The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History

Papers 1997

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The papers printed here were read at the Society's annual meeting September 27, 1997, at Knox College, Toronto.

For future meetings, generally held each year at the end of September, the Society invites papers that deal with any aspect of Presbyterian and Reformed Church history. Anyone proposing a paper or seeking further information is invited to write to the president of the Society: Rev. Dr. John A. Johnston, 184 Chedoke Avenue, Hamilton, Ontario L8P 4P2.

Membership in the Society is open to any person or institution interested in this field of history. Annual dues are $15, payable to the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History, and may be remitted to Kim Arnold, CSPH Treasurer, c/o Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office, 50 Wynford Drive, Don Mills, Ontario M3C 1J7.

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President's letter

Accompanying this mailing of the 1997 lectures are the greetings of your president and news of the September 1998 annual meeting at Knox College, Toronto.

Not only are our lecturers busily preparing their papers for presentation on September 26, but a waiting list has developed with names of those who will address our society in 1999. That year will be the occasion of the 23rd anniversary of our organization, the 75th anniversary of the United Church of Canada and the 125th anniversary of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

Presenters this fall will include the Rev. George Addision of Lakefield, Ontario; Dr. Brian Fraser, Dean of St. Andrew's Hall, Vancouver; Professor Eldon Hay of Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick; and Dr. William Klempa, Moderator-Elect of the 124th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada and Principal of the Presbyterian College, Montréal.

This year, a tour of the Knox complex, the Caven Library and the rare books section of the college has been suggested for interested members. Papers will be delivered beginning at 10 a.m. on September 26, with the election of officers to take place prior to the noon repast. Copies of a number of earlier lectures are available at a nominal price from the executive, and your 1998 annual memberships ($15) can now be accepted.

Please reserve the date of Saturday, September 26, and bring along, as guests of the Society, those of your friends who might now be, or might become in the future, interested in Presbyterian church history through participation in what promises to be a most profitable and informative event.

John Alexander Johnston
President

Standards *versus* Sisterhood: Dr. Murray, President Kim and Distinctive Approaches to Medical Education at Ewha Womans University, Seoul, 1947-1950[1]

Ruth Compton Brouwer
King's College, University of Western Ontario

In this paper I examine a brief missionary moment: the period in the late 1940s when veteran medical missionary Florence Murray (1894-1975) served under the administration of President Helen Kim (1899-1970) in the new medical department at Ewha Womans University in Seoul, now the largest women's university in the world. A one-line summary of this moment — a western and an Asian woman interacting and disagreeing over institutional development in a newly decolonized country — might well lead my audience to anticipate an orthodox postcolonial analysis, an analysis positing a lingering western imperialist agenda challenged by a feisty, newly expressable nationalism. While there are elements in the situation I describe that might lend themselves to such an interpretation, it does not seem to me to be the most useful one, and not only because the Korea context was one in which the missionaries and the colonial power were not cultural kin.[2] My argument takes race differences and the colonial legacy into account, but they are elements in the broad milieu rather than dominant themes in my explanation of why Dr. Murray and President Kim took distinctive approaches to medical education at Ewha in the difficult postwar years when Korea was newly free of Japanese colonial rule. The terminology in my title — standards *versus* sisterhood — while itself an oversimplification, nonetheless serves as a useful shorthand for the essential differences in educational values and goals that divided Murray and Kim and that lay behind the former's early departure from Ewha.

In a paper dealing with an earlier phase of her long missionary career (1921-1969),[3] I suggested that Florence Murray's strong commitment to western standards of scientific

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[1] I am most grateful to the Hannah Institute for the History of Medicine for funds that facilitated recent research for this paper.

[2] Within the last several years a few scholars, while themselves writing knowledgeably and sympathetically from within a postcolonialist perspective, have nonetheless challenged some aspects of this new orthodoxy, including its tendency to ride roughshod over particular contexts of time and place and to practise "theoretical promiscuity"; see Dane Kennedy, "Imperial History and Post-Colonial Theory," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 24, 3 (Sept. 1996), 345-63 [quotation at 348], and Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994). From 1910 to 1945 Korea was formally a colony of Japan.

[3] "Beyond 'Women's Work for Women': Dr. Florence Murray and the Practice and Teaching of Western Medicine in Korea, 1921-1942," paper prepared for the "Women and Professional Education" Network, a SSHRC-funded research project co-ordinated by Alison Prentice. An earlier version of this paper was presented to the joint conference of the Canadian History of Education Association and the History of Education Society (U.S.A.), Toronto, 19 October 1996.

professional medicine led her to reject the separate-spheres, "woman's work for woman," approach to missionary service favoured by an earlier generation of women missionaries. The present paper argues that her dissatisfaction with Ewha in the immediate postwar period is best understood as a continuation of that commitment. As president of Ewha, Dr. Kim maintained the segregated approach to western-style female schooling introduced to Korea by the American Methodist women missionaries who had been her mentors, in the process carving out a role as Korea's foremost advocate of women's rights. Murray, meanwhile, was part of the modern, ecumenical approach to mission-sponsored institutional work, with its emphasis on fewer, stronger, more efficient institutions rather than many smaller ones with distinct denominational and gender concerns. While her professional responsibilities were more narrowly focussed than Kim's and her profile decidedly lower[4],she was no less concerned than Kim with the need for sufficient influence and material resources to pursue her agenda. Finding these in short supply at Ewha, she left for the somewhat more hopeful professional environment of a larger — and largely male — medical institution.

Given my own cultural background and the unevenness of my documentary sources, I obviously cannot do equal justice to the concerns of these two women; the ordering of names in my title is meant to signal that fact. Nevertheless, with access to relevant secondary sources and to some of Kim's English-language writing, as well as contacts with Korean scholars at Ewha who are currently engaged in studies of Kim,[5] it does seem feasible to attempt an interpretation of the brief period when their careers intertwined that takes both perspectives into account. The paper will provide biographical background on Murray and Kim before reconstructing Murray's brief Ewha interval and presenting a context for it.

I

One of the six high-achieving children of a Presbyterian minister and his wife, a former schoolteacher, Florence Jessie Murray was raised in rural and village manses in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island before enrolling in Dalhousie University's medical school in the autumn of 1914.[6] Her years at Dalhousie and two subsequent years of North American practice coincided with a period when new standards of professionalism

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[4] Although Murray was recognized for her medical work by the Korean and Danish governments and awarded two honorary degrees by Dalhousie University at the end of her missionary career, she never did achieve a high profile within Canada, for by the time these honours came the age of the missionary "heroine" had passed.

[5] Several scholars in the Asian Center for Women's Studies at Ewha, including its director, Professor Chang, Pil-Wha, are interested in Kim's career. Professor Lee, Bae-Yong, director of the Korean Women's Institute at the Center, assisted by Dr. Park, Jin-Sook, is preparing a biography of Kim. I am grateful to these scholars for helpful responses to my questions during a brief research visit to Ewha in May-June, 1997.

[6] Biographical information on Murray comes from her published memoir, *At the Foot of Dragon Hill* (New York: Dutton, 1975); United Church/Victoria University Archives (UCA) biographical file; and Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Maritime Missionaries to Korea Collection, MG1, vol. 2276, file 1(references hereafter are to PANS, MMKC, with relevant volume and file number). Information on the Murray family is available in United Church of Canada (UCC), *Record of Proceedings, Thirty-Second Annual Meeting of the Maritime Conference* June 5-10, 1956, 43, obituary of Robert Murray; and in Robert Murray Personal Notebooks (RMPN), vol. 8, "Family Records," privately held.

were being emphasized in medical colleges in the United States and Canada, standards associated with a scientific approach, laboratory-based research and extensive clinical experience involving strict attention to antiseptic and aeseptic techniques. In conjunction with Murray's stereotypically Presbyterian upbringing, which emphasized hard work and instilled a strong sense of duty, the nature of her medical training led her to take to the foreign field high expectations about her own future performance as a medical missionary, as well as high expectations of those whom she would mentor.

Inevitably, her first term (1921-27) in the Presbyterian Church in Canada's mission in northern Korea[7] was a difficult one as she tried to introduce scientific western medicine in a pre-modern society and within a mission that had previously viewed medical work mainly as an aid to securing conversions. Inevitably, too, there were conflicts as Murray, who was often sharply outspoken in these early years, responded to her frustrations by criticizing western colleagues and being a "hard taskmaster" with Korean workers, whose shortcomings she tended to depict as "typically Oriental."[8] In the years that followed, however, as she continued in the role of superintendent in the mission's general hospital in Hamhung, Murray became a more adaptable and effective adminstrator. Though her hospital was not associated with a medical school, she trained interns and other staff in the methods and standards of work that she valued. Having learned what was not possible in the short term, she took great satisfaction in small, incremental gains in the quality and growth of personnel and facilities. While she clearly thrived on the leadership roles she exercised within and beyond the mission hospital and retained what one relative remembered as "the habit of command,"[9] she developed a rapport with northern Koreans within and beyond the mission community, the strength of which would be evident in moving reunions with Hamhung refugees in Seoul in the postwar years.[10] By the time she was sent back to Canada in June 1942 as part of an exchange of wartime internees between the Canadian and Japanese governments, Murray had overseen significant advances in the quality and scope of the mission's medical work. The hospital that she had taken over as a ramshackle ten-bed affair now had one hundred beds, a school of nursing and some specialized medical departments.[11]

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[7] Established in 1898 by the Presbyterian Church's Halifax-based Foreign Missions Committee, Eastern Division, the mission became part of the United Church of Canada's overseas work in 1925. See UCA, William Scott, "Canadians in Korea: A Brief Historical Sketch of Canadian Mission Work in Korea," unpublished typescript, 1975, and A. Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire,1872-1931* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990).

[8] For the "hard taskmaster" reference see PANS, MMKC, vol. 2276, file 7, Murray to Father, 28 Aug. 1924, and for an instance of her early Orientalism, ibid., file 9, Murray to Mother, 24 March 1926. For an overview of these years see my "Home Lessons, Foreign Tests: The Background and First Missionary Term of Florence Murray, Maritime Doctor in Korea," *Journal of the CHA 1995 Revue de la S.H.C.*, New Series, vol. 6, 103-28.

[9] Telephone interview with Isabelle Johnston (Murray's niece), Toronto, 23 Feb. 1996. The phrase originated with Mrs. Johnston's husband.

[10] See, for instance, Dalhousie University Archives (DUA), MS-2/535, Robert Murray and Family Papers (MFP), A-18, Florence Murray to Father and Mother, 17 Aug. 1947, and ibid., A-19, 2 Jan. 1948.

[11] *Dragon Hill*, Ch. 20; PANS, MMKC, vol. 2276, file 37,"Report of the Interim Committee of the Korea Mission of the United Church of Canada,"August 1942, 11-12.

In Canada from 1942 to 1947 she looked forward impatiently to the time when she could return to her field and with that goal in view got further experience and additional training in tuberculosis work, the single biggest public health problem in the region. Instead, since missionaries could not return to the communist-controlled north, she was asked by the Woman's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada to undertake new work at Ewha in Seoul in compliance with an urgent request for her services from Helen Kim.[12]

II

Helen Kim (she readily renounced her Korean first name)[13] was part of a family of first-generation Christians. Though the agent of their conversion was a Korean biblewoman, the family was baptized by an American Methodist missionary, the first westerner Helen had ever seen. Her life thereafter was shaped by the influences that began at this time, including the powerful adolescent conversion experience to which she attributed her subsequent commitment to "humble service to the womanhood of my country."[14] Encouraged by their mother, Helen and her sisters attended school, and after some opposition from her father, who wanted her to marry, Helen was able to continue on to college-level studies at Ewha, graduating in 1918.[15]

Established by American Methodists in 1886 as the first western-style school for girls in Korea, Ewha had added a college department in 1910. With the aid of mentors there, Kim had gone to the United States for further study, obtaining a Ph.D. from Teacher's College, Columbia, in 1931, the first doctoral degree awarded anywhere to a Korean woman. She had begun teaching at Ewha in 1918, becoming the first Korean president of the college in 1939 when its American staff prepared for withdrawal in the face of rising tensions between the United States and Japan. During the Second World War, despite pressure from local Japanese officials to take over all of its facilities for military purposes, Kim managed to maintain a tenuous existence for Ewha as a college and in 1945 presided over its institutional advance to university status.[16]

As well as serving as Ewha's president until 1961, Kim represented her country nationally and internationally on numerous government, volunteer and religious bodies, becoming by far her country's best-known woman abroad. She also ran for the first National Assembly in 1948 and served as South Korea's director of the Office of Public Information during the first phase of the Korean War. Following her retirement as Ewha's president, she was executive-secretary of a year-long national evangelistic campaign. She also continued to collect honorary degrees at home and abroad and to participate in international organizations as different as UNESCO, the Red Cross and the

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[12] UCA, UCC, Woman's Missionary Society (WMS), Overseas Missions, Korea Correspondence, box 83, file 51a, Mrs. Hugh Taylor to Murray, 16 May 1946 (hereafter, Korea Correspondence, with relevant box and file number).

[13] *Grace Sufficient: The Story of Helen Kim by Herself*, ed. J. Manning Potts (Nashville: Upper Room, 1964), 14.

[14] Ibid., 30.

[15] Ibid., Chs. I-II.

[16] Ibid., Chs. IV-VII; also Ewha Womans University Library (EWUL), Helen Kim Collection, Helen Kim, "Personal History" (curriculum vitae).

International Missionary Council.[17] Though her autobiography, *Grace Sufficient*, presents these achievements as signs of God's grace and leading, it is clear that Kim was an unusually able and ambitious woman as well as a committed Christian. Notwithstanding her numerous other involvements, it is also clear that Ewha was her priority and her passion.

III

With the end of the Second World War and Japanese colonial rule, Kim undertook to rebuild and enlarge Ewha's skeletal facilities and staff. In 1945, with 900 students enrolled in its three colleges (Liberal Arts and Sciences, Music and Fine Arts, and Healing Arts), she looked to North America for assistance and particularly to the New-York-based Ewha Cooperating Board (ECB). Comprised mainly of American Methodists, the Board had also had United Church of Canada representation from 1929.[18] During a trip to North America in 1946, Kim asked the United Church WMS for three of its Korea missionaries to return to her country as Ewha faculty members. The request, reported and processed through the ECB, identified Florence Murray as the priority appointment for transport purposes as soon as the U.S. military began permitting women to return.[19] This priority reflected the fact that Kim had already made a commitment to begin training doctors at Ewha, with the first class of medical students due to enter in 1947 (pre-medical and nursing students were already in attendance), and also the fact that more than half of the 173 students admitted to begin studying at Ewha as a university in 1947 had applied for pre-medical and pharmacy programmes.[20]

Despite strong misgivings, Murray accepted the new appointment and in preparation visited nine small medical colleges in the United States and Canada. She also studied plans for the proposed new medical school at the University of British Columbia[21] and investigated, or recommended to the ECB, initiatives for obtaining medical supplies from war surplus, the Red Cross and the Rockefeller Foundation.[22] Arriving in July 1947 with the two other Canadian appointees, the Rev. Elda Daniels and nurse Ada Sandell, she quickly discovered that, as she had feared, war-ravaged Ewha was poorly positioned to begin a new medical training department and that — and this she had not anticipated — she was to be only the *associate* dean in the medical department and *assistant* superintendent in the teaching hospital, working in both cases with Korean male doctors whose priority was their private practice.[23] As for the hospital itself,

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[17] Ibid.

[18] Yale Divinity School Library and Archives (YDL), United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia (UBCHEA), box 148A, file 1962, *Bulletin of Ewha Woman's University*, 1966.

[19] Ibid., file 1961, ECB minutes of 18 May 1946.

[20] EWUL, Kim Collection, Diary, June 30 [1947].

[21] UCA, UCC, WMS, Korea Correspondence, box 3, file 51a, Murray to Mrs. Hugh Taylor, 21 May and 18 Dec. 1946, and box 2, file 25, Murray, "Report on Medical Education," September 1947. See also DUA, MFP, Acc. No. 20-85, Florence Murray, "Return to Korea," Ch. Two. The latter, volume two of her memoirs, was under revision at the time of her death in 1975 and remains unpublished.

[22] UCA, UCC, WMS, Korea Correspondence, box 83, file 51a, Murray to Thomas Hobbs, 28 Nov. 1946.

[23] DUA, MFP, Murray, "Return," 12-13, 17, 20. Murray had understood that she was being taken on at Ewha "to be the dean and organize the school" [12].

formerly the U.S. Methodist mission's East Gate Maternity Hospital, it was located several miles from the Ewha campus, and as a result of wartime transactions the question of its ownership was before the courts.[24] An early letter home reassured her family that she and Ada Sandell had been warmly welcomed by the hospital's superintendent and staff but it went on to describe the dismal conditions:

> The hospital is smaller than the one we had in Hamheung and not very well planned. The roofs all leak and the plaster is coming down in places.... The water does not go above the first floor and the operating room is on the second. The sterilizer does not work. The lab was locked and no one knew where the key was to be found so I judge that department is not much used. . . . They have an x-ray apparatus which has never been set up and there does not seem to be a place for it, nor is there a room for an office for the supt. of nurses.[25]

Murray was even more dismayed by prospects in the "medical school" (Kim used the more modest word "department")[26], where "the powers that be" had accepted fifty-nine students, "at least twice as many as they should try to manage even if they had some equipment with which to start."[27] With no funding commitment from North America and no building or laboratory facilities for students beyond the first year, Murray urged Kim to delay beginning medical training at Ewha, or to co-operate with Severance Union Hospital and Medical College, a larger ecumenical medical institution in Seoul dating back to the turn of the century.[28] She also recommended the latter course in an early report to the ECB in New York.[29]

But her arguments were unsuccessful. Kim would consider neither a postponement nor the possibility of co-educational training with Severance, maintaining that the latter institution would allow only fifteen per cent of its student body to be female.[30] As for the ECB, it was at first inclined to accept Murray's advice, for, since the 1920s, union institutions and co-education had increasingly been favoured by mainline Protestant mission bureaucrats, ecumenically minded laymen and interested philanthropists like John D. Rockefeller, Jr., as vehicles for making missionary institutional work more modern and efficient. Given the costs involved in establishment and maintenance, the arguments for co-operation in medical work were especially compelling.[31] Moreover, Murray's report was just one of several from western "medical experts" advising against the establishment of a new medical training programme at Ewha. But when Kim

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[24] Ibid., 16, 64-65.
[25] Ibid., A-18, Murray to "Dear Folks," 7 Aug. 1947.
[26] DUA, MFP, Murray,"Return," 15.
[27] Ibid., A-18, Murray to "Dear Folks," 7 Aug. 1947.
[28] UCA, UCC, WMS, Korea Correspondence, box, 2, file 25, Murray, "Report," 3-4; DUA, MFP, A-18, Murray to Father and Mother, 17 Aug. 1947, and ibid., "Return," 13-14. For background on Severance hospital's origins and the medical college's Canadian founder see Allen DeGray Clark, *Avison of Korea: the Life of Oliver Avison, M.D.* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press [1979].
[29] YDL, UBCHEA, box 148, file 161, ECB executive committee meeting, 13 and 14 Dec. 1947. See also DUA, MFP, A-18, Murray to parents, 17 Aug. 1947, where she spoke of her preference for rehabilitating "the already going concerns" rather than leaving them "in the state they are in and try[ing] to begin something else that will be no better."
[30] DUA, MFP, Murray, "Return," 14-15.
[31] William Ernest Hocking, comp., *Re-Thinking Missions: A Laymen's Inquiry after One Hundred Years* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1932), espec. 201-11, 267-68, 328-29; Jessie Gregory Lutz, *China and the Christian Colleges, 1850-1950* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), espec. 151,156, 157-58.

and her supporters insisted that Korea was still far too backward in terms of its views on women's roles to make medical co-education workable for female students, their arguments carried the day. Indeed, an earlier board resolution strongly endorsing the position espoused by Murray was ordered deleted from the minutes.[32] As its deliberations revealed, the ECB was caught on the horns of a dilemma: it wanted to avoid supporting costly, inefficient and "old-fashioned" mission strategies, but it also wanted to avoid the decision-making style of an earlier era when home-base officials and missionaries had used their financial clout to impose North American solutions on indigenous Christian leaders.[33]

As various crises developed at Ewha, including a disastrous fire at the teaching hospital early in 1949, followed by the departure of the superintendent and the obstetrician and the jailing of the medical head, Murray agreed to become temporary superintendent. The deanship of the medical school had fallen to her earlier. But these were not positions she was willing to retain. She continued teaching in the school on a part-time basis until 1950 in order not "to penalize the students for what is not their fault"[34] or add to the burdens of the acting president in the absence of Helen Kim, who was once again out of the country on fund-raising and political assignments. But she was unwilling to remain permanently on the Ewha staff, especially in the face of needs and opportunities in other medical institutions.[35] After serving half-time on a committee to investigate internal difficulties at the new Seoul National University Hospital and, later, as the government-appointed adviser to its beleaguered superintendent, Murray joined the staff at Severance, teaching in the medical school and becoming temporary head of pediatrics and assistant superintendent in the hospital.[36]

Murray's twenty years in northern Korea, and to an even greater degree her activities during and following the Korean War, make it clear that she *was* capable of adapting to sub-standard physical conditions in medical practice.[37] But when it came to training future doctors she insisted that there was "a minimum of basal necessities that must be attained or the work is not worth doing." In the matter of clinical facilities, for

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[32] YDL, UBCHEA, box 148A, file 1961, minutes of meeting of ECB executive committee, 13 and 14 Dec. 1947, 2-4, and of full board, 12 May 1948, 4. In a cable to the ECB in advance of its May meeting, Kim had cited the defeat of all the women candidates in the recent election for Korea's first National Assembly as "proving prevailing prejudice against women" [4]. In a second fundraising trip to North America at the end of 1947 she had evidently been successful in persuading some board members to adopt her position.

[33] See Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993), 39-41, for a fascinating instance of the old-style approach in the late twentieth century and the frustration it caused for a leader of the Arab Protestant community in the Levant to which Said himself is attached "by birth" [39].

[34] UCA, UCC, WMS, Korea Correspondence, box 3, file 51a, Murray, "1949 Annual Report," 1.

[35] Ibid., A-19, Murray to father and Mother, 2 Jan. 1948.

[36] DUA, MFP, A-20, Murray to Alexander and Esther, 27 July 1949; and "Return," Ch. Five, and 72.

[37] In March 1952, more than a year before the truce ending the Korean War, Murray was back at Severance, where eighty per cent of the plant had been destroyed by the occupation, reportedly the first western doctor to return; "Story of the Years," *Missionary Monthly*, August 1961; UCA, UCC, Board of World Mission (BWM), UBCHEA Collection, box 6, Misc. Pamphlets, *New Horizons*, XXVI, 3, Spring 1959, 3.

instance, Ewha medical students had access to less than one hospital bed per student at a time when the western standard for adequate clinical training was reportedly ten beds per student.[38] Standards were further undermined by the university's unwillingness to allow any students, once admitted, to fail. Ewha's medical-training programme and, indeed, its university status, were, she declared, premature.[39]

Given the cross-cultural context, it seems necessary to address the question of the extent to which Murray's criticisms of Ewha and her decision to leave may have been influenced by unease about working in a subordinate position to Koreans as well as by professional concerns. That the post-Second World War era presented a challenge to returning missionaries in terms of adjusting to the new status quo is beyond doubt. The changes wrought by the war and the end of Japanese colonial rule ensured that in many mission-founded institutions Koreans would henceforth be in positions of leadership as well as numerical dominance. In many cases they had, in fact, taken on such positions from the late 1930s as increasing Japanese nationalism had forced westerners out (even earlier where devolution was an active practice). In 1945, having got rid of the Japanese overlords who had made these "leadership" roles difficult, often hollow, positions, they were not about to go back to the days when missionaries were in charge.

At the same time, Christian missionaries in Korea did not bear the stigma of direct association with the colonial system — quite the contrary in many cases[40] — and even in secular institutions like Seoul National University Hospital there were Korean staff members who shared their religious faith. After some initial hesitation, many Koreans in medical institutions evidently concluded that they could benefit from western expertise, as well as western financial and technical aid, in rehabilitating their institutions.[41] The willingness to accept western medical mentorship was strongest, according to Murray, among an older generation of Korean Christians and weakest among Koreans trained under Japanese instructors, particularly during the war years. Unconvinced that they had anything to learn from returning missionaries with up-to-date medical ideas from the west, the latter instead initially regarded the returning foreigners as a threat to their new-found autonomy.[42] In these circumstances, the challenge was how to make the new relationships work so that Korean supervisory personnel could draw on their western colleagues' expertise without losing face or sacrificing ultimate authority, and so that westerners like Murray could work in their new subordinate roles without abandoning

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[38] UCA, UCC, WMS, box 2, file 25, Murray,"Report on Medical Education," Sept. 1947 (quote at 1-2); DUA, MFP, Murray, "Return," 15.

[39] DUA,MFP, A-19,Murray to Alex,24 July 1948,and "Return," 62.

[40] Korean Christians had played a disproportionately large role in the celebrated Independence Movement of March 1919, with sympathetic and sometimes active support from missionaries. See Chong-Sik Lee, *The Politics of Korean Nationalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), Part III, and, for Canadian missionaries' attitudes, Ion, *Cross*, 188-208. Christianity's positive association with Korean nationalism has undoubtedly been a factor in allowing it to become Korea's second-largest religion.

[41] YDL, UBCHEA, RG11 - 181A-2576, College Files, Yonsei, Murray, Florence J.: Murray to Dr. R. Morris Paty, 14 April 1949, 2; also DUA, MFP, A-19, Murray to Father and Mother, 8 March 1948, which reveals a certain satisfaction that staff at Severance and the government institution, having got things "in a mess" on their own, had "discovered for themselves that they [foreigners] are useful."

[42] DUA, MFP, A-19, Murray to Alex, 24 July 1948, and A-20, Murray to Alex, 31 March 1949; also "Return," 83-84.

standards they regarded as essential to medical schools and hospitals worthy of those names.[43]

As Murray's letters describing her experiences at Seoul National University Hospital and, later, Severance, make clear, negotiating the new terrain was far from easy, and the fact that she had been asked to take on roles in these institutions by no means guaranteed that her presence or her advice were universally welcomed.[44] Writing to the medical secretary of the New-York- based Cooperating Board for Christian Higher Education in Chosen soon after her transfer to Severance, Murray explained that her position there was actually "somewhat anomalous," notwithstanding the various roles nominally assigned to her on joining the institution. And since her appointment as assistant superintendent had not been publicly announced to the staff, she had "no authority except personally with the superintendent himself."[45] Clearly then, if working in subordinate relationships to Koreans had been a factor in Murray's decision to leave Ewha, in moving to Severance she had succeeded only in jumping from the frying pan to the fire.

In fact, however, the crucial issue for her in the context of the time was not whether doctors in general and supervisory personnel in particular were Korean or western — the era of the latter was clearly waning[46] — but whether the Korean personnel had western training or experience, or at least a willingness to recognize that western-style expertise could improve their country's medical care. From the early 1920s it had been something of a refrain with Murray that Korean doctors needed to go abroad to see what a "real" hospital was like, since neither mission hospitals nor Japanese institutions <u>in</u> Korea could give them that exposure.[47] By "abroad" in those days she had included metropolitan Japan and China (where the Rockefeller-funded Peking Union Medical College was an internationally renowned institution) as well as the west.[48] In the late

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43 This paragraph is based largely on Murray's private and official correspondence during the late forties and early fifties, and in particular that between Murray and officials of the Cooperating Board for Christian Education in Chosen, based in New York. The latter was one of several such boards that later united to form the United Board for Christian Education in Asia (UBCHEA).

44 See, for instance, DUA, MFP, A-20, Murray to Alex, 31 March 1949. See also United Church Australia Archives, Australian Presbyterian Board of Missions, copy of extracts for Board executive from letter of Dr. Helen Mackenzie, Pusan, Korea, 4 March 1952, 3. Mackenzie, newly appointed and receiving much information and advice from Murray, reported her view that Korean doctors in 1952 were much more receptive to western medical mentorship than they had been during the late 1940s when "even the most tactfully proferred advice was usually listened to and disregarded." I am most grateful to Dr. Mackenzie for sending me a copy of this extract.

45 YDL, UBCHEA, file 181A-2576, Murray to Paty, 14 April 1949.

46 In terms of missionary staffing policy generally, the postwar era in Korea was perceived by both the United Church of Canada and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, the umbrella organization to which it belonged, as marking a new era, one in which there would be far fewer western staff than formerly, with those assigned working ecumenically and in subordinate relationships to Koreans; see UCA, Scott, "Canadians," 160,171. Murray certainly believed that there was still a place for new western doctors in mission hospitals to provide needed specialties and to mentor Korean doctors with "indifferent training," but she recognized that they would form only a minority of the medical staff; see YDL, UBCHEA, RG11-181A-2577, Yonsei, Murray, Florence J.: Murray to D.N. Forman, 24 April 1954.

47 See, for example, PANS, MMKC, vol. 2276, file 3, Murray to "Dear Folks," 2 Oct. 1922.

48 Brouwer, "Beyond."

1940s she regarded the issue of overseas experience as even more urgent, for, during the war, with all medical institutions in Korea under Japanese control, teaching standards and medical practice had deteriorated even further as the war had consumed vital human and physical resources. Hence, the importance of assisting Koreans to obtain scholarships and placements for study abroad, along with measures to rehabilitate existing medical plants physically and technologically.[49] Both steps were necessary if standards were to be raised.[50]

In pursuing these goals there was, quite simply, "more to encourage" at Severance than at Ewha.[51] Physical conditions were still bleak, as they were at Ewha and indeed all hospitals, but the others were "worse off as to the standards of their staffs," and many were "torn asunder by political strife."[52] At Severance, prospects for ongoing improvements in staffing and facilities were markedly greater, in part because of the support it could obtain from the New-York-based Cooperating Board for Christian Higher Education in Chosun. In this connection, Murray was in a position to make a significant personal difference, since she acted as a conduit to the Board in presenting Severance's needs. Without masking its shortcomings, she urged generous support in the form of equipment and scholarships so that Severance could become a place "to be proud of."[53]

However useful her contributions to Severance as its chief advocate with the New York Board, the fact remained that Murray had left Ewha's medical training programme for women for one where, until 1952, no women students would be enrolled.[54] This raises the question of her attitude to the feminist goals that motivated Helen Kim and, before her, an earlier generation of women missionaries who had devoted their careers to work for women under what one scholar has called "one of the most ideal types of patriarchy in the world."[55] Addressing this question requires a brief look at Murray's

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49 YDL, UBCHEA, Murray to Paty, 14 April 1949; DUA, MFP, Murray, "Return," Ch. Eight.

50 It is worth noting that US military medical personnel arriving in Japan and Korea after V-J Day were, like Murray, dismayed by the conditions they found in the hospitals and by the "ill-trained" doctors; Albert E. Cowdrey, *United States Army in the Korean War: The Medics' War* (Washington: Center of Military History, 1987), 38, 51, 53.

51 DUA, MFP, A-20, Murray to Alexander and Esther, 27 July 1949.

52 YDL, UBCHEA, Murray to Paty, 14 April 1949. Murray attributed much of the internal strife at Seoul National University Hospital to communist subversion; see DUA, MFP, Murray, "Return," Ch. Five.

53 YDL, UBCHEA, Murray to Paty, 14 April 1949. Murray's frank and detailed report evidently impressed Board officials, some of whom were themselves former medical missionaries and one of whom wrote: "Dr. Murray is sane and judicious and it is well to listen to what she says." This promise of progress was, of course, interrupted by the Korean War, but, as noted, even before the armistice Murray was back at Severance and again functioning as its advocate with the Board, which had much larger resources at its disposal than did the ECB.

54 YDL, UBCHEA, RG11 - 181A-2577, Yonsei, Murray, Florence J: "Severance Hospital" [1954], 1. Six of Severance's 211 medical students were women in 1954, admitted in the context of wartime needs. At the time, Severance graduates comprised more than one-third of South Korea's stock of doctors.

55 Chang Pilwha, "The Rise of Women's Education Against the Korean Patriarchy," in Asian Center for Women's Studies, *The Rise of Feminist Consciousness Against the Asian Patriarchy* (Seoul: Ewha Womans University, 1996), 5.

early attitudes to women's roles and her view of gender-segregated medical work during her years in northern Korea.

Murray had been raised in a home where higher education had been encouraged for daughters as well as sons, turning her own sights on medicine after learning that a career in the ministry was not an option for Presbyterian women.[56] An advocate of women's political rights in her student days[57], she was particularly likely to comment in later years on the more immediate and mundane burdens and inequalities that women experienced in marriage, especially in Korea, but also in the West.[58] As a missionary in postwar South Korea, she was supportive of women doctors in personal and practical ways. Kim, Hyo-Soon, the only female practitioner in her hospital in Hamhung in the interwar years, became a close, life-long friend, while Lee, Heung Joo, who, as a student at Ewha, initially found Murray a stern and humourless teacher, later came to have an almost reverential regard for her professional standards and service to the poor and took her as something of a role model.[59] For many years Murray held monthly gatherings for Christian women doctors in her home in Seoul for the study and discussion of medical issues, lending her own western medical books and journals to the women in view of the difficulties they faced in obtaining their own copies.[60]

These things suggest that Murray was not without a feminist consciousness or a personal sense of sisterhood. But at the end of the day, supplying Korea with good doctors was more important to her than the question of their gender. She was simply not prepared to devote her efforts to training medical women in a woman-only institution if that appeared to be an inefficient way of producing the modern professionals that Korea needed or a route that would institutionalize second-rate standards for female practitioners (and their patients). That had been her position from the 1920s when she had resisted the urgings of some older women missionaries, including East Gate Maternity Hospital's Dr. Rosetta Sherwood Hall, an 1889 graduate of the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, to abandon general medicine and concentrate on "women's work for women."[61] Trained herself in a co-educational institution that she had found personally congenial, she had neither sentimental nor professional reasons for wishing to confine her practice or her teaching to women. Indeed, after observing standards at East Gate and hearing that female medical missionaries in Korea were not held in high professional regard shortly after her arrival in the country, she had been scathing in her criticism, resolving to "demonstrate to the missionary community that women doctors are not necessarily cantankerous and inefficient."[62] As Nancy Cott has made clear,

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[56] Murray, *Dragon Hill, viii.*
[57] Interview with Dr. Anna Murray Dike Musgrave, Clarkesburg, Ontario, 25 June 1990.
[58] See, for example, PANS, MMKC, vol. 2276, file 6, letter to Alexander, 17 Feb. 1924; file 8, to Father, 24 Aug. 1925; and file 12, to "Dear People," 5 Aug. 1929, espec. 2-3.
[59] Regarding Murray's ongoing friendship with Dr. Kim, see, for instance, UCA, UCC, Florence Jessie Murray Papers, box 1, diaries, file 4, entries for 15 Feb. and 2 April, 1966, and file 8, entry for 19 Feb. 1970. Information about Dr. Lee comes from correspondence of 9 July 1997 from Dr. Helen Mackenzie, Balwyn, Australia, and from correspondence of 20 Aug. 1997 from Dr. Lee.
[60] UCA, UCC, WMS, Korea Correspondence, box 3, file 51a, "1949 Annual Report"; conversation with Dr. Park, Jung Jai, Seoul, 15 May 1997.
[61] PANS, MMKC, vol. 2276, file 8, Murray to Father, 24 Aug. 1925.
[62] Ibid., file 3, Murray to "Dear Father," 27 Dec. 1922. This concern is discussed more fully in Brouwer, "Beyond `Women's Work for Women.'"

many professional women of Murray's generation in North America prized professional standards and their professional identity over the values and practices of an earlier generation of social or maternal feminists.[63] In this respect, Murray was a representative figure of her time.

The concerns she expressed about the new medical training programme at Ewha should thus, I believe, be taken at face value as statements about the minimum professional standards and facilities she thought essential for medical training worthy of the name, rather than as an indication of inflexibility or a smokescreen for racism and indifference to "feminist" concerns.

IV

Helen Kim, meanwhile, was passionately committed to Ewha and the goal of educating women as part of a larger concern with women's rights in Korea. Here, too, attention to the years preceding and following the three-year period under direct consideration in this paper is helpful in understanding her position in regard to medical training at Ewha.

Although it had led some Koreans to regard her as a collaborator, Kim had co-operated with the Japanese in various ways in the demands they made on Ewha during the Second World War in order to maintain its tenuous existence as a college.[64] During the Korean War (1950-53) when Seoul was twice captured and controlled by communist troops, she again showed her tenacious commitment to Ewha, establishing a campus in exile in Pusan, the port city on the southeast coast to which Syngman Rhee's government had fled. Huts and ragged tent classrooms on a mountainside, pianos in boxes beside them where music students could continue to practice — these things symbolized her determination to carry on. As for the medical students, they carried on in a "shack-style hospital" erected near the marketplace, "adequate," she declared, under the circumstances "to give clinical service in all departments."[65] In 1951 the first class of doctors graduated at this campus in exile.[66]

After the Korean War, Kim would continue for many years to look to North America as a source of funds for her building projects as she had done in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, the period to which I now return. In September 1946, at the request of the ECB's executive secretaries, she had started an English-language diary, periodically forwarding instalments to New York for circulation among Board members

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63 See Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), Ch. Seven. See also Thomas Neville Bonner, *To the Ends of the Earth: Women's Search for Education in Medicine* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 166: "Efforts to combine the new scientific and professional orientation of medicine with the older gender separation of the nineteenth century were doomed to failure."

64 Kim, *Grace Sufficient*, Ch. VII, espec. 98. See also George Hicks, *The Comfort Women* (St. Leonard's, Australia, 1995), 25, 27-28, 136. When the Women's Voluntary Service Corps, which was widely regarded as being involved in securing women for sexual service to the Japanese military as well as for regular war work, began recruiting at Ewha, some parents withdrew their daughters from the college. Staff members, meanwhile, reportedly "assured parents that their daughters were safe" [quote at 27].

65 Ibid., Ch. IX (quotation at 141).

66 DUA, MFP, A-22, Murray to Father and Mother from Pusan, 28 October 1951.

and former faculty to keep them informed of Ewha's needs and activities.[67] Given its purpose, the diary is not revealing in the way that a private document would be. At the same time, it is useful for showing what Kim wanted to convey to her supporters abroad in an effort to persuade them of the merits of her approach to women's education in Korea. Though the idea of the diary had not originated with her, it served her well strategically, especially at a time when North American missionary modernizers were advocating plans that were at odds with her own inclinations.

The modernizers' calls for some sort of federation of Seoul's three major institutions for Christian higher education — Ewha, Severance and Chosun Christian College — to produce one first-class Christian university were especially significant in this regard.[68] In 1956 the latter two would unite to form Yonsei University,[69] but Ewha remained apart. Kim's diary reported her regular participation in the "Joint Committee for Cooperation of the Christian Institutions for Higher Education in Korea" from late 1946 onward. But it is clear that the view she cited of an anonymous "Alumnae representative" who argued that "nothing should be done that would jeopardize the unique contribution that Ewha has been making and still has to make in the pioneering movement of women's education and movement [sic] in Korea" was also her own view,[70] one that effectively meant insistence on ongoing autonomy. Political events such as the defeat of all the female candidates in the May 1948 election for the first National Assembly (herself included) were cited as evidence of the persistent opposition to non-traditional roles for women and hence of the need for separate educational institutions for them.[71]

Since few Korean women with advanced education were available to teach in a women's university, Kim's diary made it clear that she was eager to have staffing as well as financial assistance from North America. A number of American missionaries were already back on the campus when the three Canadian women arrived in July 1947. Initial comments about their arrival spoke of how welcome the Canadians were, especially within the "College of Healing Arts," where Murray and nurse Ada Sandell were to serve.[72] Shortly thereafter, however, Kim observed that Murray seemed "challenged" by "the lack of facilities," tersely remarking,"Who isn't?"[73]

Though she could scarcely afford to express stronger criticism given the public nature of the diary, Kim's remark undoubtedly reflected frustration that Murray, who had spent the nightmarish war years safely in Canada, was focussing only on the obstacles to establishing medical training at Ewha. Moreover, having just arrived, she

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[67] EWUL, Kim Collection, Diary. Information about the diary's origins and purpose comes from a note by the executive secretaries, preceding the first entry (generally unpaged).

[68] YDL, UBCHEA, box 148A, file 1961, Joint Meeting of Ewha Cooperating Board and Cooperating Board for Christian Higher Education in Chosun, 17 May 1946.

[69] See *Asia Colleges Newsletter*, 2,3 (Aug. 1957),1, and *New Horizons*, XXIV,4 (June 1957), 1,3, both in UCA, UCC, BWM, UBCHEA Collection, box 6, "Misc. Pamphlets."

[70] EWUL, Kim Collection, Diary, 21 July [1947]. This was very much her position at the 1946 Joint Meeting in New York, cited in note 65.

[71] Ibid., Diary sequence for 2-22 May and 23 May- 3 June [1948]. See also reference to this strategy in note 31.

[72] Ibid., July 28, 31 [1947]. At this point Murray was the only western woman doctor to have returned to Korea; see Rosetta Sherwood Hall, "Foreign Medical Women in Korea," *Journal of the American Medical Women's Association*, 5, 10 (Oct. 1950), 404-05.

[73] Ibid., 4 Aug. [1947].

could not know of the efforts Kim had made in the previous year to obtain classroom and laboratory facilities.[74] Nor, given her focus on her own particular professional concerns,could she appreciate the fact that, as president, Kim was responsible for all of Ewha, not just its new medical programme. Part of this responsibility was to cultivate connections *within* Korea, as well as internationally, so as to strengthen its local financial base and make it a source of national pride.[75] Given the work that this involved, and under conditions of extreme physical hardship,[76] Kim could scarcely be expected to view the problems facing the medical department in the same light that they appeared to Murray.

V

Clearly, Florence Murray and Helen Kim had very different educational priorities. For Murray, there were minimum standards in a medical training programme that had to be met if such a programme was to be worth mounting. An inadequately trained doctor (especially one who thought she was adequately trained) was a far more serious matter than a badly trained pianist or home economics student. For Kim, committed to separate education for Korean women as the only way to secure their advance in a strongly patriarchal society and not herself a medical specialist, the quality of the medical training to be provided at Ewha was not a key issue. As had been the case with seeking to raise Ewha from college to university status right after the liberation, what was important for her in 1947 in regard to medical education was making an immediate beginning[77] and thus signalling the new roles that women should be prepared, and allowed, to play in newly liberated Korea. The signal rather than the substance was important. Arguably, her larger concern as university president was with producing graduates who could make a contribution to public life as the wives of the educated elite and thus help vanquish the old assumption that respectable women did not participate in the public sphere.[78] Hence the importance of such richly visual and symbolic public ceremonies as the 1947 graduation day exercises celebrated in poetry by the Rev. William Scott, the Canadian whose contributions to Ewha Kim seems to have valued most in the late 1940s.[79] Hence, too, the symbolic importance of carrying on during the Korean War at Ewha's Campus in Exile, even adding new programmes, including a graduate school.[80]

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74 Ibid., 1, 26 May 1947.

75 Ibid. See, for example, entries for 15 and 27-29 March, and 13 June 1947.

76 Kim seems not to have suffered from the malnutrition that was afflicting many Koreans at this time, including some in senior positions, but unheated buildings, uncertain electricity and lack of hot water affected all who lived or worked on the campus; see, for instance, ibid., entries for 15 and 24 May [1947].

77 Kim, *Grace Sufficient*, 116-17; EWUL, Kim Papers, Diary, 5 Oct. 1946.

78 See, for instance, EWUL, Kim Collection, Diary, 31 Dec. 1946, and segment for 22 Dec. 1947 to 21 Jan. 1948. The latter is especially interesting for emphasizing the key role that Ewha graduates played in public functions to welcome the United Nations Commission to Korea, notwithstanding the initial objections of their husbands. In former times, Kim stated, only dancing girls would have been present at such events.

79 EWUL, Kim Collection, Diary, 9, 11 June 1947. See also, Scott, "Canadians," 174-75, and 188-89. Though he was not on Ewha's staff, Scott worked closely with Kim on the new university curriculum committee and other important committees during this period. Perhaps even more importantly in terms of their mutual regard, he sympathized with her determination and with

In the context of the time, the priorities of Murray and Kim were impossible to reconcile, especially since both were "strong-minded women"[81] whose personalities in other respects were strikingly different. Nonetheless, they had an overarching goal in common in their desire to see educated Korean Christians play a leading role in building a free, non-communist Korea. Murray's departure from Ewha, therefore, did not mean a burning of bridges. She served for years on the Ewha Board, as did other Canadian missionaries,[82] and in 1956 Ewha conferred an honorary doctorate on Ruth Taylor, the United Church WMS overseas missions secretary and a former chairperson of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, whose commitment to "women's rights" and "Christian higher education in various Asian universities" had made her an important Ewha supporter.[83] Moreover, even as she had questioned Kim's judgement in the matter of establishing a medical training programme at Ewha in the late 1940s, Murray had expressed pride in the remarkable contributions she was making to Korean public life.[84] And when Kim died in 1970, Murray readily acknowledged that she would have been "a very remarkable woman for any country."[85]

What are we to make of this brief moment in educational, medical and missions history? From a present-day perspective Murray's strong commitment to "standards" is apt to seem at best naive and at worst culturally arrogant and potentially harmful.[86] Yet it is important to remind ourselves that the standards of scientific modern medicine that began in the west and that missionaries sought to transfer are those that medical professionals in Korea and other Asian countries have made their own, notwithstanding the continuing importance of indigenous medicine to large segments of East Asian society[87] and our own current enthusiasm for elements of "traditional" practice. Indeed, in seeking to establish a medical-training programme at Ewha, Kim was testifying to the value that she placed on the ideals of western medicine even if her haste signified her lack of appreciation for what was involved in the implementation of those ideals.

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educational *gestures* such as piano lessons on a battered instrument on a Pusan hillside in wartime, in a way that the practical-minded Murray could not.

[80] Kim, *Grace Sufficient*, 140-43, 161; YDL, UBCHEA, box 148A, file 1962, *Bulletin of Ewha Woman's University*, 1966, 11.

[81] This phrase was used by retired medical missionary Ian Robb during an interview, 25 July 1994, in Halifax.

[82] EWUL, Kim Papers, box 11, Canadian Mission Materials, E.J.O. Fraser to Dr. Kim, 11 April 1953.

[83] UCA, biographical file for Rev. Hugh D. Taylor, containing "In Memoriam" tribute to Ruth Taylor with quotations from the citation at Ewha.

[84] For instance, DUA, MFP, A-19, Murray to Father and Mother, 18 Jan. 1948, describing Kim's speech in Korean and English before a crowd of 200,000 to welcome the United Nations Commission.

[85] UCA, UCC, Murray Papers, box 1, file 8,Diary, entry for 19 Feb. 1970.

[86] Medical missionaries' confidence in the superiority of their "product" over that of traditional practitioners has been a favourite target of postcolonial critics with an interest in discourse analysis. See, for instance, Luise White, "'They Could Make Their Victims Dull': Genders and Genres, Fantasies and Cures in Colonial Southern Uganda," *American Historical Review*, 100, 5 (Dec. 1995), 1379-1402.

[87] Soon Yong Yoon, "A Legacy without Heirs: Korean Indigenous Medicine and Primary Health Care," *Social Science and Medicine*, 17,19 (1983), 1467-76.

As for Kim's approach to Korean women's education generally, the arguments for it seem in many ways to be incontestable. Coeducation has not become the norm in Korea that it is in the west, even at advanced levels. Ewha was still educating more than half of Korea's university women in the 1960s,[88] and its continued growth has, as noted, made it the largest women's university in the world.[89] Aside from the question of size, the loyalty of its graduates and the prestige that an Ewha degree carries in Korean society have become the stuff of legend. Lady Bird Johnson's praise for Ewha's women and for emeritus president Helen Kim during a 1966 visit to the campus need to viewed in the context of Vietnam war politics (South Korea had become a valued U.S. ally in 1965),[90] but the very fact that such a visit was on the First Lady's agenda signified the place that Ewha and Kim were deemed to hold in South Korea's public life.[91] As for Kim herself, years after her death she continues to be cited as a role model by successful Ewha faculty and graduates.[92] Feminist scholars who have come to the fore at Ewha in the era of second-wave feminism continue to regard her legacy of separate women's education as crucial to Korean women's advance.[93]

And yet, in the matter of professional training, the verdict is at least somewhat ambiguous. Ewha's medical training programme had an uphill struggle to establish its credibility,[94] and in the 1990s the university continues to be known for its "finishing school atmosphere."[95] Explaining that this image continues to be associated with South Korean women's universities generally, Ji-moon Suh maintains that, as a result, women who seek to be fully accepted as professionals "tend to choose coeducational schools over women's colleges."[96] Clearly, in South Korea as in North America, the differences in educational philosophies that Murray and Kim represented are still unresolved and likely to remain so.

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[88] Kim, *Grace Sufficient*, 149.
[89] Chang, "Rise," 7.
[90] Carter J. Eckert *et. al.*, *Korea Old and New: A History* (Seoul: Korea Institute, Harvard University, 1990), 367.
[91] EWUL, Kim Papers, "Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson" file, copy of Mrs. Johnson's remarks, 1 Nov. 1966.
[92] Lee Hie Sung, "A Case Study on Achievement Motivation of Women Professors in a Women's University in Korea," in *Challenges for Women: Women's Studies in Korea*, ed. Chang Sei-wha and trans. by Shin Chang-kyun *et. al.* (Seoul: Ewha Woman's University Press, 1986), 202, 210.
[93] Chang, "Rise"; conversation with Professor Seung-Hee Sohn, Ewha, 24 May, 1997.
[94] A 1961 "Self-Study Survey" that was by no means hard-hitting called for a new emphasis on quality rather than quantity in higher professional education; YDL, UBCHEA, RG11A, 148A-1964, "Report on the Self-Study Survey of Ewha Womans University," 34. Notwithstanding the title, this survey was conducted by an American educator. A UBCHEA survey of Protestant institutions for higher education in Korea in 1968 chastised all of them for favouring growth over quality, echoing many of the specific concerns voiced by Murray two decades earlier. The two universities, Yonsei and Ewha, but especially the latter, were urged to accept "limitations in size"; UCA, UCC, BWM, UBCHEA collection, box 6, containing "An Appraisal of the Protestant Christian Effort in Higher Education in Asia: Korea," 41 [for quotation].
[95] In-Ho Lee, "Work, Education, and Women's Gains: the Korean Experience," in Jill Ker Conway and Susan C. Bourque,eds., *The Politics of Women's Education: Perspectives from Asia, Africa, and Latin America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1993),87.
[96] Ji-moon Suh, "Commentary," *Asian Women*, 3 (Winter 1996), 104.

As for this paper and its admittedly esoteric subject matter, if it serves to convince any readers that there are more complex and interesting ways to interpret relationships between missionaries and non-westerners than through the formulaic emphasis on racism and resistance in much recent postcolonial scholarship, it will have served its purpose.

'Why Should the Church Confine Her Labours to Those Who May Show a Presbyterian Pedigree?': The Presbyterian Church Responds to Non-English-Speaking Immigrants in Western Canada, 1896-1925

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In 1881 the Presbytery of Manitoba asked the General Assembly to create a new position — the Superintendent of Mission for the West. This was unique position was to help the church respond to a unique situation — the anticipated flood of immigrants expected on the Canadian Prairie. Although there were only 87,000 people living on the prairies in 1881, most westerners believed that there would be 1,000,000 people living there within 15 years.[1] The future was so bright that land prices south of Winnipeg were tripling in three or four months, and some people who had already homesteaded in the Red River Valley were moving further west to get away from the expected crowd of newcomers.

The person chosen to prepare the church for this anticipated flood of humanity was James Robertson. Robertson, more than any other individual, dominates the history of the Presbyterian Church in Western Canada. Creative and opinionated, demanding of himself and others, Robertson tirelessly promoted the religious and economic development of Western Canada.

But the anticipated population growth and the hoped for economic development did not take place as quickly as was anticipated. The Riel Rebellion in 1885, poor crop years in the late 1880's and early 1890's, the harsh winters, and the high cost of living on the prairies meant that prospective immigrants went elsewhere. By the late-1880's no longer was Robertson talking about rapid growth; he had come to understand that the process of the western settlement would take much longer than he had first thought. At the time of Robertson's death in 1902, there were 420,000 people on the prairies — a far cry from the numbers that had been predicted 20 years earlier. Of these 420,000 people more than 20% did not speak French, English, or a First Nations language as their mother tongue. They came from parts of the world that the average Canadian knew little or nothing about — Russia, Iceland, and parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[2] Many of these immigrants came with religious commitments and socio-economic lifestyles which Canadian-born Presbyterians found strange.

Robertson's commitment to the settling of the west made him and all who listened to him open to the immigration of non-English speaking peoples to Western Canada. While Robertson had clearly held views on immigration policy and practice, never did he

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[1] *Census of Canada, 1881, vol. 1*, (Ottawa, 1882).
[2] *Census of Canada, 1901, vol. 1*, (Ottawa, 1902).

say, "close the doors." He had come to understand that only through the arrival of non-English speaking immigrants would his beloved west become the economic powerhouse that he believed it could be. In the years immediately following Robertson's death, as Michael Owen has noted, a stridently nativist tone was sounded by some within the church, but these spokespeople do not represent the overall tenor of the church's response to non-English speaking immigrants.[3] Missionaries and clergy on the ground in Western Canada seem to have been much more concerned about the influx of Americans than about non-English speaking immigrants.[4] Robertson's general openness to non-English speaking immigrants impacted the views of the entire church, making most Presbyterians open to the new Canadians.

Robertson did have things to say about how this movement of immigrants to Western Canada should be handled. It was important that "care should be exercised in getting the right kind of people to become settlers"[5]:

> ...only those who are adapted to a new country. None over thirty-five years of age should be encouraged to come, nor should the diseased be allowed to join any party upon the plea that Canada possesses a healthy climate.[6]

Given the harshness of the winters in Western Canada, Robertson believed that people from northern Europe and northern Britain should be courted as possible immigrants to Canada. He cared little about their ethnic background, but was more concerned about ability to adapt to the Canadian West. The actual settling of the immigrants was also a concern of Robertson's. In discussing how the Scottish crofters were being settled, Robertson expressed the view that:

> Instead of locating them as a colony it would be better to give them locations among other settlers. They then would be able to learn farming in a much shorter time, they could get work more readily, be able to maintain their families, and parents and children would be far more apt to acquire the English language and so be more readily absorbed among the rest of the population.[7]

It is remarkable that a Presbyterian clergyperson was advocating that Gaelic speaking immigrants should be assimilated into English speaking culture. Robertson believed that this absorption into mainstream Canadian culture not only helped the immigrants, but assisted the church in reaching the immigrants with the good news of the gospel. For this was his ultimate goal, to have people live Christian lives.

While Robertson favoured the rapid assimilation of immigrant groups into mainstream Canadian culture, he pushed the Presbyterian Church to respond to the spiritual needs of these immigrants. And he was willing to go to extraordinary lengths to

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[3] Michael Owen, ""Keeping Canada God's Country": Presbyterian school-homes for Ruthenian children", in Dennis Butcher, Catherine Macdonald, Margaret McPherson, Raymond Smith, A. McKibbin Watts, eds., *Prairie Spirit: Perspectives on the Heritage of the United Church of Canada in the West*, (Winnipeg, The University of Manitoba Press, 1985), pp. 184-187.

[4] See for example *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (hereafter *A&P*), 1908, Home Missions Committee Report (hereafter HMC Report), Appendix (hereafter App.) 1, p. 34; and *A&P*, 1909, HMC Report, App. 1, p. 43.

[5] *A&P*, 1896, App. 1, p. xxxi.

[6] *A&P*, 1891, HMC Report, App. 1, p. xix.

[7] *A&P*, 1891, App. #1, p. xix.

find people who could minister to these people groups in their mother tongue.[8] By the summer of 1894 the Presbyterian Church had a German speaking minister working among German immigrants near Edmonton; a Hungarian speaking minister, recruited from Hungary, ministering among Hungarians near Yorkton, Saskatchewan; and a Scandinavian missionary ministering to three Scandinavian communities near Whitewood, Saskatchewan. There were also two Icelandic speaking theology students from Manitoba College working among Icelandic immigrants on Lake Winnipeg and Lake Manitoba. Robertson had recruited these two students by going into the Icelandic community in Manitoba, finding two spiritually interested and articulate young men and offered them an education and a guaranteed job upon graduation.[9] This pattern of actively recruiting and training ethnic speakers to minister to immigrants of their own ethnic group became one of the hallmarks of the Presbyterian Church's response to western immigration. The church remained committed to the assimilation of immigrants into Canadian culture, but it recognized that it had a responsibility to provide for the spiritual needs of all people regardless of their mother tongue or ethnic background.

Though Robertson did not live to see it, the rapid population growth he had hoped for did take place — in the ten years between 1901 and 1911 the population of the Prairie provinces tripled from 420,000 to 1.3 million. And by 1921 there were almost 2 million people living in Prairie Canada — growth of 1.5 million people in 20 years.[10] This jump was the result of three factors. First, immigration from the United States particularly into Alberta. Until the first decade of the twentieth century, out-migration from the Canadian West to the United States had exceeded the number of Americans emigrating to the Canadian Prairies. But with the firm closing of the American West, a number of Americans looked north of the border and saw large tracts of land that could be farmed and ranched. The second factor leading to this rapid population growth was the increased flow of immigrants from Europe: Clifford Sifton's Open Door Immigration Policy did have an impact. While it is commonly assumed that British immigration fell off in the early twentieth century, about half of the non-Canadian immigrants were from the British Isles. A third factor in the growth was the natural population growth of the resident population on the Prairies. As life in the Canadian west become more economically secure and towns grew, families replaced bachelors as the dominant household unit.

John Moir is correct when he notes that the General Assembly did nothing directly to respond to this flood of immigrants until 1907 through the Immigration Chaplaincy programme.[11] Yet as a result of Robertson's vision and organizational ability the Presbyterian Church in Western Canada was prepared to respond to this huge population jump. In the midst of all of this rapid population change on the Prairies the

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[8] United Church of Canada Archives, Minutes, Home Missions Committee, Synod of Manitoba and the North West Territories, The Presbyterian Church in Canada,, vol. 1, p. 493, March 21, 1894; *A&P*, 1901, HMC Report, Superintendent's Report, App., p. 18.

[9] *A&P*, 1894, HMC Report, Superintendent's Report, App. #11, p. xii. cf. *A&P*, 1895, HMC Report, Superintendent's Report, App. #1, pp. xviii, xix.

[10] *Census of Canada*, 1911, vol. 1, (Ottawa, 1912); *Census of Canada*, 1921, vol. 1, (Ottawa, 1924).

[11] John Moir, *Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada*, 2nd edition, (Toronto, The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1987) p.167.

number of Presbyterians almost kept pace with the population growth, going from 93,000 in 1901 to almost 267,000 in 1911.[12] By 1921, there were over 420,000 Presbyterians on the Prairies, making it the largest denomination on the Prairies. By 1921, 30% of all Presbyterians in the country lived in the three prairie provinces, while only 22% of Canadians lived there. There were more Presbyterians in Manitoba than there were in Nova Scotia in 1921.[13] The Presbyterian Church had responded effectively to the rapid influx of new Canadians.

Ultimately the church's response to non-English speaking immigrants took place at the local congregational and presbytery levels. For it was at the community level that people made face to face contact with immigrants who came from another part of the world, speaking another language. In 1903 in Yorkton, Saskatchewan there were 18 different languages spoken by people in town and its neighbourhood.[14] This multi-lingual population would have created a substantial challenge for any local Presbyterian congregation or minister seeking to carry out their ministry. In the first quarter of the twentieth century, most Presbyterian clergy in rural or small town areas of the Prairies had three to six point charges. One point on a pastoral charge might be in a town that was entirely English-speaking, while a rural point might have a strong non-English speaking presence but not be large enough to justify the hiring of a ethnic speaking clergy person. So the local minister would be expected to meet the needs of both congregations. As well, during the rapid population growth on the Prairies a small community's ethnic mix could change quite dramatically. It was in this situation of often unpredictable change, that clergy and congregations were called to minister.

In most cases, as non-English speaking immigrants moved into areas that already had Presbyterian congregations, the local minister committed himself to reaching out to these new Canadians. It was reported from Mountain City, in the Rock Lake Presbytery,

> As these newer regions are settled by Icelanders and people from northern Europe, and the missionary spends a large proportion of his time amongst them, this might take rank among our other missions to settlers of foreign origin.[15]

Ministers were expected to adapt their focus to meet the needs of the community in which they were located, even if that meant doing cross-cultural ministry. Generally, clergy within the Presbyterian Church believed that whoever was resident in the community, regardless of ethnic background, was part of the parish and deserved ministry. This was even the case when the group to be reached was strange to Canadian Presbyterians. In 1909, the minister at Buchanan, Saskatchewan, noted that he was trying to reach "considerable Doukhobours who have broken away from the thraldom of the community and are known as Free Doukhobours."[16] It was commonplace to read in the Annual Reports of the Home Missions Committee of Presbyterian congregations where a variety of ethnic groups worshipped together in a single service.

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[12] *Census of Canada, 1901, vol. 1*, (Ottawa, 1902); *Census of Canada, 1911, vol. 1*, (Ottawa, 1903).

[13] *Census of Canada, 1921, vol. 2*, (Ottawa, 1923).

[14] *A&P*, 1903, App. p. 22.

[15] *A&P*, 1903, HMC Report, App., p. 26

[16] *A&P*, 1909, HMC Report, App., p. 36.

At times, the movement of a large number of non-English speaking immigrants into an area meant that the style of ministry had to change. The Mountain City pastoral charge in southern Manitoba reported in 1906,

> It is for the most part work among foreigners whose knowledge of the English language is limited. The best work is done by house to house visitation and distribution of literature.[17]

The church was coming to understand that if they were going to minister effectively to these new Canadians the process would be a long and slow one, a process of house to house visiting, rather than calling people to attend church in a language they did not fully understand. This ability to respond in a flexible manner to the changing situation, required a great deal of wisdom and patience on the part of both clergy and congregational leaders.

It was at the community and congregational level that church leaders saw the conflicts between various ethnic groups. The Hilton pastoral charge in southern Manitoba was a notoriously difficult charge, "made up of English-speaking people and Crofters, and these two elements do not work very harmoniously together."[18] These tensions were also present when what had been an ethnic enclave, was inundated by English speaking settlers. The minister at Esterhazy, Saskatchewan, raised concerns about what would happen as English and Irish immigrants moved into what had been an almost exclusively Hungarian community.[19]

It was also at the congregational level that church leaders experienced conflict between the new Canadians and the Presbyterian system. The new immigrants often did not understand how the Presbyterian church functioned. The 1910 report from Otthon in the Yorkton Presbytery, typifies this difficulty,

> Many of these foreign colonies are kept back by not getting sooner into line with the mode of work of the Church with which they become associated in this country.[20]

The structures of elders and sessions, presbyteries and home mission committees, were all a strange world to these newly minted Presbyterians. Many of the new Canadians came from countries where there was a state church, and the free church approach of the Canadian religious scene was a new experience. In Esterhazy, Saskatchewan it was reported,

> There are many Hungarian and Bohemian families who adhere to our church. These while adding to the work of the field, have not so far added very much to its revenue.[21]

The Home Missions Committee's policy of moving congregations from being mission charges to augmented charges to self-supporting charges meant little to those new Presbyterians who came from state supported churches. The free church tradition was outside their experiential frame, creating tensions between the budget watchers on the Home Missions Committee and congregations of new Canadians.

Despite these difficulties and tensions, virtually none of the reports from congregations, presbyteries, synods, or Assembly make derogatory comments on the non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants. In fact, the 1908 comment that in the High River Presbytery, "There are practically none of the inferior grades of European immigrants —

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[17] *A&P*, 1906, App. p. 27.
[18] *A&P*, 1904, HMC Report, App. p. 27.
[19] *A&P*, 1905, HMC Report, App., pp. 27-28.
[20] *A&P*, 1910, HMC Report, App., p. 41.
[21] *A&P*, 1906, HMC Report, App., p. 32.

i.e. Galicians, etc."[22] is noteworthy because it is so much the exception to what was a generally an open response to non-English speaking immigrants. That is not to say that the church encouraged the new Canadians to maintain their culture and language. Most presbyteries in the west would have agreed with the view that "we have a tremendous problem to face both in evangelization and in citizenship."[23] The church was an instrument in the process of the Canadianization of the immigrants; to Christianize — more precisely to Protestantize — was to Canadianize. By the same token, however, the church used the broader society's desire for the Canadianization of these immigrant groups as a means to their evangelization. To teach English to Ukrainian or Chinese immigrants was part of an assimilation process, to use the gospel of Mark as the text to teach English reading was to evangelize. For most Presbyterians this was a natural connection to make.

In attempting to respond to the multi-lingual, multi-ethnic world of the Prairie provinces, the Presbyterian church continued to recruit, train, and ordain speakers of various languages where the numbers warranted such a response. In 1907 the Hungarian speaking congregation at Otthon, Saskatchewan rejoiced in the arrival of "a missionary,... a young man from Hungary, and ordained by Winnipeg presbytery."[24] This Hungarian-speaking congregation was fortunate: it was often very difficult to find clergy who spoke the needed language fluently, had the right denominational background, and possessed the appropriate pastoral skills. The Norwegian speaking settlement of Helma, outside Vermilion, Alberta, in 1908 asked, "for a missionary who can preach in both Norwegian and English", unfortunately no such person was available and so the congregation was left without clergy support for an extended period.[25] In early 1901, James Robertson toured Europe looking for Hungarian, Ukrainian, Austrian, Czech, and German speaking clergy to minister on the Prairies. He reported that only four suitable clergy had been found, although many more than that offered themselves, "The same dearth of suitable men for Christian work is found on the continent that prevails in Britain; and the moral conditions existing on the Continent demand that the utmost care be exercised in the selection of men."[26] At times there were no clergyperson able to fill the ministry need — and so the church turned to lay people who functioned as lay missionaries. A Mr. Hegh was a Swedish speaking missionary with the Presbyterian church, working in a neighbourhood in Calgary.[27] Yet despite the difficulties and challenges involved in finding individuals with the right mix of gifts and abilities, the Home Missions Committee and Superintendents were able to find people who could minister in Finnish, Welsh, Ukrainian, Swedish, German, Czech and Hungarian.

The Ukrainian community faced the Presbyterian Church with a unique set of challenges. As large numbers of Ukrainian immigrants poured onto the prairies after 1896, the Presbyterian Church realized that the old models for responding to new Canadians would not work. A new way of responding to this group of immigrants had

[22] *A&P*, 1908, HMC Report, App., p. 38.
[23] *A&P*, 1909, HMC Report, App., p. 43.
[24] *A&P*, 1907, HMC Report, App., p. 35.
[25] *A&P*, 1908, HMC Report, App., p. 33.
[26] *A&P*, 1901, HMC Report, Superintendent's Report, App., p. 18.
[27] *A&P*, 1906, HMC Report, App., p. 34.

be developed. As people without a country (there was no Ukraine until 1905) these people were often called Galicians, after the province in the Austro-Hungarian Empire they came from, or Ruthenians after the older ethnic name they used for themselves, Rusyn. The Ukrainian community in Canada grew from almost nothing in 1891 to 32,600 in 1901 to 225,600 twenty years later. Eighty percent of this population lived on the prairies, settling in large blocks, notably around Teulon, north of Dauphin, and between Shoal Lake and Sandy Lake, all in Manitoba, around Wakaw and Rosthern in Saskatchewan, and around Vegreville, Alberta.[28]

In 1901, James Robertson and Dr. J. T. Reid, a medical missionary of the Women's Missionary Society (Western Division), travelled to the Sifton area, north of Dauphin, to start a mission to the Ukrainians. During this trip, they contacted two leaders in the Ukrainian community, John Bodrug and John Negrich. Robertson offered these two free tuition at Manitoba College, either in theology or in education. This contact was to prove significant in the years ahead.[29] Reid established a small hospital and medical dispensary at Sifton, and also visited in the surrounding communities and held Bible classes.[30]

The Presbyterian church's missionary approach to the Ukrainians was different from its approach to any of the other non-English speaking immigrant group in Canada to which they had ministered. The primary focus was not to quickly establish a church; rather through medical care, meeting the physical needs of the people by supplying them with clothes, mittens, and blankets, and providing educational opportunities for their children, it was hoped that the barriers would be "broken down and prejudices removed."[31] It was the style of ministry that Presbyterians used in reaching people on a foreign missionary field. One of the missionaries wrote,

> The people have never shown themselves otherwise than friendly.... They are very religious in their own way, and yet in many ways ignorant. They have not much knowledge of the Bible.[32]

With trepidation the missionaries entered this unknown territory, but their fears were allayed as they discovered the Ukrainians to be friendly and even religious. But the missionaries had much work to do because the Ukrainians were ignorant, illiterate, and tremendously impoverished. The evangelization of the Ukrainians would be a slow process,

> It will be the aim of the missionaries to help these people to a knowledge of the needs and the spirit of the gospel. Such a work will not be spectacular; it will need to be carried on with quietness and discretion, with the object of fulfilling and not destroying their religious conceptions, with the supreme aim of bringing them to the knowledge and love of a personal Saviour.[33]

Those working with the Ukrainian community had a strong sense that these were a deeply religious people who simply needed to be shown the full truth of the gospel. It

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[28] *Census of Canada*, 1900-1901, vol. 1, (Ottawa, 1902).

[29] John Bodrug, *Independent Orthodox Church: Memoirs pertaining to the history of a Ukrainian Canadian Church in the years 1903 to 1913*, trans. Lydia Biddle and Edward Bodrug, (Toronto, Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation, 1980), pp. 24, 25.

[30] *A&P*, 1901, HMC Report, Superintendent's Report, App., p. 17.

[31] *A&P*, 1903, HMC Report, App., p. 22.

[32] *A&P*, 1904, HMC Report, App., p. 27.

[33] *A&P*, 1904, HMC Report, App., p. 28.

was not necessary to undo their religious beliefs — rather all they needed was to see in Jesus the fulfilment of their religious convictions, that would lead them to love Jesus as their personal Saviour.

The Ukrainian community in western Canada felt abandoned by their spiritual guides in the Ukraine. The mother church, which was Greek Orthodox rite, showed little interest in sending clergy to Canada to meet the spiritual needs of the immigrants. The Roman Catholic Church tried to fill the gap, but many Ukrainians were uninterested in becoming involved with the Catholics given the historical tensions between Catholics and Ukrainian Greek Orthodox. To meet their spiritual needs, a small number of well educated Ukrainians, led by John Bodrug, approached the Presbyterian Church in 1902 with a proposal. Bodrug, in later life, gave two reasons why they chose the Presbyterian Church. First, this small group liked Presbyterian worship: Anglicans were too much like the Catholic Church; Methodists were too pious and said "Amen" during the sermon; but Presbyterians acted with dignity and preached understandable and intelligent sermons. The second reason was that the Presbyterian Church was offering assistance to "diverse religious groups of various denominations" on the prairies.[34] The Presbyterian Church had a reputation for trying to reach immigrants who were not part of their traditional ethnic base.

The proposal that Bodrug and the others brought was this: the Presbyterian Church would fund the development of an entirely Ukrainian led denomination and the clergy of the denomination would be trained at Manitoba College, the Presbyterian seminary. What the Presbyterian Church got out of this was the hope that this denomination would act as a bridge along which the Ukrainian community would move to become Presbyterians. And so, in 1903, The Independent Greek Church of Canada was born. The principle of faith was "The Word of God according to the Old and the New Testaments." The catechism was the Shorter Catechism of the Christian Faith which had been translated into Ukrainian. The order of service was to be a blending of the Greek rite with a longer sermon and a total service length of under 90 minutes, both in recognition of the Presbyterian church's desires. There would be only two sacraments, but the five mysteries would still be part of the church's life. The denomination was to have a synod made up of the clergyperson and one elder from each congregation in the denomination. The elders were to be democratically elected to their position. It was this body which had the power to ordain new ministers.[35] This truly remarkable agreement was brokered, on the Presbyterian side, by William Patrick, Principal of Manitoba College. Yet nowhere in the constitution of the newly born denomination was there any reference to the Presbyterian Church. This was to be an independent denomination with its own governance structure.

For a decade this unique relationship worked. Manitoba College hired Mr. Sherbinin to teach a basic college course in Ukrainian to prospective ministers. Principal Patrick taught a one month course each summer to clergy in the Independent Greek Church with the goal of improving their quality of preaching and helping them understand Presbyterian theology. The number of clergy in the denomination grew as did the number of congregations. In 1905 there were 20 clergy in the denomination, 13

[34] Bodrug, *Independent Orthodox Church*, pp. 9-12, 39.
[35] Bodrug, *Independent Orthodox Church*, pp. 41-45.

of whom were employed by the Presbyterian Church as colporteurs, and about 25,000 Ukrainians claimed allegiance to the Independent Church.[36] By 1907 there were 23 clergy ministering to 2,300 identified families.[37] Bodrug could write happily,

> For the first time in its history, our nation had lived to see a church of its very own, founded on the Word of God, a church that could be administered according to its own wishes, without feeling over it the patronage of Rome or of the Patriarchs.38

But this remarkable connection would not hold forever.

The Independent Greek Church was under attack; the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church had begun to send clergy over to minister to the immigrants on the prairies. These priests charged that the Independent Church clergy were traitors to the Ukrainian cause, creating dissension in the Ukrainian community. As well, the Independent Church was becoming increasingly expensive for the Presbyterian Church, particularly since they were paying the bills and had no authority over the actions of the clergy they were paying. With more clergy being ordained and the Independent Greek clergy asking to be paid at the same level as the clergy in the Presbyterian Church, the financial burden seemed to be spinning out of control. As well, the Independent Church wanted financial help in building church buildings and manses, which would be owned by the Independent Greek Church but paid for by the Presbyterians. In the face of a huge financial shortfall in 1912, the Home Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church decided that it would cut its support to the Independent Greek Church.[39] At the General Assembly of 1913, 21 clergy from the Independent Greek Church became Presbyterian clergy, to the loud applause of those who had gathered, and the Independent Greek Church was no more. John Bodrug was not among those joined the Presbyterian Church. In his memoirs he wrote,

> The Presbyterian Church, a creation arising out of the spirit and culture of the Scottish people, however genuinely Christian and highly cultured it might be, was NOT UKRAINIAN. Every people has its own peculiar psychology and culture and every church must fit the psychology and culture of a given people. And when reform does come to a given church, such reform must take place step-by-step, according to the spiritual growth and traditions of that nation. It must emanate from the standard of thinking and level of culture within the given nation.[40]

The end of the Independent Greek Church did not mean that the Presbyterian Church had no interest in ministering to Ukrainians. With twenty-one Ukrainian speaking clergy on the roll, there was still a great deal of interest in the Ukrainian community, but it would not reach full flower until after the War. After 1918 the physical, medical, and educational needs of the Ukrainians were almost as overwhelming as they had been earlier, and the WMS threw itself into addressing these problems with

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[36] *A&P*, 1905, HMC Report, Report of Home Mission Work in the Synod of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, App., pp. 9-11.

[37] *A&P*, 1907, HMC Report, Report of the Superintendent of Home Missions in Manitoba and Saskatchewan Synods, App., p. 15.

[38] Bodrug, *Independent Orthodox Church*, p. 119.

[39] *A&P*, 1913, HMC Report, App. p. 7.

[40] Bodrug, *Independent Orthodox Church*, p. 119.

great enthusiasm.[41] The medical mission to the Ukrainians, which had started with Dr. Reid operating a dispensary and hospital out of his house, had grown to five hospitals and one nursing station by the 1920's. The hospitals were open to anyone who came to their doors, the location of the hospitals, however, meant that the majority of the patients were Ukrainian. These facilities were staffed by nurses paid entirely by the WMS. Some of the doctors were employed by the WMS, others were in private practice and provided contract services to the WMS run hospitals. At times the federal government helped finance the building or expansion of the facilities. These small hospitals, seldom with more than 10 beds, were busy places. In 1922, the hospital in Vegreville reported that it had had over 3,300 patient days in the previous year. The hospital in Ethelbert and its nursing station in Pine River had handled almost 2,000 cases in the year.[42]

The government and the church saw the educational needs of the Ukrainian community, but it was next to impossible to run high school programmes at the local level in the Ukrainian communities that dotted the Prairie landscape.[43] Few Ukrainian families, as well, had the financial resources or the connections to send their children to a high school in a neighbouring community. This problem faced not just the Ukrainian community, but all those families who due to their isolation were unable to send their children on a day school basis to high school. The WMS by 1922 had thirteen school homes in eight different prairie towns, so that high school students would have a place to live while they went to school. These homes, usually located in or near a Ukrainian community — like Vegreville, Alberta; Teulon, Manitoba; and Battleford, Saskatchewan — were open to all students and families needed to make use of them, although the majority of students had a Ukrainian background. On average each of these school-homes was home to about twenty young people.[44]

A further way that the Presbyterian Church responded to the needs of the Ukrainian community was through the WMS's collection of clothing which was distributed to those in need by the Independent Greek Church and Presbyterian church clergy. John Bodrug reported that these clothes were well received:

> Our children, who had not been able to go outdoors throughout entire winters, now became clothed. Women, who froze in tattered clothing brought from the Old Country, now had a chance, even in winter, to "appear among the people."[45]

The Presbyterian Church had made an enormous investment in the evangelization and Canadianization of the Ukrainian community.

During the period of most rapid population growth, 1901 to 1911, the urban population of the prairies more than quadrupled from 109,000 to 474,000, meaning that by 1911, one-third of the population of the prairie provinces lived in a city or town

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[41] For more information on the medical missions in the Ukrainian community, see Raymond Smith, "A heritage of healing: Church hospital and medical work in Manitoba, 1900-1977" in Butcher, et. al., eds., *Prairie Spirit*, pp. 265-282.

[42] *A&P*, 1922, Women's Missionary Society (Western Division) Report (hereafter WMS Report), App., p. 50.

[43] For more on the school-homes see, Owen, "Keeping Canada God's Country", in *Prairie Spirit*, pp. 184-201.

[44] *A&P*, 1921, WMS Report, 1921, App., p. 45; *A&P*, 1922, WMS Report, App., p. 49.

[45] Bodrug, *Independent Orthodox Church*, p. 91.

setting.[46] These urbanizing centers drew new groups of immigrants to the prairies, as people used to urban life and those who had shopkeeping skills saw in the cities and towns of the prairie provinces a place for themselves. As the railroad was completed, many Chinese stayed in Canada, opening laundries and restaurants across the west. The Jewish community, particularly in Winnipeg, grew in this period. Both the mission to the Chinese and to the Jews were operated under the direction of the Foreign Missions Committee of The Presbyterian Church in Canada. These were groups that the Foreign Missions Committee worked with overseas, and they were simply continuing that work now that these groups were arriving on Canadian soil.

In 1911, C. A. Colman, a Presbyterian appointee, who was financially supported by both the Presbyterians and the Methodists, started a mission to the Chinese in Winnipeg. A mission hall was purchased to serve as a base for the outreach, and a small congregation was started made up of Chinese who had converted to Christianity "as a result of work in places from which they come."[47] By 1914, Colman reported that there were about 1,300 adult Chinese living in Winnipeg, 800 of them employed in the 160 laundries in the city. There were Sunday evening services held in one of the Methodist churches in Winnipeg which drew an average of forty ethnic Chinese each week. By 1916, there were thirteen classes in Winnipeg alone attended by 300 Chinese who were learning English. Colman toured through the prairie provinces in 1912 and 1913, finding Chinese in between 30 and 40 towns across the west. In each of these communities he encouraged and supported the development of a mission to reach this immigrant community.[48]

It was in 1911, as well, that the Foreign Missions Committee was able to respond to a long standing request from the Presbytery of Winnipeg for a missionary to the Jews. Mr. and Mrs. Spitzer, Christian Jews who had worked at the London City Mission in England, were appointed to Winnipeg. The Jewish community in Winnipeg clearly expressed its displeasure with this action.[49] The following year the General Assembly was told, "Mr. Spitzer's earnest Christian character and love for his own people will in time win him a well-deserved place in the confidence of his brethren."[50] The opposition was continuing and the mission to the Jews in Winnipeg faced an up-hill struggle.

In the face of massive immigration from non-English speaking countries, The Presbyterian Church in Canada responded to the what they saw to be the spiritual needs of the immigrants. The church sent missionaries, established churches, found clergy who could speak to the immigrants in their own language, and provided some of the new Canadians with schools, hospitals, and clothing — all as a way of reaching these foreigners and aliens with the good news about Jesus Christ. At times the church's response seemed to be seeking a cultural conversion, rather than a conversion of the heart. But for many Presbyterians who believed that to be Canadian was to be Christian, it was an easy equation to make. Through a tremendous and at times sacrificial

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[46] *Census of Canada*, 1911, vol. 1, (Ottawa, 1912).

[47] *A&P*, 1911, Foreign Missions Committee Report (hereafter FMC Report), Chinese in Canada, App., p. 122.

[48] *A&P*, 1911, FMC Report, Chinese in Canada, App., p. 122; *A&P*, 1914, FMC Report, Chinese in Canada, App., p. 141-142; *A&P*, 1916, FMC Report, Chinese in Canada, App., p. 145.

[49] *A&P*, 1911, FMC Report, Mission to the Jews, App., p. 127.

[50] *A&P*, FMC Report, Mission to Jews, App., p. 149.

commitment the Presbyterian Church became the largest denomination on the prairies, keeping pace with the population explosion that took place in the first 15 years of this century. The church heard the call to evangelize the west, reaching out not just to those with a Presbyterian pedigree, but to all who were willing to respond to the gospel, regardless of their ethnic or linguistic background.

In The Fire of Battle: Presbyterian Padre Charlie Maclean with the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada

Thomas J. Hamilton
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At 0635 on April 14, 1945, B, C, and D Companies of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada advanced through a bitterly cold, north wind into Friesoythe, Germany — a small town not far from Bremen. The commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Fred Wigle, had ordered his Tactical Headquarters staff to establish themselves in a farmhouse on the outskirts of the town. In their reconnaissance they had failed to identify two platoons of German paratroops.[1] The gruesome events that followed were etched firmly into the memory of Private Ben Bowland:

> These rifle coys [companies] had picked up these 20 prisoners, and I was [attached to] HQ. And there was [sic] about 4 or 5 from our platoon with them and we come [*sic*] to this house on the outskirts of the town.... The colonel, intelligence guys, and all them were there, some signals and our officer and two or three of our guys. And when we got there, [we] put the 20 prisoners in the cellar, [with] a guard on them. And Vic [Private Vic Taylor] and I went upstairs, and we were going to try and get some sleep, because the rifle coys had gone into the town and this was [sic] on the outskirts.... We no sooner laid [down] than all hell broke loose. There was gunfire, so we come [*sic*] running downstairs.... And I don't know where Vic went, but I know I relieved the guy on the cellar steps, watching the prisoners. And there was a hallway from the front door...and on the side of the hallway was a landing and then you could up the steps [sic]. And the hallway went right through and then it took a turn, and then there was the cellar door that went down underneath.... So that's where the prisoners were. And over on this side was a room that led to the hallway where the Colonel and the intelligence and signals and a bunch of them were in there, and then back over here was a couple of bedrooms and over here was another one. And while I was guarding these prisoners, an explosion come [sic] from the bedroom. There were two of our guys in there...they were both killed [Privates John Brown and Cec French].... And a little later, the Colonel decides he's going to go upstairs and have a look. So he steps out of that room that led to the hallway. The Colonel was on this side of the hallway and he wanted to go to the other side and up the stairs, and he just stepped in the hallway as a German was at the front door. And the front door was open or blown off...and he [the German] was there with a Schmeisser, and he just ripped him.... It wasn't just one bullet. He got ripped with a Schmeisser. Just a gasp, and that was it. He landed at my feet dead.... I was stunned, paralyzed... it was pretty scary.[2]

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[1] Robert L. Fraser, *Black Yesterdays: The Argylls' War* (Hamilton, Ontario: Argyll Regimental Foundation, 1996), 431.

[2] Much of the material for this paper was derived from a 2000 Paper [short thesis] for Dr. Desmond Morton, History Department, University of Toronto. The archivist for the Argylls,

In retaliation for the death of their CO the 2 i/c[second in command], Major Pete Mackenzie ordered wasp flamethrowers to burn Friesoythe: "I suppose it's wrong to just destroy for the sake of destroying, but it was just we had lost a very respected leader" [Lieutenant Doug Beale].[3]

During the Second World War the men of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada came face to face with the courage and failings, horrors and boredom that can only be experienced in war. Throughout the conflict 267 Argylls were killed and 880 were wounded.[4] During 1944 and 1945 as the Argylls fought the Nazis back from France into Germany, one officer carried out the task of caring for the living and the dead in a most unique manner. As the only member of the regiment forbidden to carry a gun, his tasks were divided between dodging bullets at the front line, helping a soldier write home, enduring the wrath of a drunken officer blaming God for the war, serving as morale officer, trying to provide answers to the question "why are we fighting", serving communion, helping the Medical Officer while under fire, expressing outrage at an ill-timed court-martial, burying the dead, and tens of other duties. He was Honourary Captain Charlie Maclean the chaplain to the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada. Padre Maclean was one of the 52 Presbyterian Chaplains in the Army. In the combined branches of the Army, Navy and Air Force Presbyterian Padres numbered 86 out of a total of 700 Protestant Chaplains (52, Army; 27, Air Force; 7, Navy). By comparison Roman Catholic Chaplains totaled just under 500 across the branches.[5]

For most soldiers and officers success in battle meant military cunning and expertise, but for Padre Maclean victory in the "fire of battle" involved spiritual, physical, moral and intellectual leadership — a unique leadership that might be described as the men's advocate and conscience. This paper will identify and assess the role and responsiblities of Padre Maclean: firstly, as marital provider and counsellor; and secondly, as medic, confidant, and spiritual guide during battle. In connection with this latter theme, special attention will be directed to the chaplain's efforts to identify and alleviate battle exhaustion and his assessment of the role of religion in such circumstances. While many chaplains suffered physical breakdowns and dropped out of their regiments or were less

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Dr. Robert Fraser, generously opened the archives of the regiment [Hamilton, Ontario] for my research purposes. Among the regiment's archival holdings I made use of 92 taped interviews [conducted between 1970 and 1990] and 9 volumes of personal papers. Interviews cited in this paper will be listed as follows: "Interview," Bowland, Private Ben C.J., B. In keeping with military form, officers will be written in the order of: rank, first name, last name. Men of other ranks will be cited with their last name, followed by their rank and first name. Any numbers or letters following the name of each soldier refers to the classification code employed by the Argylls Regimental Archives.

[3] *Black Yesterdays*, 435.

[4] Lieutent-Colonel H.M. Jackson., ed., The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada (Princess Louise's): 1928-1953, (Hamilton, Ontario: Officers of the Regiment), 407.

[5] Thomas James Hamilton, "The Military's Conscience: A Study Of The Canadian Protestant Chaplains Who Served in World War II." (Unpublished M.Div. Thesis, Ontario Theological Seminary, 1992), Appendix A, 120-1.

than scrupulous in their duties, Padre Maclean's example illuminates the very best qualities of successful chaplains in the Canadian Chaplain Service (P).

The Canadian Chaplain Service was created on September 19, 1939, by the Honourable Ian MacKenzie, Minister of National Defence. Anxious to avoid the rivalry and antagonism of First World War Chaplains[6] when Roman Catholic and Protestant Padres served in the same military unit, MacKenzie decided to create two distinct and independent Protestant and Roman Catholic Chaplaincy Services under the direction of Principal Chaplains George A. Wells [Protestant] and Leo Nelligan [Roman Catholic].[7] On January 1, 1941 a Naval Chaplaincy branch was organized, which was followed by a further branch for Air Force Chaplains on December 4, 1941. These chaplaincy branches were created along the same lines as The Canadian Chaplain Service (Army) with separate divisions for Protestants and Roman Catholics, however, they were subject to the authority of the Principal Chaplains (Army).[8] While Roman Catholic Chaplains included priests from dioceses and religious orders, Protestant Chaplains were chosen from United, Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist[9], Lutheran, Salvation Army, Pentecostal, and Standard Church Clergy. Greek Orthodox priests and Jewish rabbis also served under the Principal Chaplain (Protestant). Because one chaplain was appointed for every 1,000 men of his particular denomination or faith, United, Anglican, Presbyterian and Baptist Padres represented the majority of chaplains. It would be interesting to contrast Padre Maclean's experience with his Protestant and Roman Catholic counterparts, however such a task is the subject of my doctoral dissertation and beyond the scope of this paper.

Canadian, military historiography has largely failed to acknowledge the work of Canadian Chaplains in the Second World War. In the official three volume history of the Canadian Army in the Second World War, chaplains received only cursory descriptions of their role.[10] In Stacey's other history of the Second

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6 For the comprehensive history of Chaplains in the First World War see: Duff Crerar, *Padres In No Man's Land* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.

7 H/Major Walter T. Steven, *In This Sign* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1948), 20-1. George Anderson Wells, *The Fighting Bishop* (Toronto: Cardwell House, 1971), 393-4.

8 Waldo E. Smith, *The Navy Chaplain and His Parish* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1967), 194. H/Wing Commander Minton C. Johnston, *Sky Pilots in Blue: A Presentation of the Organization and Work of the Protestant Chaplaincy Service of the Royal Canadian Air Force* (Ottawa: DH/NDHQ photocopy, nd.), 14.

9 In the Second World War, Canadian Baptist Chaplains were appointed from six Baptist denominations in Canada (the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, the United Baptist Convention of the Maritimes, the Baptist Union of Western Canada, which in 1944 joined to form the Baptist Federation of Canada; the Union of Regular Baptist Churches of Ontario and Quebec; the Fellowship of Independent Baptist Churches of Canada, which in 1953 joined to form the Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches in Canada; and the Ontario Baptist Association [German], part of the North American Baptist Conference).

10 G.W.L. Nicholson, *The Canadians in Italy, Official History of the Canadian Army in the Second World War*, Volume II (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1956), 320. C.P. Stacey, *Six Years of War, Official History of the Canadian Army in the Second World War*, Volume I (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1955), 129, 201, 204, 421, 448. C.P. Stacey, *The Canadian Army, 1939-1945, An Official Historical Summary*, [A precursor to Volumes I - III] (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1948), 78, 94. C.P. Stacey, *The Victory Campaign, Official History of the Canadian*

World War: *Arms, Men and Governments, The War Policies of Canada, 1939-1945* as well as J.L. Granatstein's *Canada's War*, no mention is made of the chaplaincy during the war. Even recent studies such as *On Guard For Thee* that includes articles on the religious dynamic in the war confines itself to the religious views of minorities without any reference to chaplains. Furthermore, the Argylls' official history, *The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada {Princess Louise's}1928-1953*, edited by Lieut-Col. H.M. Jackson, provides only the briefest reference to Padre Maclean:

> Everybody liked Charlie, who was a great help and influence to all in their personal and spiritual problems and a splendid companion in recreation and welfare.[11]

In the Argylls' 1996 revision of their regimental history, *Black Yesterdays*, the work of Padre Maclean, is described in detail; however, this acknowledgment of the Padre's work appears to be exceptional in comparison to other official, regimental histories and secondary texts.[12]

Material for this paper was inspired from my M.Div. Thesis that involved interviewing every Protestant chaplain still living at the time, from my MA work on all of the chaplains who served the Argylls in the war, and on my ongoing doctoral dissertation examining both the Roman Catholic and Protestant Military Chaplaincy Services.[13]

When Padre Maclean was taken on strength in August 1943, the regiment had already seen duty outside of Canada and experienced two other padres. On June

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Army in the Second World War, Volume III (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1960) [no reference to chaplains].

11 Jackson, 236-7. Jackson's failure to describe the work of Padre Maclean was not lost on the following officers and soldiers who expressed, in detail, respect and praise for Padre Maclean's work: "Letter," Captain S.L.G. Chapman [Personal Papers], September 24, 1944; December 24, 1944; January 5, 1945. "Letter," Captain Norman A. Donaldson [Personal Papers], September 24, 1944; January 30, 1945. "Interview," Acting Captain Douglas W. Beale, 2B. "Interview," Lieutenant Claude T. Bissell, D1. C. "Interview," Major John C. Herbert, A1. "Interview," Captain H.R. Place, 2/2. A. "Interview," Captain William M. Shields, B2. "Interview," Anderson, Private Harry A., B18. A. "Interview," Black, Private John E., B40. B. "Interview," Day, Private W. John, B8. A. "Interview," Drysdale, Private Gerald R., B35. A. "Interview," Gill, Private Ron S., B12. B. "Interview," Kedney, Private Henry T., 2/2. A. "Interview," Leyland, Private John A., 1/2. B. "Interview," MacKenzie, Private John N., 1A. "Interview," Potticary, Corporal James H., C51. B. "Interview," Shaw, Private Earl F., B. "Interview," Warrilow, Private John A., 2/2. A.

12 *Black Yesterdays*, 6, 155, 160, 166-68, 170-1, 188, 191, 212, 266, 278, 286, 298, 305, 323, 326, 341, 348, 358, 375, 386, 407, 421, 426, 428, 454, 459, 468, 471, 483, 484, 486, 489, 493, 502, 507, 520, 536, 539, 542-43, 546, 549, 569, 582, 586, 590-2.

13 Thomas James Hamilton, "The Military's Conscience: A Study Of The Canadian Protestant Chaplains Who Served in World War II." (Unpublished M.Div. Thesis, Ontario Theological Seminary, 1992). Thomas James Hamilton, "Heroes or Bystanders: The Work of the Chaplains Who Served the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada in the Second World War." (Unpublished M.A. 2000 Paper, University of Toronto, 1993). Thomas James Hamilton, "Fighting Alongside Canada's Boys: A Study of the Canadian Chaplain Services (Protestant and Roman Catholic) in the Second World War. (Ph.D. Thesis — In Progress, University of Toronto).

21, 1940, the Argylls received word to mobilize for active service. Its official designation was: the 1st Battalion, The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada (Princess Louise's) (Machine Gun). A second reserve battalion was granted in February 1941 that eventually sent 50 officers and 500 men of other ranks to the 1st battalion by "D" Day. From June 1940 to April 1941 the Argylls were posted throughout the Niagara Peninsula to guard such "strategic facilities" as the Welland Canal against sabotage. In May 1941 the Argylls moved west for four months of further training at Camp Nanaimo on Vancouver Island. From September 1941 until May 1943 the Argylls were stationed in Jamaica. Then on the morning of July 23, 1943, the Argylls boarded the *Queen Elizabeth* in Halifax and six days later disembarked in Greenock, Scotland. From July 29, 1943, until July 1944, the Argylls received further training in the south of England and Scotland. In late July 1944, the Argylls left England's shores, and by July 26, 1944, all of the battalion had assembled in the fields just north of Creully, France, about ten miles northwest of Caen.

From their training in the United Kingdom until the end of the war the Argylls fought as part of the 4th Canadian Armoured Division, often alongside the South Alberta Regiment, and the battalions of the 10th Infantry Brigade: the Algonquin Regiment, the Lincoln and Welland Regiment, and the Lake Superior Regiment. The Argylls fought through northern France, Belgium, Holland and Germany. In the Canadian Army's three main battles in northwestern Europe — the Falaise Gap, the clearing of the Scheldt Estuary and the approaches to Antwerp, and through and around the Hochwald Forest in Germany — the Argylls were active participants and experienced the turmoil, horrors and casualties that accompanied intense fighting.

Following the cessation of hostilities on May 5, 1945, the Argylls assumed post-war duty which included attending military parades in Berlin, Holland and Belgium, and educational and recreational programs. Much of the Argylls' post-war time was spent in the Dutch villages of Nijverdal and Hilversum. In December 1945, the battalion sailed across the North Sea for England. Then, on January 21, 1946, the Argylls bade England farewell and boarded the *Ile de France* in Southampton and arrived in Halifax on the 26th. Following a military parade on January 29, 1946, the service of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada, in the Second World War, officially came to a close.

During the Second World War the Argylls were served by three Protestant chaplains. Although Roman Catholic chaplains attached to the military districts and 4th Canadian Division periodically visited the Argylls, no Roman Catholic padre was ever permanently assigned to the regiment. Shortly after mobilization in June 1940, Honourary Captain John William Oliver, a cleric of the United Church, was appointed as the Argylls' first full-time padre. Padre Oliver was well liked by the men but, because the Argylls were fairly close to their own churches and because churches in the Niagara area assisted in helping to meet the social and spiritual needs of the soldiers, Padre Oliver's relationship and subsequent effect upon the men was minimal.

On August 19, 1941, prior to the Argylls' departure for Jamaica, Honorary Captain Philip John Dykes, was assigned to the Argylls as their new chaplain; He

accompanied them throughout their stay in Jamaica. A Canon of the Church of England in Canada[14], Padre Dykes had chaplaincy experience in the last two years of the First World War in Canada, England and France. Despite his esteemed position as a Canon in the Anglican church and his previous chaplaincy experience, Padre Dykes failed as a padre in Jamaica. Beset by a hidden drinking problem that frequently surfaced, and a curiosity about Jamaica's prostitutes, Padre Dykes garnered little respect from most soldiers.[15]

The Argylls' most respected chaplain was Honourary Captain Charles H. Maclean who joined the Argylls at Camberley, Surrey, England in August 1943, and he remained their Padre throughout the duration of the war.

Padre Maclean's entrance into the chaplaincy was not surprising considering his background. His fascination with the military began in childhood. During his youth he joined the cadets and rose through the ranks of the Cumberland Highlanders (before they became the North Nova Scotia Highlanders) as a private, corporal, sergeant, and finally received a commission as a Second Lieutenant. In his late teens he had "thought of going to R.M.C. [Royal Military College, in Kingston, Ontario]," but later decided against it, choosing instead to enter the ministry. When war was declared, Padre Maclean wrote to the Minister of National Defence and offered himself as a military chaplain because of his military background, his patriotic beliefs and the need for chaplains: "I felt that it was my duty to be a defender of my country."[16]

> The world situation we faced as allies I agreed with and I felt as a chaplain I ought to go where others were willing to serve too, come life or death. Our country needed us. The whole free world did. I should do my part then.[17]

As I discovered in my M.Div thesis, Padre Maclean's reasons for enlisting mirrored his colleagues in the Canadian Chaplain Service: patriotism, family and religious tradition, and societal pressure.[18] More importantly, however, these similarities were shared by the Argylls, and helped build trust and confidence between the men and their Padre, which prompted Padre Maclean to exercise his role as the men's advocate and conscience.

Getting married, while serving in the army overseas in England, was not always a straightforward event. The new marriage regulations of November 1940 stated that

> subalterns and warrant officers under the age of twenty, and all non-commissioned officers and men, needed their commanding officers' permission to marry...FiancÈes, if under twenty-one, required the written consent of parents or guardians...and needed a certificate from a "respectable citizen" attesting to her good character, and a two month waiting period was imposed before the wedding

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[14] The denomination's title was not changed to "The Anglican Church of Canada" until 1954.

[15] "Interview," Chapman, Private L.T., 1/2. A. "Interview," MacKenzie, Private John N., 1A. "Interview," Wilson, Private J.O., 2/2. A.

[16] "Interview," H/Captain Charles H. Maclean, A.

[17] Hamilton, "The Military's Conscience," 15.

[18] Hamilton, "The Military's Conscience," 14-26.

could take place.[19]

Although any officer could provide the character reference for a prospective war bride, "in practice, this duty usually fell to the unit chaplain." Chaplains were kept busy interviewing English women engaged to Canadians; by the end of 1946, 44,886 English women had married Canadian service personnel, resulting in 21,358 children.[20]

Much of Padre Maclean's energies were spent attempting to patch up shaky marriages, and interviewing prospective war brides.[21] The ability of the padre to intercede for a soldier and get things done is evident in the events that transpired from the following letter. In a letter, written on July 11, 1944, Padre Maclean informed the Argylls' commanding officer, Lieutenant Colonel J.D. Stewart, D.S.O., E.D., of the circumstances surrounding Private George Martin's desire to be granted permission to marry, and the Padre submitted this request on behalf of the young Argyll.

> 1. The m/n soldier has applied for permission to marry. I called at the home of his proposed wife and talked with her and her mother, re: the marriage. 2. All the information I have, re: the girl, is of a good character, and the documents are in order. 3. I would advise permission be granted. 4. The m/n applied for permission to marry early in May, but owing to unavoidable difficulties with obtaining a report, re: his blood test, the papers have only been completed now. The first blood test was returned and had to be done again; the second test had to be taken again because it failed to settle properly; the third was lost due to a fire in the R.A.P.; and the fourth has just been completed. These facts are verified by the Regimental M.O. whose statement is attached. 5. All of this delay was of course unfortunate and through no fault of the m/n or of the R.A.P. I would suggest, therefore, that if it is possible the two months waiting period be waived or shortened.[22]

The two month waiting period was shortened to two weeks and on July 28 permission to marry was granted. Unfortunately, Private Martin was sent to France on July 21, and died on August 10, before the marriage could be conducted.[23]

Casualties and death had followed the Argylls' from their earliest days as a regiment. Three Argylls died in the Niagara Peninsula. One was slain from an accidental gunshot wound (John W. Osbourne), another was killed in a car accident (Edward J. Robillard), and the third accidentally drowned in the Welland Canal (Clifford L. Brant). Meanwhile, two Argylls were killed in England: one (Alfred Broker) perished in a traffic accident, while the other (John Rennie) threw himself on a live grenade after another soldier had failed to toss it clear of the practice pit.

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19 Stacey, C.P. and Barbara M. Wilson, *The Half-Million, The Canadians in Britain, 1939-1946* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 136.

20 Stacey and Wilson, 138.

21 "Interview," H/Captain Charles H. MacLean, Phone interview conducted on February 8, 1993, from 8 to 10 P.M.

22 "Letter," H/Captain Charles H. MacLean, in Martin, Private G.M., Military Personnel File, Personnel Records Center, DND, Ottawa.

23 "Record Summary Sheet," Martin, Private G.M., Military Personnel File.

On the European continent death had many faces. In Holland the Argylls had first-hand knowledge of Nazi atrocities. On November 26, 1944, Lieutenant Alan J. Earp noted in his diary that the Germans had looted and pillaged where they pleased, and that in one town the Germans had burned the townspeople's blankets — this despite the cold winter weather.[24] The sanctity of churches and civilian lives meant little to the S.S., particularly when they were forced to retreat. Captain S. Chapman wrote,

> The village where A coy is, took some of those atrocities you read about. The Dutch S.S. [German S.S. in Holland] got all the people into the church basement by telling them there was an air raid coming. Then they blew [up] the church. They're taking the bodies out now — have recovered a hundred or so, so far. The fellows working on it are demanding cigarettes and special rations — which Mac Smith [Captain Malcolm S. Smith] is trying his best to get. It must be an awful job — I can see where they'd need some good strong tobacco.[25]

The Argylls often plundered the countryside (most notably in Germany where they frequently confiscated food and other articles, and where they sacked a German farm[26]); however, the Argylls believed their actions to be far less bloodthirsty than the S.S. Private Robert Johnston made a clear distinction between German soldiers of the Wehrmacht and the S.S. While the "ordinary German soldier was all right the S.S. boys were wild... they were on drugs, they were all hyped up... they were fanatical."[27]

In the first battles experienced by the Argylls, they came face-to-face with death, excitement and fear. Padre Maclean remembered his first battle.

> I remember our first baptism of fire [at] Bourguebus [France], and I buried quite a few there. And wherever the sick bay was, the Germans had that tapped, and we were shelled regularly, several times a day. And I remember one time, the doctor and I were standing, it was a big stone house, and we were standing in the entrance, and we heard this shell coming — bang — and the big lintel over the door just came crashing down at our feet. And it [the house] was just a shell, it'd been hit so often...Well we had quite a few casualties there, and I had to go out and bury them. I remember, we'd just bury one and then there'd come some of these Moaning Minnies, and you'd heard them coming. Well, there was no place to dive, except in the grave, and so I dove in the grave beside [corpses]...the fellows were pretty high [decomposed] by that time.[28]

At the front, Padre Maclean helped in a variety of ways. He visited soldiers in forward units, wrote letters of condolence to the next-of-kin, led small informal worship services, joked with soldiers and listened to their thoughts and confessions. During battle Padre Maclean worked at the R.A.P. [Regimental Aid Post] bandaging the wounded, making tea, or doing whatever the M.O. needed.[29] Judging by the praise of veterans, Padre Maclean was successful in his work.

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24 "Diary," Lieutenant Alan J. Earp, November 26, 1944.

25 "Letter, " Captain S.L.G. Chapman, [Personal Papers] November 11, 1944.

26 "Letter," Lieutenant Alan J. Earp, [Personal Papers] March 7, 1945.

27 "Interview," Johnston, Private Robert B., B19B.

28 "Interview," H/Captain Charles Maclean, 1/2. B.

29 "Interview," H/Captain Charles H. Maclean, Phone interview conducted on February 8, 1993, from 8 to 10 p.m.

Private Shaw noted,

> In action he [Padre Maclean] was mostly at the R.A.P., back helping with the wounded, or with the dead, being around for when they buried them there.... [He also] used to give a little sermon on Sundays, before we went into action. And he'd come around and if you're in a hospital bed... visit the guys in hospital and see if they're all right. He was a good guy. But he had to be a good guy; that's what he's there for.... I didn't see too much of him, but he was there when he was needed.[30]

The Argylls suffered casualties until the closing days of the war when several liaison officers died in traffic accidents, and other Argylls perished because of "friendly fire."[31]

Padre Maclean ministered to the needs of the dead as well as to the living. Burials were a necessary but gruesome task. Soldiers were often buried where they fell. Before burial the chaplain emptied the pockets, removed one of the identification tags, and straightened the limbs of each corpse. Then one copy of a temporary death certificate was placed inside an old tobacco tin. The tobacco tin and the body were wrapped in a blanket and tied with telephone wire. The corpse was then lowered into a temporary grave, and the soldier's rifle, topped by his helmet, was thrust into the ground. Weeks later the body was removed for permanent burial in a Canadian or Commonwealth Cemetery.[32] Besides Canadians, Padre Maclean buried German soldiers. Because of decomposition it was essential for deceased soldiers to be buried as soon as possible. The urgency of burying the dead sometimes took chaplains into dangerous situations. On one occasion, Padre Maclean was burying German soldiers when he was forced to take cover from German artillery.[33] The men admired Padre Maclean for his courage in burying Argylls regardless of the corpse's state of decomposition.[34]

The fear of being under fire and witnessing the deaths of fellow comrades surfaced in many ways and was handled in a widely varying manner. The emotions of men returning from battle ranged from "scared" to "terrified".[35] One Argyll had difficulty coping with a letter received from the sister of a fellow soldier killed in action.[36] Argylls coped with the fear of battle and death through: the love and support of family "when the going is the worst;"[37] "a few good

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[30] "Interview," Shaw, Private Earl F., B.

[31] "Letter, " Captain S.L.G. Chapman, [Personal Papers] April 8, 1945; May 10, 1945.

[32] "Interview," H/Captain Charles H. Maclean, Phone interview conducted on February 8, 1993, from 8 to 10 p.m.

[33] "Interview," H/Captain Charles H. Maclean, 2/2. B.

[34] "Interview," A/Captain William M. Shields, 2B. "Interview," Drysdale, Private Gerald R., B35. A.

[35] Few, if any, Argylls would deny experiencing fear in action, however, these veterans specifically stated that they were afraid in battle. "Letter," Captain Larry A. Jones, [Personal Papers] April 29, 1945. "Interview," Arnold, Private Albert H., 1/2. B. "Interview," Best, A/Corporal Frank W., A28. A. "Interview," Bridge, Private Arthur, 2/2. A. "Interview," Buchanan, Private John A., 1B. 2. "Interview," Evans, Private John A., B34. A.

[36] "Letter, " Captain S.L.G. Chapman, [Personal Papers] January 30, 1945. "Letter, " Lieutenant Alfred J. Henderson, [Personal Papers] February 19, 1944.

[37] "Letter," Lieutenant Alan J. Earp, [Personal Papers] January 31, 1945.

drinks"[38]; a belief in fatalism;[39] Christian faith;[40] or the process of "hardening oneself"[41]. All too often, however, Argylls were unable to cope with the fear and horrors of war, and cracked under the strain.

Battle exhaustion was a serious and all too frequent consequence of war. For contextual purposes, the terms "battle exhaustion", or "shell shock" or "battle fatigue," are synonymous and refer to the emotional breakdown of a soldier. Some Argylls experienced shell shock when they were first exposed to action and either became paralyzed with fear or broke into uncontrollable outbursts of emotional sobbing.[42] For others, battle fatigue was a delayed action that took place years after military service. In 1947, Private Entwistle unexpectedly lost all of his body hair because of delayed battle fatigue.[43] The most common type of battle exhaustion came after a soldier had been exposed to battle for a considerable period of time. In order to understand this type of battle fatigue it is essential to understand the mental condition of men in the midst of battle. Private Ruch explained,

> When you're in battle...when your artillery is firing over your head, the heavy artillery, the field artillery, the tanks are with you, the noise and everything. When you are having... rifle fire and the Germans are firing at you, your mind can stand so much, and your mind has a governor, and all of a sudden, it stops thinking. You don't realize where you are... and it [one's brain] stops recording. But you realize afterwards why you had to do all this training, repetition, repetition, repetition, 'cause you do things 'cause you've been trained so much you do them automatically without thinking. So you fight without thinking.[44]

Ruch stated that battle fatigue occurred when a soldier's mental processes could not stand the strain of action, and automatic actions were replaced by emotional instability. Ruch recalled that following one battle, "a Sergeant, one of the bravest men I've ever seen, he'd won the M.M. (military medal)... I saw him break like a baby and cry."[45] A great many other Argylls stated that they experienced some form of battle fatigue or witnessed it in their fellow officers and soldiers.[46] The Argylls' M.O., Dr. Bryce, considered battle fatigue one of the most

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38 "Interview," Warrilow, Private John A., 1/3. A.

39 "Interview," Major Robert J. Lillie, 2/2. A. "Interview," Potticary, Corporal James H., C51. B.

40 "Interview," Lieutenant Alan J. Earp, D3. B. "Interview," Shaw, Private Earl F., A.

41 "Interview," Kedney, Private Henry T., A. "Interview," Kirkland, Private Henry A., 1/2. A. "Interview," Loeb, Private Kurt, B22. B.

42 "Interview," Foster, Warrant Officer II. Frank N., B.

43 "Interview," Entwistle, Private Leslie, B.

44 "Interview," Ruch, Private Harry B., C43. A.

45 "Interview," Ruch, Private Harry B., C43. A.

46 "Letter," Corporal Harold E. Carter, [Personal Papers] August 25, 1944. "Letter," Captain S.L.G. Chapman, [Personal Papers] August 1, 1944; October 26, 1944; November 16, 1944. "Letter," Captain Norman A. Donaldson, [Personal Papers] January 7, 1945; January 28, 1945. "Letter," A/Major Alexander C. Logie, [Personal Papers] November 6, 1944. "Interview," Lieutenant Claude T. Bissell, 2B. "Interview," Major Robert D. MacKenzie, 3B. "Interview," Major Hugh N. Maclean, 2/2. A. "Interview," Lieutenant C.H. Maxwell, B. "Interview," A/Captain Robert E. Pogue, B42. A. "Interview," Lieutenant R. Gordon Purser, 1B. "Interview," Bridge, Private Arthur, 2/2. A. "Interview," Entwistle, Private Leslie, A.

serious medical problems arising from the campaigns in northwest Europe.

> The so-called psychological inability to carry on, was a very big problem, and as far as I was concerned had no particular solution to it. These men were useless for their platoons and coys and were a big problem for their officers because they were often short of personnel. That was a problem that was... not really.... solved.[47]

Dr. Bryce's assessment of the problem was accurate; high levels of battle exhaustion among the Argylls came to the attention of Army psychiatrists in August 1944. To provide some help, one of these psychiatrists, Dr. Burdett McNeel, petitioned the A.D.M.S. [Assistant Director of Medical Services] that provision be made for psychiatric representaion and assessments at the Argylls' A.D.S. [Advanced Dressing Station]. McNeel's request was granted, but high levels of battle exhaustion among the Argylls continued into 1945.[48]

Padre Maclean acquired an ability to identify the symptoms of battle exhaustion and shared great sympathy for soldiers suffering from the disorder.

> I always felt sorry for the fellows who did break because they felt it was a weakness. Well it's a weakness in everybody if it is a weakness, because that's the only way that your system protects itself.[49]

Padre Maclean believed that the best way to prevent battle fatigue was to ensure that "people got leave, proper leave, after a few difficult sessions."[50] Furthermore, because Padre Maclean made a concerted effort to talk to the officers and men of "other ranks", he learned to identify the first signs of battle fatigue, and employed whatever means he could to prevent the signs from turning into symptoms. Often he would listen and provide reassurance; or if he felt a soldier was experiencing some form of battle fatigue he would approach the commanding officer and request that a soldier be taken out of an upcoming battle. Simply talking to Padre Maclean was often enough to "keep men in the fight". Several soldiers said that following conversations with their padre they were able to cope with the war.[51] Padre Maclean was also credited with keeping a battle fatigued soldier from going "completely crazy." Due to the padre's petition with Lt.-Col. J.D. Stewart, a severely battle fatigued soldier, Private MacKenzie, was taken out of an active company and made Regimental Postmaster.[52]

The practice of religion at the front was valued and took two forms: personal

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"Interview," Foster, W.O. II. Frank N., 2B. "Interview," Kirkland, Private Harry A., 1/2. B. "Interview," Loeb, Private Kurt, B22. B. "Interview," MacKenzie, John N., 1A. "Interview," Marshall, Private Leonard, B. "Interview," Ruch, Private Harry B., C43. B. "Interview," Stillman, Private Robert E., A.

[47] "Interview," Captain B.P. Bryce, R.C.A.M.C., A.

[48] Terry Copp and Bill McAndrew, *Battle Exhaustion, Soldiers and Psychiatrists in the Canadian Army, 1939-1945* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 140, 147-8.

[49] "Interview," H/Captain Charles H. Maclean, 1/2. B.

[50] "Interview," H/Captain Charles H. Maclean, 1/2. B.

[51] "Letter," Captain S.L.G. Chapman, [Personal Papers] January 5, 1945. "Interview," Black, Private John E., B40. B. "Interview," Gill, Private Ron S., B12. B.

[52] "Interview," Major Hugh N. Maclean, 2/2. A. "Interview," MacKenzie, Private John N., 1A.

faith and public expression — both well observed by Padre Maclean. Lieutenant Alan Earp probably spoke for most Argylls when he remarked that "most men did not wear their faith on the sleeves... [yet] religion really helped in difficult situations."[53] This type of personal faith usually consisted of saying "little prayers to yourself."[54] One Argyll even remarked on the truth of the well known phrase, "there are no atheists in foxholes."[55]

Religious responses at the front included speaking to the padre about a new desire to live as a Christian, attending church parades faithfully, or seeking membership in a Christian denomination. Before battles and on other occasions Padre Maclean "explained to soldiers our Christian hope and what the New Testament said about the life to come."[56] He affirmed that soldiers often "took a new interest in Christianity" after experiencing "life threatening situations," and reported that many soldiers became members of his denomination and some even sought ordination.[57] It would have been helpful, though, if Padre Maclean had provided an estimate of the number of officers and soldiers that "took a new interest in Christianity". Captain Douglas Beale became a devout Christian believer because of his experiences in the war and the faithful example of Padre Maclean. After stating that Padre Maclean's ministry had affected his life, he remarked,

> I don't mean to detract from our earlier chaplains, but Padre Charlie Maclean to me exemplified what a chaplain should be. You know, he's your spiritual advisor and friend.... I have a high personal regard for him and his integrity, his low key conduct of his office, and yet you knew who he represented....[58]

Despite the trend towards religion many Argylls stated that they "didn't get more religious" because of the war. It should be noted, however, that some clarified their answer with "I was already religious,"[59] while others responded in the negative.[60] Even after enthusiastically praising the work of Padre Maclean, however, some stated that the war had not affected their religious beliefs in the slightest way.[61] Nevertheless, most agreed to some form of belief in God, but frowned on public expressions of their faith.

In conclusion, the work of Honorary Captain Charlie Maclean to the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada is an example of some of the finest qualities and characteristics of a chaplain. Padre Maclean contained the physical strength

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53 "Interview," Lieutenant Alan J. Earp, D3. B.

54 "Interview," Day, Private W. John, D8. A.

55 "Interview," Kirkland, Private Harry A., 2/2. A.

56 "Mailed Questionnaire," H/Captain Charles H. Maclean, conducted as research for my M.Div. thesis during March 1992, question number 36.

57 "Mailed Questionnaire," H/Captain Charles H. Maclean, 34, 38, 40.

58 "Interview," Captain Douglas W. Beale, 2B.

59 "Interview," Chapman, Private Leonard T.

60 "Interview," A/Captain W. Martin Shields, B2. "Interview," Kedney, Private Henry T., 2/2. A. "Interview," Leyland, Private John A., 1/2. B. "Interview," Shaw, Private Earl F., B.

61 Each of the Argylls listed in previous footnote praised the work of Padre Maclean. See footnote number 13 in the introduction.

to keep up with his men, the courage to confront the commanding officer if something needed to be done, and the religious and moral integrity to be an example to others. Padre Maclean was much more than the religious facilitator; in many ways he sustained morale and promoted religious devotion. Ongoing research is confirming these findings in the lives of other successful chaplains and opening new areas of study in this topic. As the Argylls experienced the fire of battle during the Second World War, Padre Maclean was an advocate and conscience for the soldiers and officers he served providing a spiritual lifeline and a means of sanity in the most insane of human conditions — war.

Competition or Co-operation? Aspects of Presbyterian-Methodist Relations in Canada's Atlantic Region

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This paper was prepared at the request of the Canadian Methodist Historical Society for presentation at the Society's meeting in Halifax, June 1998, and will be submitted for publication in the Society's Papers, 1997 and 1998. *The following is an abstract of the text.*

As late as the 1840s the various denominations preferred whenever possible to ignore the presence in Canada of Christians other than their own church, and historians praising the superiority of their own denomination found no reason to discuss inter-church relations in denominational histories. This was true of both Presbyterian and Methodist historians, but little changed even when church union approached. Among the most recent historians of Canadian Presbyterianism and Methodism there are, however, signs of increased awareness of and interest in each other's denominational heritage.

For the preConfederation period the Glasgow Colonial Society papers provide some examples of Presbyterian-Methodist relations in the Maritimes. The Society's missionaries complained repeatedly of the mother church's lack of support for colonial Presbyterians, and of the consequent drift of Presbyterians into the Methodist and Baptist communions. Methodists not only got preachers from Britain, they also got sympathy and charity from Britain when Presbyterians were getting next to no support from the Church of Scotland. Despite denominational isolation — both physical and psychological — examples of facility-sharing can be found, but virtually every case concerns Presbyterians using a Methodist chapel, which is more suggestive of frugality than of ecumenism.

The seed-bed of fuller Protestant co-operation seems to have been the interdenominational Sunday School movement, temperance campaigns, specialty missions and associations, and especially the Evangelical Alliance founded in 1846. This last event involved Canadian denominations to a surprising degree, albeit the Methodists more than the Presbyterians. The Alliance antedated the so-called "papal aggression" which made Roman Catholicism a common enemy for most Protestant denominations. Except for the Evangelical Union, however, early and different forms of co-operative effort in the field of socio-religious issues were only accidentally interdenominational, and documentation about them cannot be readily found.

After the mid-nineteenth century, theological barriers were further lowered as a result of the "theological revolution" or shift in emphasis from atonement to incarnation by blending, or blurring, ecclesiological and liturgical traditions and softening some traditional adamantine defences of denominational attributes. The theological revolution

created a vantage point from which all modern crusaders could raise the historic battle-cry, "God wills it." Thus, interdenominational co-operation is recorded in such varied interests as the British American Book and Tract Society, revivalists, Methodist and Presbyterian opposition to lotteries, and the prohibition of dancing and card playing as a test for church membership.

Although the Calvinistic denominations occasionally put theological limits on co-operation with Arminians, some interesting insights into degrees, patterns and forms of co-operation can be gleaned from a list of union churches on the South Shore and in Annapolis Valley made by the Maritime Conference Archives. Three distinct periods are discernible — the colonial (1830s and 1840s), the immediate post-confederation, and the pre-1925 union. In both areas union churches had as members Presbyterians, Methodists, Anglicans, Baptists, Lutherans and in one case Universalists also, but whereas in the first two periods the component denominations are named, in the third one half of the congregations are simply described as "co-operating."

Much was written during the immediate pre-1925 union years about the subterranean antagonisms of many Presbyterians towards Methodism, based more on religious style than on doctrine or polity, and later historians have echoed those critiques of bellicose denominationalism. Behind the tentative steps of the church union movement lay a number of factors that shaped different regional responses to ecumenism. Denominational overlap, especially in the West, may have been the pragmatic engine that drove church union, but for each region of the country the historian must take account of more specific positive and negative factors.

Several fields for further research emerge from this exploratory paper, including more detailed and thorough examination of interdenominational relations particularly at the grass-roots level, the religious dimension of settlement patterns, and evangelicalism and antiVaticanism as regional phenomena. One starting-point for such investigations would be the role of the Evangelical Alliance in Canadian religious history.