political camps based upon geographic factors alone. There may be in existence two streams of thought which appear to fit within this dichotomous political model, but I see no conclusive evidence of these being identified with any geographic pattern. To generalize as Tennant seems to do about who belongs to which camp is to force his

point and to cause his observations to limit and silence those Native peoples who would not fit well within his model.

Assimilationist Assumptions

Non-Native misunderstanding and misappropriation can be observed in statements about the sorts of change which Native peoples have been undergoing since contact. It is not uncommon to encounter the belief among non-Native Canadians today that aboriginal peoples in Canada are no more than developing Canadians.⁷ The perception seems to be that indigenous peoples have been or are inevitably soon to become fully assimilated into the dominant cultures which encompass them. At the root of this belief is the EuroCanadian assumption that "Indians were probably just 'primitive versions' of 'us', a people who needed only to 'catch up'" to the average Canadian way of life (Ross 1992:xxii). 'Real' aboriginal peoples, those who live according to traditional pre-contact-like Native ways, no longer exist, and those who are around today are simply hovering between the past and the present, on their way to becoming 'real' Canadians for they appear to be quite integrated into the Canadian life.⁸ The perception, then, is that these are culturally developing 'new' Canadians. Native peoples will eventually not be significantly different from any other Canadians.

Tennant discusses this notion of cultural change. He argues that proponents of this view believe on the one hand that traditional "Indianness" bears externally recognizable and historically identified traits, most of which are derived from stereotypical perceptions of Native peoples. On the other hand, where these traits appear to be nonexistent, the only possible conclusion such thinkers appear to consider is that Indianness has been lost in the process of enculturation.

⁷ For a description of evangelical assumptions about the assimilation of aboriginal peoples in Canada, see Chapter 3 of this thesis.

⁸ For a discussion of various "White Man's [sic]" categories and conceptions of "the Indian", including that of the "real Indian" and the "vanishing Indian", see Berkhofer (1978:23-31).

This approach assesses continuity of identity...by the criteria of racial purity and persistence of cultural elements (such as language, religion, clothing, food, weapons, and means of transport) (Tennant 1990:15).

It is difficult for those who hold such assimilationist assumptions to comprehend continuity of cultural identity for those who exhibit non-traditional external traits such as eating pizza heated by microwaves, watching television through satellites, driving automobiles, or professing Christianity. Native author Thomas King humorously points out, through narrative in Green Grass, Running Water, the consternation of non-Natives who are befuddled by the persistence of aboriginal self-identity in the face of seemingly insurmountable assimilative pressures:

Sifton stayed in the chair. "You know what the problem is? This country doesn't have an Indian policy. Nobody knows what the h[***] anyone else is doing."
 "Got the treaties."
 "H[***], Eli, those treaties aren't worth a d[***]. Government only made them for convenience. Who'd of guessed that there would still be Indians kicking around in the twentieth century."
 "One of life's little embarrassments."
 "Besides, you guys aren't real Indians anyway. I mean, you drive cars, watch television, go to hockey games. Look at you. You're a university professor."
 "That's my profession. Being an Indian isn't a profession."
 "And you speak as good English as me."
 "Better," said Eli. "And I speak Blackfoot too. My sister Norma speaks Blackfoot. So do my niece and nephew."
 "That's what I mean. Latisha runs a restaurant and Lionel sells televisions. Not exactly traditionalists, are they?"
 "It's not exactly the nineteenth century. either."
 "D[***] it. That's my point. You can't live in the past. My dam is part of the twentieth century. Your house is part of the nineteenth."
 "Maybe I should look into putting it on the historical register" (King 1993:119).

Tennant remarks on an "odd paradox" (or irony, incongruity and inconsistency) in the idea that an "immigrant-derived dominant society [which] regards innovation in meeting the challenges of the new land as an essential and creative aspect of its own culture (or national character or national identity)" tends to "dismiss adaptive behaviour by Indians as indicating loss of culture.... Presumably few non-Indians

regard introduction of exotic foods, electronic communications, and modern transportation as having impaired the continuity of [Canadian] identity" (1990:15).

The White Paper of 1969

An attempt was made in recent years to eliminate all identification of Native peoples as contrasted to other Canadians. In June of 1969, the federal government, under Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) Minister (now Prime Minister) Jean Chrétien, released a White Paper which called for the termination of all special treatment of "Indians", and the complete eradication of the Indian Act.⁹ Proponents of this scheme argued that "‘equality,’ or ‘non-discrimination’ as it was often phrased, was the key ingredient in a solution to the problems of Indians, and that special rights had been the major cause of their problems (DIAND 1969)", states Sally Weaver in a study of Canadian Indian policy-making (1981:4). Although an ethic of equality is espoused here, the ideological undergirding of such political thinking consists of universalist and utilitarian assumptions.¹⁰

Reaction to this paper from the aboriginal community was swift and negative. Its objectives were seen as harmful and not in accordance at all with those of the Native peoples in Canada. Weaver says concerning DIAND reports of the consultations with aboriginal peoples 1968-1969 that these showed that, "an unmistakable consensus on certain priorities emerged among Indians...: Indians wanted their special rights honoured and their historical grievances, particularly over lands and treaties, recognized and dealt with in an equitable fashion. Equally important, they

⁹ From her study of the process behind the creation of the White Paper of 1969, Sally Weaver argues that it followed the assimilationist thinking underlying Diamond Jenness' proposal to the 1947 Special Joint Committee hearings on the Indian Act, entitled "Plan for Liquidating Canada's Indian Problem in 25 Years" (1981:4). She states that "in 1969 this implicit policy theme was finally brought into the open and scheduled for immediate implementation" (4).

¹⁰ For a discussion of the ethic of equality and the political nature of universalist assumptions, see Chapter 3 of this thesis. The politics of utilitarianism is dealt with in Six Theories of Justice (Lebacqz 1986:15-32, 116-120).

wanted direct and meaningful participation in the making of policies that affected their future" (1981:5). Further, this policy of supposed "formal equality" (Hawthorn 1966:391) would render equality of opportunity impossible for those of this disadvantaged minority group. As Weaver again points out (1981:4), the Hawthorn Report had argued three years before the White Paper came out that "the equal treatment in law and services of a people who at the present time do not have equal competitive capacities will not suffice for the attainment of substantive socio-economic equality" (Hawthorn 1966:392).

Today, Native peoples are clamouring, not only for greater participation in policy-making within Indian Affairs, but for self-government or full Native control of their own lives, either within Canada or outside and alongside Canada.¹¹ According to Sally Weaver, the White Paper sparked an ethnonationalism, or more precisely "nativism", amongst aboriginal peoples "unparalleled in Canadian history" (Weaver 1981:5); the "fear and insecurity" it engendered "were so great that nativism was the reaction - a process of cultural reaffirmation which often arises when cultural systems are severely threatened. Instead of seeking equality, Indian communities reasserted their cultural uniqueness, emphasizing their social distance from the dominant society" (6).

The Problem of External Definitions

It is essential at this point to note objections to the external classification of the 'other'. The problem encountered by those who set the criteria for identification and categorization in this manner is two-fold. First, external categorization can be and has been used to 'administer' the 'other' in accordance with the agendas of the dominant society. One example of this appears in British Columbia's political history, where aboriginal peoples have all too often been perceived as "too simple and unsophisticated before contact to be regarded as having individual or collective rights...[as having] no more rights than other wildlife" (Tennant 1990:15). Because of this assumption that Indians were "too different from Whites" to have similar rights,

¹¹ A discussion of the impact of nativism appears in the Introduction of this thesis.

aboriginal 'inherent' rights have been denied there for a long time (15-16), notably to the benefit of those of the dominant culture. Those who possess enough power to impose external definitions on others pose a threat to the 'other' in that they may also have the potential power to use the creation of definitions to marginalize or exclude the 'other', as the government bodies attempted to do in the White Paper of 1969.

Second, there is always the dilemma, when attempting to interpret others, of misunderstanding and misrepresenting their values, ideas and symbols. A classic illustration of this is found in Rupert Ross's Dancing With A Ghost (1992). In the "Preface" to the book, Ross accuses non-Native society of failing to categorize Natives properly. His expressed objective in writing this book was to "articulate [his own] confusion at the actions, reactions and explanations of Native victims and witnesses in the court process" and "to warn other professionals about the extent of our common ignorance" concerning aboriginal culture, thought and practice (xvii). Yet Ross, though strongly desiring to understand Native culture and act as an advocate for and a bridge between Native peoples and their non-Native neighbours, is himself a non-Native and appears incapable of overcoming his own cultural biases and proclivities, resulting in considerable distortions caused by his cultural lenses.¹² Therefore, it is my view, based on the assertion that cultures are fluid and not static but ever-changing, that outsiders should not attempt to create definitions and categories for the

¹² For a discussion of one Native view concerning the 'distorted' notions of the uniqueness of Native cultures as found in Ross' representation of aboriginal ways, see Saugeen Ojibwa educator Priscilla George's (1993:25,29) scathing critique of Dancing With A Ghost. George notes several points of inaccuracy in interpretation of aboriginal cultures and notes that she felt at different moments "angered", "irked", and "Horri[fi]ed", stating that "We cannot pretend to know what [goes] on in [a person's] mind" (25). She ends with a warning of her own: "Do not accept wholesale a sociological model to explain Native peoples. Rather, remember that we are individuals..." (2^o). This critique is preferable to one of my own creation as it comes from a Native person on the topic of Native culture, something I know less about than she, though I, too, found many of Ross's interpretations questionable. The point, however, is that classifications externally made are external and tend to generalize.

'other' whom they cannot fully know or understand, as it may lead to overgeneralization, interpretive distortion and stereotypical categorization.

Native Self-Identification

A more useful means of categorization, for my purposes, emerges from Native self-identification,¹³ the terms of which are loosely based on Dunning's model for Indian communities. Here, I distinguish between those Native individuals who are of aboriginal descent and consider themselves to be, above all else, ethnically Native, that is, distinctly different from being EuroCanadian, regardless of their geographical or cultural experience, and those Native persons who may or may not have resided in a Native community, but consider themselves to be 'Canadian', that is, not distinctly different from EuroCanadians, in spite of their geographical or biological heritage.

Some struggle with the concept of self-identification. Harold Cardinal, an aboriginal sociologist and political activist, accepts self-identification upon the condition that the Native community also recognizes the individual's claim to a Native identity. This private-communal approach to cultural identity is quite useful, as it offers an alternative to Western assumptions concerning the priority of the individual over the community. However, it also presents a complication for the interpretation of census statistics which do not require communal support. Since this is the case, and I find myself with no option but to cite statistics based upon the federal government's criteria for cultural identity, I have chosen to recognize and use the private self-definition approach.

Native Identity and Christianity

Alongside resistance to political dominance and the rise of nativism there is often a resistance to religious dominance. There exists amongst a good number of aboriginal peoples in Canada a mistrust of and sense of contempt for anything Christian. What is found particularly to be objectionable within Christianity is the

¹³ I prefer to follow the practice of Statistics Canada of encouraging and accepting internal identification, or the cultural self-identification of individuals over any superimposed 'educated' guess.

religious colonialism¹⁴ and paternalism¹⁵ which came with the political colonialism.

It is widely acknowledged that Native people today often "lump all three [Christian churches, governments, and trading companies] together as elements of a single oppressive presence" (Grant 1984:257), and it "is with a particular sense of disappointment and betrayal" that they view the churches (258). Those with experience in Native-non-Native intercultural relations in Canada are often painfully reminded that anything that has a hint of paternalism is immediately and outrightly shunned as intolerable by some. The effects of this reaction to Christianity, for missionization and theological training in the Native field, are demonstrated in current resistance to any non-Native Christian organizations which aboriginal peoples might perceive as paternalistic or colonial.

Perhaps a qualifier should be inserted here. In the opinion of John Webster Grant at least, Native peoples have not always been, nor are they all now, completely "reluctant and recalcitrant" when it comes to converting to Christianity (1984:263). He argues, as do others, that Christianity actually, though inadvertently, served to preserve aboriginal societies in the face of colonial powers (Grant 1984:42,91; cf. Graham 1975:91). Axtell (1982:36-40) suggests that conversions may even constitute evidence of resilience and courage, whereby Native peoples, in their self-determination, borrowed only what they believed they needed to adjust to new

¹⁴ Colonialism is defined as "a governmental policy of controlling foreign dependencies" (Webster's II 1984:140). When the agendas, systems, symbols and ways of a dominant group are imposed upon the 'other' from a position of power and dominance in the religious domain, it is religious colonialism. Religious colonialism is similar to political colonialism in that institutional agendas and access requirements are set and enforced by those of the dominant culture. At times, there may even be a closer link between church and state, whereby strategies for the provision of theological training may be informed by a 'secular' political bias.

¹⁵ Paternalism is defined as "a practice or policy by which an authority treats or governs those under its jurisdiction in a paternal [parent-like] manner, esp. by filling their needs and regulating their behaviour" (Webster's II 1984:514). It is the treatment of the 'other' as a ward or dependent or child, in need of provision, protection, direction and correction (discipline).

contexts. It is unlikely that people will convert to and intensely commit to a religious tradition if they do not view such a decision to be of significant value to them. Perhaps conversion to Christianity is for some more of an act of non-violent resistance to cultural repression than a passive acquiescence by powerless victims. One present-day Mohawk convert to evangelical Christianity, Ross Maracle, suggests to others within the Native community that Christianity offers healing power and purpose for life for Native peoples, and encourages the creation of a Native church which will contribute to the survival of Native peoples in Canada (1992:12-14; 1991:29,41).

There are many aboriginal individuals today who hold fast to a faith in the ways of Christianity; I know literally hundreds of Native Pentecostal Christians who take their faith very seriously, many of whom do so to the absolute exclusion of anything they understand to be of aboriginal religions. As has been indicated in the Introduction of this thesis, some 40% (or 400,615) of all self-declared aboriginal peoples in Canada identify themselves as Christians. The distribution of this Native Christian population, according to Table 2 (Appendix 3), and the number of Native congregations and Native church leaders (Appendix 3, Table 1), is as follows:

Anglican	- 81,270 adherents, 210 churches, 70 clergy
United	- 31,070 adherents, 67 churches, 39 clergy
Pentecostal	- 19,120 adherents, 91 churches, 53 clergy
Baptist	- 4,085 adherents, 5 churches, 2 clergy
Presbyterian	- 2,840 adherents, 4 churches, 2 clergy
Salvation Army	- 1,840 adherents, 0 churches, 7 clergy
Lutheran	- 1,135 adherents, 3 churches, 1 clergy
Mennonite	- 1,000 adherents, 7 churches, 3 clergy
Methodist Bodies	- 750 adherents, 1 churches, 0 clergy
Chr. & Miss'y Alliance	- 510 adherents, 10 churches, 4 clergy
Reformed Bodies	- 180 adherents, 0 churches, 0 clergy
Church of the Reformed	- 140 adherents, 0 churches, 0 clergy
Missionary Church	- - adherents, 0 churches, 0 clergy
Other Protestants	- 13,675 adherents

Defining Nativeness for Native Christians

For many Native Christians, to be Native and to be Christian is no contradiction in terms. Yet, there was a time when becoming or being a Christian was

thought to signal a move away from 'nativeness'. In the "Enfranchisement" section of the 1876 Act:

Any Indian...who may enter Holy Orders or who may be licensed by any denomination of Christians as a Minister of the Gospel, shall ipso facto become and be enfranchised under this Act (Indian Act 1876:86.1.).¹⁶

In other words, according to the Act, if one became a professional in the Christian Church, that person forfeited their legal aboriginal identity. The Native individual who became an ordained minister was in the eyes of the law no longer an Indian, primarily because he or she had achieved a certain level of education which rendered them 'civilized' and assumed to have 'risen above' their former aboriginal status. Native Christians today can feel just as much pressure, from those who view Native culture and traditional religion to be inseparable, to relinquish their cultural self-identity because of their religious persuasions.

Take for instance the account of the wife of a former chief of Lynx Lake in remote northwestern Ontario. It is reported that, upon attending a chiefs' meeting where sweetgrass and pipe ceremonies initiated each session, the Ojibway woman asked her daughter "why these people never 'thanked God' at the beginning of these meetings like the people from the Severn area did" (Valentine 1992:60). Valentine describes this late-middle aged woman as one

who spoke no English, who dressed in traditional garb..., who spent much of her life on a trapline, who lived in one of the most remote Indian villages in Canada (60).

Her nativeness included her Christianity. To her, and apparently "most people in Lynx Lake, to be Native is to be Anglican," but all of a sudden outside pressures are being felt to accommodate a different perception, that "to be Anglican is to be non-Native" (60). For this woman to "turn from the Church of England to a 'Native religion' would be denying a central focus of the Native identity in the community." As Twyla Anne Soullière puts it,

¹⁶This clause was dropped from the 1951 revision of the Indian Act.

Valentine feels that in our efforts to give the Natives a chance to express their heritage we have denied them the chance to be Christian (1994:12).

The question, stated directly, is:

Must one stop being a native in terms of ethnic experience in order to be or become a Christian? (Temme n.d.:59).

Native Christians, like any other aboriginal person, often have a strong propensity to identify themselves as culturally Native regardless of their religion, or any other type of adaptation for that matter. Just as their determination to retain their identity as Native people does not mean that they necessarily want to return to a 'traditional' lifestyle, so also it does not mean that they have to want to turn to a traditional or other Native religion. Freeman (1981:265) suggests that culture "is not the ancient and exotic aspects of a lifestyle", but the continuation of "a core of essential elements...[that] make the inter-generational journey, despite the profound changes of circumstances that all societies expect in the modern world. Cultures are dynamic and evolving realities" (258). Further, states Freeman, "the only meaningful arbiter of cultural identity is the individual's perception of self, and the acceptance of that individual by the group he or she identifies with" (266).

Aboriginal peoples today are not identical externally to their forbearers. They are not Canadian "souvenirs" to be put out in some "exotic", "eternal past-in-the-present" display for neo-colonial consumption (Blundell 1992:13). They are peoples with living, flexing, ever-changing cultures, the same as anyone else. Aboriginal candidates for ministerial training often face this sort of stereotyping, and the lack of self-determination that comes along with it.

The Problem of Advocacy and Native Voice

Concerning the challenge to address accepted images of 'the Indian', Landsman and Ciborski state:

If there ever had been, there is no longer a clearly defined, morally appropriate stance to be taken by the scholar in relation to Indian peoples. Even advocacy has been tainted as Indians make their way in the public arena, serving as their own spokespersons without consulting mainstream scholars (1992:440).

I am aware, as a non-Native scholar and friend of certain aboriginal people, that I must not go beyond the simple act of saying to the outsider that we need to hear what some less vocal, evangelical Native peoples are wanting to say about how they perceive their religious and political experiences, specifically within Christianity, or at least not to stand in the way of the hopes and aspirations of such individuals and groups. This explains the purpose of my approach in Chapter 4, that of granting space for Native evangelical voices rather than trying to represent their views and agendas myself.

It should be noted that Native voices will not be presented to any great satisfaction until aboriginal individuals are given opportunities to produce their own works on Native perspectives and stories, without non-Native introductions or interpretations -- where they communicate with each other about their visions for the present and the future without having to address the questions of non-Natives.

This is a vital need in the area of the ethnohistory of missions. Still lacking is any significant collection of aboriginal voices of evangelical 'believers' and practitioners for non-Native and Native academia to consider. There are questions concerning the reasons aboriginal peoples give to explain their conversions to Christianity. Non-Native, and perhaps Native as well, interpretations tend to be functionalist, supposing that there are only economic and political, or worldly motivations behind Native conversions to Christianity.¹⁷ The natural sciences and the social sciences may bias one against accepting more spiritual or supernatural explanations which some Native testimonies seem to include. One such testimony entails a story of spirit interaction. Note the emphasis upon interaction with spirit-beings in the testimony of Peter Jacobs (Pahtahsegay), a Mississauga convert to

¹⁷ For a brief discussion of conversion, see Gibson (1993:9-19). For a critique of modern theoretical and methodological approaches of anthropologist and religionists in the interpretation of Native conversions, including the "problems" of "silencing of Native voices" (i.e., through racism, ethnocentrism and religio-centrism, hegemony, religious colonialism, romanticism, advocacy) and "functional reductionism," (i.e., through scientific empiricism, rationalism, secular humanism), see Gibson (1993:20-27).

Wesleyan Methodism in the early nineteenth century. He described himself as a wounded deer, shot in the heart with Christ's arrow:

...he runs away as if not hurt, but when he gets to a hill he feels the pain, and lays down on that side where the pain is most severe. Then he feels the pain on the other side and turns over: and so he wanders until he perishes... (1843:1).

Christ here becomes the hunting spirit who apparently chases down his prey and irresistibly compels the same to surrender its life to him.

The story of Waskaganish Chief Billy Diamond,¹⁸ is also illustrative:

I was determined at one time to burn that church down. We used to sit up all hours of the night thinking of ways to get rid of the preachers....

I remember sitting on a band council and we threatened [Christians] that they would lose their welfare, or they wouldn't be put on the housing list....

Several weeks ago in my home village I accepted Jesus Christ as my personal saviour. ...I thought it was the longest walk I had ever taken - 50 feet or so....

We were poor, we were broken-hearted, we were certainly captives. But we wanted to be free from the Department of Indian Affairs, to be free from the handouts. We wanted control, but we couldn't get control until we surrendered, until as individuals we became free through the gospel of Jesus Christ....

You see, the people here really believe in a living God. They believe Jesus is the Son of God. And for them it's real; it's personal. It's a church that's gone back to the fundamental principles of a God who speaks to his people. It's a New Testament church. We're still living in the Book of Acts (Diamond 1991:20-22).

¹⁸ Billy Diamond was the Grand Chief of the Crees of Quebec from 1974 to his conversion to Pentecostal Christianity in 1984. The signing of the 1975 James Bay and Northern Quebec (Hydro) Agreement and the 1984 Cree-Naskapi Act giving self-government to these two bands both took place under his leadership. Today he is active in representing the Cree of Quebec, and often preaches to Native evangelical conferences and churches.

As Axtell (1982) contends, Native peoples are agents of their own destinies to the same degree as other peoples. They are not passive victims of dominant-culture aggression. They always have and always will exercise their free wills to choose the directions they desire to take within the boundaries of what is possible for them, and they are not unknown to appeal to spiritual beings for assistance to make their range of options greater than they appear to be to others.

Evangelical Native Christians are no different. In spite of social pressure to assimilate or otherwise accommodate the agendas of EuroCanada, it must be noted that they do exercise their freedom to choose their own spiritual ways. It would be difficult to argue otherwise.

Evangelical Native Christian Identity

There are today many aboriginal Christians committed to and actively involved in the spread of Native Christianity in Canada. One recent Cree graduate of a non-Native Pentecostal BC, Levi Beardy, started and now pastors a church on the southern Ontario reserve at Curve Lake (Scriver 1992:3). Ojibwa Mary Jane Kavanaugh, a product of a Pentecostal Native college, is ministering as "an apostle", as she defines her role, at the Osnaburg House Reserve in northern Ontario.¹⁹ Ross Maracle, Mohawk president of a Native independent Pentecostal BC and founder of the "Spirit Alive" television broadcast, recalls the time when one Cree family replied to his father concerning what he could bring back to their winter bush camp, "We want the white man's black book" (1992:12). Native writer George McPeck is general director and president of Intertribal Christian Communications and editor of the Canadian evangelical magazine Indian Life (1987:3). The executive director of the Native Evangelical Fellowship out of Brandon, MB is Waskaganish's Joseph Jolly.

These individuals, with their ministries, are a part of a viable and lively evangelical presence among Native peoples in Canada. However, this may present

¹⁹ This information was communicated to me in conversation with Ms. Kavanaugh, in Saskatoon on May 28, 1994. In this conversation, she expressed a deep desire to see the establishment of a locally-led group of Native Christians in this socially distraught community.

snapshots of evangelical Native Christianity out there, but it does not define them. Therefore, based on the above discussions about Native voice, the following is an attempt to have Native Christians offer their own definitions of themselves as Native Christians.

Accounts abound of testimonials which indicate that many who espouse an evangelical faith profess to have experienced radical crisis conversions to Christ. Conversions of this sort came early in the Native-Christian encounter, as evinced by Ojibwa, Kahkewaquonaby (Peter Jones), of the first of the Mississaugas to convert to a theologically evangelical Methodism (Jones 1861:13).

Like Jones, Mohawk pastor from the Six Nations reserve, Dan Doolittle, speaks of his conversion to Christianity in vibrant terms. Recounting his story, Doolittle tells of the moment when he went to the altar of a little church on the reserve and committed his life to Christ. He now considers himself a "Native Christian". To him, as to most evangelical Christians of aboriginal heritage, this term is extremely important, for it says much about what they consider to be their self-identity. First of all, he identifies intensely with his new-found Pentecostal faith, and takes great pains to distinguish this from aboriginal religions, such as the Long-House tradition taught to him by his people. At the same time, he also considers his Christian faith to be strongly tied to traditional aboriginal beliefs, perhaps the culmination or fulfilment of older Native religious ideas about the nature of life, the spiritual 'realities' of this complex world, and the way human beings are to interact with the spirit world. For instance, he sees no conflict between traditional conceptions of spirit beings and Pentecostal ideas about spirits, demons and God, but seems to believe that Christianity simply clarifies who these beings are and how one might better relate with them. Furthermore, he speaks of his 'credentials' as a 'true' or 'real' Native person when talking amongst those he believes are questioning his nativeness as a Christian. He tells them that he grew up on a reserve, has an Indian status card, and loves corn bread. These traits may not be what he considers to be marks of nativeness, but they appear to be what he thinks non-Natives look for as identification signs. All that might be said to be missing in his credentials, for some, is an active membership in

the Long-House community. However, this individual at least considers himself very much Native and yet also completely Christian.

The statement made at the end of Billy Diamond's testimony, inserted a few pages back, about how he and his religious community view the activity of God indicate something of his self-identity. In this proclamation of beliefs is also a statement of community: Native Christian, but it is also indicative of how many within the religious community he aligns himself with identify themselves.

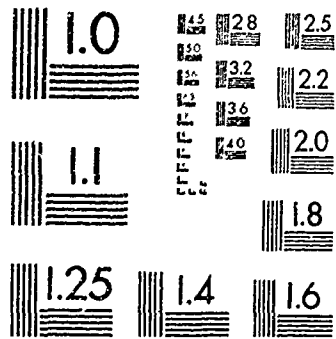
Thus, for the purposes of this thesis, I acknowledge and accept that many, if not most, aboriginal peoples seek to go in a different direction than others might think best on the whole. And, the directions they choose may not be uniform.

It is with this particular view to the inclusion of evangelical Native perspectives in mind that I address the Native scene in Canada today. I concede that my accounting of how things are in Native Christianity and how they got to be there is incomplete as it now stands, since greater input from Native sources is needed; this chapter can and should be improved by aboriginal contributors. In Chapter 4 we return to Native voice.

The question for the next chapter, once one has accepted that cultural self-identification is a vital issue within modern discussions of Native Christianity and the training of its clergy, is, How do other evangelicals view Native peoples, theologically, culturally and politically, and how do such attitudes relate to their training of aboriginal candidates to the Christian ministry?

2

PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT



CHAPTER 3

EVANGELICAL THEOLOGICAL TRAINING FOR NATIVE CANDIDATES AT TWO SOUTHERN INSTITUTES

What follows in this chapter is an examination of interviews done at two Canadian, evangelical, ‘non-Native’¹ Bible colleges (BCs), identified as EBC1 and EBC2, and of the promotional publications put out by these same institutions. This study was undertaken in an effort to determine some of the prevalent strategies in use in the training of aboriginal ministerial candidates, as well as attitudes about aboriginal peoples of Canada, which appear to be operative in particular evangelical academic settings.

Two Case Studies

EBC1 draws students largely from urban eastern Canada, being located itself in a large urban centre. It has been in existence for 54 years, and presently serves approximately 300 students. It offers a one year certificate program, a two year diploma in General Bible, and bachelor degrees in Religious Education as well as in Theology. With historic roots in the Anabaptist tradition, the college serves mainly an evangelical constituency. In keeping with the values of its supporting denominations, it places a strong emphasis upon conversion-oriented Christian ‘Missions’ and the preparation of candidates for foreign missionary service.

EBC2, an evangelical, Pentecostal BC, is located in a southern, urban community in Canada, has been in operation for some 55 years, and today serves approximately 700 churches within four Districts in eastern Canada. Having a student body of approximately 500, it offers much the same program of study as EBC1, a three year diploma ministerial program required as partial fulfilment for ordination. A Bachelor of Theology program is also offered, with majors in Educational Ministry, Missions, Pastoral Ministry, and Youth Ministry. EBC2 derives from similar historical

¹ The term ‘non-Native’, when used to describe any theological training institution, is to be understood as a reference to institutions not specifically designed for aboriginal candidates.

and theological roots as EBC1. EBC2 has been engaged in considerable missionization and theological training activity amongst Native peoples in Canada, and its Pentecostal umbrella organization (PAOC) has been operating five 'Native'² BSs for some time. EBC2's supporting denomination includes in its missionization emphasis a commitment to Native ministry.

Collection and Use of Interview Data

In recognition of and in response to any possible sensitivities concerning the potential effect of disclosure of data obtained through interviews upon personal or institutional reputations, I protect the identity of each interview contributor through the use of alpha-numerical codes³ or pseudonyms, though this was not specifically asked for by any of them. From this point on, I will refer to administrators, faculty and Native candidates interviewed at EBC1 as follows:

- 5 Administrators: 1A1, 1A2, 1A3, 1A4, 1A5
- 2 Faculty: 1F1, 1F2
- 3 Native Students: Cindy, Ruth, George (pseudonyms)

Those interviewed at EBC2 will be referred to as:

- 2 Administrators: 2A1, 2A2

Where my name comes in to introduce my part of dialogue in interview transcriptions, it is indicated by: Author: A

² The term 'Native', when used to describe any theological training institution, is to be understood as a reference to institutions which are specifically designed for aboriginal candidates. Today, the PAOC operates five NBCs: Northland Bible College (Sioux Lookout, ON), Canadian Native Bible College (Vancouver, BC), Central Pentecostal Bible College: Native Ministries Campus (Saskatoon, SK), Native Pentecostal Bible College (Chibougamau, PQ), and Pentecostal Sub-Arctic Leadership Training (SALT) College (Fort Smith, NWT), the first of which was opened in the 1970s.

³ In this alpha-numerical code system, the initial digit (a number) refers to the particular institution the interviewee is officially associated with: 1 = EBC1; 2 = EBC2; 3 = Native BCs. A letter indicates whether the individual functions within the college's administration (A) or is a faculty member (F).

Other resources were also consulted, including official publications and faculty handbooks produced by the corresponding institutions plus completed responses of a more detailed version of the general theological institution questionnaire sent out to others. My methodology is discussed in Appendix 6 of this thesis.

The discussion that follows is a presentation and analysis of what has been said in these interviews. However, before turning to the material from the interviews, there are some observations about the training of Native candidates for ministry which should be discussed.

Non-Native Evangelical Awareness and Involvement

Few administrators of theological institutions possess more than a cursory awareness of what is being done in Canada to train a Native persons for Christian 'ministry'. In an interview with 1A3, I was told that she recently

spent about an hour on the phone calling around to various other [evangelical] Bible colleges, saying, 'What do you offer in Native studies?' and I came up with a blank. Some of them have maybe one course, that's all, and they could not refer me anywhere else either (1A3).

Most of those contacted appear to have had little, if any, knowledge of the existence of any Native institutions or programs whatsoever in Canada.

Tables 5 to 7 (see Appendix 3) provide information about the training. Enrolment and graduation rates for Native theological training are markedly low in non-Native mainline and evangelical institutions alike. Evangelical non-Native institutions, those which are not specifically oriented towards Native candidates, had an overall average of 4 Native candidates per institution in 1994, have had an average of 14 in total enrolment per institution over the past ten years, and have graduated 3 in that same time frame.

Enrolment numbers are generally only marginally higher in non-Native Pentecostal BCs such as EBC2 than the averages cited above. Current 1994 enrolments average 4 per institution, while ten year records reveal average institutional enrolments of 31 (Appendix 3, Table 4).

The overall average enrolment of aboriginal candidates, where non-Native and Native BCs are included in the figures for Pentecostal institutions, is 174 (Appendix 3, Table 5). The graduation record for both Native and non-Native BCs in 50 Native individuals (Appendix 3, Table 5).

Non-Native evangelical institutes offer instruction to the general evangelical population in the sense that they do not consider their training to be targeting any specific ethnic or cultural group, even though they often have some Native candidates enrolled. My questionnaire questions were designed to ascertain whether such institutes made any special provisions for Native candidates. My findings, tabulated in Tables 8 and 9 (Appendix 3), indicate that various conditions exist which, in combination at least, either inhibit the success achievement of such training efforts or reflect an inhibiting of the same. Low enrolment and graduation levels for Native candidates can, in part at least, be attributed to a combination of four conditions which commonly exist in non-Native circles, as the statistics demonstrate. These are: a lack of focus upon Native theological training; a lack of effort to recruit Native candidates; an absence of culture-specific Native courses or programs; and a lack of commitment to develop culture-specific Native training. The results of the survey (Appendix 3, Table 9) of non-Native institutions, following the above numbering system, are:

1. Present Native Focus:	Mainline	- 7 No, 2 Yes
	Evangelical	- 7 No, 1 Yes
2. Present Native Recruitment:	Mainline	- 9 No, 0 Yes
	Evangelical	- 8 No, 1 Yes
3. Present Native Studies:	Mainline	- 8 No, 1 Yes
	Evangelical	- 8 No, 1 Yes
4. Future Native Development:	Mainline	- 8 No, 1 Yes
	Evangelical	- 7 No, 1 Yes

At Native BCs, those oriented specifically for Native candidates, there is a focus on Native training, provisions made for their recruitment, culture-specific courses and programs are offered, and there exists a commitment to the development of culture-specific training. Administrators of these institutes gave positive responses to the above four conditions. The results of the survey (Appendix 3, Table 9) of Native institutions demonstrate this point:

1. Present Native Focus:	Mainline	- 0 No, 4 Yes
	Evangelical	- 0 No, 3 Yes
2. Present Native Recruitment:	Mainline	- 0 No, 4 Yes
	Evangelical	- 0 No, 3 Yes
3. Present Native Studies:	Mainline	- 0 No, 4 Yes
	Evangelical	- 0 No, 3 Yes
4. Future Native Development:	Mainline	- 0 No, 4 Yes
	Evangelical	- 0 No, 3 Yes

Table 12 (Appendix 3) records the responses from 5 non-Native BCs on the question of special services offered to Native candidates. Here 'special' denotes 'culture-specific' needs. Note the absence of culture-specific elements generally considered necessary for Native candidates whose cultural identity and life experiences are considerably different from EuroCanadian norms.

'SPECIAL' PROVISIONS MADE YES NO

'Special' Entrance Requirements	0	5	(100% said No)
'Special' Academic Upgrading	1	4	(80% said No)
'Special' Personnel	0	5	(100% said No)
'Special' Curriculum	1	4	(80% said No)
'Special' Pedagogy/Androgogy	3	2	(40% said No)
'Special' Student Services	1	4	(80% said No)
'Special' Student Awards	1	4	(80% said No)

The results present a fairly uniform picture. Typical attitudes operant appear to include a lack of recognition of almost any 'special' needs which aboriginal candidates might have apart from those of the average EuroCanadian student. The only notable exception is in the area of pedagogy/androgogy. For whatever reasons, a majority of the respondents reason that learning needs and styles vary with cultural background. Otherwise, it seems there exists no conception or awareness of the culture-specific needs which I have listed in the prior paragraph.

As noted earlier, the Pentecostals operate purely Native programs and institutions so as to provide alternate, culture-specific training, and intentionally send aboriginal applicants to these institutions. One administrator I surveyed stated that he

"actually would discourage a Native Canadian from attending [there] because the [Native training institute] would do a better job." Another remarks, "Most native [adherents in their denomination] live in the north, and it is the experience of [their] Church that sending northern Christians to southern Canada to train for ministry in the north is not educationally helpful." I will describe and discuss one such Native institution in the next chapter.

Now we turn to the attitudes and activities of two southern non-Native institutions which I have examined.

Native Candidates

EBC1 has had several Native candidates attend, but it does not have a strong connection with Native ministries. As will be discussed below, Native ministries means in particular outreach to Native communities. This institution has trained six aboriginal students over the past ten years, has graduated one of these, and has had three (1% of the student population) attending the college during the 1993-94 school year.⁴ Two of those whom I interviewed at this BC stated that the denominations represented on the Board of Governors of EBC1 have not engaged in Native missionization. Says one administrator:

I think that it's fair to say the Board of Governors..and probably all of the faculty of the college..probably have no Native friends (1A2).

There is no one on faculty that has a particular connection to Native people or to Native ministry. ...The [major supporting denomination] itself does not have any strong connections to Native ministries in Canada or Native missions. So, there's no kind of denominational expectations around that. And so, basically, I think it's a non-issue. It just has not been an issue around here (1A5).

The condition is different with EBC2 and its supporting denomination and its religious associates, for here there exists a considerably larger aboriginal constituency

⁴ The registrar of EBC1 provided these statistics, based in part on information gathered by word of mouth as ethnic identity is not tracked.

than with EBC1.⁵ There are 19,070 Pentecostal Native adherents (Appendix 3, Table 1) within an active and vigorous Pentecostal Native church. With such numbers in the denominational ranks, considerable and constant contact between the two parties resulted. Subsequently, awareness of Native congregations and their needs attracts considerable attention, and the recruitment of aboriginal candidates to the Christian ministry is a prime concern to denominational leaders.

Mission Orientation

EBC1 is a self-professed conservative evangelical institution, founded upon a strong missions orientation. It is intensely committed to outreach, both in 'home' (Canadian) and in 'foreign' (overseas) fields.

In discussing the heritage of EBC1, administrator 1A1 commented that they have made a concerted attempt "not to lose the fervour for reaching 'unreached' people through evangelism wherever and strategic missions." Yet, in the same interview he describes a failure on the part of EBC1 to address the Native "market":

We have ignored the Native possibilities - not deliberately, certainly not with any kind of, I think, ethnic bias - but ignorance never the less (1A1).

"A blind spot," he calls it.

Missionization on the part of Western, Protestant Christianity has generally focused upon the 'traditional' fields of Africa, Asia and the Americas - lands outside of European. In more recent times, attention has veered away from the North American field. Regardless of the reasons, whether they be the existence of such perceptions as a belief that North America has already been mostly Christianized or that aboriginal peoples are generally resistant to conversion, or simply in acknowledgement of the injury caused by missionization practices of the past here, it appears that evangelicals are largely overlooking the Native peoples of Canada.

⁵ Table 1 in Appendix 3 demonstrates that Pentecostals form by far the largest segment of evangelical Native Christianity.

EBC1 does not consider aboriginal peoples in its mandate. Its founding denomination does not involve itself particularly in the 'reaching' of Native peoples and has no Native congregations in its constituency. The training of aboriginal candidates in its programs of study is considered coincidental, and since most of these candidates tend to come from southern urban centres, cultural difference does not generally arise as an issue to be addressed until some time after admission.

When asked about EBC1 involvement in the Native field here in Canada, 1A1 of this college speculated:

Leaving it to others, or, I don't know. Why not? ...I don't know why we've ignored people in our own country. ...It isn't something that the denomination has stressed as part of its quote-unquote home missions strategy (1A1).

The reason for EBC1 inattention which 1A1 postulates is that the task has been left "to others".

Another explanation for inattention to Native missions has been offered. In a telephone conversation with Eastern District office personnel of the main supporting denominations of EBC1, I was told that one administrator⁶ there believed that the reason this denomination has avoided Native missions has to do with their not knowing what to do with Native culture, and particularly Native spirituality.

Similarly, EBC2, like most other mainstream Pentecostal BCs in Canada, does not have the specific training of aboriginal candidates as any higher a priority in their objectives than does EBC1. As noted earlier, EBC2's parent denomination (the PAOC) includes Natives in its mission statement, but its mainstream EuroCanadian institutions do not maintain any particular focus on the training of Native candidates.

Inattention with regard to the training of aboriginal candidates may be due in part to a perception held by many in evangelicalism that missions is a 'foreign thing',

⁶ The administrator, who reportedly offered this comment to his secretary on January 14, 1994 in response to my inquiries concerning denominational involvement in Native missions, was a high official within the Eastern Canada district of EBC1's major supporting denomination.

something that is done over in another place with people who are very different from 'us'. The attitude that predominates within most of evangelicalism at present is that missions is a foreign endeavour. Missionary efforts and strategies are reserved for 'foreign fields'; BCs here are for 'us'.

1A2 notes his denomination's lack of involvement in 'home missions', and particularly Native missionization:

I think the denominations that are represented here, I still have yet to find if any one of them would have any interest in Native ministry. They're all keen on the foreign missions but the Native ministry issue is a different question.

Further, 1F2 suggests that strategies differ in the training of 'home' and 'foreign' peoples. EBC1 encourages culture-specific theological training for those who reside in foreign countries. 1F2 explains that contextualization is practised much more consistently and effectively "on the mission field because...we're actually in another country":

In Kenya we lived on the mission station that was in the middle of four tribes, so we were surrounded by four different tribes and tribal warfare went on in the hills at night and burning each other's huts down. So you really became a part of the culture, whereas here people come to us from Vietnam or from China. And so, I suppose we sort of expect them to adapt to us, and we haven't got the same pressures to contextualize.

This speaker went on to say that he supported the mission policy of creating and maintaining culture-specific BCs in 'foreign' countries as opposed to sending 'foreign' students to Canada for their training:

It was much better for them to stay in their own culture, they would do much better and they wouldn't change. If they come to Canada for three years, their culture begins to change and they have difficulty fitting into the culture back in Kenya, so mission fields aren't bringing students in mass from Third World countries to Canada as much (1F2).

Apparently, for 1F2, these foreign mission principles and policies do not hold for the training of Native candidates. Native peoples are considered by him to be "part of

Canada"; they reside within the boundaries of Canada and they are "part of our Canadian society".

Native peoples do not appear to be different enough, either geographically or culturally, in IF2's thinking to be foreign. It is interesting to note that eight times within the span of a very short segment of dialogue does he refer to aboriginal peoples in Canada as "Native Canadians"; it is practically the only term he uses for them. When asked directly about his view of the value of offering separate, culture-specific instruction to aboriginal peoples, IF2 said this:

because they're part of our Canadian society, there is also value in integrating them, so we have a little different situation. ...We are capable of adapting; when it comes to overseas mission fields we have sort of discovered it's better maybe to do it there, but I don't think that holds here. ...I don't like segregation, but if the differences are that great and if it would be too hard to adapt all the theology, then perhaps it would be better then to teach it in the two methods (IF2).

Kenians, on the other hand, are considerably 'foreign' and so are more 'deserving' of culture-specific training. When 'foreign' peoples "come to us" in Canada for instruction, says IF2, "I suppose we sort of expect them to adapt to us" rather than we to them.

Cultural definitions of 'foreign' are closely connected to geographic definitions of 'foreign'. Missions-minded administrators, agents and instructors may at times have a proclivity to assume that everyone "in our own country" is like 'us'. Typically, evangelism targets 'us', 'our own people', while missions has as its focus the 'foreigner', 'the other'. Aboriginal peoples of Canada may be missed by those who consider them to be 'Canadians' just like 'us' simply because they live here with 'us'. The assumption made here is that all who live in Canada are 'Canadian'. In these terms, "Native Canadians", the label used by IA2, would not come under the category of foreign missions, and missions strategists are not inclined to look for those who are 'our own'.

EBC2 differs from EBC1 in that it has for a long time recognized the mission field of aboriginal peoples. Academic 2A1 recounts the days when Native missions

were in vogue in the Assemblies. Native outreach and church planting was a "significant component of field education" practical training program at EBC2 during the 1960s when 2A1 was a student there.

We regularly visited and had services and tried to start churches in the reserves within driving distance. So, the talk [on campus] would be a lot then about what happened last night in the reserve. What happened last night in the church service. And I remember being in those church services and bringing in Native evangelists and all of that (2A1).

At the time, this was the only viable mission field to which these students could go to gain cross-cultural missions experience. Apparently, geographic accessibility may account for a good deal of early interest and commitment to Native missions in the PAOC.

Pentecostals have had Native missions as a part of their focus for a considerable length of time now, although not nearly as long as the historic churches as Pentecostalism did not enter the scene of Christianity until after the turn of this century. From simple beginnings, its Native work has grown to the point where it now claims an unprecedented place within Native evangelicalism (Birch 1993:24-25)⁷. To Pentecostal missionaries, Native peoples are considered authentic subjects for missionization, and 'special' treatment is not a new concept to those at EBC2. Aboriginal church services were different. Reserve life was different. So, it has been generally accepted that Native training would also be different.

What is 'Native'?

The discussion of what is foreign and what is not begs the question, What is 'Native' as opposed to 'Canadian'? As outlined in Chapter 2, there are several

⁷ Ken Birch is presently the Executive Director of Home Missions and Bible Colleges for the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. Before this, he served as Executive Assistant in the same department between 1971 and 1974, and later as President of Central Pentecostal College in Saskatoon, SK for ten years. His experience and knowledge of Pentecostal 'home' missions and theological training policy and strategy is, therefore, considerable.

definitions of "Indian" in use today, and it appears that some evangelical administrators hesitate over the question of "What is Native?"

Several at EBC1, for instance, raised the question of who is 'Native' and who is 'Canadian', and how a self-identified aboriginal candidate who on the surface appears to be fully assimilated into Canadian society can be different or have specific needs apart from those of non-Native Canadians. EBC interviewee 1A2 referred to such aboriginal individuals as "fairly urbanized" or "those [who]...appear to be really quite integrated into the Canadian experience". To him, "urbanization is exactly the measure" by which 'Nativity' is determined.

Cultural identity appears to have been significant to the self-image of most Native candidates whom I talked with at EBC1. These are those who may or may not have resided in a Native community but who, in spite of geographic, legal or biological definitions, consider themselves to be 'Canadian', that is, not distinctly different from EuroCanadians. Several come from non-Native adoptive or foster homes and have spent most of their lives in non-Native communities and schools. Others, who would generally claim to be quite comfortable in EuroCanadian society but who apparently experience varying degrees of discomfort in the EuroCanadian culture of EBC1, have grown up surrounded by their Native families and for at least some time lived in a Native community. These have tended not to remain in the program at EBC1.

It should also be noted that, at least for one Native candidate, culture was a factor consciously considered upon application and admittance to EBC1. Questions which arose in Ruth's mind included, "How will I fit in?" and "How are those of other minority groups treated at [EBC1]?"

Another student, George, at times considered himself to be a Native first and a Canadian second. This individual experienced considerable conflict within EBC1. Reasons for this conflict vary, but there is general agreement from the perspective of the administration that some part of it had to do with this person's efforts to rediscover his Native heritage and assert his Native identity. Apparently, this Native student was struggling to define himself, for he had grown up in a non-Native

Christian foster home and had only recently begun to explore his 'Nativness'. Apart from other factors which are personal, his "behavioural problem" stemmed from this personal crisis.

In a private conversation, George expressed the feeling that he was running into ethnocentrism, if not also religio-centrism, at EBC1. It would not be unusual for this unicultural, uni-religious⁸ institution to exhibit such attitudes, and I believe that George was quite aware of this; he seemed, though, to be unsure as whether he wanted to accept this 'reality'. He expressed to me a desire to be disciplined in such an institution as this was something he seemed to feel he lacked in his Christian walk. At other times in our conversation, George seemed to express personal struggles with the socializing forces at work within this BC, due in part to what seemed to be internal struggles over his cultural self-identity. Thus, he seemed caught between cultural self-identity and religious self-identity.

From the 1A5's report of the student's defence of his behaviour, it can be surmised that George saw the situation differently than did 1A5:

Another new student this year has been a behavioural problem on dorm - fairly belligerent - and Native issues comes into that because he figures he's different and so needs to be treated differently. ...I never heard that being used as an excuse for anything. They would say that they're Native and so therefore need to be treated in some special way (1A5).

As the non-Native administrators of EBC1 seem to view things, association with the college is voluntary for candidates, and those who attend should be those who feel they can fit in. Accommodation of difference is made to a certain extent, but 'special' treatment can be allowed to go only so far before it becomes disruptive to their training model. The last aboriginal candidate spoken of above was deemed disruptive when he began to make difference of treatment a contentious issue. Soon after admission, he started to break rules, and was beginning to influence other

⁸ See Appendix 4 for an example of a typical evangelical doctrinal statement, submitted as one of many with the questionnaires returned for this thesis.

students in ways thought by the administration to be detrimental to their Christian development.

Not all of the supposedly 'deviant' behaviour of this candidate need be considered due to his cultural uniqueness, for such factors as personality also come into play. However, this individual perceived the reasons for conflict to be largely on the grounds of cultural difference, and so, perhaps, did 1A5 who thought difference ought to be downplayed. The point here, however, is that difference was not an issue at the time of registration; it is not even acknowledged for Native candidates at this stage. Difference becomes an issue sometime later on, when a Native candidate begins to struggle academically or socially within the college, and it is this later appearance of conflict which catches EBC1 by surprise. When Native candidates begin to fail, become discouraged and drop out, demonstrate 'deviant' behaviour, or just choose to not return for future study, all of which has happened in EBC1's experience with aboriginal students, the administration is left wondering why this takes place.

The record at EBC2 is somewhat similar. Amongst those aboriginal candidates which this institute has served, the majority come from southern, urban centres and appear to the college's administrators to be significantly assimilated into EuroCanadian culture, to be "pretty much part of the mainstream", as 2A1 puts it. These candidates are "part of the mix: they're another student, rather than another ethnic person, [and are] pretty much 'in' Canadian culture", states 2A1.

EBC2, like EBC1, is an institution committed to the training of candidates for ministry primarily within the EuroCanadian context. This is why 2A2 refers to this non-Native institution, and others within the denomination, as "mainstream". Readily and unapologetically admitting its EuroCanadian (2A2 calls it "AngloCanadian") ethnocentrism, EBC2 acknowledges in its response to questionnaire question 10.5:

For those Native candidates who have not been significantly assimilated into broader Canadian culture, there would be culture barriers. ...The Native Canadians with us now are being prepared to minister in the broader culture the same as any other student.

Note the use of the term "Native Canadians" here. It is apparent that the individual who wrote this comment considers those aboriginal candidates who attend EBC2 to have been generally assimilated and no longer holding strongly to a Native identity.⁹ Although the writer records herself or himself as "one-sixteenth Micmac" Indian in a statement written on the questionnaire under the question about how many aboriginal individuals do they have in their personnel records, it seems from other comments made that this individual prefers to be identified primarily as a EuroCanadian, and then writes on the questionnaire the interesting comment, "How Native is Native?"

2A1 talked about NBCs and their place in Pentecostal theological training:

I think generally that where Native students are particularly trained to minister in Native cultures, it's in Bible colleges which are closer to the Native setting, not in the mainstream Bible colleges -- in some of the northern Bible colleges closer to the Native cultures geographically you might find special training to train Natives to minister in Native cultures than you would in mainstream colleges -- in a special type of school that has teachers who know how to teach Natives to minister to their own culture.

According to him, the majority of aboriginal candidates who attend EBC2 "are not concerned whether they go back to [minister within] Native cultures or not. Those that particularly want to minister in their own culture don't come here" (2A1).

I was told of three recent incidents at EBC2 when the behaviour aboriginal candidates drew the attention of the administration there. The first had to do with a Native student who had requested that he be permitted to wear his hair long, in a pony tail, as he considered it to be his way of expressing his nativeness; he argued that this was a cultural issue, and the administration at EBC2 agreed and so allowed him to graduate with his pony tail, perhaps to the chagrin of some older Pentecostals attending that graduation ceremony:

As far as I know, that student walked the line and received his diploma with a pony tail, 'cause somebody was sitting behind my wife [who]

⁹ See Chapter 2 of this thesis for a discussion of definitions of Native peoples.

said, "Oh, they're allowing pony tails now!" [My wife] looked around and said, "It's part of his heritage -- culture" (2A1).

Another Native candidate apparently experienced some difficulty adjusting culturally to the environment of EBC2, having been "plunged [through marriage to a EuroCanadian and then through entrance into the college] into the culture here" (2A1). This individual tended to "isolate himself". Says 2A1 of this experience:

That student was very interesting to watch -- he participated very much in the culture [of the college after awhile] because his wife was a part of it, at the same time recognizing a certain attachment to his culture. They went back there to his home, his reserve, to pastor after graduation, but now is back [studying] at Ontario Theological Seminary.

The third situation involved the struggling of a northern Native candidate who came from a reserve where life was considerably different than at EBC2. It is difficult to determine the causes of these struggles, but they were apparently personal rather than academic. He had "a background of prison" and some sorts of "social events" in his past which apparently negatively affected his experience at BC, claimed 2A1. Whatever these factors might have been, 2A1 recalled "talking to him from time to time about his need -- very interesting -- his need to escape the city."

Of the personal struggle experienced by Native candidates, the administrator who recounted these three incidents says:

The struggles were coming out of things that happened in their past. Whether or not it was related to being Native, I don't know. I think I'm talking about Native students who happen to have struggles, rather than Native students who've had struggles because they were Native students.

Theological and Cultural Implications

There are theological and cultural implications at play when a particular ethnic group is differentiated or not differentiated from other Christians. Theologians have from the earliest of times established the primacy of the biblical principle of unity,¹⁰ taught by Jesus, that a "house divided against itself shall not stand" (Matthew 12:25,

¹⁰ For a presentation of evangelical views on unity, see Stott (1975:33-34).

KJV) and included in his prayer, that his disciples "may be one" (John 17:11; cf. Ephesians 4:3, KJV). For evangelicals, theology is grounded in the "authoritative" biblical text.¹¹ Yet, not all agree on how to interpret these scriptures or where to place stress. Some oppose this historic emphasis on unity, arguing that more weight ought to be given to those passages which speak of the benefits of diversity. However, unity within diversity is considered by most evangelicals to be the ideal within their theological boundaries.

Most theological educators would espouse the benefits, to varying degrees, of diversity, but many also recognize that it can be a difficult concept to understand, accept and implement within a theological context which strongly espouses the necessity of unity. Take, for instance, the case already cited of IF2, who seems committed to diversity as a foreign missions strategy, but does not appear to be ready to accept it here at home. This position may have as much to do with that individual's theological stand as to his political platform.

Many a sermon grappling with the modern challenges of multiculturalism, within evangelicalism at least, has included the statement that we ought not to encourage the development of separate ethnic churches here in Canada, for this is somehow 'unChrist-like', smacks of cultural pride, and leads to division amongst the 'body of Christ'. An article by Pierre Bergeron¹² illustrates this widely held sentiment:

During the Meech Lake discussions, I was asked by a Christian magazine to write an article [for] federalism...[while] another

¹¹ Stott presents a succinct, accurate exposition of theologically evangelical views of Christian scriptures in The Lausanne Covenant (1975:10-13).

¹² Although this view does not in any way represent the attitude of anyone else in particular besides Mr. Bergeron, it was published in the national leadership magazine of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada as a regular item and not just as an editorial or letter to the editor. This journal is not noted for printing items which are outside the boundaries of accepted opinion as determined by the denominational leadership, and so it may be assumed that the sentiments of Bergeron may be expected to be shared by others within this magazine's evangelical readership.

Pierre Bergeron is the executive assistant (Quebec) to the superintendent for the Eastern Ontario and Quebec District of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada.

evangelical francophone would write a similar article but from a nationalistic (sovereignty-association) perspective. Needless to say, I refused because I believe this kind of journalism fuels division in the Church instead of creating a sense of unity....

Becoming a Christian does not eliminate our particular ethnic identity. However, as Christians we now belong to each other in such a way that distinctions that formerly divided us should lose their significance. This principle must be extended to deny the significance of all racial barriers. In Christ there must be neither black nor white, Caucasian nor Oriental...nor Native or any other distinction....

While the country is busy trying to preserve the cultural rights of all, the Church should be busy preaching the culture of the kingdom of God to all (Bergeron 1993:15).

Added to this theology of unity, within evangelicalism, is the Protestant emphasis on egalitarianism. The theology of equality is based upon the moral presumption that all are created equal under God,¹³ and that all are equally loved by God.¹⁴ These scriptures are often thought to be intended for the levelling of status in society and in the church.

Although a theology of equality may be espoused by some within evangelicalism, it is not always evenly applied. Culture may be considered to be indistinguishable or at least insignificant in the light of some of its teachings, yet gender or ethnic identities and status are at times significant factors in the decision of who is allowed to fill certain roles. When it comes to the choosing of church leadership, for instance, there is often operant an unspoken rule that those of any culture may lead any assembly, but only if they are seen to share the value system and to possess qualities and abilities valued by and not perceived to be threatening to those

¹³ This teaching of equal standing before God stands on Paul's words that there is "neither Greek nor Jew...neither male nor female" (Colossians 3:11, KJV; Galatians 3:28); God makes no such distinctions. For a discussion of the moral presumption of equality, see Wogaman (1989:89-96).

¹⁴ Belief in the absolute love of God is based on Scriptures which state that God is "no respecter of persons" (Acts 10:34, KJV; cf. Romans 2:11).

of the dominant culture. Thus, a Native clergyperson may be required to remain 'loyal' to or to uphold denominational loyalties, historical perspectives, ecclesiological institutions and practices, and traditional theological interpretations, all of which reflect the heritage and agendas of those Christians within the dominant culture who created the particular institutions of the church. "Be like us," say some.

What is 'Virtuous' Instruction?

Diversity presents certain theological, as well as ethical and political challenges for evangelicalism. There is today an ongoing debate within evangelical circles about how much theological, cultural and ecclesiastical diversity should be tolerated or encouraged or facilitated. Unity and diversity are theological, ethical, and political terms, each describing particular notions of how people perceive their world is or should be shaped. These two terms tend to polarize evangelicals into two political camps: those who emphasize unity by de-emphasizing cultural diversity, and those who emphasize diversity by de-emphasizing cultural assimilation. It should be noted that in actuality, however, most fit within a continuum between the two camps rather than at the extreme ends of the poles.

Ethnocentrism appears in the mix of attitudes at these BCs. There seems to be evidence, particularly within the publications of and interview data from EBC1, of a perhaps unwitting assumption of cultural supremacy in the minds of those of EuroCanadian heritage. At EBC1, there was very little recognition even of how this might affect the way the 'other' is treated within the unequal power relationships which exist at the college or even in Canadian society at large. In every interview at EBC1, at least one comment was made concerning their lack of awareness of the issue of cultural barriers or the need for culturally appropriate structures and services for Native candidates. Virtually no one claimed to have given the issue any consideration at all.

This rationale exists at the highest levels of many institutions. Like Harvard University of 1978,¹⁵ EBC1 considers its EuroCanadian academic product to be universally virtuous. Note the following comments made by 1A1 of EBC1:

[We need to instill] a proper understanding and appreciation for tradition and for history... (1A1).

Whatever higher education, whatever college education, is supposed to create in people, that is what we want: a college graduate. It involves a whole range and breadth of understanding and education in culture and literature and some degree of scientific understanding... (1A1).

If we can graduate students who are in the know educationally, and that includes Bible education, theological education, as well as a liberal arts education, they're educated Canadians... (1A1).

Our program ought to be able to fit anybody for ministry... (1A1).

I don't know why [EBC1's program] wouldn't be as relevant for a Native candidate as for anyone else; they are a part of our culture; Christianity and discipleship transcend culture, and the call of Jesus is amazingly magnetic - we can have all kinds of areas where we disagree culturally with students who come to us, but when we talk about the things of Christ, there's the one area where we're called to a universal kind of walk with God and the standards are high and they're there for all of us (1A1).

Academic Calendars: EBC1 and EBC2

The content of EBC1's current academic calendar reveals something of the ideological underpinnings of the college. The pedagogy used is largely formal and textual, with little opportunity for access to faculty members outside the institution for informal instruction through modelling. Time management skills for "managing a program" are based upon Western practices of industrial societies. The orientation of

¹⁵ In 1978, Harvard committed itself to the preparation of "cultivated," or as those of a century ago would have put it 'civilized,' leaders. This, they determined, would require education in several compulsory core subjects, i.e., Literature and the Arts, History, Sociology and Philosophy, Science and Mathematics, and Foreign Cultures. It was objected that these presented a strong EuroAmerican slant and emphasis, and the assumption underlying this is that civility or cultivation is an exclusively EuroAmerican product alone (Seligmann 1978:61).

EBC1's programs such as Pastoral Theology, Music, Christian Education and Counselling clearly are 'classical Western'. These assume candidates share certain EuroCanadian values. Interpersonal relations and communication skills are based on "contemporary" Western notions of kinship and community. Counselling approaches are "informed by the [Western] social sciences", with no mention of culturally informed alternatives. All candidates are trained in the use of Western education models. Worship leaders, musicians and singers are required to gain substantial knowledge of and to be equipped in the use of "classical" music styles which may be considered foreign to non-EuroCanadians. "Competency" and "effective[ness]" are judged according to the standards set by an almost exclusively EuroCanadian faculty. "Pertinen[ce]" in regard to what needs to be studied in theology and Christian ministry is also set by and thus reflects the agendas of those of the dominant culture in Canada. The Missions program purports to "sympathize with cultural and social norms not considered antithetical to the Christian message", but fails to identify who it is that defines antithetical norms, those within the culture or social group being critiqued or those in positions of authority at EBC1. Further, it does not mention that the process of the contextualization of the gospel studied at EBC1 includes an in-depth critique only of the influences of EuroCanadian culture upon Christianity which has caused it to appear to many to now be inseparable from the values and norms of the dominant cultural. Hermeneutics and Bible courses neglect to address the issues of linguistic problems in the translation of scripture texts from English translations into aboriginal or other non-'Western' languages. History is taught from a Western perspective.

The content of this publication reveals a high degree of universalism, and what I perceive to be a universalist assumption concerning aboriginal peoples, operant at EBC1. Native candidates, as any other non-Western oriented person, are expected to benefit directly and uniformly from EBC1 instruction.

EBC2's calendar, too, reveals a EuroCanadian-centric focus. According to this publication, EBC2 has a "Non-Discriminatory Policy" which states that it "admits students of any sex, race, colour, nationality, or ethnic origin". However, it is to be understood that this institute trains candidates to be knowledgeable of Western,

EuroCanadian theology, history, music, languages, ecclesiology and social sciences. For instance, Time Management and Relationship Skills is a course which "assists the student toward successful adjustment in college life" and emphasises those skills which are required in a EuroCanadian academic environment. Current Trends in Pentecostalism specifically discusses "the innovations and developments currently found in Western Pentecostal theology".

Although there is no substantial difference between the content of this text from that of EBC1, there does exist a difference between the underlying assumptions of the two. EBC1 assumes that all "Canadian" candidates will benefit equally from its instruction and operates from an ethic of universalism; EBC2 has taken a slightly different approach. Its calendar and curriculum emphasize Western training, but the institution has also made some provision for cultural specific programs.¹⁶ It has at some point in its history come to a realization that aboriginal candidates require instruction which is different, or at least which is provided in a different manner, than that which mainstream Pentecostal BCs offered. EBC2 contends that the needs of cultural difference can only be accommodated through the provision of different, culture-specific training if equal treatment is to be achieved, and so is particularistic in its approach. Therefore, as early as the 1970s, EBC2 was sending out senior candidates from EBC2 into northern, isolated Native communities to offer theological training on a basic academic level (Peters 1988:27-31). From these beginnings, two Native campuses were created, first in northern Ontario and later in northern Quebec, to facilitate the ministerial preparation requirements of aboriginal Pentecostals. The next chapter will discuss one of these Native BCs.

¹⁶ Culture-specific programs are not limited to the training of Native candidates. Following the precedent set by the establishment of these Native BCs, EBC2 recently invited a Spanish institute to affiliate with them. Thus, the utilization of such a model in Canada by Pentecostals precedes the recent upsurge of interest in new immigrant populations or the federal 1971 Multicultural Policy (Miller 1991:275); it is not new amongst Pentecostals, but has simply experienced a revitalization with recent immigration influxes.

It should be recognized that some at EBC1 understand that Native Candidates may require 'special' treatment. Starting with the declaration, "We have to help Native peoples succeed in the college" (1F1), the following are the comments this EBC1 faculty member concerning the politics of education in this institution.

I think that there is a political issue here. ...I think that we need to be more willing to give up the power that we just automatically have. ...I think that we cannot view every student that comes to us equally, I mean, we do not treat them equally and hope that they will succeed, and that's what I think we'll have to address. ...But as far as...Native peoples, a predictable strategy addressing the needs of given cultural groups, I would like to see us do that. I would like to see us deal on a larger level with a trained faculty...who have learned to be sensitive to diversity...to teach differently, if necessary...where we would honour a special need instead of ignoring it. I think it would create a different climate for students coming in (1F1).

As to her estimation of the likelihood that institutions such as her own would be able to meet the cultural needs of Native candidates who are significantly different culturally from EuroCanadians, she contends that without training they "would fail":

I think we would end up failing because they just aren't aware of unconscious attitudes because they see through our cultural perspective (1F1).

Later, she expanded on her analysis of the state of affairs amongst her colleagues at EBC1, stating:

I guess I think we just continue doing our thing and [aboriginal candidates] either fit in or they don't. We don't accommodate ourselves to them; we hardly recognize them. I mean, we can't identify them usually because we've done nothing to honour their ethnicity or ethnic backgrounds at all. It's kind of like we just go on being whatever we are, and you can come and join us if you can be what we are, and I would think that that would be fairly discouraging, even if someone looked at our material and decided to come (1F1).

Conclusion

In this chapter, the views of non-Native educators in evangelical theological training institutions have been explored. This investigation, particularly of interviews and publication data, suggests that two attitudes towards aboriginal peoples exist. At

EBC1, Native peoples are not seen as Native, but as belonging to the category of Canadian. Therefore, no 'special' (culture-specific) training has been offered to Native candidates. EBC2 views Native peoples as slightly different from EuroCanadians, and so supports a policy of differentiated learning, whereby Native candidates are offered culture-specific training at NBCs.

In the next chapter, an example of an evangelical BC specifically designed for training Native Candidates will be examined. This will be followed by a presentation of some non-Native and Native perspectives on the theological education of native candidates.

CHAPTER 4

EVANGELICAL THEOLOGICAL TRAINING: A NORTHERN CASE STUDY

The institutions of the previous chapter were both oriented to the training of non-Natives, specifically, of EuroCanadians. They did not consider their present mandates to include the training of aboriginal candidates in any culture-specific manner. EBC1 seems to have failed to recognize aboriginal peoples in practical terms. EBC2, while recognizing Native peoples as significantly different from others in Canada, did not attempt to address these culture-specific needs within its curriculum.

There exists another model of evangelical institution not yet considered, the 'Native' Bible College (NBC). This chapter, devoted to an examination of such an institution, begins with an ethnographic account of a northern NBC, a theological training institute for the preparation of Pentecostal clergypersons.

My own knowledge of NBCs is based upon four years (1987-1991) as principal of one of these institutions in northern Ontario. Additionally, I will draw upon comments made by two non-Native administrators of similar NBCs during a recorded dialogue. In that discussion, A Native person made occasional comments. The non-Native speakers are administrator of NBC1 Kelly (pseudonym) and administrator of NBC2 Clarence (pseudonym). The Native elder is Peter (pseudonym).

This chapter concludes with a series of discussions with 4 Native Pentecostals from the area served by the NBC described in the case study. The opinions expressed are recorded here in order to provide indigenous perspectives on theological training. Comments made by these contributors will be divided into three emergent and at times over-lapping themes: the pertinence of present evangelical theological training available to Native candidates; the different nature of evangelical Native and non-Native churches; and the question of autonomy or self-determination for the Native church. The names which appear below are not the speakers' actual ones. I have chosen to respect their privacy through the use of pseudonyms, as this was the condition on which they consented to be interviewed. They are identified as follows:

- 2 Native Elders: Peter (pseudonym) - the one Native speaker involved in the dialogue between NBC administrators, though himself not an administrator, he tends to watch from the sidelines as others enter into the 'grand' debates of the church.
- Moses (pseudonym) - he is an experienced and thoughtful person, whose wisdom has placed him on the national stage in 'secular' aboriginal politics as well as in the thick of things within the Pentecostal indigenization movement.
- 2 Native Pastors: Aquila and Priscilla (pseudonyms) - this couple pastor a local church in a coastal Native community.
- 1 Native Graduate: Joseph (pseudonym) - he is a graduate of a Native Pentecostal BC, to the ridicule of his 'brothers.'¹

These have much of interest to say concerning the BC models in use at present.

'Native' Bible Colleges (NBCs)

Apart from the many mainstream non-Native theological institutions which have served the occasional aboriginal candidate, there are in existence within both mainline and evangelical Christianity several culture-specific programs which are primarily, if not solely, oriented to the training of Native candidates. Several institutions of this sort are located in remote, usually northern, areas.

¹ The pseudonyms chosen to represent the contributors in this chapter are taken from the Christian scriptures. Each was selected because of the following traits shared by the biblical characters and these Native individuals:

Joseph - came through the 'school of hard knocks', encountering the despising of his brethren for his uniquely chosen path.

Priscilla and Aquila - were leaders of the early church who together engaged in the training of an energetic though 'immature' native ministerial candidate.

Moses - is presented in scripture as the 'mouthpiece of God' to the dominant culture of his day, as well as to his own minority group. His message was to call his people out from bondage and dependency into freedom, sovereignty and self-determination.

Peter - although he was active in providing leadership in the first century church, he largely left the public discussion and writing of church policy and practice to others like Paul.

NBCs are a recent phenomenon. All of those academic institutions for the training of Native candidates polled by my questionnaires claim to have come into existence within the last quarter of this century. The rationale for the birth of such institutions is that many Native candidates find southern EuroCanadian training to be both geographically and culturally remote. It is probable that another reason behind the establishment of such by their respective denominational constituencies is the general lack of academic qualifications amongst aboriginal candidates for entry into the mainstream schools; the number of Native graduates of Grade 12 or possessing post-secondary academic skills is considerably lower than the Canadian average. The following are those Native institutions, colleges with specific Native programs, (Appendix 3, Table 11) of which I am aware, arranged according to their self-declared denominational orientation:

Mainline

Anglican	Arthur Turner Training School, Henry Budd College for Ministry
United	Francis Sandy Theological Centre, Jessie Saulteau Resource Centre
Anglican & United	Vancouver School of Theology: Native Ministries Program

Evangelical

Pentecostal	Canadian Native Bible College, Central Pentecostal College: Native Ministries Campus, Native Pentecostal Bible College, Northland Bible College, Pentecostal Sub-Arctic Leadership Training (SALT) College
Other	Key-Way-Tin Bible Institute, National Native Bible College, Native Bible Centre

Northern Evangelical Native Bible College: A Case Study

The NBC which I have come to know so well and which I now discuss is an institution established through the efforts of non-Native Pentecostal missionaries in northern Ontario. The compound was built to house both the mission's headquarters and a training centre. Its original intent was for it to serve the ministerial preparation requirements of the Oji-Cree, Ojibwa and Cree Pentecostal constituency of the region, but eventually expanded to include the training of aboriginal candidates from as far away as Saskatchewan and Oka, PQ.

Situated, until recently, "in the bush", as far north as the roads in Ontario go, and then another 10 kilometres up the "North Road", the campus was located several miles from the nearest community. It was on the shores of a little lake, with only one neighbour, a hunting and fishing fly-in outfitters camp which was closed during most of the winter when the school was in operation. Trees were cleared on a rise in the property, and approximately eleven log and wood frame buildings were erected to house the college and mission staff and students (students were generally placed in the log cabins first as these required less maintenance and firewood to heat than did the larger dormitory). At first, there was a poor supply of electricity, as a generator had to be used, but this was corrected with the construction of a powerline from town which the PAOC financed and installed through voluntary labour. However, it was deemed too expensive to heat with any other energy source than wood. Windows were almost always single-paned, insulation was generally insufficient, classrooms were often cold, and there were constant problems with frozen waterlines and septic pipes in the final year of my stay there. Approximately fifteen hundred to two thousand softwood trees had to be felled for firewood each year; most of the cutting, as also the construction work, was done through the volunteer labour of crews from southern Ontario, but the stacking of firewood and feeding of fires fell to both staff and students alike. Two radio telephones serviced the needs of this whole community.

The setting was chosen by non-Natives, with minimal consultation with the Native Pentecostal community. The decision was based solely upon the expressed wishes of "northern pastors" at a conference in 1977 to have a mission centre and a Bible school "right here amongst them" (Cummins 1988:136). Cummins describes the rationale behind his choice of location:

The government arranged to lease us a seven and a half acre wilderness site that Indians could feel at home with. It is on a little lake in quiet solitude nine miles from the airport here, our connecting link with the Indian reservations (136).

Having spoken often with those who have knowledge of the process in the decision to locate the college there, I have been told that the non-Natives thought this would be the sort of setting northern Native peoples would choose. The non-Native

perception of the location was that it was ideal, out on the land by a lake where traditional lifestyles could be combined with formal learning.² It was thought that Native candidates would prefer to live 'in the bush', to live a life of hunting and trapping and reside in log cabins heated with wood, far away from the enclaves of modern communities. As Cummins expressed it in the above quote, it was a place non-Natives thought that "Indians...feel at home with." Thus, the campus established would have met well the needs of the pristine Native of the woods.

However, the Native communities which this college served drew from peoples who were becoming increasingly used to and desirous of modern conveniences. The students who attended, (only five when I arrived but fifteen when I departed four years later) during my tenure were generally young adults, often married and with children. They were almost exclusively from rural, often isolated, reserve communities of the north. Some gave up jobs and fairly amenable housing to come. Most did not have a grade twelve education, were unemployed at the time of application, and expressed a desire to improve the condition of their lives.

Complaints came regularly to my office about such things as drafty homes with few amenities, often having to reside with little children in poorly insulated log cabins, carry their water, and use outhouses in the middle of the winter. Although attempts were made to upgrade the living conditions of these facilities, the dissatisfaction of the Native inhabitants was never completely overcome.

Further, the site was located far from anything that resembled a community to them. The isolation proved to be a major hardship for the majority who did not possess licences to drive or have access to automobiles to transport their families to school. Few of the Natives who attended possessed the skills to live a traditional

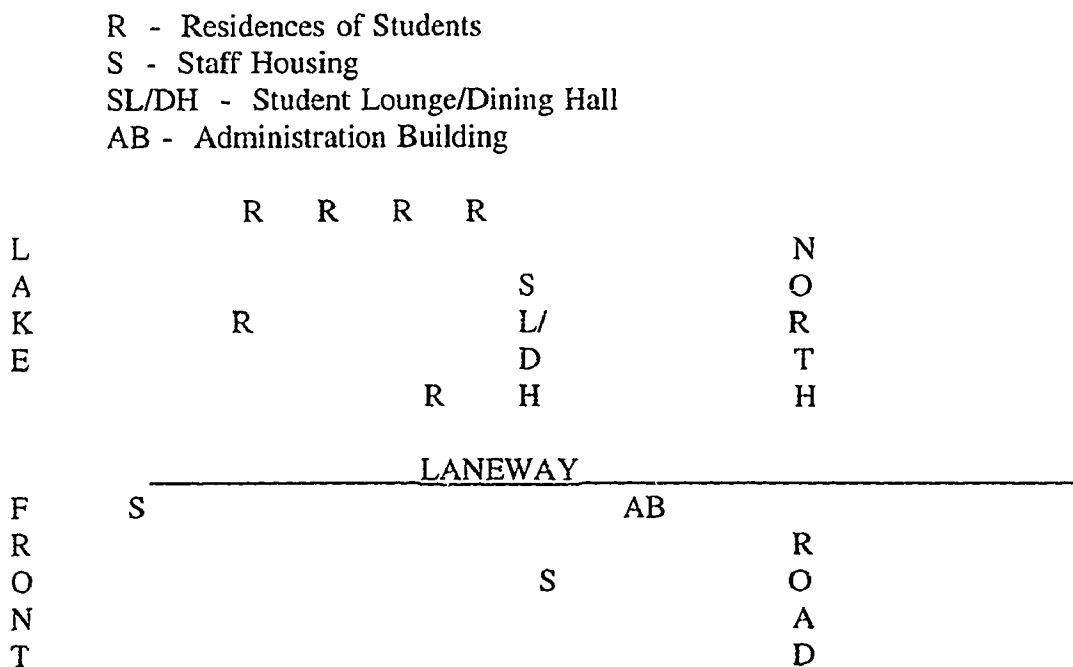
² The advantages of a more 'traditional' or 'bush' location were argued by the director of the Pentecostal mission in northern Ontario when the decision was being made as to where to locate the Native training centre (see Peters 1988:136). In a private conversation, a subsequent director commented concerning the value of having the school out where students could find a quiet place to study and pray without the normal temptations and distractions of community life.

hunting and gathering lifestyle, or appeared to want to pursue such a lifestyle. I recall one episode when a Mohawk and an Oji-Cree confused the tracks left by my wife's shoes for that of a deer, much to their chagrin. Many expressed, upon arriving at the college, that they had anticipated and certainly would have preferred more modern facilities in keeping with a more urban setting.

Also, these candidates and their families were forced to rely upon non-Native faculty and staff for telephone communication, transportation to town, and for other services. There was no local Native community into which the institution was set, thus depriving aboriginal candidates of relationships, conveniences, economic patterns and Native Christian role models normally accessible in their home communities. In that isolated location, they had no stores, no medical facilities, no elementary schools, no buses (only a once-a-week trip into town for grocery shopping in the college's one van), skidoos or other modes of transportation, no telephone of their own (only one was made available for their use, generally located in an office or one of the missionaries' homes), no televisions of their own (one was provided in the student lounge after many requests were made by students for something for themselves and their children), no restaurants (meals were provided in a dining hall for those who did not wish to prepare their own in their cabins), no Native church (only the local Pentecostal church in town which generally targeted its services to the EuroCanadian population of this mining town), and no Native friends or family close by to go to visit; all that might constitute a community for them was missing in this setting. One student, from a small community on the CN rail lines, said within days of arriving at this campus that she felt like she was back in prison here. The isolation of this former location caused the families of candidates to be placed in a circumstance of almost absolute dependency upon the non-Native administrators.

The location of the students' housing is of interest as well. All of their residences were situated on the top of a rise, in a clearing, open to full view from the homes and offices of the exclusively non-Native college staff which stood strategically below and at each end of the little campus. Even the student lounge was in the building where the cook and visiting teachers resided. This location was chosen for

observation as the staff wanted television viewing and other student activities monitored. Note the simple layout diagram of the campus below.



As one can see, the staff of this NBC became, in the perception of many of the Native students and in a very literal sense as well, the physical and social, if not also the spiritual, gatekeepers of the campus. The role non-Native overseer, whether desired or not, was imposed by the location and the layout of the campus.

Instruction at this NBC was offered in English, and almost all the teachers were EuroCanadian pastors who flew in from southern Ontario at their own expense; Native teachers were used perhaps twice during the first three years of my tenure, while we were in this particular location; it was difficult to locate Native leaders who were willing or able to come to teach. This changed somewhat in the final year of my tenure, after we had relocated the college to a more urban setting,

The curriculum was attuned to the requirements laid down by the PAOC's national committee on BCs, the members of which are almost exclusively non-Native. Courses matched those of EBC2 in format and content. Classes were held from

Monday to Friday each week, between 9:00 a.m. and 4:30 p.m., fourteen weeks per term, for two terms a year; no instruction was offered during the summer months.

There were courses in theology and Bible, in church and Pentecostal history and polity, in homiletics and hermeneutics, and in church administration and counselling. Some teachers, most of whom were EuroCanadians, attempted to provide contextualization of the material for aboriginal contexts. A few 'Native' courses, never taught by aboriginals, were added to address issues of particular concern to the Native church. The courses included Native History and Contemporary Native Issues but they were not sufficient to offset the EuroCanadian cultural bias of the curriculum as a whole. The requirements for course work and graduation were very similar to that at EBC2 in that 'successful' writing of book reports, essays and examinations as well as constant attendance at and participation in regular classroom activities led to graduation. Lecture and textual study formed the basis of most of its formal instruction. Candidates sat in ordered desks facing an instructor, who met with them at regular intervals within the walls of a building set aside for teaching. Discipline through punishment and reward, observation and examination are core to the approaches of both institutions. The educational model used by this institution was virtually the same as that of EBC2, and did not change in the new setting.

In my observations of this NBC, I perceived there to be a 'hidden' curriculum operant. The training offered was training in civility. Native candidates were to be given the academic tools and cultural skills required for life and ministry, but the tools and skills given were on the whole those which the EuroCanadian overseers of these Pentecostal NBCs deemed necessary from their perspectives. The thinking of these National and District administrators, much like that of 1A1 of EBC1 noted in Chapter 3, has been that 'good' pastors are persons possessing a 'proper' EuroCanadian education, which entails being knowledgeable in the sciences and arts valued by EuroCanadian society and possessing skills which EuroCanadian theological education considers generally necessary (e.g., counselling and administrative skills).

Character formation was an integral part of this instruction, and with it came the inculcation of certain qualities deemed by these non-Native Pentecostals as more

positive and useful than others. Character was to be formed in the candidates at this NBC through the disciplining systemization of activities like the keeping of a strict schedule of classroom instruction and the doing of chores assigned by the administration of the college such as maintaining fires in and cleaning of non-residential buildings and the shovelling of snow. Here punctuality and industry were encouraged, and penalties reinforced the learning. The desired result was a disciplined lifestyle.

It should also be noted that the site of this campus was chosen, as noted earlier, because of its isolation. This, it was thought, would maintain some distance from the distracting and even 'polluting' influences of non-Christian community life such as bars and pool halls), much like the prayer towns of New England or Duncan's Metlakatla mentioned in Chapter 1.

This sort of training compares significantly with that of the residential schools of the past. There, in most cases, English or French was the language of instruction, and isolation, observation and discipline were central to their strategy of 'civilizing' aboriginal students, creating persons who would be manageable and predictable.

Under my supervision, the college has since been relocated to a more urban setting. This was done in part for practical reasons, which included the intolerable conditions of isolation, such as the inadequacy and insufficiency of housing and student amenities. The move was also undertaken for ethical reasons, that is, because of concern about the dependency training the setting imposed upon candidates. I believed, after hearing the concerns and complaints of Native elders and candidates alike over the first three years of my tenure, that the former isolated setting, forced the candidates there to have to rely upon non-Native assistance far more than they would have liked, and the staff, who were all non-Natives, found the meeting of these needs inconvenient and wearying. This will be discussed by one of the Native contributors who appears later in this chapter.

Pentecostal Native elders were consulted this time for their specific opinions of the relocation of the college. With this move came some intentional changes. No longer were candidates and their families forced to rely upon the staff of the BC to

provide for such basics of life as access to a social community, or to social services, as students were made responsible for arranging their own housing and transportation within what their elders considered a more suitable context. Here, in this slightly more southern community, there existed a sizable Native community, for the zone hospital and other governmental agencies serving the Native peoples of this region were located in this town; many saw relatives regularly as they passed through on their way to Winnipeg or to the hospital or came to take up residence here. Shopping and other services were in adequate and ready supply, and there were two thriving Pentecostal churches in town, one of mixed (Native and non-Native) cultures and the other an independent Pentecostal Native congregation.

Further, the assignment of chores was virtually done away with, and any that were required were placed under the supervision of the students themselves. Also, a Native Dean of Students was employed, at least for the first couple of years following the relocation, in an attempt to transfer some of the control into aboriginal hands.

These changes were made to address some of the surface issues surrounding the training offered at this NBC that had been raised by aboriginal peoples. However, it should be noted that the basic model of education utilized and the curriculum followed remains the same; it continues to involve formal and disciplinary training and it is still under EuroCanadian control.

The Role of Evangelical Native Bible Colleges: Two Perspectives

In October 1993 I engaged several people in a round-table dialogue of the issues facing NBCs. Our conversation lasted approximately one and a half hours, and was extremely revealing in terms of shared and differing perspectives, which I discuss below. Clarence and Kelly were both non-Native administrators of Pentecostal NBCs, and Peter, Kelly's Native husband, was an elder in the Native Pentecostal church in British Columbia. As we talked, Native and non-Native perspectives began to emerge.

Of particular note in Kelly's and Clarence's comments was their emphasis on the need for greater training in discipline and time management. Clarence began by saying that "Native people are asking for a quality education", after which he and Kelly go on to discuss what that means to them:

Native people will begin attending Bible college for a variety of reasons.... However, by the time [Native candidates at his NBC] work their way through three years of solid study...we notice that by the time of their graduation, the sense of mission to their own people has been solidly instilled (Clarence).

Kelly follows this with the statement that it is the discipline inherent in the training of her NBC which accounts for the success of that program:

The alumni [of her NBC], when they get together,...emphasize how much they appreciate the discipline [they received there]. They talk a lot about that, and the fact that the school is orderly, that they learned personal discipline and that they learned group discipline. And they have less and less tolerance of undisciplined presentations of the gospel, sloppiness, and tardiness, for example, people not bothering to show up for a service.... This is a very special experience for them, and hopefully that will set a tone for their whole ministry. ...Nobody was daring to establish a norm [for discipline in ministry amongst Native peoples], but the Bible college is helping to establish a norm. I trust that it is still Native; we wouldn't want it to be otherwise (Kelly).

When you talk discipline to a Native person, you are generally talking about bringing a sense of order into their lives. People living on reserves don't adhere to a clock, generally speaking. They go to bed when they feel like it, they get up when they feel like it, they'll eat when they feel like it. ...They are not tied to our clocks in going to work or going to school. ...There are always problems in the first year of a [Native candidate's] life when they come off the reserve and into [the disciplined NBC] setting because they find it very difficult to work into a schedule, yet, as time goes on, it carries over into their lives and they do become more structured. ...The same is true as far as their dress is concerned, [and] the length of their hair, their faithfulness to [attend] church. ...It's all part and parcel of that stretching experience [where] you're learning to survive in the world of today.

The sorts of discipline training tools listed by Clarence included: "being there on time, the discipline of seeing assignments in on time or they're penalized, the discipline of having to write examinations on a given day and being basically forced to study to succeed in their courses, and so on".

Kelly calls this instillation of discipline the inculcation of "survival skills". She says:

That's something that's well understood in the Native community, that today's survival skills include a computer, a watch, and alarm clock.

Discipline to them has meant accountability -- it does matter to someone else what they do, and they have a responsibility to the 'body of Christ'. ...They will be viewed differently because they have been at [Bible] school, and they owe it to their church, to themselves, and to their 'unsaved' family [to demonstrate] something now of the character of Christ in the Christian community. They talk a lot about that responsibility.

At this point, recognizing the need to hear Native perspectives, I turned to Peter to hear what he might have to say. Peter's contributions to the conversation, interjected only occasionally and very briefly, addressed the need for more concentration on Native social issues and on Native ways of doing things in the training of a Native clergy. His comments appear to go unheeded by the non-Native speakers in the conversation as they override his statements with their own and continue to dominate the conversation, but I think Peter's thoughts are insightful and offer another perspective on discipline.

Specifically, Peter says:

My nation is called Tshimshin. We're out in western British Columbia. ...My parents and my grandparents were very disciplined, and we were taught discipline. Uncles would work with me...and we were very disciplined as kids.

He went on to speak of how traditionally his people would gather up fish and game stores for the long winter seasons, and then have time for art, the point being, I suppose, that this took discipline and time management, and that such things were not foreign to his culture. But, this is where he began to take the discussion in another direction. For him, the concern for discipline related more to the social needs of his people within their Native community than to their relation to the outside community; his concern was not that Native peoples would not succeed in the industrialized world of the EuroCanadian, but that they would not survive at all as a people if their social conditions were not addressed:

Now there is a generation -- my generation and the senior citizens now who are my uncles and aunts -- that generation has gone back to their religions, and their children are now a messed up generation, because not only have they gone back to their religion, but they have gone back to being alcoholics. Alcoholism is very rampant in our reserve.

In his opinion, discipline is needed for the restoration of order or self-control in the lives of his people, and therefore also in the lives of the Native candidates who attend NBCs.

Kelly and Clarence return to Peter's point later, discussing the need amongst Native candidates for "discipleship", "restoration" and "reconstruction" for lives devastated by sexual abuse, family breakdown and alcoholism. These individuals, says Kelly, "view themselves as the broken sheep instead of the 'called ones' [who are intended to become] shepherds". Peter adds:

Their backgrounds of alcohol, broken homes, incest -- this is where I see them struggling.

At the end of our dialogue, Peter makes one final statement about the theological training of Native candidates. Kelly and Clarence have just been discussing the need for "internships", the apprenticeship of Native candidates to Native or other church leaders, within their programs. Clarence in particular enunciates this approach:

I have had feedback from several pastors who've said they would be willing to mentor a Native graduate as an assistant pastor.

Peter interjects here:

I kind of like [the] idea -- having...pastors willing to take a Native intern and working with him as a mentor, because we don't have mentors. I appreciate that when I got saved, my Salvation Army pastor mentored me -- took me with him to hospitals, to the prison, to homes - - I just watched and observed. Occasionally, he let me lead out in a prayer. So, I think it's a good idea.

Peter's infrequent contributions reveal a different perspective from that of his non-Native counterparts. This points to something I think is significant in the dialogue on Native theological training: that there exist more than non-Native perspectives of the topic. The theological training of aboriginal candidates is

ultimately a Native issue, and there are Native individuals who have significant contributions to make in the discussion. I decided to ask several Native Pentecostals to speak to me about their views on the training of a Native clergy. By asking them to talk about theological training in general rather than about any NBC in particular, I hope to make room for them to bring their own agendas to the discourse rather than requiring them to respond to mine.

The Problems of Native Bible Colleges: Some Native Perspectives

Joseph, a Native graduate of a Native BC, believed his training had been very beneficial for his "personal and spiritual development" which he said not only "laid the foundation for knowing the Bible which will assist [him] in the life-long study and learning of the Bible" but also provided a much needed "support group to strengthen [his] Christian life". As far as he was concerned, "whether it was run by Natives or non-Natives, that wouldn't have mattered in any way". He did, however, complain of various aspects of life imposed upon him at the institution:

Sitting in a classroom that's -40 degrees below wasn't fun at all. Student residences should have been at least in living conditions. Vicious pets running wild in the campus was inappropriate. Relations between staff & students, students & students, staff & staff could have been better.³

I have mixed emotions regarding my experience in [that college]; a part of me feels it was a waste of time but on the other hand I attempt to comfort myself with the fact that if I had not gone to [the college] I would have not come this far in my Christian life.

There are advantages on a personal level and some in obtaining a position within the Christian community. But in terms of a job in the secular world, its difficult to say if there are any....

I would say just ministerial-type jobs, and most would be non-paying positions. So it's pretty limited; I'm not even sure if I would get a position in a non-Native church.

In the Native Christian community, they are slow to accept those individuals that receive Bible school education, because they believe that it is not man's [sic] responsibility to teach spiritual truths from the

³Joseph submitted his responses in writing. His punctuation has been maintained.

Bible but that it is the Holy Spirit's job. In the secular world, Christianity is considered "white man's [sic] religion". And due to the revival of Native religion, anyone associated with Christianity isn't generally accepted as a true, blue, Indian Joe. In other words, there isn't much respect or recognition for possessing a Bible college diploma.

What remains outstanding in my mind time and again is the personal and the spiritual development that occurred in my life while attending [the college]. To this day that is my prayer that I enter into a fulltime ministerial position some day. But this is where I have problems; I've been trained, I believe, to fulfil the mandate of [the mission agency], [the denomination], the great commission. That may be an overstatement but the point is that I can't support myself or my family financially because that type of support isn't out there. So I have to resort to a secular job or/and a secular education to make it anywhere. This is where I feel I wasted my time in Bible school. This is one of the issues Native Bible colleges must address and come up with a solution or solutions. This is one of the reasons why funding agencies have stopped funding Bible school students. They feel that the Native communities aren't benefitting from Bible school students.

Many aboriginal evangelicals, particularly those of the older generations, do not trust human wisdom, but seek supernatural sources of understanding and knowledge. These prefer the 'more scriptural,' and perhaps more traditional aboriginal, practice of interacting with and learning directly from spirit-beings, such as the Holy Spirit of the Bible. Priscilla, wife of a Native pastor from a northern Cree community, stated to me in an interview:

Well, I know lots of people are against [Bible college training]. There's probably even some pastors that preach against it.... For myself, I haven't been to Bible college. I haven't been taught a white man's [sic] way, if you want to put it that way, but I know what the Bible says. ...People [say that] when you go to Bible college, you're going to at least start to depend on knowledge rather than the Spirit of the Lord leading you.... You'll start thinking man's [sic] way instead of God's way, you know.

The approach to learning mentioned by Priscilla above seems consistent with traditionalist ideas about the transmission of knowledge through personal spiritual encounters with spirit-beings, as in the vision quest. Mohawk Pastor Dan Doolittle

(1993) of the Ohswekan Pentecostal Church seems also to follow such ways of thinking, for he defines himself as both a Pentecostal Christian and a traditionalist. He contends that the Holy Spirit gave him the wisdom to know how to fix automobiles for the Big Trout Band, to carve meat for Zehrs, and to pastor his congregations, and claims no formal education or informal modelling instruction from human sources in any of these three areas of his life.⁴

One is led to consider the appropriateness of any theological training provided by non-Native educators. It appears, however, that, despite opposition to such institutions, there are those at least among Native evangelicals who desire the training provided by Native schools run by non-Natives. Joseph spoke of how he felt he benefitted from his BC training, yet he also suggested that without some re-evaluation, "the Native Bible college as we know it today will be ushered into Jurassic Park."

An option, different from absolute rejection of BC programs, does exist, one which has begun to appear more regularly in recent times, particularly amongst Anglican, United Church and Pentecostal groups. It entails the establishment of Native-run theological institutions. These institutions are the product of Native Christian vision and initiative. Though not entirely traditional in their approach, they are indigenous attempts to provide a culture-specific alternative to non-Native run institutions. One such Native institution is the National Native Bible College in Deseronto, ON, an independent Pentecostal college which has over the past decade drawn numerous "Full Gospel" (independent Pentecostal) as well as Pentecostal aboriginal candidates from the north of Canada. Those who attend there willingly

⁴ The comments by Dan Doolittle include his perception of his relationship with spiritual beings within his Christian faith, given in a seminar on Native "conversions" to Christianity for the Wilfrid Laurier University course on Native-Non-Native Relations, in November, 1993.

choose cultural identification, for the most part, over academic prestige of graduating with 'higher education' from non-Native institutions.⁵

In addition to the option of attending a non-Native theological training institution, or of attending a Native institution, a third choice, which many Native candidates have made down through the years, is to learn under the tutelage of senior Native church leaders. As noted above, the formal method of classroom instruction within an academic institution is viewed by a sizable number within evangelical or Pentecostal Native Christianity as an inappropriate means of learning spiritual things. There have been 'untrained', 'unofficially recognized' Native evangelists, pastors and elders of both genders in Native churches from the inception of Christianity amongst Canada's aboriginal peoples. As generations replace other generations, spiritual knowledge and ritual skills are passed on to those who are chosen, reputedly by God and the people, to carry on the responsibilities of church leadership in the Native context.

It is not unusual to see young men follow a renowned Native evangelist around the country for months at a time or minister in a Native congregation under the guidance of an experienced Native senior pastor, or to see young women spending a great deal of time in the company of an admired female elder in the church. Much is learned following this model of training, although it is rarely discussed openly by those who implement it. Peter's comments on Mentors, cited above, appear to endorse this model.

I recall sitting in the home of an 'untrained' Native Pentecostal pastor, a man in his late forties, I would guess, who had neither a grade eight education nor any formal theological training. I observed, as I sat there in his living room, a process of informal ministerial training and young convert discipling. He and a younger man

⁵ In the case of the NBC which I served, a three-year program allowed the student to receive two years' credit at other mainstream Pentecostal BCs. However, for the purposes of ordination, the candidate would require a third year of study at another mainstream BC or two additional years of full-time ministry above the normal PAOC requirement.

whom he calls his "assistant" were sitting across the room from each other, he slouched in an oversized armchair and the younger on a couch, discussing together the services for that evening and other pastoral care matters. At the other end of the couch, almost unnoticeable, sat another young man, perhaps no more than a late teenager, watching and listening to everything that was taking place. I learned later that this was someone the pastor had identified as a future church leader, and that this scene was not uncommon in his home.

This Native church leader has been quite effective in his ministry, producing a sizable congregation of about eighty members, and leading his people in the planting of churches in other isolated reserve communities around him with the aid of his Native "assistant pastors". One such offshoot now outnumbered that of this pastor's congregation.

These young "assistants" have been tutored by this church leader according to an apprenticeship model of theological training not often seen today. In his home, they began as new converts to learn the Christian way he taught. They have watched him as he cared for the hurting, prayed for the sick, housed the abused, rebuked the "sinner", challenged the "saints", attacked the spiritual enemies of the soul, and danced at the altar to his God. Now these ministerial candidates are becoming pastors and evangelists themselves, sometimes in those very communities where churches are being planted by this pastor. The confidence level of these trainees seems higher than that of most Native graduates of NBCs that I have seen, perhaps due to the amount of practical on-the-job experience received over numerous years under the careful and supportive scrutiny of their pastor.

Apparently, this Native leader, a strong opponent of formal BC training himself, has discovered and is utilizing one pattern of education that is demonstrably effective, that of modeling. It corresponds with traditionalist ideas about the transmission of knowledge through apprenticeship, e.g., a Native neophyte learning from a shaman, and is therefore arguably a more pertinent model for the training of aboriginal leaders.

Melvin Hodges, author of the Indigenous Church, says concerning the missionary tendency to run roughshod over the wishes of the missionized in the promotion and implementation of mission policy, "never assume that silence gives consent. Sometimes even a 'yes' really means a 'no'" (1976:71). Although some might be a bit reserved in their expressions of objection to the present policies concerning the formal training of aboriginal candidates by non-Natives, this particular pastor is not. I can remember the day he said to me that BSs are for the lazy and that they are simply breeding grounds for illicit sexual encounters between 'under-supervised' student members. In other words, I believe him to be saying that these institutions create unnatural settings where the 'normal' social sanctions of church and community are absent and an ivory tower mentality prevails. He prefers a community-based, informal, practice-oriented model.

Priscilla and Aquila also offered a critique of the appropriateness of the training received in current evangelical theological programs for Native candidates. They had encountered what they considered to be rather 'poor' specimens of church leaders in their estimation who had gone to both Native and non-Native BCs. The biggest complaint seemed to be that most of these graduates failed to engage in ministry once they had returned home; they were 'useless' to pastors, and at times threatening due to their superior biblical knowledge. In their discussion, Priscilla and Aquila speak of the elements which are missing for Native candidates in such programs and which Native church leaders like themselves would like to see included in them. Their comments seemed to apply to both Native and non-Native run institutions, as they appeared to refer to each and to cite examples from each interchangeably.

The needs of Native candidates listed were: 1. that they be instructed in "discipline"; 2. that they receive support and encouragement from their home church and community to help them through their cultural and academic struggles (At the college I administered, I recall enormous phone bills for students who had little support system or family nearby); 3. that there be a definite sense of a "call" of God in their hearts, a clear objective that will see them through; 4. that formal recognition

of the training they have received at least indicate that they applied themselves in their studies and learned the basics of what is needed to know theologically, which "will give you more of an acceptance...they'll almost feel that you should know something about the Lord" (this is also Joseph's perception of the value of his training); and 5. a pastoral recommendation which lets the college know, the people know and the candidate know that there is official recognition of the person's "call" and approval of his decision to attend BC. They also stressed the need for non-Native faculties and administrators to understand Native culture more.

A discussion of the struggles of aboriginal candidates completed the interview. Here are some of Priscilla's and Aquila's concerns. First, some cannot seem to obtain reliable financial support (one of Joseph's major concerns as well). Second, there often is a lack of moral support from home during this time of loneliness and insecurity in a 'foreign' or distant place (again, a point of contention for Joseph). Third, they may feel their ways and beliefs are under attack by those who do not understand their experiences, as in the case of dancing and emotionalism. A fourth struggle entails the battle a candidate must endure under the stigma of book-knowledge ("man's thinking") and "white" education (definitely Joseph's experience). Fifth, there is cultural adjustment students undergo when they leave their home communities, even when they attend some Native-run institutions. Then, they must overcome the intimidation of formal education. Discrimination both in and outside the college is something else that must be dealt with in a non-Native setting. Low self-esteem is listed among the common problems Priscilla and Aquila see in Native students. And finally, there exists a lack of Native role models in the BCs to be admired and emulated, so the candidate is left to virtually go it alone. Aquila says of this point, "It sort of intimidates you when you see all white people there. You look around..where's the Native people?" How can there be any viable Native modelling in these or any other evangelical institution if there is no means provided for their support?, is Joseph's contention. Aquila talks about the need for greater candidate accountability to home church communities and greater responsibility for candidates to be placed upon their home churches:

In the north, it's a real problem.... For some, the church is the problem.... You've got an undisciplined church...so naturally, that student will be the same way.

What Aquila seems to be getting at here is that churches have not been held accountable for the adherents they send off to BC.

Moses, another Native, lays blame for this lack of accountability at the feet of the non-Native missionaries and educators who in their paternalism have taught dependency and 'irresponsibility' to the churches. He, too, offers some comments on "the problems we are having with the Bible schools," meaning the Native Pentecostal institutions, as he sees it. His experience is with these and not with the mainstream, denominational, non-Native colleges. He has seen the effects of BS training over a period of many years, having grown up in a Native Pentecostal church on a reserve since childhood, has sat on a Native advisory board for a Pentecostal mission agency which considers issues related to the development of the Native church and the Native BC there for the past five years, and has even participated in theological training programs as a candidate himself back when these were in their infancy. He has also served on a provincial aboriginal police commission. Thus, Moses has considerable first-hand knowledge of community and church life in both the isolated reservation and urban settings.

Irrelevance was a major topic for Moses. He considers much of what is presently being taught to be useful theologically but irrelevant socially.

I think, when you go to an Indian community and ask an Indian man, 'Do you wanna go to heaven?,' that's the last thing on his mind, when his kids are sniffing gas, his teenage daughter might be pregnant, things like that, his home is breaking up and he doesn't know where his next meal is coming from, and you ask him, 'Do ya wanna go to heaven?' That's the last thing on his mind. He is dealing with a present situation, present stresses of his daily living, and he has to make it through that. I use that [as an] illustration. But the training often takes us into...theology and explaining what's happened in a setting, in Egypt, in terms of the accents, and at times it's hard for them to be able to...deal with the present context of Indian people. And so, we train them what the pharaohs are all about, but we don't let 'em know what [this means for their own lives].

Moses would like to see more emphasis in the curriculum placed upon social service training, such as crisis or substance-abuse counselling, plus explanations of Native cultures and political structures, and not just ecclesiastical ones. In his view, this would create a clergy which is socially 'useful' to the communities, as opposed to one which separates spiritual matters from social concerns in a non-holistic way.

The last point he makes regarding BC problems is the difficulty of placing graduates. It is often difficult to return to one's home community to minister, and Moses seems to say that this is particularly true within a "collective society". "Career planning" or counselling, Moses suggests, would virtually eradicate this dilemma, creating a vision for ministry in the candidate on the one hand and opening up new opportunities for service on the other.

Right now the thinking is that we will train these people to go back into their communities to go in ministry. It is twice as hard, three times as hard, to put that individual into that setting. People know what you were like. ...You are bouncing him back into a position where he was not accepted in the first place, and three years of Bible college and you think it's going to make the difference. Instead it's going to make it awfully difficult for that person. But if we took him from [his home community], and he went to college for three years, got qualifications and received the credentials that he requires, and we put him out on the field overseas some place, and he comes back in two years' time, he's going to have an impact on the whole community.

To address this challenge, Moses recommends that vocational counselling be done by the college, from the moment of candidate application to beyond graduation, to ensure that the student has a valid opportunity to enter the sphere of ministry he feels "called" to and gains enough experience to be accepted back by his people as a proven religious practitioner. Further, if candidates are, through this, exposed to the 'greater' picture of global conditions, perhaps through aboriginal missionary activity elsewhere in the world, he argues that the Native candidate cannot but benefit.

Our interview ends with a succinct description of some of Moses' concerns for the welfare and success of the Native candidate, particularly as it relates to the Native campus context, although much of it may also apply to the non-Native situation as well. They are as follows:

1. the candidate's own attitudes, namely the lack of a sense of a "call" or any academic "goals" beyond the desire to "get out" to a less isolated and more comfortable existence during the difficult winter months;
2. the candidate's own lack of responsibility to provide for one's self, including to "pay themselves" for their college education or at least to raise one's own support, apart from band funding which Moses sees as causing an absence of commitment to succeed academically;
3. the absence of the practice of "home church...sponsor[ship]", wherein local recommendations to send candidates is tied to church accountability to "funding agencies" for the welfare of the student's "family", which creates in the candidate a sense of accountability to one's own people;
4. a "poor recruiting approach", in which individuals are the target of appeals rather than the collective church "community" which knows who is to be set aside for ministerial preparation and will with "confidence" take responsibility for the candidate's successful "completion";
5. the absence of "preparatory courses," like English for the second language learner, which ensure that academic quality is maintained through the achieving of "entrance" requirements;
6. poor personal or "social background" checks of applicants in the recruitment process to determine their preparedness for entry;
7. a Native principal "that went through it" (the struggles of social disruption and dislocation personally, e.g. "suicide cases" and "the residential school syndrome") and so is better equipped than a EuroCanadian "to go at those things in leaps and bounds..to be able to turn out those people."

The note of dissatisfaction seems clear in these comments by Natives; these seasoned veterans speak with candour about the irrelevance of present BS training. Their comments present the recurrent theme of self-responsibility, a theme of breaking a cycle of dependency. Many of Moses' suggestions address a concern of Native Christians and of Native communities, that of the need for these to take care of themselves.

The theme of self-determination also appeared when Moses spoke of NBCs. He spoke of fragmentation, where five Pentecostal NBCs exist and operate virtually independent of each other. He suggests that one, fairly central, program be instituted, under aboriginal control, where financial and human resources could be maximized, and quality, open-ended, and socio-culturally relevant training could be obtained.

The Native Church and Native Culture

As noted above, Aquila and Priscilla shepherd a Native church, and much of what they had to say concerned the health of the Native church. They decried the lack of discipline in the Native church and amongst its clergy. They felt that BCs should create "disciplined" Native clergypersons who will not run their churches "haphazardly" whereby adherents are allowed to attend irregularly and come late to meetings. They also mentioned dependency, with the lack of tithing causing Native churches to become "dependent on hand-outs" from non-Native denominational agencies. Aquila and Priscilla believe that, for some within Pentecostal Native Christianity, preaching of "the Word" for the "grounding" of Native converts is exchanged for dependency on the ecstatic feelings produced during worship and what Pentecostals call "the moving of the Holy Spirit", perhaps defined as an emphasis upon emotional experiences of response to perceived interaction with God. They also spoke of the distinctiveness of Pentecostal Native Christianity, which makes it different from non-Native Christianity, including the Pentecostal kind, and which needs to be acknowledged and built into the training of their aboriginal candidates.

The main difference they emphasized had to do with how Native people worship God and the value they place on individual freedom in their spiritual experiences. Concerning praise, the expression of adoration and gratitude to God, Aquila says:

white churches...a lot of times say there's too much praise and worship [in Native churches]. ...I've been to White churches and I've always enjoyed the word of God as it's been preached, but there's another part of it where we have to be open to the Spirit of God as well.

Being "open to the Spirit" usually means, in Pentecostal terms, maintaining a flexibility in the order of a church service for diversity of religious activity, for example altar calls where people come forward for prayer for salvation or healing or for demonstrative and often emotional times of worship. However, in Native Pentecostal services, it may also include long sessions of singing and dancing 'before

the Lord;' "I find that in Native churches they sing long," says Priscilla, and that it is not unusual for such services to go for three to four hours at a time.

Another significant difference seems to be that Pentecostal Natives tend to encourage considerably more free expression of emotions than do non-Native Christians. Note this couple's discussion of this:

Aquila: I find people don't want to get excited for the Lord, they'll get excited over a hockey games or over ball games, the Blue Jays when they lost.

Priscilla: Yeah...but to do it in church, oh, this is not the place to do that, where...

Aquila: ..you separate emotions from...

Priscilla: Yeah.

Aquila: ..and tell us we're emotional.

Priscilla: I was a very shy person when I first got saved and I used to see people dance in the Lord and stuff. I didn't want it, and when I got filled with the Holy Ghost, it made me want to praise Him more and worship Him more. ...So, you're praising the Lord and it's just like a joy that comes over you, you're really in it, just like when it's 2-2, you're really in that hockey game.

Emotionalism is feared by some within non-Native Pentecostal circles, perhaps because there is a desire to rid the denomination of its reputation as an 'imbalanced' and 'anti-intellectual' movement. Such appears to be the charge levelled at Native Christians who support the practice of "dancing in the Spirit." Dance is important element in Native Pentecostalism which makes it different from non-native churches in the perspective of some native Christians. This episode took place in a mainstream, non-Native Pentecostal BC:

I knew of one [Native] person who went to Bible college and they were taught that dancing in the Spirit is wrong, and they said it kind of turned them off. ...People had told them when you go to Bible college you're going to at least start to depend on knowledge rather than the Spirit of the Lord leading you. ...When he was in that class and they were teaching him, this one guy was saying that it was almost like it was of Satan producing these emotional things in you. He said he felt like quitting right there because he knew the experience of the joy of dancing in the Spirit and...he felt that maybe these people are right saying that Bible college is gonna get you - you'll start thinking man's

[sic] way instead of God's way. ...He said he really questioned God's will for him to be there. (Priscilla).

Aquila and Priscilla had this to say about the nature of dance in their churches, particularly in relation to traditional aboriginal religious practices of the same:

Aquila: I don't believe that there is [any kind of relation between dancing in the Spirit and traditional Native dance]. We've had a lot of people that have been in Indian religion and have come to the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and they dance in the Spirit, and dancing in the Spirit is, for them, the joy of the Lord. Having the joy of the Lord just for you.

A: Describe the difference between dancing in a pow-wow and dancing in the Spirit.

Aquila: Hey, you know what the difference is?

A: What's that?

Aquila: When you dance in the pow-wow, you dance around the fire. But when you dance in the Spirit, you're in the fire.

The central issue for this couple seemed to be, however, that Native Christians need to be free to express their faith in ways they feel comfortable with, and not be encumbered with the values and even inhibitions of the non-Native church. Another comment by Aquila's sums this concern up nicely:

I think that's a fear that some Native people have of going to a Bible college, losing that freedom that they have in the Holy Ghost.

Moses, speaks of differences between Native and non-Native Pentecostalism in other, perhaps more institutional than interpersonal terms. He strongly believes that the Native Pentecostal church is an entirely different religious body from that of its missionary predecessor, the PAOC, and he advocates Native self-determination within this church. Autonomy and indigenization are on his agenda. However, he does not miss an opportunity to challenge non-Native ways of doing things, suggesting that this is at the root of the problem of the lack of indigenization of Native Pentecostal BCs. Indigenization requires Native leadership, but Native leadership in the BCs is absent at least in part because missionaries do not utilize Native ways of leadership selection.

As long as there is no effort made to have these people take that responsibility, you're not going to have Indian people push the non-Indian out of it. It's just not their character to do it, especially when it

deals with a person who has the capacity and the capability to be able to teach Bible school. You will not have an Indian group or people saying, 'We have someone that can do that'. It goes against [or] clashes with the culture. The question is, 'Who are we to be able to do that, to escalate ourselves?' We are the ones to be able to do it. Essentially, people apply for positions to do certain things in EuroCanadian society, through application form, because [EuroCanadian] individuals feel they have the qualifications to be able to do it. From the biblical standpoint of view, and by culture, Indian people don't do that. They operate on the premise that they can prove themselves by doing things, and the greatest honour is that you be asked to do it rather than saying, 'I have the qualifications to do it and I'm gonna go after it'. It leaves a distaste, in the community's standards, doing things like that, especially dealing with things that are of a church nature. Same thing in the secular forum, applying for a job. Thinking that you can do it is a new thing that has been passing for the last twenty thirty years. The norm [in Native societies] is to be asked because you have proven yourself and people have confidence in you to be able to do it. So you're not going to get an influx of people who say, 'I wanna be a principal at the school,' or 'I wanna be a teacher at the school. ...Even people that have gone through Bible school will not go through that; they will go and pastor a church because, basically, the community or the church asked them to be the pastor.

This passage offers insight into the difficulties experienced with the indigenization of the Native church and its training centres. "Ogima", the traditional Ojibwa headman, was chosen on the basis of personal capabilities. The office was not hereditary, and an individual who sought to assume leadership would be suspect.⁶

Autonomy and Dependency

Moses addressed the dependency which he believes has been built into the Pentecostal Native church. He attributes this to the paternalistic attitudes and practices that began already with the earliest Pentecostal missionaries to their communities. He argues that the missionaries came with the appearance of wealth, operating their own plane and providing theological training in BCs at virtually no cost to the Native churches or candidates, with no explanation given to these people of the financial

⁶ The elected chief in modern northern Ojibwa communities is frequently referred to as "ogima-kan", meaning "made-to-be chief".

structures which enabled them to do such 'magnanimous' deeds. The result of such a history, from Moses' perspective, has been dependency:

was built into the thinking of the Indian people, and in most cases that still exists to this day, to the point where Indian people feel that missionaries were invented or called [only] for Indian people. They don't understand and realize that the area of missions is [broad and] that Indian people are just a small component of it. ...If you asked the Indian people, Who are the missionaries for, they will always think it is [just] for them.

Moses states that this is a history of "hindrance". He believes that the PAOC should have taken a much more positive approach than this, and says that these old attitudes about non-Native missionaries will need to be "dispelled or straightened up" for health to come to the Native church. This is the basis of his argument for the need of a separate, indigenous (i.e., self-supporting, self-propagating, and self-governing) Native Pentecostal church. He complains that

now, it's hard for Indian people to understand and realize why they need to offer their tithe, and they look upon the PAOC as a big church organization. [They say,] Look, let them [PAOC] look after it.

Addressing the history of Pentecostal BC training for Native candidates, offered at first during the summer, he says,

it dealt with the essential fundamental truths of the gospel and the doctrine, but in many cases it was not well equipped to be able to deal with a culture that was distinctly different from the people that were teaching it, who had no idea of basically what the culture is and people who are learning who have no idea of the culture of the people teaching. So, you had that thinking built into the system: Let the non-Indian people teach it, let them provide leadership, and it's always been [there].

Moses went on to describe his feelings when he attended a recent national conference on Pentecostal leadership in Canada. There he noted evidence of the "drastic resistance to changing [that] thinking" which remains within the Pentecostal Native church and in the non-Native church to this day:

I was just astounded that we don't have any Indian people, Inuit, or Metis people being involved in a setting of that nature. I really

appreciate [one presenter] giving the seminar on the cross-cultural [ministry], but that is something that the Indian people can do best ourselves, and the church has to understand that. You don't need a doctorate, any certificate to be able to do that; it's the failure of the church to think that there are no Indian people to do that. There are more people to be able to do that. The responsibility again must lie with the Indian people to save the POAC. These are the things that we can be responsible for. We are the best ones to handle it and we will do it.

Moses lays the responsibility for Native underdevelopment directly before the non-Native leadership within the PAOC, "the people making the decisions" about the missionization of the Native Pentecostal church who he believes "are not ready to accept th's [sort of change]."

In Moses' opinion, the responsibility of the failure of the second phase of the missionary enterprise, namely, to indigenize the work, is laid not only at the feet of EuroCanadian missionaries, but also upon Natives themselves for not assuming responsibility. In his view, the result has been the development of a dependent Native church which looks to the sending denomination to meet many of its needs and has virtually no sense of ownership of the work; in summary, widespread dependency.

One of the things Moses made a point of mentioning more than once was that the missionaries have failed to recognize the readiness and capability of present Native workers to take on leadership roles in the Native Church now held by non-Natives. He names Joseph, for one, out in university instead of being utilized by the mission:

I think we have a number of people who would be qualified to be able to [be leaders]. A lot of people, for instance, I'll just give an example of [Joseph]. Would he be able to be considered to do that? [Joseph] feels, well, 'I'm not gonna push myself to go in that direction. I don't wanna push [the director of the mission] out.' So, now he's going to university in [the city]. So, we're missing the potential that is out there.

Here, Moses again raises the issue of lack of ownership by the Native Christian community, along with the inability of the colleges to recruit Native personnel, though now he directs his comments specifically towards institutions geared to the training of aboriginal candidates:

First of all, the Indian people lack the sense of ownership; they are not the ones who are going to be held responsible if [the BC] does not succeed, because the non-Indian came with it, the non-Indian is operating it, and especially, the non-Indian is being paid to do it. So, let him be responsible for it. It's time and I believe that we have people that are capable of doing this and that can do it.

This sounds very much like his view of the challenge to be faced in the operation and development of the Native church in general. Moses calls for a change in the attitudes of his own churches to bring about not only greater accountability but also increased involvement in the training of their own Native clergy. Interestingly, Moses' ideas about the use of existing institutions for the theological training of Native candidates differs from the stance taken by the mentoring pastor-teacher described earlier who has turned to less formal structures of instruction.

The theme of the failure to indigenize is Moses' central complaint. He speaks of the need to make the Native churches and their institutions fully self-supporting and totally self-governing, citing the example of one evangelical fellowship in Canada within the Baptist tradition which, in its indigenization process, "had to take the bull by the horns and just go after it and do it."

Moses' hopes for the future of his denomination's Native BC fit within a greater vision for the whole Native mission in Canada. "Trying to fit into an existing system, it's just not going to work." He envisions a "Branch Conference" wherein aboriginal Pentecostals take responsibility for the oversight of all aspects of their church. Here, impractical and restrictive policies and structures could be replaced with more culturally appropriate, indigenous measures. The Native mission, ministerial training programs, and churches would all come under the oversight of this Conference. Native advisory boards, ineffective in Moses' opinion as tools for change, would be done away with, and a new order would come in its place which would offer aboriginal peoples in this religious community a 'real' voice in their own affairs. Only one factor stands in the way of this being accomplished,

[non-Natives] have to be prepared to give [control] up in order to let people take it over (Moses).

Discussion of transference of power is essential in issues of sovereignty. It is interesting that most of the non-Natives in Chapter 3 never talk about power; they address pertinence and discipline, whether the instruction they offer to Native candidates who come their way is effectual or useful to these cultural interlopers. They do not generally contemplate change to the extent of actually handing over control of aspects of their programs to Native peoples so that such candidates might be better served. For some, this may be unnecessary, since they do not profess to be in the business of targeting aboriginal candidates for culture-specific Native ministerial training. For others, however, who appear to identify the development of the Native church and its clergy as part of their missionary mandate, sovereignty, self-determination and the transferal of power will, of necessity, be a central part of the discussion if aboriginal peoples like those in this chapter are listened to.

Voices like those of Peter, Joseph, Priscilla and Aquila, and Moses are rarely heard, within academia or by the evangelical church. Their comments represent examples of evangelical perspectives on their faith and the institutions of their church. One represents the views of a Native elder who has observed, daily, the operation of a Pentecostal NBC. Another presents the perspective of a graduate of an evangelical BC who describes his own experience in a BC. Others illustrate the sentiments of those within the Native Church community who see first-hand the end product of present evangelical theological training institutions. Finally, an aboriginal political leader, expresses concern amongst aboriginal evangelicals for changes in systems and structures.

Aboriginal peoples are not passive victims of Christianity and theological training, but, as I suggested in Chapter 2, agents of choice. Native evangelicals are not opposed to being religiously Christian, but they are opposed to religious and cultural dominance. These are important distinctions which this chapter's contributors make. I have sought to let their perspectives be brought forward without imposing my own upon them. What remains is for me to present some of my own concluding observations.

CONCLUSION

Two questions have informed this thesis. First, what are some of the attitudes and practices of evangelical Protestant theological educators towards Native peoples in general, and towards aboriginal candidates in particular? Second, what are some of the attitudes of evangelical Protestant Native peoples, especially Pentecostals, towards the ministry and ministerial training and the church.

In addressing these problems, I have begun by examining the history of Christian missions to Native North Americans. Christian missionization was coincidental with exploration and colonization of the new world. Over the centuries, missionaries of both Catholic and Protestant churches gained significant success in converting and catechizing Natives. In fact, by the nineteenth century, Protestant missionaries, especially Anglicans and Methodists, were co-partners with government in the process of 'civilizing' Native peoples. The most efficient and intensive form this missionary-civilizing enterprise took was the residential school where children were incarcerated and subject to religious teaching, the learning of English and various manual skills. The end product of Christian missionization was success and failure. Rather, failure despite success. By the beginning of this century despite thousands of conversions, there was no indigenous Christian church and no more than a few Native ministers.

Turning to the contemporary situation, we saw that at the present time, despite a self-proclaimed Protestant church adherence by 157,615, the Protestant churches themselves report very low numbers of active Native Christian members. Moreover, in all Protestant denominations, the number of wholly native churches is low (e.g. Pentecostals have 91, Anglicans have 210, and the United Church has 67). Even more striking evidence of failure is the fact that, overall, less than 50% of Protestant Native churches are ministered to by Native persons. In short, in terms of the process of church growth and indigenization, Protestant churches have regressed in the Native community. The single exception in terms of church growth in the past few decades has been the Pentecostals. It is for this reason that much of the data examined in this study derives from evangelical churches, and particularly the Pentecostals.

We considered 2 examples of southern Canadian non-Native Bible colleges, interviewing their administrators and faculty, then looked at an example of a northern Native Bible college. We concluded with interviews and discussions with non-Native administrators of NBCs, and finally, discussed the problems of evangelical ministerial training with a number of Native persons.

It is essential to note here that this thesis is not intended to provide definitive answers to the questions raised above. Rather, it is evolutionary in its structure, a dialogue about the issues at hand. The intent is to uncover for exploration some of the thinking of both Native and non-Native evangelicals.

With this in mind, I now proceed to a presentation of my findings, and a discourse about problems, implications and prospects for the theological training of Native candidates.

Non-Native Evangelical Bible Colleges

The model of the contemporary evangelical BC is based upon the idea of the university, an institutional tool for education introduced back in the twelfth century. It follows the structure of the mission school utilized by Protestants in Canada. This model incorporates the use of buildings, 'learned' teachers, a curriculum, grading and examination, certification, and accreditation.

Evangelical BCs differ as to their attitudes towards Native peoples and the existence of a Native Christian constituency.

Those at EBC1 generally do not view aboriginal peoples as being 'Native', but rather, as apprentice Canadians. This institution, with its parent denomination, has had minimal if any contact whatsoever with aboriginal communities, and no Native churches or clergy exist within this group. Since it is assumed that aboriginal peoples in Canada are no longer significantly 'Indian', having supposedly become assimilated into Canadian society, it is also, then, assumed that candidates who happen to have a Native heritage but who live amongst other Canadians should succeed at EBC1. Instruction, as well as the services and structures of this institution, are considered universally relevant and beneficial to all "Canadians", and 'special' or culture-specific treatment is discouraged. Indigenous peoples are invisible to this group of educators;

when they show up and prove themselves not to be invisible, then they are considered disruptive and deviant.

EBC2 and its parent denomination have taken a different approach. They have had considerable contact with aboriginal peoples over several generations, and have a significant number of Native adherents, churches and clergy across the country. Native communities constitute a 'foreign' mission field at its "doorstep" which has been vigorously missionized in recent years, thus explaining these numbers. Further, cultural self-definition is officially recognized by EBC2; ethnicity is thought to be a factor to be reckoned with and worked with, not against. There is, as a result, general, though not unanimous, support for a culture-specific approach to theological training. This they have developed through a series of Native training institutes designed for aboriginal Canadians.

Native Evangelical Bible Colleges and the Perspectives of Native Pentecostals

Chapter 4 presents an ethnographic account of the northern NBC, run by the PAOC, which I served for four years as chief administrator. The college was set in the northern forests where Native peoples would "feel at home". It was maintained under fairly rough 'bush conditions' with limited running water, two telephones, one television, and remote from urban centres. Apart from this imagined 'Native' setting, it was in all respects modelled on the European university plan -- classrooms, lectures by (non-Native) 'experts', a set curriculum, tests, advancement, graduation -- in fact, a Foucauldian disciplinary setting, cutting the students off from dangerous influences and bringing them under the concentrated gaze of instructors responsible for preparing them for the ministerial vocation.

Discussion with NBC administrators revealed that the ideal of training and discipline shaping and changing Native people is central in their concept of theological education. Following this, I attempted to give opportunity for Native peoples to express their views on the themes of the relevance of present models of BC training, the differences between Native and non-Native churches, and the autonomy and self-determination of the Native church.

Pentecostal aboriginals expressed mixed feelings: some of appreciation and respect for the efforts of EuroCanadian missionaries and educators, and some of resentment and frustration and consternation over the policies and attitudes of non-Native missionaries and theological educators today. There is restlessness to varying degrees amongst Native Pentecostals under this control. Several question the training being offered, and are seeking alternatives to the paternalistic and ethnocentric training programs presently offered in both non-Native and Native programs which are run by non-Native organizations.

Some training institutions do not offer culture-specific theological training for aboriginal candidates and their parent denominational bodies have little or no involvement in Native missionization. However, for those which do attempt to train aboriginal candidates, some problems do exist.

Underlying seemingly tolerant approaches to the training of an aboriginal clergy lies a fundamental distrust, within Pentecostal circles at least, of the 'primitive' and 'untrained' mind and spirit of North America's indigenous peoples. Pentecostals are keenly aware of the 'Indianness' of these peoples, that is, that these cultural minority Native groups are acutely different culturally from EuroCanadians and in need of culture-specific training. The problem which Pentecostals are confronted with is the Native agenda for autonomy and self-determination within the church.

The majority of Pentecostals in Canada are EuroCanadians. Operating from this homogeneous religio-cultural base, EBC2 assumes that religious or theological heterogeneity and cultural diversity presents certain dangers. 'Foreignness' is often perceived as that which is considered by the majority group to be religiously 'pagan' and 'satanic' or culturally different, regardless of geography. Concern for theological purity overrides any concern for cultural interests. Therefore, although deviation from the EuroCanadian norm in the practice of Native Pentecostalism may be tolerated, considerable care is given to the selection of 'qualified' aboriginal educators to act as models, teachers and administrators of Native programs, chosen according to notably conservative evangelical theological criteria and restrictive, ethnocentric academic and

ministerial credentialing standards set by non-Native EuroCanadians, and oversight is still maintained at district and national levels.

There has been in recent times general and considerable resistance on the part of non-Native Pentecostals to the idea of a 'Branch Conference', although a few notable exceptions exist.¹ There appears to be a fear of a new outbreak of charisma, and with it theological and institutional deviance. Diversity assumes difference, and difference, particularly in theological terms, constitutes risk amongst evangelicals. Native peoples might also create new structures and institutions and methods of doing business considered 'foreign' and at times 'irresponsible' and 'unwise' according to non-Native cultural values. Their neglect at keeping accurate and up-to-date financial records in churches which do not issue tax deductible receipts is a case in point. There may even appear within the ranks of Native evangelical groups a tendency towards isolation from larger bodies, wherein denominational loyalties might be discouraged. The comments of some of the aboriginal speakers in Chapter 4 suggest that they envision a unique form of Pentecostalism, a Native Pentecostalism, which would be sovereign and self-deterministic. Autonomy is often discouraged by non-Native Pentecostals as potentially dangerous to the health of the Native work. Perhaps there is fear of the unknown: will autonomy result in Christianity or in Christianities?

The big question of this thesis is, How far will evangelicals go in indigenizing the Native church, or more precisely, in handing over control of theology and practice to this group of aboriginal peoples? Indigenization both of the Native church and of its training will not be accomplished until the control issue is settled in the Natives' favour. The present system, one which requires aboriginal peoples to work within and belong to institutions of the dominant culture, where the 'other' is constantly forced to respond to the questions of and combat the academic and political agendas of the dominant culture has failed to be effective in the creation of an indigenous Native

¹ Ken Birch, executive director of Home Missions and Bible Colleges of the PAOC, states that he envisions the development of the National Native Leadership Council, presently an umbrella fellowship of PAOC Native churches, into a Branch Conference with Native control, described in terms quite similar to those of Moses in Chapter 4.

church. More appropriate would be the handing over of the reins of control of such systems to Native hands.

Radical Indigenization?

Hanson suggests that programs in existing educational institutions which are operated by the dominant culture are not enough. What is needed is something "more ambitious than just increasing knowledge of and respect for [the minority culture] among [the dominant culture] and making the benefits of [dominant culture]-style education more available to [the minority group]," more aspiring than "bicultural" education. For the aboriginal peoples of New Zealand, there is a call for a whole separate university dedicated to the needs and agendas of such peoples. The intention here is that indigenous peoples will be able to gather together to pursue the study of those things which interest and benefit them. Thus, learning can supposedly be culture-specific in the senses that educators, administrators, students are aboriginals, and since the control of such an institution is in aboriginal hands, its structures and models of education can be shaped according to the culture of this minority group, within certain restrictions inherent in the educational systems of the dominant culture.

Reporting the thinking behind this strategy of establishing a separate, culture-specific institution under full control of those it is meant to serve, Hanson offers the following description and reasoning:

Sidney Mead has suggested that Maori Studies be elevated from its current program or departmental status in New Zealand universities to the level of a school; indeed that a whole University of Aotearoa (the name for New Zealand favoured by Maoritanga) be founded. The point is quite radical. It apparently aims to transform Maori Studies from a field of inquiry within the Pakeha-defined [the dominant culture] university to a general and distinctively Maori epistemological perspective from which not only Maori language and culture but also subjects such as anthropology, sociology, history, education, geography, linguistics, art history, and economics would be investigated (Mead 1983:343-346). Such a school would have a 'marae' (in Maori villages, the plaza where visitors are received and community matters are discussed) as its central feature, instruction would be in the Maori language, and most of the staff would be Maori...Echoing Maoritanga's cardinal demand for more power in Maori hands, Mead contends that the establishment of a Maori university would make it "possible to

repossess our heritage, hold on to it, and exercise a measure of control over it" (1983:346) (Hanson 1989:479).

Such an approach to the education of those who perceive themselves to be disadvantaged or in other ways insufficiently or inappropriately served by present theological training programs in Canada not their own would certainly prove to be a radical approach. Indigenous leadership in such an institution would offer aboriginal perspectives in teaching, Native role-modelling, and indigenous counselling. It would require the use of non-indigenous, or non-traditional, structures and methods which would not, under recent conditions of ecclesiastical domination, fit the needs of Native candidates. Indigenous control is paramount for such changes to take place.

Worthy of note, however, is Moses' statement concerning his perception that it is culturally inappropriate for Native Christians to "push" their way into leadership positions: it is not in the Native style to do so. Control would need to be handed over in order for the Native evangelical Church to become indigenous, that is, self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating.

The desire of aboriginal peoples to control their own development and destinies is shared by James Wah-Shee:

We are not interested in being paid off for loss of a way of life but for the right and freedom to construct our own alternatives for development from the bedrock of our past. We even reserve the right to be wrong about some of our directions (in McCallum 1975:203).

Aboriginal institutions would provide opportunity, not just for Native educators and administrators and elders to become intimately involved in the training of their clergy, but to draw Native leaders and candidates alike into Native theologizing. Here, Native peoples would find a forum for "fair debate" (Grant 1984:261), where "silent resistance" could be replaced by a "legitimate" defence of Native culture within evangelical Christianity and of cultural self-identity within a multicultural church (262).

Aboriginal perspectives on theological training are generally unknown in EuroCanadian Christian community. Natives have ideas which are likely to suit their own needs better than present non-Native approaches. Perhaps these solutions may

prove instructive, causing EuroCanadians to reflect on how effective their own present institutionalized, industry-designed, scientific approaches have been in the training of their own candidates for life and ministry.

Further, Native candidates could be encouraged to theologize, to take the biblical texts and interpret them for themselves and their people within their own cultural contexts. In an environment created and controlled by aboriginal evangelicals, the Christian message, says Grant, might then be received "in a manner that would release creative energies", whereby "significant Indian contributions to theology or liturgy" could be made (1984:26). Christianity needs to become 'Native' for indigenization to take hold.

Branching from the stream of Native theological training are several other areas of interest which need to be explored. How 'indigenous' are any of the forms of present-day Native Christianity? What is Native 'spirituality'? Is there room within present definitions for indigenous evangelical forms of Christianity? At what point does the process of indigenization cease and the creation of a new, perhaps 'syncretistic' religion begin? These are some of the questions relating to external and internal definitions of Nateness and Christianity that require answers, particularly from Native sources, for I believe that cultural and religious self-identification is key to understanding and respecting aboriginal perceptions of and agendas for themselves.

More areas for inquiry are: Can the EuroCanadian church facilitate healing between the themselves and their aboriginal counterparts? If so, should evangelicals be issuing an apology for their treatment of aboriginal peoples within the Church and within society at large (i.e., through passive and active support of paternalistic or assimilationist policies)? Should such an apology go so far as to include an apology for overt evangelism, or the goal of presenting Christianity to aboriginal peoples?

As this discussion draws near to a close, I would like to suggest some challenges I foresee for the future of Native Christianity, based on my research thus far. Some of these concern indigeneity, the transference of aboriginal control of those institutions which are of the Native Christian church.

Such a process would, of necessity, involve a redefinition of the objectives of Native missionization and of the functions of those participating in it. A restructuring or disassembling of non-Native structures and institutions, and the appointment and equipping of aboriginal leadership by the Native constituencies themselves may be required for Native self-governance to be possible. In such an empowered position, aboriginal leaders would very likely develop at least some of the following services to Native candidates which are not generally available to them today: Native language instruction, plus perhaps 'significant' English-as-a-second-language training and other academic upgrading student services; androgogical approaches to education, including self-directed study, which take into account more traditional, aboriginal learning patterns and teaching models; socio-cultural support systems and counselling services that are culturally appropriate to Native peoples; culturally relevant Native courses or programs of study, with adequate research materials for Native studies; significant numbers of aboriginal faculty and staff to offer role models and a sense of community for the Native student population; financial awards such as bursaries or scholarships or other private or corporate funding specifically targeted to Native candidates, not tied to academic achievement levels alone, but designed to encourage academic and practical achievement without destroying the sense of community; and Native control of structures, standards and agendas. The existence of such things, 'concessions' say some, would constitute progress in the direction of equality of treatment.

On the other hand, I also envision greater utilization of less formal, perhaps more traditional approaches to theological training, such as those suggested by Native Pentecostals in Chapter 4. For example, there might be apprenticeship, similar to that of the neophyte learning from a shaman. Or perhaps there might be direct learning through dreams and visions from "the Spirit of God", as would have been the case in personal encounters with spirit beings in the vision quest. These models of training appear to be preferable to some over more formal academic ways, with teachers and reference books and assigned learning tasks largely foreign to traditionalist ideas about the transmission of knowledge. I do not think that most Pentecostal Natives are inextricably ensconced in EuroCanadian ecclesiastical or educational systems.

Further, the call for a Native political organization within the Native Church which can network and co-operate with other evangelical aboriginal efforts in North and South America and around the world needs to be sounded, not by non-Native overseers, but by Native peoples themselves. Benefits may be garnered from religious-political participation with other Christian and non-Christian aboriginal groups (e.g. schools, band councils, tribal and national Native institutions) as indigenization presents the Native church with a new face, a new mind, and a new heart. Non-Native institutions (e.g. academic, government, denominational bodies) may become new sources of support and other services which could draw Native peoples into the larger contexts and assist them in dealing with issues of intercultural importance. However, these are things which Native Christians must decide for themselves if any positive coexistence relationship is to be developed in the future.

What is in store for Native Christianity? If Native evangelical voices continue to be heard rather than marginalized, and the evangelical Native work is indigenized, the effects could be astounding. What would a post-Christian Canada, a proud and ethnocentric EuroCanadian church, or the world for that matter, do with a worldwide, missionizing, aboriginal movement? Further, what will be the nature of Native theological training in the days to come? All things considered, and if conditions for change are amenable, maybe it will not look at all like it does at present. Moreover, it will not be born without swirls of controversy, but such is the nature of this eddy which I have attempted to explore.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF MISSIONS

Limitations of the Study of Mission History

It is necessary for the study of history that some boundaries be established. Mission histories require astute and careful study. Historian Sarah Carter of the University of Manitoba gives a summary statement concerning how she believes such works should be handled:

Missionary publications are dangerous sources for the uncritical researcher as they present a distorted, one-sided view of contact between the Indian and the white man [sic]. But these books do reveal a great deal about the intellectual and moral premises of the missionaries' society (1984:7-28).

Allan Hanson (1989) argues that history is a product of cultural invention, and raises an important point about the authorship of histories. To Hanson, no history is neutral or devoid of ethnocentric and political content. Histories are created by people, who themselves come from a certain historical and religio-cultural context which imposes certain biases and proclivities upon authors. Such limitations to the writing (and interpreting) of history are inevitable, and often unconsciously present; they cannot be fully disentangled from the perspectives of amateur or professional historians (Hanson 1989:472,481; cf. Geertz 1988).

Some groups today have been accused of revisionism, re-inventing history "to legitimate or sanctify some current reality or aspiration" (Hanson 1989:472). These groups, in turn, argue that their side of the story has never been presented, due to the cultural imperialism of dominant cultures whose "logocentric" (480-481) historical writings have served "to maintain the asymmetrical relationship of power (Fabian 1983; Ranger 1983; Said 1978)" (472).

Gail Landsman and Sara Ciborski (1992) object to this sort of debate. They see no need for a contest of histories, but advocate rather the recognition of all histories as products of cultural invention, each bearing their own validity. "'Proving' the factuality" or "determining the 'truth' value of any of the arguments" is not their concern (425-426). "Objectivity" is discounted as a real possibility for any ethnohistorian (436-437). And "'universalism', the idea that there is one knowable truth for all" (437-438), is challenged on the basis that it is "disinterested" (438) in the truth claims of those outside positions of power or dominance (i.e., women and

minorities). The historical accounts one draws upon should reflect a broad range of views, with the recognition that none truly presents the full story.

What appears in the history of my text of Chapter 1, then, is more an attempt to represent certain perceptions concerning the experiences surrounding the theological training of Native peoples than a presentation of the 'truth' about what has happened, for most of the historical accounts available are of EuroCanadian and EuroAmerican authorship. For the purposes of this paper, all stories of the history of Native theological training are informative and useful.

My position as the author of the creation of history in this paper is significant. I am a non-Native person. I cannot write a history of Native theological training from their perspectives. I write from a EuroCanadian perspective. I shall, however, attempt to keep in mind that I do write from a position of power as part of a dominant culture, and that the historical treatment of Native ministerial training may itself be a product of hegemony. If we had available to us what Native people themselves have presented to their own Native audiences, perhaps more would be forthcoming in areas which non-Natives feel uncomfortable probing into, or which Native peoples perceive us to be uncomfortable with. With these thoughts in mind, I leave to Native peoples the question of whether I should or should not write a history of their people's experiences in theological training, and I look forward to when they offer their perspectives to the story.

The interpretation of historical data is a critical issue for historical researchers. One of the difficulties historians often run into is the unfortunate necessity to rely upon written primary and secondary sources, as most oral stories are difficult and at times impossible to obtain. This reliance on literary written sources a dilemma for the historian. In my study, for instance, I have had to draw heavily upon written accounts, as access to oral presentations has been severely limited by time, space, and financial considerations. I have included a discussion of the critical problems in the interpretation of historical data found in written primary and secondary sources in Appendix 1 of this thesis.

Such a discussion of the limitations of the study of mission history leads to a recognition of the need for extreme caution in the use of written accounts like those illustrated in the Thwaites' edition. No account is to be considered 'accurate' in the sense that it contains complete knowable 'truth'. Each contains its own set of limitations, and these need to be discerned by the reader. This does not mean that written historical accounts are so suspect that they are useless to ethnohistorians. Rather, they are treasure troves of attitudes and perspectives held by those who wrote and published these works. As Sarah Carter (1984) so adequately illustrates, much can be learned from these sources if caution is used in critique.

Problems in the Interpretation of Historical Texts

The following is a survey of the critical problems in the interpretation of historical data found in literary primary and secondary sources. Reuben Gold Thwaites' edition (1959) of the Jesuit Relations¹ will be referred to regularly in order to illustrate these limitations of textual historical accounts.

The first problem encountered in the study of historical resources is access. Original manuscripts and early transcripts can at times prove difficult to obtain. The academic may be forced to rely on more recent editions. Further, original texts often may appear in language with which the reader is unfamiliar. Such are the challenges faced by historians.

Thwaites, for example, managed to gather together an extensive collection of Jesuit "personal letters, memoirs, journals, state and church records". These, however, had to be translated from French into English for his audience, and it is the accuracy of this translation work which some scholars claim to be suspect (Donnelly 1967). This is a topic discussed further on, so we will not engage it here. Suffice it to say that primary source materials should be studied in their original languages, and that this is not always possible.

Secondary literature having a bearing on a text may also be linguistically challenging. Certainly of value to the study of the Relations are such monographs as Campeau's La mission des jesuites chez les Hurons, 1634-1650 (1987), Études sur les relations des jesuitEs de la Nouvelle-France, 1632-1672 by Leon Pouliot (1940). Laflèche's Le missionnaire, l'apostat, le sorcier: relation de 1634 de Paul Lejeune (1973) and La colonisation de la Nouvelle-France (Salone 1970). Further insights can be drawn from journal articles like "La mission du père Paul le Jeune sur la côté-du-sud, 1633-34" (Caron 1963-1964), "La congrégation des messieurs chez les Jesuits de Paris et les missions de la Nouvelle-France" (Becdelievre 1930), or "La pédagogie des Jesuites et son inspiration ignatienne" (Decloux 1992). These, though geographically accessible to the researcher, may not be accessible linguistically.

A second interpretive problem for historians is the existence of errors in edited or translated data, and the need to determine the effects of such on the reading of the text. Historical texts often appear in collections of texts which have been edited and at times even translated by those who did not author the accounts. The involvement of secondary persons brings with it certain conditions which affect and influence the data in the texts.

¹ All references to Thwaites' Relations pertain to the 1959 Pageant Book Company's photographic reproduction of the original Burrows Brothers' work (1896-1901), the latter having been felt to be too scarce for the needs of American historical scholarship.

Clarence Walworth Alvord² is quoted by Donnelly as holding the opinion that Thwaites' edition sometimes lacked accuracy, not in its 'truth' content but in its presentation. Says Alvord, "We know that the translations of the Jesuit Relations at times show an unfamiliarity with Catholic institutions..." (Donnelly 1967:23-24).

Joseph Donnelly, too, has concerns about accuracy (1967:22-24), declaring: "Alvord put his finger on the most glaring fault" in the Thwaites edition (1967:24). He accuses the translators and editors of having a limited grasp of the original languages of the text (French, Italian, Latin) and of Roman Catholic ecclesiastical terminology, and further charges that "the editors failed to check with informed sources" (1967:24).³ Donnelly adds: "Much of the translation found in the first twenty volumes, except that from the Latin, is not always sound. ...One has the feeling that the translators were people who did not know French or Italian well, who certainly knew very little history, and who knew practically nothing about the society of Jesus" (1967:22). Kenton, further, notes that up until her time, only fragments of the Relations had been translated into English, reportedly because "their French is not the French of the moderns schools" (Kenton 1954:Liii).

Joseph Donnelly offers an additional reason for inaccuracies in Thwaites' translation: the problem of constant change of translators and editors during the first thirty-five volumes of publication.⁴

The absence of any identification and translation of certain biblical quotations in Latin and quotations from Augustine and other patristic writers raises another question. Donnelly asks why this occurred when there were several editors and translators familiar with the patristic sources and Latin already working on the edition (Donnelly 1967:24).

Yet another question needs answering when approaching a historical text: What were these missionaries of redemption really saying to their audiences, and is this the same as what I am hearing in my reading today? Authorial intent is of great import to

² In his "List of Works Cited," Joseph Donnelly identifies C.W. Alvord as the author of "A Critical Analysis of the Work of R.G. Thwaites" (Donnelly 1967:207-209), found in Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Proceedings (1913-1914:321-333). This work is unavailable locally and so cannot be investigated here. Also, Alvord's identity and credibility as a historical scholar are unknown to me.

³ Joseph Donnelly's disagreements with Thwaites' translation are revealed in his "Commentary" on the text (Donnelly 1967:27-205).

⁴ It should be noted that Joseph Donnelly adds a more positive note. He considers the "typographical reproduction of the original" languages, at least, to be accurate (1967:22).

the reading, but the ability to discern this is less than tenable from outside the historical and religio-cultural contexts of the authors.

A third problem facing interpreters of historical texts is the necessity to discern and critique the motivations of the work's publishers. Historical texts pose certain problems for the historian whose task it is to attempt to discern the limitations of the accounts they draw upon for data. Agendas are significant factors to consider in a text, for they shape the material in ways suited to the purposes of the writers and publishers.

Again, to illustrate, let us look at the Relations. In O'Malley's guide to research, John Patrick Donnelly, S.J., states concerning the historical study of religious orders such as the Society of Jesus that it is most important that one distinguish between "'insiders' (members of the order under study) and 'outsiders'" (Donnelly 1988:156). An insider's agenda may be quite different from that of an outsider. According to Donnelly, outside historians may bring new perspectives and professional training as historians, but they may also tend to be "superficial and journalistic", and sometimes ignore "the specifically religious motivation of the orders, often subjecting it to political or psychological reductionism" (Donnelly 1988:157).

We know that these Relations are the compilation and composition of the Jesuit Superior (Paul le Jeune in 1635), usually containing oral reports from the missionary Fathers in the field of New France. The provincial in Paris, France then edited them himself before forwarding them on to the printer Sebastion Cramoisy for publication (Donnelly 1967:3; Thwaites 1954:xlvi). It is essential that the historian ask why the Relations were originally produced and published back in the early seventeenth century, and how this affects the reading of the text.

Annual Relations were required by the Order of all missionaries for the dual purpose of keeping each other informed, thus maintaining unity amongst its members (Donnelly 1967:32-35). However, these were made available to the general public after 1633. Most of the Relations, then, were not intended to function simply as 'internal' documents. Other reasons for publication might include propaganda for such things as financial and political support as well as the recruitment of new Jesuits and colonists (Donnelly 1967:1-4,33; Donnelly 1988:157; Thwaites 1954:li); and perhaps to some degree the Relations functioned as travel narratives to satisfy European curiosities.

It should be noted, however, that these were missionary men at heart: The Fathers were missionaries, not explorers or cartographers, and their journeys were undertaken for religious purposes primarily... . One can scarcely glance through the Jesuit narratives without noticing the dominant note of religious zeal with which these pages abound (Crouse 1979:17; cf. Donnelly 1967:53).

At times this zeal put the fathers at odds with their benefactors (Donnelly 1967:48), thus perhaps explaining the need for editing of the Relations before publication. Accounts from around the time of our text, such as those of Brebeuf (1635,1637) (Mealing 1963:39-50), du Peron (1639) (1963:53-56) and Vimont (1642-43) (1963:67-71) reveal the tremendous sense of excitement and dedication to the missionary cause felt by these men. This is perhaps in contrast sentiments which seem to emanate from later Relations like that of Father Claude Godefroi Coquart (1750) (1963:147-151), which actually emphasizes the economic benefits to be gained from relations with the Native peoples. Earlier texts offer a portrait of a much more optimistic, less materialistic zeal (Richter 1985:1).

Joseph Donnelly raises questions concerning the motivations of the publishers of Thwaites' collection (1967:15-17). Thomas Campbell (1921:339) points out the Thwaites' publisher, the Burrows Brothers Company, is from outside the Jesuit order and tradition; it is both "Protestant: and AngloAmerican. Relations authors like Father Paul le Jeune would rate as 'insiders', but Thwaites, his translators, editors and publisher are 'outsiders'. Thus, although the Thwaites edition does not appear to engage in outright reductionism, it should be acknowledged that it has been published for different reasons than were the original manuscripts.

Donnelly goes on to suggest that a new and growing consciousness of American heritage spurred this project on. The late nineteenth century and early twentieth century were "the springtime of historical scholarship in the United States", a time when America was experiencing economic success. Many persons of wealth generously supported American historical research and themselves became engaged in a new-found pursuit (Donnelly 1967:16-17). Thwaites himself was widely engaged in historical research and writing, not to mention being elected president of the American Historical Association and appointed chairman of the Association's Historical Manuscripts Commission (1967:19). This publication, then, is to be understood as a product of its AngloAmerican Protestant context. The recognition of such publisher contexts and motives suggests a need for caution in the interpretation of the Relations, and of all historical texts.

APPENDIX 2: MISSION SCHOOLS

A Context of Mission Schools

The following is an examination of the historical, cultural, religious and geographical contexts of early mission schools in Canada. An analysis of this scholastic heritage should prove to be useful for inquiry into experiences of 'training' at Emmanuel Bible College. Native theological education needs to be viewed with this backdrop in mind.

Foremost amongst numerous factors might be the Reformation of Christianity in Europe, between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, wherein the papacy came under attack by rising monarchies and many devout "Protestant" Christians alike (Cross and Livingstone (100-:1165-1166). Out of this came a driving missionary zeal to save the world from 'sin' and Roman Catholic 'error'. Others determined to reform the Roman Catholic church from within to procure a "Counter Reformation" (O'Malley 1988:4-5). Out of this reform movement the Jesuit order came to birth, through St. Ignatius Loyola in 1534 (Cross and Livingstone 1990:734-735). The founder left his indelible impression on the future members of this order. "Ignatius's paramount endeavours had been the reform of the Church from within, principally education⁵ and the more frequent use of the Sacraments, and the preaching of the Gospel to the newly discovered pagan world" (690). The Jesuit Relations depict the same concerns and activities, i.e., education, colleges, seminaries, missions, conversion, sacraments (Thwaites 1959:265, 267).

Nationalism also played a role in missionary activities. In a day when European politics and religion went hand-in-hand, these early missionaries became unofficial and sometimes official "agents of change" (Graham 1975:1) on behalf of their representative crowns. Elizabeth Graham argues that, up until the middle of the nineteenth century when government agents replaced missionaries in many roles and interest in 'model' Indian communities was waning, the 'civilizing' interests and work of these missionaries "was intertwined with that of the Government, and other agents of white society such as teachers, and cannot be considered in isolation" (1975:90). According to Graham, the goal of the Christian clergy fro Native peoples, particularly of Protestants in the nineteenth century, was "to 'civilize' them, or teach them the technology, customs and niceties of European society" as well as to "teach them about Christianity" (1975:1). James Axtell says that the English Protestant thinking behind their political and missionary strategies from 1609 to the seventeen-sixties was that

⁵ Jesuit historian John Patrick Donnelly points out that "the church-related schools founded by the Jesuits...were a striking innovation not found in earlier centuries, and education turned out to be the most important single ministry of the new Order. By 1626 there were 444 Jesuit colleges and 56 seminaries" (1988:149).

one must 'humanize' Native peoples, or "civilize savages before they can be converted to Christianity, and that in order to make them Christians, they must first be made Men [sic]" (Axtell 1985:133). The English saw this task of "changing their whole Habit of thinking and acting" as a accomplishable through nothing "less than complete domination", whereby "self-control and moral certitude" could then be preserved in the life of Native persons (:137). And, to produce order in people, the British turned to "the only acceptable notion of order [to them], ... the order they had known at home, the all-encompassing order of institutions..." (:137). One of these institutions to be used was the school. It is noteworthy that Graham includes the role of "schoolteacher" in her list of parts played by missionaries in their attempts "to assume authority in those spheres of cultural and social life into which they could introduce civilization" (1975:1).

Early Roman Catholic missionaries, too, acted as agents of the state in the task of making aboriginal peoples into 'proper' citizens. It is apparent in the Relations, for instance, that these missionaries generally assumed that the temporal and eternal went hand-in-hand. Consequently, to be a good Roman Catholic was to be a good French citizen, and to convert was to join the French 'tribe'. To accede to French rule was to accede to the religion of the French, and vice-versa. The Recollects and the Sulpicians were particularly committed to this way of thinking (Axtell 1985:49,68,273).

Further, Helen Ralston argues that French colonial policy and action "were enlightened by the ideology of assumed superiority of French culture" (1981:472). Roman Catholic missionization in New France in the seventeenth century was in part a product of religious conflict and war in Europe. This factor, says Ralston, "led to a much greater emphasis ... on the need to ensure loyal adherents and to win converts to religious systems" (1981:173). The French crown even went so far as to grant special powers to its religious leaders, Catholic or Huguenot, commissioning them:

to make known our name, power, and authority, and to subject, submit, and render obedient thereto all the tribes of this land...; and by this means and all others that are lawful, to summon and instruct them, provoke and rouse them to the knowledge of God and to the light of the Christian faith and religion, to establish it among them... (Lescarbot 1911:212-213).

The assimilation and complete transformation of aboriginal peoples, through instruction in the Christian religion and French culture, was the explicit objective, then, of both church and state.

The Jesuits, for the most part, did not hold to objectives of cultural assimilation (Ralston 1981:474; cf. Grant 1984:60; Axtell 1985:62, 279). They were, however, at least implicitly, involved in the expansion of the French-Roman Catholic empire in

north America, as in opposition to that of the British-Protestant empire (Thwaites 1959:271,273). This order was ultramontane in character, the radicals of the Roman Catholic Church, and considered itself the "shock troops of the army of God in the counter-reformation (Grant 1984:5). Most Jesuits came from the well-educated and noble social classes of society, and were well-connected politically (Axtell 1985:279). Their perceived task in the 'new' world was to establish the ideal Christian civilization. As a result, they often aggressively engaged in rigorous theological debates with English Protestants in regions which they believed required protection against the 'insidious' missionary and political advancements of AngloAmericans, particularly in Eastern Canada (Ralston 1981:491; cf. Axtell 1985:247-248,287). It was this nationalistic church-state partnership which caused the British to fear French Jesuit missionization and American Methodist education (Grant 1984:65-67,81; Graham 1975:4,27-28,37; cf. Axtell 1985:279).

Colonialism is also a part of the context of these early mission educators. EuroAmericans, 'advanced' in technology, possessing well-established theological codes and creeds, and propelled by political and/or missionary zeal, had a tendency to hold to the myth that they had been given a mission to subdue those parts of the earth which had not yet bowed their knees to the Christian God.⁶ Following this line of logic, many appear to have drawn the conclusion that those parts with their peoples would need to be managed. It is then not surprising that these early missionaries assumed paternalistic roles over the Indians.

Evident within the mission accounts is this colonial idea that one can assume the right to act on another's behalf. Father Paul le Jeune speaks of the many plans he had for missionizing the Indians, then need to 'save and civilize', to 'settle' and to 'educate' them (Thwaites 1959:265,267). In the Protestant schools where assimilation was the colonial ideal, English became the language of instruction, and by the 1860s the speaking of any other was strictly forbidden (Graham 1975:73-74). Although education was often requested, there is no evidence that other cultural or religious accouterments was expressly desired by the Native peoples the missionaries presumed to represent. What was experienced, therefore, was cultural and religious colonialism.

In the mental background of the missionaries there existed certain ethnocentric myths about the nature of human life, and of the beings they were attempting to convert. Primary among these for our study is the general practice of viewing non-

⁶ Greinacher argues that religious colonialism finds its base, in part, in Augustinian interpretation of the parable of the great banquet of Luke 14:15-24. The directive "Compel them to come in" has, according to Church tradition, "provided legitimation to force others to come in for their own 'good'" (Greinacher 1992:123). It was a Christian conviction that all Indian religion was evil, being "shamelessly tied to the Devil" (Axtell 1985) and therefore 'bad' for Native peoples.

European peoples with suspicion and distaste. The term "Sauvages," or "Savages," (Thwaites 1959:265; cf. Pomedli 1987:277-278), often used in talking about the Indian peoples missionaries were ministering to, was the product of European ethnocentrism.⁷

The assumptions concerning the Natives' need for settlement to reveal missionary ethnocentrism. Civility and conversion were believed unattainable outside a more sedentary life. The underlying assumption here is that a nomadic hunter-gatherer and fur-trading lifestyle is unsuitable for Christians, all of whom require the formal instruction and sanctifying work of a local, stationary church. Further, Indians were often seen as non-sovereign and lacking in spirituality.⁸ As potential saints, they required missionizing, "standing in need, ready or not, of redemption by Christianity" (Kodera 1989:96). According to Jesuit thinking, "the [Christian] faith [must begin] to illumine those souls, so many thousands of years plunged in darkness" (Thwaites 1959:267). They are also, however, potential subjects of the crown. Alongside the issue of ethereal citizenship is the issue of temporal citizenship, and beneath all of this is the issue of land ownership. Missionaries, like their colonial counterparts, were in need of land. Settling and civilizing Indian peoples was one way of securing land for themselves and their mission organizations, though this does not account for why they needed as much land as they received.

⁷ See discussion of the term "sauvage" or "savage" in Miller (1991:28), noting the variety of usages.

⁸ Michael Pomedli (1987) provides an excellent discussion of "Early Jesuit Interpretations of Native Religions." In it, he speaks of the Jesuits' failure to recognize the validity of Native religion on its various levels. To Pomedli, this Order saw the religions of the 'other' through religio-centric eyes, interpreting it as "primitive understanding" (1987:281) of things European and Christian.

APPENDIX 3: CENSUS AND SURVEY DATA TABLES

TABLE 1 1994 PROTESTANT ABORIGINAL ADHERENTS/CLERGY/CHURCHES:
TOTALS AND RATIOS,
BY SAMPLE DENOMINATIONS

<u>DENOMINATION</u>	<u>ADHERENTS</u>	<u>CLERGY</u>	<u>CHURCHES</u>	<u>RATIO:</u> <u>CLERGY TO</u> <u>CHURCHES</u>
Anglican	81,270	70	210	1:3.0
United	31,070	39	67	1:1.7
Pentecostal	19,120	53	91	1:1.7
Baptist	4,085	2	5	1:2.5
Presbyterian	2,840	2	4	1:2.0
Salvation Army	1,840	7	0	-
Lutheran	1,135	1	3	1:3.0
Mennonite	940	3	7	1:2.3
Methodist Bodies	750	0	1	-
Chr. & Miss'y Alliance	510	4	10	1:2.5
Reformed Bodies	180	0	0	-
Church of the Nazarene	140	0	0	-
Missionary	-	0	0	-

Note: Adherent numbers are from Statistics Canada's 1991 Census.
Clergy and Church numbers are from statistics provided between March and June 1994 by administrators of those denominations surveyed by phone.

TABLE 2 1991 PROTESTANT CHRISTIANS OF ABORIGINAL ORIGIN,
BY SAMPLE DENOMINATIONS

<u>DENOMINATION</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1971</u>
Anglican	81,270	83,840	69,715
United	31,070	35,615	32,460
Pentecostal	19,120	13,890	6,650
Other Protestants	13,675	5,405	-
Baptist	4,085	5,360	4,425
Presbyterian	2,840	4,590	3,705
Salvation Army	1,840	1,685	1,500
Lutheran	1,135	1,635	980
Mennonite	1,000	1,585	1,005
Methodist Bodies	750	1,330	-
Chr. & Miss'y Alliance	510	605	-
Reformed Bodies	180	135	-
Church of the Nazarene	140	65	-
Missionary	-	10	-

Note:

A. Sources

The figures in Table 2 come from Statistics Canada (1993:Table 6; 1984:Table 1; 1976:Table 4).

B. Categorization of Denominations

Anglican - Anglican Church of Canada
 Baptist - Fellowship Baptist, Convention Baptist, other Baptists
 Christian & Missionary Alliance - Christian & Missionary Alliance
 Church of the Nazarene - Church of the Nazarene
 Lutheran - Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada, other Lutherans
 Mennonite - Mennonite Conferences of Canada, Hutterite, Mennonite Brethren, other Mennonites (not Brethren In Christ)
 Methodist Bodies - Evangelical, Evangelical Free, Free Methodist, Wesleyan, other Methodists
 Missionary - Evangelical Missionary Church of Canada
 Pentecostal - Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, other
 Presbyterian - Presbyterian Church of Canada
 Reformed Bodies - Christian Reformed Church, other Reformed
 Salvation Army - Salvation Army of Canada
 United - United Church of Canada,
 Other Protestants - all except Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormons (Latter Day Saints), Unitarian Church.

C. Incompleteness of Data

Not all aboriginal peoples responded to census questions concerning their religious orientations. Some factors contributing to such omissions might be:

- failure of some communities to be included;
- absence from home/community at the time of the census taking;
- failure of some to include children;
- ambivalence or desire to retain privacy about such matters;
- nationalistic sentiments (ie., consider selves non-Canadians).

TABLE 3 **1994 ABORIGINAL ADHERENTS IN MAINLINE CHURCHES:**
PERCENTAGE OF ALL ABORIGINAL PEOPLES IN CANADA,
OVER 2 DECADES,
BY SAMPLE DENOMINATIONS

	1971	1981	1991
Anglican	(22.3%)	(20.3%)	(17.3%)
United	(10.4%)	(8.6%)	(6.6%)
Presbyterian	(1.2%)	(1.1%)	(0.6%)
Lutheran	(0.3%)	(0.4%)	(0.2%)

TABLE 4 **1994 ABORIGINAL ADHERENTS IN EVANGELICAL CHURCHES:**
PERCENTAGE OF ALL ABORIGINAL PEOPLES IN CANADA,
OVER 2 DECADES,
BY SAMPLE DENOMINATIONS

	1971	1981	1991
Pentecostal	(2.1%)	(3.4%)	(4.1%)
Baptist	(1.4%)	(1.3%)	(0.9%)
Salvation Army	(0.5%)	(0.4%)	(0.4%)
Mennonite	(0.3%)	(0.4%)	(0.2%)

TABLE 5: 1994 NATIVE THEOLOGICAL TRAINING STATISTICS:
ABORIGINAL CANDIDATE ENROLMENT AND GRADUATION RECORDS,
NATIVE AND NON-NATIVE INSTITUTIONS,
MAINLINE AND EVANGELICAL,
BY DENOMINATIONS

NON-NATIVE INSTITUTIONS:
 (NOT SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED FOR ABORIGINALS)

<u>Institution</u>	<u>Enrolment</u> <u>(Current)</u>	<u>Enrolment</u> <u>(Past 10yrs)</u>	<u>Graduates</u> <u>(10yr Total)</u>
<u>MAINLINE:</u>			
Anglican			
#1	0	0	0
#2	1	1	?
#3	?	?	?
United			
#1	1	2	2
#2	0	1	1
Lutheran			
#1	0	0	0
#2	0	0	0
Other			
#1 (Mennonite)	?	?	?
#2 (Baptist)	0	0	0
TOTAL MAINLINE	2	4	3
<u>EVANGELICAL:</u>			
Pentecostal			
#1	3	75	9
#2	5	12	2
#3	5	7	7
Baptist			
#1	6	10	2
Other			
#1 (Missionary)	2	6	1
#2 (Multi-den)	12	12	?
#3 (Multi-den)	2	2	0
#4 (Multi-den)	2	1	?
#5 (Multi-den)	0	0	0
TOTAL EVANG'L	37	125	21

NATIVE INSTITUTIONS:
(SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED FOR ABORIGINALS)

<u>Institution</u>	<u>Enrolment (Current)</u>	<u>Enrolment (Past 10yrs)</u>	<u>Graduates (10yr Total)</u>
<u>MAINLINE:</u>			
Anglican			
#1	3	14	9
#2	40	236	7
United			
#1	5	12	2
Other			
#1 (Angl&Unit)	25	26	0
<u>TOTAL MAINLINE</u>	<u>73</u>	<u>288</u>	<u>18</u>
<u>EVANGELICAL:</u>			
Pentecostal			
#1	6	55	24
#2	25	25	8
Other			
#1 (Multi-den)	16	249	69
<u>TOTAL EVANG'L</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>329</u>	<u>101</u>

TABLE 6: 1994 NATIVE THEOLOGICAL TRAINING STATISTICS:
ABORIGINAL CANDIDATE ENROLMENT AND GRADUATION TOTALS,
NATIVE AND NON-NATIVE INSTITUTIONS,
MAINLINE AND EVANGELICAL,
BY DENOMINATIONS

<u>Institution</u>	<u>Enrolment</u> <u>(Current)</u>	<u>Enrolment</u> <u>(Past 10vrs)</u>	<u>Graduates</u> <u>10yr Total)</u>
<u>NON-NATIVE INSTITUTIONS:</u>			
<u>(NOT SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED FOR ABORIGINALS)</u>			
Mainline	2	4	3
Evangelical	37	125	21
	39	129	24
<u>NATIVE INSTITUTIONS:</u>			
<u>(SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED FOR ABORIGINALS)</u>			
Mainline	73	288	18
Evangelical	47	329	101
	120	617	119
<u>TOTALS:</u>			
Mainline	75 (47%)	292 (39%)	21 (15%)
Evangelical	84 (53%)	454 (61%)	122 (85%)
	159	746	143

TABLE 7

1994 NATIVE THEOLOGICAL TRAINING STATISTICS:
ABORIGINAL CANDIDATE ENROLMENT AND GRADUATION AVERAGES
PLUS GRADUATION PERCENTAGES,
NATIVE AND NON-NATIVE INSTITUTIONS,
MAINLINE AND EVANGELICAL

	<u>Average # of</u> <u>Natives Per</u> <u>Institution</u>	<u>Total # of</u> <u>Questionnaire</u> <u>Responses</u>
<u>Currently Enroled:</u>		
Non-Native - Mainline	0.3	(/ 7 responses)
- Evangelical	4	(/ 9 responses)
Native - Mainline	18	(/ 4 responses)
- Evangelical	16	(/ 3 responses)
<u>Past Enrolment (10 yrs):</u>		
Non-Native - Mainline	0.6	(/ 7 responses)
- Evangelical	14	(/ 9 responses)
Native - Mainline	72	(/ 4 responses)
- Evangelical	110	(/ 3 responses)
<u>Past Graduates (10 yrs):</u>		
Non-Native - Mainline	0.5	(/ 6 responses)
- Evangelical	3	(/ 7 responses)
Native - Mainline	5	(/ 4 responses)
- Evangelical	34	(/ 3 responses)
<hr/>		
<u>Graduation Percentages:</u>		
Non-Native - Mainline	83%	
- Evangelical	21%	
Native - Mainline	7%	
- Evangelical	31%	

Note:

- Graduation percentage rates are based on the number of graduates produced out of the number of Native candidates enroled over the past ten years.

- Non-Native Mainline graduation percentage rate is skewed due to the low number of aboriginal candidates represented in their institutions.

TABLE 8

1994 NATIVE THEOLOGICAL TRAINING STATISTICS:
INSTITUTIONAL INVOLVEMENT AND OBJECTIVES,
NATIVE AND NON-NATIVE INSTITUTIONS,
MAINLINE AND EVANGELICAL,
BY DENOMINATIONS

NON-NATIVE INSTITUTIONS:

(NOT SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED FOR ABORIGINALS)

<u>Institution</u>	<u>Present Native Focus</u>	<u>Present Native Recruitment</u>	<u>Present Native Studies</u>	<u>Future Native Dev't</u>
	<u>Yes/No</u>	<u>Yes/No</u>	<u>Yes/No</u>	<u>Yes/No</u>
<u>MAINLINE:</u>				
Anglican	0 / 3	0 / 3	0 / 3	0 / 3
United	0 / 2	0 / 2	0 / 2	0 / 2
Lutheran	1 / 1	0 / 2	0 / 2	1 / 1
Other	1 / 1	0 / 2	1 / 1	0 / 2
Total:	2 / 7	0 / 9	1 / 8	1 / 8
<u>EVANGELICAL:</u>				
Pentecostal	0 / 2	0 / 3	0 / 3	1 / 2
Baptist	0 / 2	1 / 1	1 / 1	0 / 1
Missionary	0 / 1	0 / 1	0 / 1	0 / 1
Other	1 / 2	0 / 3	0 / 3	0 / 3
Total:	1 / 7	1 / 8	1 / 8	1 / 7

NATIVE INSTITUTIONS:

(SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED FOR ABORIGINALS)

<u>Institution</u>	<u>Present Native Focus</u>	<u>Present Native Recruitment</u>	<u>Present Native Studies</u>	<u>Future Native Dev't</u>
	<u>Yes/No</u>	<u>Yes/No</u>	<u>Yes/No</u>	<u>Yes/No</u>
<u>MAINLINE:</u>				
Anglican	2 / 0	2 / 0	2 / 0	2 / 0
United	1 / 0	1 / 0	1 / 0	1 / 0
Angl & Unit	1 / 0	1 / 0	1 / 0	1 / 0
Totals:	4 / 0	4 / 0	4 / 0	4 / 0
<u>EVANGELICAL:</u>				
Pentecostal	2 / 0	2 / 0	2 / 0	2 / 0
Other	1 / 0	1 / 0	1 / 0	1 / 0
Totals:	3 / 0	3 / 0	3 / 0	3 / 0

Note: Wording of the above questions, used in all the questionnaires, was as follows:

1. INSTITUTION SELF-EVALUATION [PRESENT NATIVE FOCUS?]

1.1 Do you see the objectives of your institution as including a special concern with or focus upon Native Canadians as theologically or ministerially educated persons?
Yes__ No__

2. STUDENT RECRUITMENT [PRESENT NATIVE RECRUITMENT?]

2.1 Does your institution make special efforts to recruit Native candidates?
Yes__ No__

3. CURRICULUM [PRESENT NATIVE STUDIES?]

3.1 Does your institution offer courses (e.g., focusing on the ministerial needs of Native congregations) or programs (e.g., in Native studies, Indigenous cultures, Indigenous languages) specifically aimed at Native candidates?
Yes__ No__

4. CURRICULUM [FUTURE NATIVE DEVELOPMENT?]

4.2 Does your institution have plans for developing curriculum in the area of Native candidate education?
Yes__ No__

TABLE 9 1994 NATIVE THEOLOGICAL TRAINING STATISTICS:
INSTITUTIONAL INVOLVEMENT AND OBJECTIVES:
TOTALS AND PERCENTAGES,
NATIVE AND NON-NATIVE INSTITUTIONS,
MAINLINE AND EVANGELICAL

	<u>Present</u> <u>Native</u> <u>Focus</u> <u>Yes/No</u>	<u>Present</u> <u>Native</u> <u>Recruitment</u> <u>Yes/No</u>	<u>Present</u> <u>Native</u> <u>Studies</u> <u>Yes/No</u>	<u>Future</u> <u>Native</u> <u>Dev't</u> <u>Yes/No</u>
<u>NON-NATIVE INSTITUTIONS:</u> (NOT SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED FOR ABORIGINALS)				
Mainline	2 / 7	0 / 9	1 / 8	1 / 8
Evangelical	1 / 7	1 / 8	1 / 8	1 / 7
Totals:	3 / 14	1 / 17	2 / 16	2 / 15
Percentage:	18 / 82	6 / 94	11 / 89	12 / 88
<u>NATIVE INSTITUTIONS:</u> (SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED FOR ABORIGINALS)				
Mainline	4 / 0	4 / 0	4 / 0	4 / 0
Evangelical	3 / 0	3 / 0	3 / 0	3 / 0
Totals:	7 / 0	7 / 0	7 / 0	7 / 0
Percentages	100 / 0	100 / 0	100 / 0	100 / 0
Mainline	2 / 7	0 / 9	1 / 8	1 / 8

TABLE 10: 1994 NATIVE THEOLOGICAL TRAINING STATISTICS:
ATTITUDES CONCERNING CHRISTIANITY AND NATIVE PEOPLES,
NON-NATIVE EVANGELICAL INSTITUTIONS

<u>DENOMINATION</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
Pentecostal	- [Native peoples] are children of God, created the same as anyone else. So we wouldn't think we needed to have a separate attitude in terms of Christian education towards them, although the methodology and implementation of education, of course, demands a particular sensitivity towards their particular needs."
Missionary	- "Christianity and the church are as much for native peoples as for all the peoples of the earth. The Christian faith in its theology and the church's methodology and ministry need continual contextualization within the native culture as they do within the cultures of all people groups. Essential Christian doctrines and practices must not be altered: forms and methods will develop indigenously as Native leaders are allowed responsible freedom in the development of their churches."
Multi-Denom.	- "The Christian faith and the church is transcultural and not bound by the wall of culture. This is evidenced by the existence of the Native churches around the world. The Christian faith fits the Native context as well as any other and is a means of bringing men and women into relationship with the living God." - "I believe there needs to be a stronger focus which directly involves Native Christians. The issue is not for whites to be converting Natives as opposed to Natives trained to minister to their own people."

Note: Wording of the above question, used in all the questionnaires, was as follows:

1. PHILOSOPHY OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

1.1 What place do you see the Christian faith and the Christian Church having in the lives of Native persons?

TABLE 11: 1994 NATIVE THEOLOGICAL TRAINING STATISTICS:
INSTITUTIONS POLLED BY QUESTIONNAIRE,
NATIVE AND NON-NATIVE INSTITUTIONS,
MAINLINE AND EVANGELICAL,
BY DENOMINATIONS

NON-NATIVE INSTITUTIONS:
(NOT SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED FOR ABORIGINALS)

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>Institutions</u>
<u>MAINLINE:</u>	
Anglican	*Huron College, !King's College, Queen's College, !Rerison College, *Saint John's College, *Saint Paul University, *Thorneloe College, Trinity College, Wycliffe College
Baptist	McMaster Divinity College
Lutheran	(Concordia College, Concordia Lutheran Theological College, Waterloo Lutheran Seminary
Mennonite	Conrad Grebel College
Presbyterian	*Knox College
United	Emmanuel College, !Huntington University, !Iona College, Queen's Theological College, !Saint Paul's University College, *Victoria University
<u>EVANGELICAL:</u>	
Baptist	Heritage Baptist College, *Northwest Baptist Seminary
Chr. & Miss. All	*Canadian Theological Seminary
Chr. Reformed	!Redeemer College
Missionary	Emmanuel Bible College
Pentecostal	Central Pentecostal College, Eastern Pentecostal Bible College, *Northwest Bible College, Western Pentecostal Bible College
Multi-Denom.	Briarcrest Bible College, Ontario Bible College, Ontario Theological Seminary, *Providence Theological Seminary, Trinity Western University

NATIVE INSTITUTIONS:
(SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED FOR ABORIGINALS)

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>Institution</u>
<u>MAINLINE:</u>	
Anglican	Arthur Turner Training School, Henry Budd College for Ministry
United	Francis Sandy Theological Centre, Jesse Saulteau Resource Centre
Anglican & Unit.	Vancouver School of Theology: Native Ministries Program
<u>EVANGELICAL:</u>	
Mennonite	^Debwewin Bible Institute
Pentecostal	Canadian Native Bible College, Central Pentecostal College: Native Ministries Campus, Pentecostal Bible College, *Native Pentecostal Bible College, *Northland Bible College, *Pentecostal Sub-Arctic Leadership Training (SALT) College
Other	Key-Way-Tin Bible Institute, "Native Bible Centre"

NOTE: The following is a legend to signify important details concerning the responses of certain institutions:

- * - indicates those which failed to return questionnaires.
- ! - indicates those which disqualified themselves as non-theological in nature.
- ^ - indicates those which are no longer in operation.

TABLE 12

1994 NATIVE THEOLOGICAL TRAINING STATISTICS:
CULTURE-SPECIFIC NEEDS ASSESSMENT, WITH PERCENTAGES,
NON-NATIVE EVANGELICAL INSTITUTIONS

<u>'SPECIAL' PROVISIONS</u>	<u>YES</u>	<u>(%)</u>	<u>NO</u>	<u>(%)</u>
'Special' Entrance Requirements	0	(0%)	5	(100%)
'Special' Academic Upgrading	1	(20%)	4	(80%)
'Special' Personnel	0	(0%)	5	(100%)
'Special' Curriculum	1	(20%)	4	(80%)
'Special' Pedagogy/Androgogy	3	(60%)	2	(40%)
'Special' Student Services	1	(20%)	4	(80%)
'Special' Student Awards	1	(20%)	4	(80%)

Note:

- 'Special' denotes specific needs of Native candidates.
- The needs listed above are not placed in any order of importance.
- The data presented above are based upon the responses of five non-Native evangelical Canadian theological training institutions which completed my longer versions of the questionnaire. Two are Pentecostal, one is Missionary Church, and two are multi-denominational.

APPENDIX 4: INSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENT

EBC1's DOCTRINAL STATEMENT

EBC1 affirms a statement of faith which is reflective of conservative evangelism:

1. We believe in one God, Creator of all things, eternally existing in three persons: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.
2. We believe that Jesus Christ is the divinely-begotten Son of God, and that He is fully God and fully man.
3. We believe that the Old and New Testaments, as originally received, were inspired and authorized by God, that they unite to present a single message of His redemptive purposes, and that they are of final and supreme authority in all matters of life and faith.
4. We believe that man was created in the image of God, but that through sin he came under the condemnation of God and must be born again of the Spirit in order to be saved from wrath and reinstated into favour with his Creator.
5. We believe that Jesus Christ died for our sins and rose again according to the Scriptures, and that those who repent and trust in the merits of His atoning work are:
 - a) justified and born again by the operation of the Spirit
 - b) offered sanctification as the complete provision for the problem of sin through full surrender to God in Christ and through the infilling of the Holy Spirit.
 - c) assured of the resurrection of the body at the time of Christ's return.
6. We believe in the blessed hope of the personal return of Christ to receive His bride to Himself, to complete the conquest of wickedness in this world, and to reign in glory with His people.
7. We believe in the bodily resurrection of the just and the unjust: the eternal punishment of the lost, and the eternal blessedness of the saved.

APPENDIX 5: NON-NATIVE EVANGELICAL AND MAINLINE ATTITUDES

It is notable that there appear to be fundamental differences in the approaches, activities and attitudes of non-Native administrators of mainline and evangelical theological institutions as it pertains to the training of Native candidates.

Mainline institutions, it may be presumed, are drawing upon their experience and putting into practice lessons learned from the past. These are associated with the historical mission agencies which have felt the sting of Native wrath and public scorn during recent disclosures of institutional violence suffered in the missionization process overall, and in the mission schools in particular. There exists, therefore, a general sense of regret concerning the errors of the past, and strong declarations concerning their desire to change. Several church documents contain statements of apology for this maltreatment of Canada's aboriginal peoples (e.g. McCullum 1975:180). There appears to be a general feeling that they should not have been doing missionary work at all, but rather social work, i.e., bettering the social conditions of Native peoples as distinguished from religious proselytizing. Thus, there has been a significant decline of missionary activity amongst mainline Protestants in recent years. Table 3 of Appendix 3 illustrates this rate of decline.⁹

This rate of decline is seen within evangelical circles as well, though not as dramatically, as demonstrated in Table 4 (Appendix 4). Notable exceptions are the Salvation Army, which appears to be holding its own, and the Pentecostals, who are clearly the only group of surveyed churches that are experiencing significant growth. Although Pentecostalism overall numbers are quite small considering the total Native population, it has grown 37.7% between 1981 and 1991, remarkable during a time of considerable decline for most other churches. The Anglican church experienced a 3.1% rate of decline between 1981 and 1991, and the United Church saw a 12.8% drop during the same period, while the Baptists decreased 23.8% and the Presbyterians 38.1%.

Further, most appear to recognize the immensity of difference between Native culture and spirituality and that of the EuroCanadian missionaries (McCullum 1975:180). As a result of this awareness of culture, there has been a general call for "the indigenization of native

⁹ It should be noted that the numbers of aboriginal adherents to Christianity, as found in Appendix 3, Table 1 of this thesis, are skewed, due in part to the 1985 amendment to the Indian Act (Miller 1991:241-243) which offered Indian peoples the opportunity to regain Indian status lost through the Enfranchisement Act of 1869 (Miller 1991:114-115). As a result, the number of respondents categorized as "aboriginal" in Canadian censuses shows a dramatic increase after the 1971 Census, causing the number of Native adherents to increase and so give the impression that the growth rate within Christianity might be on the rise. When the numbers are reduced to percentages based on the total number of aboriginal peoples surveyed, Native Christianity is seen to be in decline numerically.

leadership" and "self-determination for Natives" within the Christian church (McCullum 1975:180). Many non-Native administrators of theological training institutions expressed the opinion in their questionnaire responses that they perceive themselves to be lacking adequate equipping or the cultural capabilities necessary for the training Native peoples, especially for ministry in Native settings. Respondents have commented that they believe Native candidates to be in need of specialized training not provided in their non-Native institutions, and so administrators may suggest that Native candidates attend programs which have been especially set up to serve their particular needs rather than trying to address these needs themselves. This may be taken, then, as evidence of a desire to make room for greater autonomy for Native peoples within Christianity, and to see Native Christians control, develop and administer their institutions and thus their own spirituality.

There seems to be, underlying all of this, an attitude about Native peoples which is different from the past. It would appear that old ideas about the ineducability of the 'savage' Indian and the belief in the necessity to "reduce" them in order to 'civilize' and 'save' them are gone. There is a tacit recognition by at least some of the respondents that Native people are quite capable of acquiring the knowledge they need to provide for their spiritual and other needs, and that failures in the past to produce Native clergy was largely due to errors in mission strategy and pedagogy. Recently, some, particularly the Anglicans and United, have attempted to establish training programs and centres which are designed for Native candidates. The fact that they are still, for the most part, at least administered by non-Native personnel and often taught by non-Natives requires a closer examination of the attitudes of those who might consider themselves free of old cognitive baggage.

Evangelicals, on the other hand, do not carry the same deep scars of remorse over the tragedy of the residential school history. Attitudes appear to be different in some segments of this camp, ranging from apparent apathy concerning the need to provide 'quality' theological training for Native candidates to scarcely submerged pride concerning some perceived 'successes' in this area in comparison to that of mainline and less involved evangelical groups. Some at the apathetic end believe that Native peoples are the same as everyone else, and need no special treatment. Based upon universalist Christian ideas concerning the equality of human beings under God, as all are "made in the image of God" (Genesis 1:27, KJV), and conservative beliefs about the moral depravity of all persons, it is not uncommon to hear comments, particularly in discussions about disciplinary problems, which indicate that it is taken for granted all candidates, Native included, have the human capacity to succeed in a generalized program, and that failure is due largely to a lack of Christian character and self-discipline.

There are also those evangelical non-Native administrators who appear to have concluded, based upon the lessons learned from the past experiences of others, that, of course, Native candidates require specialized training. They see the differences between Native and EuroCanadian culture as significant, and are dedicated to the establishment and administration of theological training institutions designed specifically to address the needs of these aboriginal culture groups. However, their actions reveal attitudes which continue

to be in line with those held by missionary educators of the past. Often, those programs which are set up to serve Native candidates are not perceived to be of equal academic value. Many are purposely designed to be less academically rigorous than in non-Native post-secondary institutions. This is understood by many in the 'business' as based on the assumption that the majority of Native peoples have proven themselves incapable of rigorous academic work. That is the unspoken reason why strictly Native programs are not accorded equal status with that of non-Native programs, and why it is assumed that any Native candidates who can function at a higher academic level would unquestionably seek instruction at institutions of 'higher learning'. The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, for example, has established five Native Bible schools, originally designed to serve those who could not succeed in 'higher', post-secondary theological education. As a result of the perceived and expected lack of academic rigour, the denomination has prescribed longer terms of ministerial experience for Native college graduates to qualify for post-graduation ordination than for any other group within its constituency, and has not until very recently permitted the transfer of credits to any of its non-Native schools. Further, all but one of these Pentecostal Native schools, like many other evangelical Native schools, are administered by, and their courses are taught by, non-Natives.

These ethnocentric and paternalistic attitudes go largely unspoken, except in 'off the record' conversations, and are based upon uncritical interpretations of delinquency and truancy and retention school records and government statistics concerning Native students at every level of formal education. One of the professors at EBC1 (IF1) said in an interview that she would not expect Native candidates generally to qualify for student awards which are based largely on academic achievement. It is curious that here the characteristic egalitarian and universalist underpinnings of evangelicalism appear to disappear. There appears to be a lack of theological consistency and integrity in this kind of approach to Native theological training.

It is interesting to note at this point that formal education seems to be fairly central to both mainline and evangelical activity amongst practically all those who are presently active in Native missionization. No matter who runs the training institutions or who teaches in them, they all are at least operating theological training institutions where Native candidates are encouraged to attend. This indicates a continuation of the humanistic Protestant faith in the effectual power of education to 'improve', transform and even socialize individuals.

Much more research is needed in the area of mainline attitudes for a comprehensive comparison of these two ecclesiastical categories of groups to be presented. This is the stuff of future research.

APPENDIX 6: RESEARCH METHODS

Questionnaire Surveys

Questionnaires were distributed to forty-nine theological institutions in Canada. For a listing of those surveyed, see Appendix 4, Table 7.

Not all the theological training institutions in Canada were surveyed, but only a random sampling, chosen from several lists. Those chosen were to serve as representative samples of what is going on in this area, but were not intended to be perceived as the sum total of activity in the field. Some of these turned out to not be theological schools at all, or to have discontinued their theological programs, and so were excluded from the results of the questionnaires.

The lists from which I chose the above institutions entailed both published and unpublished lists which were discovered through networking, as institutions and programs specifically designated for the training of Native candidates often do not appear in most published lists of theological institutions. The published lists of institutions providing theological training on which my list of questionnaire target list drew were: 1992-1994 Directory of Canadian Universities, 29th Edition (1993:270-271); Horizons 1993-94: Guide to Postsecondary Education in Ontario (1992:73,126); Religious Studies in Ontario: A State-of-the-Art Review (Remus 1992); Association of Canadian Bible Colleges Directory 1989-1990 (1989); and Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada 1993 Directory (1993). Unpublished lists of Native theological training schools were submitted with questionnaire responses from Emmanuel College, Huntington University, Iona College, King's College, Knox College, McMaster Divinity College, Queen's College, Queen's Theological College, Western Pentecostal Bible College, and Wycliffe College, and were discovered through personal contacts with those acquainted with less widely known institutions. These lists and contacts provided the bulk of my Native institutions list. The investigation of the extent of the absence, purposeful or not, of 'Native' institutions and the possible reasons for such absences may constitute the subject of a future research project.

Of the forty-nine questionnaires distributed, thirty-three were answered, a return rate of 67%, and eight more (16%) disqualified themselves as being non-theological in nature or no longer in operation, thus producing twenty-five usable responses. Seven of the remaining twenty-five schools were 'Native' (meaning they are specifically oriented and designed to primarily serve the particular needs of Native candidates) programs, four of which were mainline and three evangelical. Of the remaining eighteen 'non-Native' (meaning they are not specifically oriented to Native candidates) institutions, nine were mainline and nine were evangelical.

Five of the questionnaires sent were considerably longer versions of the other, more general, forty-four questionnaires. The former of these were sent to the two EuroCanadian evangelical institutions I focus on in Chapter 3, while the other three were completed by

Bible colleges very similar in size, doctrinal stance, mission, and cultural complexion. The latter, shorter questionnaires consisted of only four of the 11 categories of questions in the longer version. Where questions correlated between the two versions, the wording was made identical so as not to skew the polling results.

Administrators of these institutions were asked in this questionnaire to respond to questions concerning the degree and kind of involvement in the theological training of Native candidates each is engaged in, and to offer their rationale for the actions and policies of their institutions. This was done with a more pressing question in mind, to obtain from these responses some understanding of attitudinal and systemic barriers which confront Native candidates in these religious academic institutions. The above objectives were clearly stated in a covering letter to the respondents so as to assure that they knew how their responses would be used in this thesis, according to the requirements of the Ethics Committee of Wilfrid Laurier University.

It is important to reiterate at this point what was said in the Introduction, that no field data were collected from Roman Catholic sources. The reasons for this are varied. First, Roman Catholicism does not represent the recent theological and historical background of the evangelical Bible colleges (EBCs) under study in Chapter 3. This does not mean, however, that this religious group is irrelevant to such a study, for much of conservative theology stems from the works of the early Church Fathers, and the Reformation theology seen within EBC's curricula was developed partly in response to the Roman Catholic Church at that time. Moreover, the experience and strategies of Catholic missions has informed current thinking in the area of the education of indigenous peoples (Axtell 1985:107,273). Also, according to Father Lorne Mackey of the Oblate house in Vancouver, Roman Catholics would by virtue of their different objectives and subsequent non-involvement in the training of Native candidates, disqualify themselves from this study: "Catholic focus is not to bring people into ministry as such, but to acknowledge and accept native spirituality in its own uniqueness, acknowledging its own spiritual rite" (in Cowan 1991:23). And, Axtell argues that Roman Catholics have not been inclined historically to seek the installation of a Native clergy, largely due to the high standard of formal education required of the priesthood. They have, rather, generally focused on the preparation of lay leaders for their Native congregations (Axtell 1985:279).

Interviews

Each interview was recorded on audio cassette, at times with a medium-sized recorder which would sit on the floor with the microphone placed on the desk or table nearest the speaker. Sometimes a mini-recorder was used, but this worked poorly, particularly in interviews with 'Ruth' and IF1.

All taped conversations were transcribed in their entirety, word-for-word. Punctuation and grammatical editing has been kept as minimal as I know how to make it in order to represent as close a reading of the dialogues as possible. Print can really interfere with the

accuracy of reception of verbal communication, but then what doesn't distort it. This was a useful exercise for the sake of retention of knowledge received, but I shall not resort to full transcriptions again as it is far too time consuming.

Further, I have included several large segments of interview dialogue in the text of this thesis for the sake of analysis. To do justice to the speakers, I have decided, rather than simply reproducing these comments verbatim, to re-organize the material topically, or thematically, noting both individual concerns and comments of the contributors as well as overlapping themes. Reproducing the words can result in the burying of a speaker's emphases under the guise of straight transcription. Therefore, lengthy quotes will be broken up, and the emphases of the speakers will be highlighted in the hope that this will provide an occasion for what they are saying to be heard.

A final issue of concern to me is my own inadequacy to represent those, particularly aboriginal contributors, whom I do not know, whom I have never met, whom I did not personally interview, and whose comments were not given to me in relationship. The words of such speakers would, therefore, be recorded generally by non-Native interviewers, recorders and editors, within frameworks that are not those of the speakers. An unfiltered and accurate reception of the messages of Native speakers is hindered not only by the interference of a second voice, that of the recorder-interpreters, but by my lack of knowledge about the contexts and intents of the conversations? For this reason, I have chosen to include only those voices in this thesis whom I know and am personally in relationship with, whom I have personally interviewed, who have given me explicit permission to relate what they have offered to me, and to whom I can return to for their corrections of my perceptions and interpretations of what they have said to me. It is clear that I am working from a particular ethic of respect for Native voices, and therefore will not presume to represent these in my writing without certain Native verifications of what I say.

REFERENCES

PRIMARY SOURCES

Cote, Augustin, ed. 1858. Relations des Jesuites, 1611-1636. Vol.1. n.p., n.p. Montreal: Edition of original edition published, Editions Du Jour 1972. Reprinted, Messageries du Jour, 1972.

Jacobs, Peter. 1843. "Speech of 'Pah-tah-se-gay' (Peter Jacobs)." Christian Guardian July 12:1.

Jones, Peter (Kahkewaquonaby). 1860. Life and Journals of Kahkewaquonaby. Toronto: Wesleyan.

Jones, Peter (Kahkewaquonaby). 1861. History of the Ojebway Indians: With Especial Reference to Their Conversion to Christianity. London: Houlston and Wright.

Kenton, Edna, ed. 1954. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in North America, 1610-1791. N.Y.: Vanguard.

Mealing, S.R., ed. 1963. The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: A Selection. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold, ed. 1959. The Jesuit Relations And Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791. Vol.7. N.Y.: Pageant.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Abel, Kerry Margaret. 1985. "The Drum and the Cross: An Ethnohistorical Study of Mission Work Among the Dene, 1858-1902." Dissertation Abstract International 46(2):502A.

Adeney, Miriam. 1989. "Color-blind or Colorful?" Faith Today July/August:30-32.

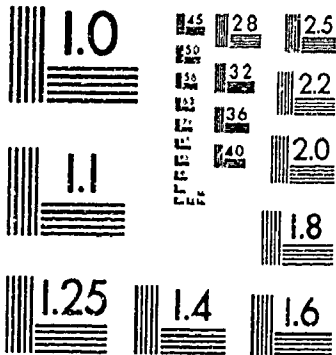
Adrian, Victor. 1987. "The World At Our Doorstep", 2. In The Multi-Cultural Church, 1-3, a paper presented by the Rev. Gordon Upton at the Congress On Pentecostal Leadership, Toronto, ON:22 October.

3

of/de

3

PM-1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT



- Allen, Paula Gunn. 1983. The Women Who Owned the Shadows. San Francisco, CA: Spinsters/Aunt Lute.
- Allen, Roland. 1956. Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?. Chicago: Moody.
- Allen, Roland. [1962] 1967. The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church. Grand Rapids, Michigan: W.B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.
- Andrews, Heather. 1991. "Alternate School Meeting With Resounding Success." Windspeaker 8(21):22.
- Association of Canadian Bible Colleges. 1989. Directory 1989-1990. n.p.: Association of Canadian Bible Colleges.
- Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada. 1993. 1992-1994 Directory of Canadian Universities, 29th Edition. Ottawa: Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada.
- Axtell, James. 1982. "Some Thoughts on the Ethnohistory of Missions." Ethnohistory 29(1):35-41.
- Axtell, James. 1985. The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America. N.Y.: Oxford University.
- Ballantine, Jeanne H. 1989. The Sociology of Education: A Systematic Analysis, Second Edition. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Barman, Jean. 1986. "Separate and Equal: Indian and White Girls at All Hallows School, 1884-1820." Indian Education in Canada, Vol.1: The Legacy 110-131. Eds. Jean Barman, et al. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.
- Barman, Jean, et al, eds. 1986. "The Legacy of the Past: An Overview." Indian Education in Canada, Vol.1: The Legacy, 45-63. Eds. Jean Barman, et al. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.
- Battiste, Marie. 1986. "Micmac Literacy and Cognitive Assimilation." Indian Education in Canada, Vol.1: The Legacy, 23-44. Eds. Jean Barman, et al. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.
- Becdelievre, A.D. 1930. "La congregation des messieurs chez les Jesuites de Paris et les missions de la Nouvelle-France." Bulletin des recherches historiques 36:375-376.

Bergeron, Pierre R. 1993. "Nationalistic Culture Versus Culture of the Kingdom." Resource 7(4):15.

Berkhofer, Robert. 1978. "Significance of Indian as a General Category and Conception," 23-31. In The White Man's Indian. Vintage.

Berkhofer, Robert F., Jr. 1965. Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Responses, 1787-1862. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.

Berton, Pierre. 1965. The Comfortable Pew: A Critical Look at Christianity and the Religious Establishment in the New Age. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Bibby, Reginald W. 1987. Fragmented Gods: The Poverty and Potential of Religion in Canada. Toronto: Irwin.

Bibby, Reginald W. 1990. Mosaic Madness: The Poverty and Potential of Life in Canada. Toronto: Stoddart.

Birch, Ken. 1987. "Producing Pastors: Recruiting and Training." Paper read at the Congress on Pentecostal Leadership, 20 October, Constellation Hotel, Toronto.

Birch, Ken. 1993. "Introducing the New Executive Director of Home Missions and Bible Colleges." Pentecostal Testimony August:24-25,27.

Birch, Ken. 1993. In his "Report of the Executive Director of Home Missions and Bible Colleges to the 1993 District Conferences." 1992 Annual Reports, 97-100. Burlington, ON: Western Ontario District of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada.

Blundell, Valda. 1989. "An Anthropologist's View of Canadian Native Peoples." A Different Drummer: Readings in Anthropology with a Canadian Perspective, 63-69. Eds. Bruce Alden Cox, Jacques Chevalier and Valda Blundell. Ottawa: Carleton University Press.

Blundell, Valda. n.d. Aboriginal Empowerment and the Souvenir Trade in Canada. Paper distributed for Anthropology 56.325 course readings, 2 April, Carleton University, Ontario.

Boehmer, Heinrich. 1928 The Jesuits: An Historical Study. Philadelphia: Castle.

Brody, Hugh. [1975] 1977. The People's Land: Eskimos and Whites in the Eastern Arctic. Markham, ON: Penguin.

- Brody, Hugh. 1987. Living Arctic: Hunters of the Canadian North. London: Faber and Faber.
- Brody, Hugh. [1981] 1988. Maps and Dreams: Indians and the British Columbia Frontier. Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre.
- Brooks, Katherine J. 1986. "The Effects of the Catholic Missionaries on the Micmac Indians of Nova Scotia, 1610-1986." Nova Scotia Historical Review 6(1):107-115.
- Brown, Jennifer S.H. 1981. "Mission Indian Progress and Dependency: Ambiguous Images From Canadian Methodist Lantern Slides." Arctic Anthropology 18(2):17-27.
- Brown, Terry L. 1987. "Indian Life and Evangelical Concerns: Rights." Faith Today May/June:35, 53.
- Brumbelow, Gary. 1994. "Ministry to Native North Americans". The 1994 Great Commission Handbook: The Annual Guide for People Who Want to Obey Jesus 10:50
- Burnaby, Barbara. 1982. Language in Education Among Canadian Native Peoples. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- Came, Barry. 1989. "Maclean's/Decima Poll: In Search of Pride." Maclean's, 102(27): 40-41.
- Campbell, Thomas Joseph. 1921. The Jesuits, 1534-1921. N.Y.: Encyclopedia Press.
- Campeau, Lucien. 1987. La mission des jesuites chez les Hurons, 1634-1650. Montreal: Bellarmin.
- Cardinal, Harold. 1969. The Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians. Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig.
- Cardinal, Harold. 1977. The Rebirth of Canada's Indians. Edmonton: Hurtig.
- Caron, Adrien. 1963-64. "La mission du pere Paul le Jeune sur la cote-du-sud, 1633-34." Revue d'Histoire de l'Amerique Fancaise 17:371-395.
- Carriere, Gaston. 1979. "The Early Efforts of the Oblate Missionaries in Western Canada." Prairie Forum 4(1):1-25.
- Carter, Sarah. 1984. "The Missionaries' Indian: The Publications of John McDougall, John MacLean and Egerton Ryerson Young." Prairie Forum 9(1):27-44.

Cartwright, Christine A. 1980. "Johnny Faa and Black Jack Davy: Cultural Values and Change in Scots and American Balladry." Journals of American Folklore 93(370):397-416.

Christie, Laird. 1994. Conversation with author, 8 July.

Coates, Kenneth Stephen. 1986. "A Very Imperfect Means of Education: Indian Day Schools on the Yukon Territory, 1890-1955." Indian Education in Canada, Vol.1: The Legacy, 132-149. Eds, Jean Barman, et al. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.

Coleman, Michael Christopher. 1987. "The Responses of American Indian Children to Presbyterian Schooling in the Nineteenth Century: An Analysis Through Missionary Sources." History of Education Quarterly 27(4): 473-497.

Comeau, Pauline and Aldo Santin. 1990. The First Canadians: A Profile of Canada's Native Peoples Today. Toronto: J. Lorimer.

Conkling, Robert. 1974. "Legitimacy and Conversion in Social Change: The Case of French Missionaries and the Northeastern Algonkian." Ethnohistory 21(1):1-24.

Cove, John J. 1989. "The Politics of Anthropological Research: Aboriginal Rights in Canada and Australia." A Different Drummer: Readings in Anthropology with a Canadian Perspective, 71-80. Eds. Bruce Alden Cox, Jacques Chevalier and Valda Blundell. Ottawa: Carleton University Press.

Cowan, Len. 1991. "An Indigenous Church for Indigenous People." Faith Today 9(4):23-26.

Cross, F.L., and E.A. Livingstone, eds. [1958] 1990. The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church. N.Y.: Oxford University.

Cross, Patricia K. 1981. Adults as Learners: Increasing Participation and Facilitating Learning. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Crouse, Nellis M. [1924] 1979. Contributions of the Canadian Jesuits to the Geographical Knowledge of New France 1632-1675. Ph.D.diss., Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University.

Cuff, E.E. and others. 1990. Perspectives in Sociology, Third Edition. London: Unwin Hyman.

Day, Kate. 1992. "City, Nation Leaders Discuss Situation." Times Herald 14 October:n.p.

- Decloux, Simon. 1990. "La pedagogie des Jesuites et son inspiration ignatienne (Jesuit Pedagogy and Its Ignatian Inspiration)." Lumen Vitae 45(2):127-140.
- DeMont, John. 1994. "The Fight of a Lifetime." Maclean's 107(3):20-26.
- Diamond, Billy. "The Book of Acts on James Bay - A Native Success Story." In Dorsch, Audrey, 1991, Faith Today 9(4):19-22.
- Dickason, Olive Patricia. 1992. Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Donnelly, John Patrick. 1988. "Religious Orders of Men, Especially the Society of Jesus." Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guide To Research 147-162. Ed. John W. O'Malley. Center for Reformation Research Series in Reformation Guides To Research, 2. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edward Brothers.
- Donnelly, Joseph Peter. 1967. Thwaites' Jesuit Relations: Errata and Addenda. Chicago: Loyola University.
- Dorsch, Audrey. 1991. "The Book of Acts on James Bay: A Native Success Story." Faith Today 9(4):18-22.
- Dow, Thomas. 1994. Conversation with author, 25 March.
- Dunning, R.W. 1959. Sociological and Economic change Among the Northern Ojibwa. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Dunning, R.W. 1974. "Some Problems of Reserve Indian Communities: A Case Study." Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts, 59-85. Ed. James S. Frideres. Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall.
- Editorial. 1982. "To Build a Better Bible College." Christianity Today February 5:14-16.
- Edrich, Keith H. 1984. Love Medicine. New York: Bantam.
- Elliott, Carleen. 1992. "The Way of Peace: Part III." Cross Cultures Sept.:3.
- Elliot, Jean Leonard and Augie Fleras. 1992. Unequal Relations: An Introduction to Race and Ethnic Dynamics in Canada. Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall.
- Faith Today Staff. 1992. "Native Evangelical Support Self-Government." Faith Today March-April:57-58.

Fallding, Harold. 1978. "Mainline Protestantism in Canada and the United States of America: An Overview." Canadian Journal of Sociology 3:141-160.

Faulkner, Debbie. 1988. "Financial Crisis: Evangelical Missions' Refining Fire." Faith Today Jan./Feb.:32-34.

Ferguson, Judy, ed. 1992. "Freedom of Religion in Public Education: For Whom?" Lifelink. Typescript by Social Concerns Committee of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada.

Fisher, Robin Anthony. 1977. Contact and Conflict: Indian - European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.

Fleras, Augie. 1992. "Multiculturalism and Citizenship: A Partnership in the Making, Part 2." Cross Cultures 2(5):8-9.

Fleras, Augie and Jean Leonard Elliot. 1992. Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity. Scarborough, ON: Nelson.

Foley, Peter. 1973. Indian Education in Saskatchewan. Vol. 1, Part 1. Report presented to the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, Task Force on Saskatchewan Indian Education, August, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

Foucault, Michel. [1975] 1977. Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. Translation of the 1975 French Edition, N.Y.: Pantheon.

Freeman, Milton M.R. 1981. "Persistence and Change: The Cultural Dimension." A Century of Canada's Arctic Islands, 1880-1980, 23rd Symposium, 257-266. Ed. Morris Zaslow. Ottawa: Royal Society of Canada.

Freire, Paulo. [1921] 1985. The Politics of Education: Culture, Power, and Liberation. Critical Studies in Education Series. N.Y.: Bergin and Garvey.

Freire, Paulo. [1970] 1990. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. N.Y.: Continuum.

Frideres, James S. 1974. Canada's Indians: Contemporary Conflicts. Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall.

Frideres, James S. 1983. Native People in Canada: Contemporary Conflicts. Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall.

Gainer, Brenda Jean. 1979. "The Catholic Missionaries as Agents of Social Change Among the Metis and Indians of Red River, 1818-1845." Masters Abstracts 17(3):207.

George, Priscilla. 1993. "'Dancing With a Ghost' Is Out of Step." Beedaudjimowin 3(1):25,29.

Gesza, Irene. 1994. "Building Bridges: The Goal of the Native University Access Program." University of Waterloo Alumni Magazine Spring: 13-15.

Gilbert, Felix. [1971] 1972. "Introduction." Historical Studies Today, xi-xxi. Eds. Felix Gilbert and Stephen R. Graubard. N.Y.: Norton.

Graham, Elizabeth. 1975. Medicine Men to Missionary: Missionaries As Agents of Change Among the Indians of Southern Ontario, 1784-1867. Toronto: Peter Martin.

Graham, Elizabeth. 1978. "The Roles of Missionaries in the Establishment of the Reserve System of the Indians of Southern Ontario and the Khoikhoi of South Africa." Paper presented to the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association, 31 May, London, ON.

Graham, Elizabeth. 1986. Gentlemen and Jesuits: Quests for Glory and Adventure in the Early Days of New France. Toronto: University of Toronto.

Grant, John Webster. 1984. Moon of Wintertime: Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter Since 1534. Toronto: University of Toronto.

Greinacher, Norbert. 1992. "Conversion Through Conquest." Theology Digest 39(2):121-125.

Gresko, Jacqueline. 1986. "Creating Little Dominions Within the Dominion: Early Catholic Indian Schools in Saskatchewan and British Columbia." Indian Education in Canada, Vol.1: The Legacy, 88-109. Eds. Jean Barman, et al. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.

Grimes, Ronald. 1992. Holy Historiography and the Problem of Mapping Religions in the Southwest. Paper read at the American Academy of Religion. Printed in Indigenous Religions: An Anthology for Religion & Culture 211, 117-130. Ed. Ronald L. Grimes. Waterloo: Department of Religion and Culture, Wilfrid Laurier University.

Gualtieri, Antonio R. 1980. "Indigenization of Christianity and Syncretism Among the Indians and Inuit of the Western Arctic." Canadian Ethnic Studies 12(1):47-57.

Hames, Jerry, ed. 1987. "Editorial." The Anglican Churchman 113(4):4.

Hamilton, W.D. 1986. The Federated Indian Day Schools of the Maritimes. Fredericton: University of New Brunswick.

Hanson, Allan. 1989. "The Making of the Maori: Cultural Invention and Its Logic." American Anthropologist 91:890-902.

Hawthorn, H.B., ed. 1966. A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: A Report on Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies, Vol. 1. Ottawa: Indian Affairs.

Hesselgrave, David J. 1975. Planting Churches Cross-Culturally: A Guide for Home and Foreign Missions. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker.

Hiebert, Paul G. 1985. Anthropological Insights for Missionaries. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker.

Highet, Gilbert. 1966. The Art of Teaching. N.Y.:Knopf.

Hodges, Melvin L. [1953] 1976. The Indigenous Church. Springfield, Missouri: Gospel.

Hodgson, Janet and Jayant S. Kothare. 1990. Vision Quest: Native Spirituality and the Church in Canada. Toronto: Anglican Book Centre.

Holmes, Art. 1988. The Grieving Indian: Help For the Spiritually Wounded. Winnipeg, MB: Indian Life.

Houston, James. 1991. In "Calgary Hosts World Pentecostal Conference" by Gordon Legge. Faith Today 9(4): 43-44.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. 1991. Basic Departmental Data - 1991. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. 1992. "Post-Secondary Student Support Program: Expenditures 1990-1991." Information 54(Sept.):1-2.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. 1993. "Indian and Inuit Post-Secondary Education." Information 41(Sept.):1-4.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. 1993. "Indians in Canada and the United States." Information 37(Nov.):1-6.

Jaenen, Cornelius. 1976. Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-American Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Jaenen, Cornelius. 1986. "Education for Francization: The Case of New France in the Seventeenth Century." Indian Education in Canada, Vol. 1: The Legacy, 45-63. Eds. Jean Barman, et al. Vancouver:University of British Columbia.

Jaenen, Cornelius. 1988. "Assessing Early Native-European Contact." [Review of *Gentlemen and Jesuits: Quest for Glory and Adventure in The Early Days of New France*, by Elizabeth Jones]. Journal of Canadian Studies 23(1,2):243-244.

Johnston, Basil. 1976. Ojibway Heritage. N.Y.: Columbia University Press.

Johnston, Basil. 1988. Indian School Days. Toronto: Key Porter.

Kan, Sergei. 1985. "Russian Orthodox Brotherhoods Among the Tlingit: Missionary Goals and Native Responses." Ethnohistory 32(3):196-223.

Kavanaugh, Mary Jane. 1994. Conversation with author, 28 May.

Kelly, Daniel P. 1982. "Receptor Oriented Communication: An Approach to Evangelism and Church Planting Among the North American Indians." Dissertation Abstracts International 43(4):1201A.

Kelly, Daniel P. 1986. Lecture in "World Evangelization" course at Ontario Theological Seminary, Willowdale, ON, Fall Term.

Kelly, Daniel P. 1987. In "Canada's Forgotten Third World" by Leslie K. Tarr Faith Today May/June:32.

Kelly, Daniel P. 1987. "Indian Life and Evangelical Concerns: Urban." Faith Today May/June:34-35,42.

Kilbourn, William, ed. 1966. The Restless Church: A Response to The Comfortable Pew. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

King, Thomas. 1993. Green Grass, Running Water. New York, N.Y.: Houghton Mifflin.

Knowles, M.S. and Others. 1984. Andragogy in Action: Applying Modern Principles of Adult Learning. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Kodera, T. James. 1989. "Christian West and Confucian East." [Review of *China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures*, by Jacques Garnet, 1985]. Anglican Theological Review 71(Winter):95-98.

Kohls, Paul E. 1993. *New Models of Ministerial Training*. Paper read at the Congress On Pentecostal Leadership, October, Constellation Hotel, Toronto.

Lafleche, Guy, ed. 1973. Le missionnaire, l'apostat, le sorcier: relation de 1634 de Paul Lejeune. Montreal: University of Montreal.

- Landsman, Gail and Sara Ciborski. 1992. "Representation and Politics: Contesting Histories of the Iroquois". Cultural Anthropology 7(4):425-447.
- Lebacqz, Karen. 1986. Six Theories of Justice: Perspectives from Philosophical and Theological Ethics. Minneapolis: Augsburg.
- Lindner, John. 1992. "'We Want the White Man's Black Book!'" Christian Mission October:12-14.
- MacLean, Hope. 1973. A Review of Indian Education in North America. Toronto: Ontario Teachers' Federation.
- Maclean's. 1989. "Maclean's/Decima Poll: A North-South Dialogue." Maclean's 102(27): 48-50.
- Maclean's. 1989. "Maclean's/Decima Poll: Separate Identities." Maclean's 102(27): 32-34.
- Maracle, Ross. 1991. "Native Distinctiveness: An Epic Struggle." Faith Today 9(6):41.
- Maracle, Ross. 1991. "Passing By On the Other Side." Faith Today 9(4):29.
- Maracle, Ross. "We Want the White Man's Black Book!" In Lindner, John, 1992, Christian Mission October:12-14.
- McCallum, Hugh and Karmel. 1975. This Land is Not For Sale: Canada's Original People and Their Land - A Saga of Neglect, Exploitation, and Conflict. Toronto: Anglican Book Centre.
- McCallum, Hugh, ed. 1986. "Editorial." The United Church Observer October:9-10.
- McCarthy, Martha Cecilia. 1981. "The Mission of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate to the Athapaskans, 1846-1870: Theory, Structure and Method." Dissertation Abstracts International 42(2):815A.
- McPeck, George. 1987. "Indian Life and Evangelical Concerns: Culture." Faith Today May/June:34,36-37.
- McPeck, George. 1987. Editorial Notes. Indian Life Magazine 8(6):3.
- Melling, John. 1967. Right to a Future: The Native Peoples of Canada. Don Mills, ON: Anglican Church of Canada and United Church of Canada.

- Merriam, S.B. and R.S. Caffarella. 1991. Learning in Adulthood. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Miles, H.H. 1972. The History of Canada Under French Regime, 1535-1763. Montreal: Dawson Brothers.
- Miller, J.R. [1989] 1991. Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Ministry of Colleges and Universities. 1992. Horizons 1993-94: Guide to Postsecondary Education in Ontario. Toronto: Government of Ontario.
- Momaday, N. Scott. 1966. House Made of Dawn. New York: Harper & Row.
- Morrow, William D. 1993. "District Superintendent's Report: Western Ontario District Conference, May 1993." 1992 Annual Reports, 11-12. Burlington, ON: Western Ontario District of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada.
- National Indian Brotherhood. 1972. Indian Control of Indian Education. Policy paper presented to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 21 December, Ottawa.
- Native Clergy of Keewatin Diocese. 1990. Presentation to Bishop Desmond Tutu. Typescript. 13-14 August:1-12.
- Nelles, Wendy E. 1989. "A New Wave of Ethnic Church Growth." Faith Today July/August:20-27.
- Northern Canada Evangelical Mission. 1980. Cree Hymns. Prince Albert, SK: Northern Canada Evangelical Mission.
- O'Malley, John W., ed. 1988. Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guide to Research. Center for Reformation Research Series in Reformation Guides To Research, 2. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edward Brothers.
- O'Reilly, Robert R. 1970. Northern Students Attending Post-Secondary Institutions in Canada, 1966-1967. Paper presented to the Eighth Canadian Conference on Educational Research, March, Ottawa.
- Oudshoorn, Fran. 1993. Phone conversation with author, 9 February.
- Ozard, Jack. 1993. Vision North: The Northland Mission Newsletter. Burlington, ON: Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, Western Ontario District. March:1-3.

Patterson, E. Palmer, II. 1982. Mission on the Nass: The Evangelization of the Nishga, 1860-1890. Waterloo: Eulachon.

Penner, Peter. 1987. No Longer at Arms Length: Mennonite Brethren Church Planting in Canada. Winnipeg, MB: Kindred.

Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. 1993. 1993 Directory. Mississauga, ON: Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada.

Persson, Diane. 1986. "The Changing Experience of Indian Residential Schooling: Blue Quills, 1931-1970." Indian Education in Canada, Vol.1: The Legacy, 150-168. Eds. Jean Barman, et al. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.

Peshkin, Alan. 1986. God's Choice: The Total World of a Fundamentalist Christian School. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Peters, Erna A. 1971. The Contribution to Education by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. Altona, MB: D.W. Friesen.

Peters, Erna A. 1988. The History of the Northland Mission. Typescript.

Peters, Gordon. 1990. Conversation with author. 8 May.

Poloyna, Margaret M. 1989. The Assemblies of God at the Crossroads: Charisma and Institutional Dilemmas. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Pomedli, Michael. 1987. "Beyond Belief: Early Jesuit Interpretations of Native Religions." Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses 16(3):275-287.

Porter, Eric Ronald. 1982. "The Anglican Church and Native Education: Residential Schools and Assimilation." Dissertation Abstracts International 42(10):4333A.

Porter, John. [1965] 1989. The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Pouliot, Leon. 1940. Etudes sur les relations des jesuites de la Nouvelle-France, 1632-1672. Montreal: Messager.

Ralston, Helen. 1981 "Religion, Public Policy, and the Education of Micmac Indians of Nova Scotia, 1605-1872." Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 18(4):470-498.

Redmond, Chris, ed. 1993. "Universities Come To Six Nations." University of Waterloo Gazette. 13 January:5.

Remie, Cornelius H.W. 1983. "Cultural Change and Religious Continuity Among the Arviligdjarmiut of Pelly Bay, N.W.T., 1935-1963." Inuit Studies 7(2):53-77.

Remus, Harold. 1971. "Origins." Graduate Education in Religion: A Critical Appraisal, 113-133. Ed. Claude Welch. Missoula, Montana: University of Montana.

Remus, Harold. "Bible Colleges." In Remus, Harold and others, 1992, Religious Studies in Ontario: A State-of-the-Art Review, 269-285. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University.

Remus, Harold. "Religion and Religious Studies in Ontario." In Remus, Harold and others, 1992, Religious Studies in Ontario: A State-of-the-Art Review, 5-92. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University.

Remus, Harold, William C. James and Daniel Fraikin, eds. 1992. Religious Studies in Ontario: A State-of-the-Art Review. Waterloo, On: Wilfrid Laurier University.

Rennie, Ian. 1989. "Third-World Church in Canada: Threat or Promise?" Faith Today July/August:33.

Riegert, Eduard R. 1980. "'Indian Awareness': Can We See Non-Peoples As People?" Consensus 6(2):17-29.

Ronda, James P. and James Axtell. 1978. Indian Missions: A Critical Bibliography. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Ross, Rupert. 1992. Dancing With a Ghost: Exploring Indian Reality. Markham, ON: Octopus.

Salone, Emile. 1970. La colonisation de la Nouvelle-France. Quebec: Boreal.

Scarberry-Garcia, Susan. 1990. Landmarks of Healing: A Study of House Made of Dawn. Albuquerque, NM: University of Mexico Press.

Seligmann, Jean. 1978. "Harvard's Hard Core." Newsweek 91(20):61.

Scriver, Brenda. 1992. "Track Record: Levi Beardy." On Track October:3.

Sealey, Bruce D. 1980. Monographs in Religion: The Education of Native Peoples in Manitoba. Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba Series in Canadian Education, 3. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba.

Silko, Leslie Marmon. 1977. Ceremony. New York: Penguin.

- Smalley, Wm. A. 1974. Readings in Missionary Anthropology. South Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library.
- Smith, Derek G., ed. 1975. Canadian Indians and the Law: Selected Documents 1663-1972. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Smith, Donald B. 1987. Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Smith, Donald B. n.d. Conversion: Peter Jones and the Mississauga Indians' Acceptance of Methodism in the 1820's. Paper for the Department of History, University of Calgary.
- Soullière, Twyla Anne. 1994. "A Time to Mourn and a Time to Dance: The Rebirth of Native Spirituality in Canada." Paper for AN329 Contemporary Native Peoples, Wilfrid Laurier University, 4 April.
- Soveran, Marilylle. n.d. Native Ministry - Think It Through. Typescript.
- Spencer, Metta. 1985. Foundations of Modern Sociology, Canadian 4th Edition. Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall.
- Stanley, George F.G. 1949-1950. "The Policy of 'Francisation' as Applied to the Indians During the Ancien Regime." Revue d'Histoire l'Amerique française. 3:333-348.
- Statistics Canada. 1976. Table 4.
- Statistics Canada. 1984. Table 1.
- Statistics Canada. 1993. Table 6.
- Stevens, Michael Edward. 1978. "The Ideas and Attitudes of Protestant Missionaries to the North American Indians, 1643-1776." Dissertation Abstracts International 39(3):1791A-1792A.
- Stevenson, Judy C. 1986. "Metlakatla: William Duncan on the North Coast Bringing Jesus to the Tsimshians." Beaver 66(4):35-41.
- Stott, John. 1975. The Lauzanne Covenant. Mineapolis, Minnesota: World Wide.
- Surtees, Robert J. 1966. Indian Reserve Policy in Upper Canada (1830-1845). Ottawa: Carlton University.
- Sweet, Lois. 1994. "United Church has drifted away from its roots, says renewal groups." Barrie Examiner, 28 May:16.

- Tanner, Adrian. 1983. "Introduction: Canadian Indians and the Politics of Dependency." The Politics of Indianness: Case Study of Native Ethnopolitics in Canada, 1-35. Ed. Adrian Tanner. St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- Tarr, Leslie K. 1987. "Canada's Forgotten Third World". Faith Today May/June:26-33.
- Taryole, Wayne E. 1987. "On The Run." Indian Life 8(6):6-8.
- Taylor, Wm. S. 1984. Seeing the Mystery: Exploring Christian Faith Through the Eyes of Artists. Ottawa: Novalis.
- Temme, Jon. nd. "Jesus in the New World: North American Native Responses to the European Christ." International Review of Mission :59-66.
- Tennant, Paul. 1990. Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989. Vancouver, B.C.: University of British Columbia Press.
- Thwaites, Reuben Gold. 1954. "Introduction." The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in North America (1610-1971), xix-liv. Ed. Edna Kenton. N.Y.: Vanguard.
- Troeltsch, Ernst. [1931] 1950. The Sociological Teaching of the Christian Churches, Vol. 2. Trans. Olive Wyon. New York: Macmillan.
- Tucker, Ruth A. 1983. From Jerusalem to Irian Jaya: A Biographical History of Christian Missions. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan.
- Valentine, Lisa Philips. 1992. "'Native' Religion in a Severn Ojibwe Community: Voices from the Inside, Voices from the Outside." Culture 12(2):39-62.
- Waldron, Mark W. and George A.B. Moore. 1991. Helping Adults Learn. Guelph, ON: University of Guelph Press.
- Walmsley, Ann. 1989. "Uneasy Over Newcomers." Maclean's 102(1):23-29.
- Walsh, H.H. 1956. The Christian Church in Canada. Toronto: Ryerson.
- Walsh, H. H. 1966. The Church in the French Era: From Colonization to the British Conquest. Ryerson Series in A History of the Christian Church in Canada, 1. Toronto: Ryerson.
- Watson, Glenn A. 1990. "The Report of the Ministerial Inquiry on Religious Education in Ontario Public Elementary Schools." Report presented to the Ontario Minister of Education, 31 January, Toronto.

Weaver, Sally M. 1981. Making Canadian Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda 1968-70. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Weber, Max. [1922] 1963. The Sociology of Religion. Trans. E. Fischoffs. Boston: Beacon.

Weber, Max. [1947] 1964. "The Routinization of Charisma." Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, 363-386. Ed. Talcott Parsons. Trans. A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons. New York: Oxford University Press.

Weber, Max [1961] 1964. "The Three Types of Legitimate Rule." Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader, 4-14. Ed. Etzioni, Amitai. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Weber, Max. 1968. "Bureaucracy." Max Weber On Charisma and Institution Building: Selected Papers, 66-77. Ed. S.N. Eisenstadt. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Weber, Max. 1968. "The Nature of Charismatic Authority and its Routinization." Max Weber On Charisma and Institution Building: Selected Papers, 48-65. Ed. S.N. Eisenstadt. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Webster's 11: New Riverside Dictionary. 1984. New York: Berkley.

Wilson, J. Donald. 1986. "'No Blanket to Be Worn in School': The Education of Indians in Nineteenth-Century Ontario." Indian Education in Canada, Vol.1: The Legacy, 64-87. Eds. Jean Barman, et al. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.

Wogman, J. Philip. 1989. Christian Moral Judgment. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox.