

ÉTUDE CRITIQUE / REVIEW ESSAY

Reading Anglican Lives: Recent Studies in the History of Anglicanism in Canada

HAYES, Alan L. — *Anglicans in Canada: Controversies and Identity in Historical Perspective*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004. Pp. xiii, 323.

NEYLAN, Susan — *The Heavens are Changing: Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missions and Tsimshian Christianity*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003. Pp. xvii, 401.

VAUDRY, Richard W. — *Anglicans and the Atlantic World: High Churchmen, Evangelicals, and the Quebec Connection*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003. Pp. xiii, 315.

IN 1963 THE ANGLICAN Church of Canada supported two projects, each ultimately presenting dramatically different conclusions. First, and most controversial, was the Church's invitation to Pierre Berton to critique its institution, the result ultimately published as *The Uncomfortable Pew: A Critical Look at the Church in the New Age* (1965). Although *The Uncomfortable Pew* ultimately ranged beyond Anglicanism (Berton asked for and received permission to extend his analysis beyond the initial parameters), it argued that, in striving to preserve itself as an established entity, organized religion had become fossilized and largely irrelevant to contemporary society.¹ Second was the publication by Philip Carrington, the former Archbishop of Quebec, of *The Anglican Church in Canada: A History*, a work that regrettably has stood for a generation as the most complete survey of the Anglican experience in Canada. Although Carrington took his study only to 1949, he painted a picture of the parallel development of nation and church with little sense of the

¹ For Berton's analysis of the controversy that followed, see *My Times: Living with History, 1947–1995* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1995), pp. 262–267. For a response that originated from within the Anglican community, see William Kilbourn, ed., *The Restless Church: A Response to the Comfortable Pew* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1966).

impending declension of the public role of religion that arguably was to be a central feature of the 1960s.

The very different perspectives of Berton and Carrington speak to the profound antinomy in which the Anglican Church found itself in the 1960s: as it looked into its Canadian past it could still reasonably construct a history in which its influence could be interpreted by some as significant; by the 1960s, however, it was equally clear to Berton and others that, whatever the relevance of the Anglican Church in the past, it did not occupy that station in the public life of the country.² As Robert Bruce Mullin demonstrates with regard to the Episcopal Church in the United States, this paradoxical tension has furnished fertile ground for historians.³ The monographs under review here speak to the vitality of Anglican historical studies, particularly in their embrace of methodological approaches that at times offer the potential to stretch our understanding of Anglicanism beyond the cleric and the narrow limits of his sacred territory.⁴

Carrington's *The Anglican Church in Canada* provided the denominational equivalent of the nationalist histories that dominated the writing of

2 Alan Hayes terms recent decades "post-Christian Canada" and as evidence of the falling public profile of Christian churches points to Marc Lalonde's quip in 1975 that, whenever he received a resolution from a church synod or conference he knew it "represented only the particular interest group that had maneuvered it onto the agenda of a business meeting, and he paid [it] little attention" (*Anglicans in Canada*, p. 74).

3 Robert Bruce Mullin, "Trends in the Study of the History of the Episcopal Church", *Anglican and Episcopal History*, vol. 72 (2003), pp. 153–165.

4 Writing in the United Church's *Bulletin* in 1965, S. F. Wise called for attention to be given to sermon literature as a necessary source in understanding intellectual and political history of British North America. While one should not attribute the rise in the writing of Canadian religious history to Wise's petition, it perhaps served as a harbinger for the revival of religious history as a site of academic historical study. See Wise, "Sermon Literature and Canadian Intellectual History", in A. B. McKillop and Paul Romney, eds., *God's Peculiar Peoples: Essays on Political Culture in Nineteenth Century Canada* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993). Among the most significant contributions to Anglican studies, one might point to Judith Fingaard, *The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia, 1783–1816* (London: SPCK, 1972); William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989) and *The Founding Moment: Church, Society, and the Construction of Trinity College* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002); Curtis Fahey, *In His Name: The Anglican Experience in Upper Canada, 1791–1854* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991); Barry Ferguson, ed., *The Anglican Church and the World of Western Canada* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1991); Joan Marshall, *A Solitary Pillar: Montreal's Anglican Church and the Quiet Revolution* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995); Brett Christophers, *Positioning the Missionary: John Booth Good and the Confluence of Cultures in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1998); Robert J. Coultts, *The Road to the Rapids: Nineteenth-Century Church and Society at St. Andrew's Parish, Red River* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2000); Peter M. Doll, *Revolution, Religion, and National Identity: Imperial Anglicanism in British North America, 1745–1795* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2000); William H. Katerberg, *Modernity and the Dilemma of North American Anglican Identities, 1880–1950* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001); Myra Rutherford, *Women and the White Man's God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002).

Canadian history in the two decades following World War II. A. R. M. Lower's best-selling *Colony to Nation* (1946) promoted a vision of integrative nationalism that emerged from heroic individuals and events and, especially, from the inherent tensions of French- and English-speaking peoples.⁵ In a similar vein, Carrington (who had emigrated from New Zealand to Canada) sought to create a nationalist framework in which heroic individuals and events served to promote a sense of national unity and identity. Not surprisingly, the achievements of Anglican divines dominated the narrative, and conflicts such as the intense debates between the High and Low Church parties in the 1830s and 1840s were dealt with in a moderate "Canadian" spirit (pp. 89–90). In describing the legacy of the Conquest, Carrington noted that the commemoration of the deaths of Wolfe and Montcalm in a single stone monument overlooking the St. Lawrence served as an example of "the ability of Canadians of different races and religions to work together in unity without surrendering their native loyalties or culture" (p. 35), and not, as others might see it, as an exercise in imperial hegemony or a re-orientation of the imperial connection. If that monument was one expression of this sentiment, the cooperating spirit of the Anglican Church of Canada and the Roman Catholic Church was another, and at their spiritual cores was a "splendid common-sense Christian attitude which has enabled the two principal racial groups in Canada to live in harmony together", a historical achievement that could "scarcely be paralleled elsewhere" (p. 289).

If Carrington emphasized a consensus interpretation of Anglicanism in Canada, Alan Hayes emphasizes a much different pattern. While on one level he agrees with Carrington that churches and Christianity were corollary expressions of Canadian nationalism and that one can observe something called the Canadianization of the Anglican Church, Hayes argues that the building of the Anglican Church and its identity is founded in controversy and not in consensus. Hayes explores his thesis of identity formation⁶ through conflict and controversy using six themes: missionary work, social purpose, church governance, church style (what was called "churchmanship" in the nineteenth century), the church and modernity, and issues surrounding gender and sexuality. Canadian Anglicanism, Hayes notes, returned "again and again to [these] six themes" (p. 9), and, in examining each, he devotes a substantial chapter to its historical development within the institutional confines of the

5 On Lower as a principal figure in the nationalist myth-making school in English Canada, see Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing since 1900*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986 [1976]), chap. 5; Ryan Edwardson, "Narrating a Canadian Identity: Arthur R. M. Lower's *Colony to Nation* and the Nationalization of History", *International Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 26 (2002), pp. 59–76.

6 For a challenge to viewing religious systems as an "identity", see Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, "Modalities of Social Authority: Suggesting an Interface for Religious and Social History", *Histoire sociale/Social History* vol. 36, no. 71 (May 2003), pp. 1–30. Christie and Gauvreau argue that religion is best understood as an ideological system (p. 2).

Anglican Church of Canada. Since this is a work of pedagogical significance, destined to be read widely in Anglican seminaries and circles,⁷ the author supports his conclusions with a substantial section of primary sources. Thus readers are invited to interrogate Hayes's observations on the missionary endeavour (for example) through a companion reading of primary sources that include (among other selections) early directives from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (Document 1) and John West (Document 2), a response from Chief Peguis to the Red River mission effort (Document 3), Anglican challenges to the residential school system in the early twentieth century (Document 5), and the Primate's 1993 apology to the National Native Convocation (Document 8).

Hayes's intention is not to write a comprehensive history of Canadian Anglicanism, but rather to place thematic developments within some sort of historical context. Thus *Anglicans in Canada* provides an episodic treatment of each of the six subject areas noted above, with the intention of tracing strains of continuity and conflict over time. Two strands of continuity frame the method of his examination: time and foreign models of influence upon Canadian Anglicanism. According to Hayes, the story of Canadian Anglicanism can be neatly divided into three eras — a formative era up to the 1860s in which the Church had a unique (although highly varied throughout British North America) legal status, a century of nation-building to the 1960s, and a modern era thereafter — each of which provides a particular context that exerted an influence on the various themes he explores. Alongside this continuum, Hayes locates the seminal influences on Canadian Anglicanism: the English model, the American model, and the Irish model. In framing his argument in this fashion, Hayes demonstrates an overt pedagogical purpose: readers are urged to place contemporary debates within a broader temporal and ideational context. Current debates about, for example, the indigenization of Christianity (p. 46) or the Church's embrace or rejection of (post-) modernity are not new, but representative of questions "that had confronted Anglicans throughout the generations [and are] still pertinent" (p. 163). Indeed, if there is a particular Canadian identity to be found in the Anglican Church of Canada, it is to be located in a reflexive questioning — and not in timeless doctrine, structure, or practice — that has surrounded key themes in its history (p. 204). The style of inquiry as opposed to

7 At a conference recognizing the tercentenary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts held at Trinity College in 2001, Michael G. Peers, the Primate of the Anglican Church of Canada, made reference to his debt to a manuscript version of Hayes's work and repeatedly drew upon Hayes's interpretation and selection of documents. See Peers, "Colonial Anglicanism: Imperial to Episcopal", *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*, vol. 44 (2002), pp. 9–26. In a recent review, William H. Harrison, professor of theology at the College of Emmanuel and St. Chad in Saskatoon, claims that Hayes's book is one that "every Canadian Anglican ... ought to read". See Harrison, "Review of *Anglicans in Canada: Controversies and Identity in Historical Perspective* by Alan L. Hayes", *Anglican Theological Review*, vol. 87 (2005), p. 343.

the substance of the debate thus assumed priority as a continuing feature of Canadian Anglicanism.⁸

Anglicans in Canada argues repeatedly that historical context is vital in understanding various controversies that, in turn, have framed and continue to frame notions of Anglican identity (p. 203). However, a method that traces multiple themes over centuries while still maintaining the sanctity of historical context generates tensions with the book's conclusions. Consider, for example, Hayes's treatment of the impact of the English model of Anglicanism upon British North America in reaching an audience beyond the colonial elites. Drawing upon S. D. Clark's *Church and Sect in Canada*,⁹ Hayes argues that colonial Anglicanism's reliance on an English model of establishment promoted elitist tendencies that "left it economically dependent upon well-heeled, well-networked parishioners" (p. 68). While such a conclusion fits Hayes's thesis that an English model promoted a loss of "credibility among those whom the status quo served poorly" and contributed an anti-populist legacy (p. 68), several studies have pointed to the vitality of colonial Anglicanism in various frontier environments.¹⁰ Similarly, Hayes's examination of the residential school issue emphasizes themes that are too narrowly construed. The residential school system emerged most forcefully and in a codified fashion during a period of vigorous nation-building, the second stage in his historical continuum of the Anglican Church. This is certainly the case. However, in focusing quite narrowly upon a few pieces of legislation, Hayes largely ignores both colonial antecedents and broader intellectual currents and political issues that gave rise to a hegemonic policy that had long-lasting support from government and church.¹¹

8 Within ecclesiology, Hayes argues that the long-established policy of comprehensiveness — in which persons of diverse styles and beliefs were (and are) deliberately appointed to committees and boards — was vital to the Anglican experience (*Anglicans in Canada*, pp. 138–139). Comprehensiveness, which was "quietly reinstated" when Michael Peers became Primate in 1986, can be seen as a structural expression of a spirit of critical reflection, which Hayes argues is an essential characteristic of Canadian Anglicanism. Likewise, the establishment of the Anglican National Commission in 1931 (Document 36) was "the most far-reaching, significant single project of corporate self-criticism in the history of the Anglican Church of Canada" (*Anglicans in Canada*, p. 153).

9 For Clark's argument that the "forces of order" — represented in large measure by the Church of England — were ineffectual amongst the masses in the colonial landscape of British North America, see *Church and Sect in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), pp. xii, 71–81, 108–132.

10 See, in particular, J. I. Little, "'In the Desert Places of the Wilderness': The Frontier Thesis and the Anglican Church in the Eastern Townships, 1799–1831," *Histoire sociale/ Social History*, vol. 36, no. 71 (May 2003), pp. 31–53, and *Borderland Religion: The Emergence of an English-Canadian Identity, 1792–1852* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); Fahey, *In His Name*, pp. 48–51.

11 In providing some explanation for the pedagogical underpinnings of residential schools, Hayes argues that the "curriculum of residential schools was originally borrowed" from Richard Pratt's residential school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania (*Anglicans in Canada*, p. 35). For a contrary view, which notes that, while Nicolas Davin and other Canadian officials were fascinated with the Carlisle school, it neither provided the inspiration nor a model for the Canadian system, see John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879–1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), p. 13.

Likewise, consider his theme of Anglican identity as formed in controversy through the lens of residential schools: Hayes notes Samuel Hume Blake's failed pre-Great-War critique of the schools (pp. 32–33) and changing notions of foreign and domestic missions following World War II (pp. 41–42) as illustrations that were reflective of the attitude of Canadian Anglicans toward residential schools. If such debates helped frame Anglican thinking, Hayes argues that they directed it toward a critique of the collaboration of church and state, “which in a post-Christian age [the 1960s] was an anachronism” (p. 41). While the secularization of state apparatus has been noted as one factor in winding down the residential system, much recent scholarship has emphasized other considerations, including, most significantly, resistance and criticism from indigenous communities themselves.¹² Considering the historical and continued presence of the Anglican Church in Aboriginal communities, one wonders if a fourth model of an indigenized Anglican Church must be a necessary feature of any discussion of Anglican identity, particularly when one is framing a church's response to an issue as vital as that of the residential school system.¹³

Anglicans in Canada is a valuable work, particularly in its suggestive thesis concerning Anglican identity and its vast potential as a pedagogical tool. It serves, as Hayes recognizes, provisionally to fill the need for a short historical survey of the Anglican Church (p. xii) and asks those concerned with contemporary aspects of Anglicanism to place issues and controversies within a broader historical lineage. As well, Hayes explores external models of Anglicanism on the Canadian landscape, although perhaps at times his discussion of such influences invokes generalizations and is ultimately restrictive in exploring notions of identity in Canadian Anglicanism. Likewise, Richard Vaudry's *Anglicans and the Atlantic World: High Churchmen, Evangelicals, and the Quebec Connection* is concerned with external influences upon colonial Anglicanism and issues of identity, albeit within the Diocese of Quebec with the appointment of Jacob Mountain as the first bishop in 1793 and continuing to the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

If Carrington's application of Lower's colony-to-nation school is one trend of Canadian Anglican historical writing,¹⁴ another has been the domi-

12 J. R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), chap. 13; Milloy, *A National Crime*, chap. 9, 10, 12, *passim*.

13 Hayes notes that in 1967 “there were reportedly 215,000 registered Indians in Canada, of whom about 25 percent were Anglican. There were thirteen thousand Inuit, of whom 82 percent were Anglican” (*Anglicans in Canada*, p. 31) and that in “2000 there were 225 congregations of indigenous Anglicans” (p. 41). Hayes does not explore what these figures mean in any significant way. On the issue of an indigenous model of Anglicanism, Hayes does acknowledge that, while “Canadian Anglicans have [not] created a model of their own ... perhaps they may do so yet by integrating the reflections of First Nations Anglicans” (p. 205).

14 In addition to situating his study in distinction to Carrington, Vaudry notes that prior to the 1960s Anglican scholars such as J. Langtry, William Bertal Heeney, T. R. Millman, and T. C. B. Boon “shared a preoccupation with national church building as the religious expression of nation building” (*Anglicans and the Atlantic World*, p. 7).

nance of the narrowly focused diocesan study, a hardly surprising development given the historical and contemporary significance of defined ecclesiastic boundaries in a church governed by an episcopal vision.¹⁵ For example, although she does not ignore the imperial context entirely, Mary Ellen Reisner's history of the Diocese of Quebec emphasizes the emergence of administrative and financial autonomy as one of the central features of the diocesan church.¹⁶ Vaudry reacts against both historiographical trends, arguing that Anglicanism in British North America is best understood not through the autonomous local study, nor in a narrow nationalist perspective, but can be perceived most clearly by placing it in a transatlantic perspective.¹⁷ In prescribing such a method, Vaudry draws upon currents of what some have dubbed the "New British History", which, in a version famously advanced in the early 1970s by J. G. A. Pocock, sought to extend British history to the study of the plural histories of groups of cultures situated along the Anglo-Celtic frontier, including those in the larger Atlantic world.¹⁸ This

15 Among the prodigious number of such studies, several recent studies or collections include Alan Hayes, ed., *By Grace Co-workers: Building the Anglican Diocese of Toronto, 1780–1989* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1989); M. E. Reisner, *Strangers and Pilgrims: A History of the Anglican Diocese of Quebec, 1783–1993* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1995); Frank A. Peake, ed., *Anglicanism in the Ottawa Valley: Essays for the Centenary of the Diocese of Ottawa* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1997); William Cooke, ed., *The Parish and Cathedral of St James Toronto, 1797–1997* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998). Classic regional studies that range beyond a single diocese include Frank A. Peake, *The Anglican Church in British Columbia* (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1959); T. C. B. Boon, *The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1962); Thomas R. Millman and A. R. Kelley, *Atlantic Canada: A History of the Anglican Church* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1983); Frank A. Peake, *From the Red River: Essays on Anglican Missionary Expansion in the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: Canadian Church Historical Society, 1989). The noted church historian John Moir suggests that the vast geography of Canada and the decentralized nature of archival resources have contributed to the rise of regional denominational studies. See "Canadian Religious Historiography [*sic*] — An Overview", in Paul Laverdure, ed., *Christianity in Canada: Historical Essays* (Yorkton, SK: Redeemer's Voice Press, 2002), p. 141.

16 Reisner, *Strangers and Pilgrims*, especially chap. 3.

17 For an important work that informs Vaudry's methodology, see Philip Lawson, *The Imperial Challenge: Quebec and Britain in the Age of the American Revolution* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989). Recent petitions to place the colonial Canadian experience within a broader imperial perspective include Phillip Buckner, "Presidential Address/ *Discours du président: Whatever Happened to the British Empire?*", *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, n.s. 4 (1993), pp. 3–32; Elizabeth Manke, "Another British America: A Canadian Model for the Early Modern British Empire", *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 25 (1997), pp. 1–36; Ged Martin, *Canadian History: A Play in Two Acts?* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Centre of Canadian Studies, 1999). For historiographical surveys, see Stephen Foster, "British North America in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", and D. R. Oram, "Canada and Empire", in Robin W. Winks, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 5: *Historiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

18 J. G. A. Pocock, "British History: A Plea for a New Subject", *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 47 (1975), pp. 601–621. Of British North America, Pocock writes that he has "too recent [memories] ... of the intellectual excitement of reading some Canadian history and realizing that, in addition to the major theme of *l'histoire québécoise*, I was studying both a North American society which had taken a turn of its own — having been settled partly by Americans excluded by the War of the Revolution,

union of domestic and imperial history, as David Armitage notes recently, found affinities with the new Atlantic history in producing a rich historiography that was “capable of eluding the pull of nationalist teleologies in both British and American history”.¹⁹ Canadian denominational scholarship has been no less susceptible to such whiggish attachments, and *Anglicans and the Atlantic World* seeks to correct trends that, in denying the imperial connections and advancing consensus views of the past, have provided “a false impression of the state of the church” (p. 7).²⁰

The imperial connection provides the organizational principle around which key issues of identity were located: the lives of individuals, communities of information and goods, intellectual and theological traditions, ecclesiastic politics and church structure, and even perceived attacks on church orthodoxy all drew upon a transatlantic environment as they worked themselves out in Quebec, the third side of a triangle that also included England and Ireland (p. 51). Linda Colley’s provocative and influential *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* placed Protestantism at the core of an emerging British identity between 1707 and 1815, arguing that it was faith “that made the invention of Great Britain possible”.²¹ Vaudry makes a similar claim for Anglicans in Quebec: being British and Protestant lent perspective and authority to national memory, current issues in politics and society, and the destiny of British North America. Yet, where Colley emphasizes a common

partly by immigrant groups who cared little which side of the 49th parallel they were on — and a British society in which the pluralisms of the archipelago are still vividly reflected” (p. 618). For recent discussions on the intersection between the new British and new Atlantic histories, see the essays by David Armitage, Jane Ohlmeyer, Ned C. Landsman, Eliga H. Gould, and a response by J. G. A. Pocock in “*AHR Forum: The New British History in Atlantic Perspective*”, *American Historical Review*, vol. 104 (1999), pp. 426–500.

19 David Armitage, “Greater Britain: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis?”, *American Historical Review*, vol. 104 (1999), p. 438. For Pocock’s critical reflection on the alignment of these two new histories, see “The New British History in Atlantic Perspective: An Antipodean Commentary”, *American Historical Review*, vol. 104 (1999), pp. 490–500.

20 Vaudry’s critique of consensus history goes beyond Canadian denominational histories. Central to his thesis is the argument that the theological nuances of the High Church, Evangelicals, and Low Church (in their fluid and varied forms) were significant, even prior to obvious party differences that emerged during hostile occasions such as the Oxford Movement. On this, he notes that “[r]ecent portraits of the Church of England in the long eighteenth century have downplayed conflict and emphasized consensus” (*Anglicans and the Atlantic World*, p. 102). Although not disagreeing entirely with such conclusions, Vaudry argues that, although “the open party warfare that was characteristic of the Tractarian era was not as much in evidence, relations between Evangelicals and High Churchmen were severely stained in the 1810s and 1820s” (p. 103). For a sampling of the consensus view of the long eighteenth century, Vaudry points to Peter Nockles, “Church Parties in the Pre-Tractarian Church of England, 1750–1833: The ‘Orthodox’ — Some Problems of Definition and Identity”, and John Walsh and Stephen Taylor, “Schools, Tendencies, Parties”, both in John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor, eds., *The Church of England, c. 1689–c. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

21 Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (London: Pimlico, 1994), p. 54.

Protestantism in the service of her purpose, Vaudry notes the emergence of two very different Anglican cultures — one High Church and the other Evangelical — which framed virtually all ecclesiological questions in nineteenth-century Quebec (p. 38). The key parties were formed and dependent upon an imperial context. The Mountain family — who dominated the diocese from the appointment of Jacob as bishop in 1793 until the death of his son George (the third bishop) in 1863 — maintained a decided, if sometimes irenic, commitment to High Church Anglicanism. Jacob's anti-Evangelicalism was formed by his patron George Pretyman Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln, who secured Quebec for him (pp. 85–87); Eliza Mountain and Elizabeth Pretyman Tomline maintained a lengthy epistolary relationship across the Atlantic (pp. 30–34);²² and George had been born in Norwich, England, raised in Lower Canada, and educated in Essex and at Cambridge before returning to British North America where he moved progressively through the Church hierarchy (pp. 104ff). Likewise, key evangelicals such as Jeffery Hale and Isaac Hellmuth were profoundly influenced by imperial connections including, significantly, ties with the Church of Ireland that, as a result, informed their anti-Tractarian and anti-Roman opinions (pp. 159–160). By mid-century a significant Evangelical party resided within the Quebec diocese and stood in opposition to the High Church during the controversies surrounding the Oxford Movement in the 1840s (chapter 4) and the synodical controversy in the 1850s (chapter 5). Vaudry argues that these party divisions were so acute that “it seems increasingly apparent that ethnicity did not create a great divide for Quebec Protestants”. Rather, the “division between Evangelical and High Church, and not that between Irish and English, would appear to be the fundamental line of demarcation” (p. 146).

The study of evangelicism has benefited from a prodigious scholarship that has explored its transatlantic and transnational roots.²³ Vaudry adds to this discussion, and, in particular, his examination of the tensions and (at times) commonalities between the High Church and Evangelical parties of the Anglican Church in the diocese of Quebec contributes to a regional historiography that has not interrogated the history of Protestantism very deeply. In doing so, he raises important issues that are particularly relevant to historians examining the Church of England in British North America. In a recent essay on the diocese of Toronto, William Westfall argues that “the

22 Unfortunately, Vaudry does not extend his transatlantic methodology to the archives as far as he might, and the Mountain-Pretyman Tomline correspondence is the sole archival collection in Great Britain that is cited.

23 For a seminal contribution, see Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicism in Britain and America, 1790–1865* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978). Also see, for example, several of the contributions in Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington, and George A. Rawlyk, eds., *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700–1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll, ed., *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

traditional categories of Anglican historical analysis — evangelical versus Tractarian” are limited in value and should be “subsumed within a more substantial nexus of religious and social issues”.²⁴ Yet perhaps Vaudry and Westfall do not represent the polar positions that first glance might suggest. Westfall argues in particular against the “torturous path of church-state relations in Canadian politics” and that, in trying to establish the role of public religion in a disestablished site, one must first reconstruct the intellectual and cultural context in which such issues were first raised.²⁵ Although Vaudry does not take us as far down this path as he might, his Anglicans found their identities in transatlantic themes that divided (and, on rare occasions, united) High Church and Evangelical so profoundly that, for some, it influenced their support either for the Colonial Church and School Society or for the more “venerable” Anglican societies (pp. 174–176). Issues of identity, not church-state politics, lie at the core of Vaudry’s argument, and his provocative thesis invites further study.

Susan Neylan’s *The Heavens are Changing: Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missions and Tsimshian Christianity* is perhaps the most significant (and even incarnational) work to touch on Anglicanism in recent years. To be sure, Neylan’s study ranges beyond the Anglican Church to include other denominations (the Methodists, the Salvation Army, and non-denominational groups) and, most importantly, is primarily concerned with Tsimshian understandings and expressions of Christianity. Drawing upon post-colonial and anthropological literature, Neylan provides a nuanced and rich ethnohistorical account that is destined to become a seminal study in the emergence of indigenous forms of Christianity and in understanding the relationship between First Nations and Victorian missionaries.²⁶

24 William Westfall, “Constructing Public Religions at Private Sites: The Anglican Church in the Shadow of Disestablishment”, in Marguerite Van Die, ed., *Religion and Public Life in Canada: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), p. 43. Westfall explores the public role that the Anglican Church constructed for itself following its disestablishment through the lens of two institutions, Trinity College and St. Paul’s Anglican Church.

25 Westfall, “Constructing Public Religions at Private Sites”, pp. 23, 24. Westfall points to studies such as John S. Moir, *Church and State in Canada West: Three Studies in the Religion of Denominationalism and Nationalism, 1841–1867* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959); T. R. Millman, “Beginnings of the Synodical Movement in Colonial Anglican Churches with Special Reference to Canada”, *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*, vol. 21 (1979), pp. 3–19; R. V. Harris, *An Historical Introduction to the Study of the Canon Law of the Anglican Church of Canada* (Toronto: General Synod, 1965); Fahey, *In His Name*.

26 Neylan’s study is wide-ranging and touches upon various facets of Tsimshian culture and their interactions with Christianity. My comments are limited to her discussion of issues surrounding conversion, a central theme in her work (see *The Heavens are Changing*, pp. 10 and 21–23 for Neylan’s introductory comments). Beyond a number of studies on the Puritan conversion narrative, historians of North America have resisted interrogating this genre. Other disciplines have not been so reticent. See, for example, Lewis R. Rambo’s well-known sociological study, *Understanding Religious Conversion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993) and the anthropologically inspired Robert W. Hefner, ed., *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

In a seminal essay entitled “Were Indian Conversions *Bona Fide*?”, James Axtell provocatively questions why so many scholars have resisted the possibility that indigenous peoples could convert to Christianity.²⁷ To his mind, this perspective of colonial missions created unhelpful dichotomies: missionaries existed either as “evil tools of imperialism or as naïve fools”; and Aboriginal converts were seen as either “hapless victims of clerical oppression or as cunning Br’er Rabbits of the forest”.²⁸ Even if one accepts that conversions were *bona fide* (in Axtell’s terminology), there have been few attempts to negotiate what meanings were imbedded in such a process.²⁹ Robin Fisher’s important *Contact and Conflict* principally focused upon the objectives of William Duncan, John Booth Good, and others who were united in the necessity of eradicating “traditional” Native culture as a precursor to the introduction of Christianity.³⁰ Although Fisher notes that First Nations responded to missionary influences in various ways, ranging from outright rejection (accompanied at times a revitalization of “traditional” beliefs) to absolute acceptance,³¹ there is little sense of Native agency in negotiating or framing the process of conversion when it did occur. In a sentiment that was often reflected in missionary propaganda, Admiral Arthur Cochrane noted when he visited Metlakatla in 1873, “I say these men are not Indians, they are white men” (p. 134). For Cochrane (and for much missionary discourse), the cultural and intellectual world of Native people had become irrelevant, save for when it operated as a pejorative influence. Even studies that specifically examine the complexities of the conversion experi-

27 Originally delivered at the annual meeting for the American Society for Ethnohistory in Charleston in 1986 and reprinted in *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 100–121. For a sampling of the views that Axtell challenges, see Francis Jennings, “Goals and Functions of Puritan Missions to the Indians”, *Ethnohistory*, vol. 18 (1971), pp. 197–212; Neal Salisbury, “Red Puritans: The ‘Praying Indians’ of Massachusetts Bay and John Eliot”, *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, vol. 31 (1974), pp. 27–54; David Blanchard, “...To the Other Side of the Sky: Catholicism at Kahnawake, 1667–1700”, *Anthropologica*, vol. 24 (1982), pp. 77–102; Bruce G. Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers: Canada’s “Heroic Age” Reconsidered* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1985), chap. 5.

28 Axtell, “Were Indian Conversions *Bona Fide*?”, p. 101.

29 Previous attempts to explore the complexity of the First Nations response to Christianity in the Pacific Northwest include Margaret Whitehead, “Christianity, a Matter of Choice: The Historic Role of Indian Catechists in Oregon Territory and British Columbia”, *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, vol. 72 (1981), pp. 98–106; E. Palmer Patterson, “Native Missionaries of the North Pacific Coast: Philip McKay and Others”, *The Pacific Historian*, vol. 30 (1986), pp. 23–37; Clarence R. Bolt, *Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992), especially chap. 6; Peggy Brock, “Missionary Encounters in the Colonial World: British Columbia and South-West Australia”, *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 24 (2000), pp. 159–179, and “Two Indigenous Evangelists: Moses Tjalkabota and Arthur Wellington Clah”, *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 27 (2003), pp. 348–366.

30 Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774–1890* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992 [1977]), chap. 6.

31 This was marked most prominently by the establishment of Metlakatla in 1862, an event that occurred when “old Tsimshian beliefs were being called into question” (Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, p. 131) and involved “a radical break in their pattern of life” (p. 130).

ence have not always been able to explicate Native agency in this process. Although brimming with theoretical insight into the conversion narrative, Brett Christopher's study into the confluence of cultures between the Anglican missionary John Booth Good and the Nlha7kápmx in nineteenth-century British Columbia concedes that such narratives "probably say more about Anglican understandings of conversion than about Native experience of religious change".³²

It is against this backdrop that Neylan's ambitious work should be placed. Although her methodology draws upon a variety of approaches, her use of the interface of Christianity and "traditional" Native belief as one that is dialogic in nature is particularly compelling when exploring the complexities and layers of the conversion experience. Neylan seeks to avoid polarities: for example, emphasis on the "success" or "failure" in the missionizing process, "civilization" versus "savagery", the showdown between shaman and missionary, or the absolute acceptance or rejection of Christianity or "traditional" spirituality all fail to account for the multi-layered and even multivalent experience of Tsimshian Christians.³³ While Duncan or Thomas Crosby (or a mission audience) might well have perceived the realities of such dichotomies, many Native Christians did not (pp. 101, 147, 159). In such a perspective, the roles of spiritual specialists and middlemen assumed a role in negotiating Tsimshian Christianity that was not always recognized in missionary propaganda. Native converts and catechists constructed a spirituality that drew affinities between Tsimshian and Euro-Canadian concepts of, for example, *The Light* (pp. 37–40, 131), transformation (pp. 29–30, 129, 208, 222–223), conversion (chapter 5), confession (p. 163), revivals (pp. 191–200), and the significance of names (pp. 222–228). This spirituality was not merely derivative, but rather served to establish their identities as both Tsimshian and Christian (p. 159). More daringly, Neylan notes the presence of pre-missionary prophets like Bini who preached a syncretic religion that contained Christian elements, including the inevitable coming of the "sky people" and attendant goods and technology. While emphasis has been most often placed on the role of more traditional religious specialists, Neylan and others point to prophets like Bini as a conduit by which Christian knowledge could be transmitted and formed by indigenous sources in a pre-missionary era. Indeed, Arthur Wellington Clah, one of William Duncan's early converts, noted the presence of the prophet "Benee" and his role in a pre-mis-

32 Christophers, *Positioning the Missionary*, p. 117.

33 In noting the possibility of a multivalent perspective imbedded in the lives of some Tsimshian Christians, I am thinking of Arthur Wellington Clah's decision to cut down one of his family's totem poles, encouraging others to do likewise, his later regret over having done so, and his decision to replace those poles with stone monuments (*The Heavens are Changing*, p. 256). Whatever exactly this symbolic practice meant, Neylan notes that one should be wary of interpreting such totem-pole destruction in terms of conversion and confirmation of a new identity (p. 257). Instead, perhaps we have an enduring cultural symbol around which a variety of interpretive practices may be gathered.

sionary revival in which “there was much dancing and seeing of the Holy spirit [*sic*]” (p. 184).

Ethnohistorical studies are fraught with many of the difficulties and challenges of other methodological approaches. Although competing definitions of the discipline abound,³⁴ the crossing of boundaries in time, discipline, and perspective in both theory and praxis offers unique challenges. Neylan acknowledges one such challenge in her discussion of the prophet Bini, noting that attempts to place him “in his proper historical context is difficult, given the inherent limitations of oral documentation” (p. 184) and that sometimes “conflicting” oral accounts were “collected by ethnographers early in the twentieth century” (p. 181). Likewise, one might note Ralph Maud’s re-interpretation of Franz Boas’s *Tsimshian Texts* (1912) and *Tsimshian Mythology* (1916) that questions their veracity, noting that they are not “exactly the collection of authentic traditional myths that they have been taken for”.³⁵ The transmission of cultural norms from Tsimshian society via Henry Wellington Tate (Boas’s informant and Arthur Wellington Clah’s son) to Franz Boas was an uncertain process that involved (among other difficulties) omissions by Tate, translation issues, and Boas’s quest for uniformity. Two issues seem worthy of brief consideration here. First, Maud argues that these works can be redeemed as useful ethnographic texts, but only by a scholar with an intimate command of the Tsimshian language and culture.³⁶ Second, if the Boas canon is (for now) questionable as an ethnographic source, do not other sources demand similar interrogation? Although Neylan’s study appears sensitive in its treatment and probing in its sources, clearly ethnohistorical accounts place great demands on scholars.

Each of the works under review here is a significant contribution to Anglican studies. Alan Hayes has provided a thematic history with overt pedagogical purposes that will challenge readers to place contemporary issues in historical perspective, particularly if they recognize the contextual limitations of such an episodic approach. Richard Vaudry asks questions concerning Anglican identity in the diocese of Quebec, finds answers in a transatlantic perspective, and thus challenges a historiography that had previously sought answers in either parochial studies or a national narrative. Finally, is it ironic that a review essay entitled “Anglican Lives” should argue that perhaps the most successful study of such lives is located in an

34 See, for example, James Axtell, “Ethnohistory: An Historian’s View”, in *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); Bruce G. Trigger, “Ethnohistory: Problems and Prospects”, *Ethnohistory*, vol. 29 (1982), pp. 1–19, and “Ethnohistory: The Unfinished Edifice”, *Ethnohistory*, vol. 33 (1986), pp. 253–267; Jennifer S. H. Brown, “Ethnohistorians: Strange Bedfellows, Kindred Spirits”, *Ethnohistory*, vol. 38 (1991), pp. 113–123.

35 Ralph Maud, *Transmission Difficulties: Franz Boas and Tsimshian Mythology* (Burnaby, BC: Talonbooks, 2000), p. 128. Neylan does not seem to draw from Boas’s texts in any significant way.

36 Maud, *Transmission Difficulties*, p. 15.

examination of Tsimshian Christianity? Those wishing to explore the construction of Anglican identity in its diverse forms could learn much from Susan Neylan's study.

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