Trauma and Survival in the Contemporary Church

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Historical Responses in the Anglican Tradition

Edited by

Jonathan S. Lofft and Thomas P. Power

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J.S.L. & T.P.P.
Trinity College and Wycliffe College,
University of Toronto.

The Commemoration of Simon Gibbons, First Priest of the Inuit, 2020

INTRODUCTION

JONATHAN S. LOFFT AND THOMAS P. POWER

While the concept of trauma may superficially appear to apply to woundings of a physical nature, research makes clear trauma covers a fast widening spectrum of human experiences. In essence, trauma derives its meaning from cultural and historical contexts intersecting frequently. As to the former, it is important to identify the degree and relativity of the trauma. Thus, societies can experience significant disruptions that do not become traumatic. For example, there can be even the failure of public institutions and systems such as education, processes of government, and the economy, but not to the extent that they become traumatic for the groups affected. For trauma to emerge, such jolts must become cultural crises. In this way, "Trauma is not the result of a group experiencing pain. It is the result of this acute discomfort entering into the core of the collectivity's sense of its own identity."[1]

Secondly, the writing of history itself is an attempt, on an intellectual level, to process and to order painful pasts. The historical study of trauma allows us to locate, examine, and assess the sufferings of humanity. At least four basic assumptions undergird historical trauma theory.[2] These provide the conceptual framework within which the theme of trauma and the church can be considered. In some instances, given the case studies and evidence adduced in this volume of essays, this model is validated and reinforced, while in others it is modified.

The first attribute of trauma is that it is something deliberately and systematically inflicted upon a target population by a dominant population**.** Historically, this is often cultural in its manifestations. Cultural trauma refers to an "invasive and overwhelming event that is believed to undermine

[1] Jeffrey C. Alexander et al., *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2004), 10.
[2] Michelle M. Sotero. "A Conceptual Model of Historical Trauma: Implications for Public Health Practice and Research," *Journal of Health Disparities Research and Practice* 1:1, Fall 2006, 94-95.

or overwhelm one or several essential ingredients of a culture or the culture as a whole."[3] The experience of cultural trauma is a process "that defines the painful injury to the collectivity, establishes the victim, attributes the responsibility, and distributes the ideal and material consequences."[4] This dimension is exemplified most clearly in the case of the Indian Residential Schools in Canada, an enterprise in which the church participated as an agent of the nascent Canadian state, the effects of which are well documented, notably in the work of Eric Taylor Woods.[5] However, in his contribution, William Acres demonstrates that the conclusions of Woods on the Residential Schools need to be modified in light of the particular efforts of Samuel Hume Blake, a leading Toronto Evangelical Anglican philanthropist and lawyer who lived in the early twentieth century. Acres makes clear that Blake's influence as chair of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada's special committee on "Indian and Eskimo Affairs" in the period 1905-10, was pivotal in framing resistance to the general missional support of residential Indian Residential Schools by the Anglican Church of Canada. His intervention was, in fact, instrumental in halting the expansion of the schools for Canada's Indigenous children.

The Residential Schools issue highlights the complex relationship between church and state. Where Anglicans are concerned, that complexity was especially evident in wartime in the twentieth century, a key context for the consideration of trauma in many essays in this collection. During wartime, often the interface of the relationship was through the contemporary popular media, particularly the networked intercolonial press then spanning the British Empire. In other respects, the press acted as a repository wherein the legacy of trauma from war was mediated. Ultimately, the trauma of war generated conflicting responses. As Gordon Heath argues, between the two world wars the *Canadian Churchman* acted in its traditional role as a nation-building press, seeking to shape political views and inspire Christian engagement with the world. The range of perspectives and different genres within the official organ also functioned as a source for the reconstruction of meaning in a culture traumatized by the horrors of war. Its wide-ranging content provided a way for the church to face and ultimately come to terms with the cultural trauma of the worst war in human history. Ironically and unwittingly, the church newspaper also prepared the church for the

[3] Alexander, *Cultural Trauma*, 38.
[4] Alexander, *Cultural Trauma*, 22.
[5] Eric Taylor Woods. *A Cultural Sociology of Anglican Mission and the Indian Residential Schools in Canada: The Long Road to Apology* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

cataclysm in 1939. In many ways, the response of Anglicans in Canada to the Second World War recapitulated that of a generation earlier, though without the same degree of jingoistic enthusiasm. At another level, the complexity of the relationship between church and state was on full display in the interwar years, and surging pacifism and a re-thinking of the just war position in the pages of the *Canadian Churchman* reveals a conflicted church.

The wartime context provides the backdrop to a traumatic episode involving clerical sexual abuse. In his detailed examination, Norman Knowles draws on a unique collection of correspondence between the principle figures involved and church authorities. The events occurred in Halifax, Nova Scotia, where the parish of St. George's was recovering from the cataclysmic explosion of the munitions' carrier *Mont Blanc* on 6 December 1917, when in September of 1918, it welcomed an aspiring deaconess, Mary Tamkin. Following three years of training, Tamkin arrived in Halifax to take up a six-month internship at St. George's, where she was to assist its rector in ministering to those whose lives had been shattered by the recent tragedy. However, she became the object of sexual harassment by the rector.

Trauma of a sexual nature in the church, occasioned either by or towards its ministers, is often revelatory of deeper issues, such as the place and role of women in the ministry of the church; formation for ministry; the exercise of power and authority in the church; attitudes toward sex and sexuality; and the church's handling of cases of sexual harassment. Often these issues are exacerbated because of the occurrence in time and place of other contexts of trauma such as war or conflict.

Another characteristic of trauma is that it is not limited to a single catastrophic event, but rather continues over an extended period of time, described in the case of Canada's Indigenous people in connection with Residential Schools as an intergenerational phenomenon. This dimension is also illustrated by acts of memorialization. War, and the legacy of tragedy it occasions, were generative of memorialization. A popular cult of the war dead exploded during and after the First World War. Ubiquitous municipal cenotaphs were erected, newspapers published endlessly the names of the dead and wounded, these lists eventually being inscribed on a monumental scale in stone. In contrast, traditionally little thought was given to including necrologies of fighting men within the walls of churches, apart from the lavish medieval funerary monuments patronized by the crusading elite. The position of many Christians had been that what became known as honour rolls were antithetical to the message of the Gospel. Unsurprisingly,

therefore, there were few honour rolls in Canadian churches prior to the First World War. So, why did churches adopt the war honour roll with such uniformity? As Glenn Lockwood reveals, these honour rolls emerged as a compromise between traditional anonymity and acknowledging the immediate distress of returning soldiers traumatized by their experience of warfare. The beginning of a trend was emerging that would make these honour rolls a necessity in most Canadian parishes for coping with the trauma of losing sons and daughters.

Traumatic events can evoke a wide range of responses, not merely in the immediate context of their occurrence, but also in the long-term. Thus, trauma, as a wounding, is not experienced only in its infliction, but also inscribes the bodies and memories of individuals and communities. In this way, traumatic experiences are essentially historical in nature in terms of the actual traumatic wounding, the response to it, and its subsequent intergenerational transmission. The perpetuation of trauma over time is also demonstrated in the divisiveness occasioned by theological differences. Historically, since the Reformation, theological differences have often been the occasion for conflict and sometimes violent interaction between rival groups of Christians.

This aspect of trauma is illustrated in respect of the lack of recognition of Anglican ordinations by the Roman Catholic Church. In his study, Louis Dizon shows this to be the fundamental cause of division between the churches since 1896, the year in which Pope Leo XIII issued his bull *Apostolicae Curae*. In its text, he famously declared that Anglican ordinations were null and void, and, by extension, its episcopate and its sacraments also. In terms of inter-denominational relations, the effect of the pronouncement was divisive in the immediate term. In the longer term, the bull inhibited attempts at ecumenical reconciliation. While the tone of dialogue on the matter improved greatly after Vatican II, the Catholic position has remained fundamentally unchanged. In this way, the division of 1896 had a traumatic effect on future ecumenism.

A further attribute of trauma is that traumatic events reverberate throughout a given population, creating a universal experience of trauma. Contrary to common understanding, the appearance of resilience among churches can be deceptive to the extent that trauma can be either a hidden element, or by-product, of growth. For the Anglican Diocese of Toronto, the postwar period of the 1940s and 1950s was one of growth and prosperity as new parishes were rapidly established in expanding city suburbs, boasting Sunday school expansion, and large attendance. However, just as the postwar church

building boom reached its climax, the semblance of decline was already present. Despite the reality of exceptional growth, there was trauma present as the institutional Diocese struggled to keep up with its own success, determining where sufficient financial resources could be identified, at the same time, coping with decline in the inner city. These trends in postwar growth and retrenchment are examined by David Harrison in respect of two adjacent suburban parishes in Etobicoke (Toronto's western suburb) whose histories largely paralleled one another and, near the end of their corporate existences, became intertwined.

The opposite of decline as an outcome of trauma is demonstrated in the experience of Irish Anglicans in the early nineteenth-century. Their experience derived from the coincidence of trauma and apocalypticism.[6] That both phenomena emanate in population movement and the creation of a spiritual diaspora is well documented in respect of other religious traditions.[7] Trauma in its diverse forms coupled with apocalyptic expectation induced a significant exodus of Irish Anglicans from their homeland, and this exodus had implications for the colonial church. As Thomas Power demonstrates, the specific context of trauma derived from the circumstances of Ireland in the 1820s and 1830s when political upheaval in the form of Catholic emancipation, the decimation of tithe as a reliable income source, the sundering of a monopoly on education, the reduction in the number of bishoprics, a detrimental economic environment, secessionism, and rising apocalyptic fervour informed the mental world of Irish Anglicans. The apocalyptic dimension derived from a prophetic prediction disseminated widely among the Catholic population that the established order in church and state would be overthrown in 1825. When this expectation was coupled with rural unrest and rising Catholic claims for full emancipation, sectarian incidents like the burning of Protestant churches, attacks on clergy, bible burnings, and the expulsion of congregations, ensued. The most tangible Protestant response was a large-scale exodus from Ireland to Canada, Australia, and elsewhere. In this way the experience of trauma and apocalypticism emanated in migration and the creation of a spiritual diaspora in colonial, pioneering, and missionary settings. In this case, the post-traumatic experience was not debilitating, for the experience of

[6] Dereck Daschke, "Apocalypse and Trauma," *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*. ed. John J. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 458-472.
[7] Colin Barr. *Ireland's empire: the Roman Catholic Church in the English-speaking world, 1829-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

Anglican institutions involving Irish immigrants was one of decided growth and expansion in the colonial context in the later nineteenth century.

However, while migration had a positive impact on the church in colonial settings, it only accentuated the minority status of those who remained in the home country particularly at times of armed conflict. The effects of armed conflict on minority populations is exemplified by the trauma experienced by members of the Anglican Church of Ireland community in southern Ireland (what became the Irish Free State) during the years of the Irish revolution, 1919-23. Events of these years presented a special challenge. The Irish War of Independence saw Sinn Fein and the IRA in conflict with the British government over Irish independence, 1919-21. The Civil War, 1922-23, was caused by a bitter fall out between republicans over the terms of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, when a republic was not achieved. Utilizing the reports and speeches from annual synods, general and diocesan, of the Church of Ireland, Brian Walker reveals the attitudes and responses of Protestants to these developments. In terms of trauma, the most tangible impact was population decline, the causes of which cannot be ascribed primarily to voluntary or economic emigration, or demographic factors but rather to violence or the threat of violence experienced by Church of Ireland members.

The experience of Irish Anglicans was typical of the treatment of minority populations by a dominant group involving as it did violence, displacement, economic dislocation, and cultural dispossession. Also applicable to other groups, the experience of Irish Anglicans demonstrates a further characteristic of the trauma experience, that its scale disrupts the population from its natural historical course resulting in a legacy of physical, psychological, social, and economic, disparities that are indeed intergenerational. As a legacy of this, the work of recovering the experience of Irish Protestants in the early decades of the twentieth century shows the varied and complex processes by which individual and collective traumatic experience is in turn forgotten, remembered, memorialized, and finally historicized.[8]

Typically, the church has been in the forefront of supplying aid and relief when natural disasters strike globally. Less documented is what happens when the church itself is the victim of natural disaster. Bishop Victoria Matthews outlines the response in the case of the earthquake damage to Christchurch Cathedral, Aotearoa, New Zealand in 2010 and 2011. The

[8] As revealed by the Protestant Folklore Project of the National Folklore Collection (UCD): https://www.ucd.ie/irishfolklore/en

Diocese of Christchurch, Aotearoa, sustained substantial damage to 236 buildings out of a total of 290. The response to the tragedy descended from one of heroism, resilience, and gratitude, to one of disillusionment, tension, and infighting. The future of the cathedral church became a source of division between those who wished to retain the colonial Gothic edifice as a heritage building, and those who desired to erect a new building. In the event, there was a clear decision to place the importance of reconciliation and relationship above having a purpose-built cathedral church that would be economically sustainable.

The experience of trauma occasioned by the earthquake in one diocese in New Zealand raises the question as to when is the church at her missional best? While the message arising from that particular experience is that while the church needs to look outward, this also involves the challenge of being in healthy relationship with those who would wish church buildings be retained because of their value as heritage sites. Because buildings like cathedrals both embody, and tell, a story, the church should make clear there is no heritage building (or indeed any other artefactual object of ecclesiastical prestige) worth maintaining without the story that gives it meaning. The message emanating from the trauma of the New Zealand earthquake is that cathedrals and other sacred spaces need foremost to invite and hold people in the embrace of God in Christ.

* * * *

Drawing on a wide diversity of sources, these essays contribute an additional layer to the phenomenon of trauma by exemplifying its experience within the context of the church, specifically the worldwide Anglican Communion, a family of churches rooted in the English appropriation of the Reformation. As the collection exhibits, a wide variety of analytic techniques can be deployed in order to examine trauma in the context of the church. At an uncertain moment characterized by institutional breakup and decline in several Anglican Churches, this volume addresses an urgent need in the literature of church history as constituencies within the church and without, come to terms with ongoing and wide-ranging experiences of trauma. The variety of traumas – including historical, psychological, vicarious – and the responses, official and otherwise, documented in this collection reflect the wide-ranging testimony of the contributors. Shedding light for the first time on significant traumatic episodes, these narratives examine a difficult and seemingly inexhaustible topic. It is our hope that the contributions succeed in sharing difficult truths, thereby inaugurating new and perhaps uncomfortable conversations.

CHAPTER ONE

SAMUEL HUME BLAKE'S PAN-ANGLICAN EXERTIONS: STOPPING THE EXPANSION OF RESIDENTIAL AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS FOR CANADA'S INDIGENOUS CHILDREN, 1908

WILLIAM ACRES

Samuel Hume Blake (1835-1914) was a leading Toronto Evangelical Anglican philanthropist and lawyer. He assumed the role of chair of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada's (MSCC) special committee on "Indian and Eskimo Affairs" in the period 1905-10. As Eric Taylor Woods points out, Blake's influence during those years was pivotal in framing resistance to the general missional support of residential (and industrial) Indian Schools in the wake of the Church Missionary Society's (CMS) 1902 announcement of their complete withdrawal from the Canadian mission field.[1] It was in this predicament of funding and working within denominational systems, and a largely failed national program of Indigenous residential and industrial schools, that Blake's expertise was needed. Woods' broad Durkheimian arc in *A Long Road*, shapes the residential schools as having attained the status of 'sacred' to the missional work of the Anglican Church. Blake's vigorous opposition was timely.

Blake's framework of influence to manoeuvre 'national' policies in the years 1905-9 away from residential schools was grounded in trans-imperial networks rather than implicated entirely within the inexorable 'sacred' Anglican narrative of *A Long Road*. Blake's rhetorical resistance in Woods'

[1] E. T. Woods, *A Cultural Sociology of Anglican Mission and the Indian Residential Schools: A Long Road to Apology* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 61-4.

overarching ‘sacred’ quest—as in a rejection of the emerging Anglican trope by Western and Northwestern bishops—can also be read as a plain text policy for providing adequately Indigenous children with safe and healthy schools whose national exposure was encouraged and showcased on an international stage. The movement towards Blake’s ‘Pan-Anglican exertions’, as he called them, to Bishop H. H. Montgomery, in November 1908, referred to the apogee of Blake’s work on the Missionary Society for the Church of England in Canada’s ‘Indian and Eskimo’ Special Committee in 1905-10. It was a committee with leading Anglicans, doctors, and lawyers, primarily lay. They brought to bear their concerns with another lay group, the wealthy and influential New England Company, an English charity which at that moment had a great deal of liquidity and the legal pressure to expend the monies on Indian evangelization, primarily through education, in Canada. The shift here is away from Blake’s losses within the Anglican Church in Canada, and toward the abject failure of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, the Honorable Frank Oliver, to take up the interdenominational work of lay and clergy interested in reforming systemic abuse, and what Blake called, the ‘pauperization’ of Indigenous peoples endemic to federal policies.

While inter-Anglican tensions would move the Canadian government away from Blake’s reformist proposals after 1908, a more general failure in both national policies and within Anglican circles of power can be discerned in the fate of Blake’s herculean campaign. This campaign, it will be shown here, was designed to enlist the widest and most influential support for a nationally funded system with standardized salaries, training, housing and curricula for professional teachers in day schools within the reserve system. Blake came to his conclusions quickly: his first major policy paper was written for Anglicans and the interdenominational committee he helped form, the so-called “Special Committee”. He circulated this lengthy document in the form of a questionnaire dated October 1906. Thereafter, until January 1908, Blake concentrated his efforts on getting government approval, in principle, for the items he had suggested for discussion. In brief chronological order, Blake’s earliest work until November 1906 was in establishing a roadmap within which Anglican and Protestant interests could function; and, thence, to arrive at an uneasy consensus among these groups with a view to extricating the churches from direct management of residential and industrial schools. In this respect, Blake’s work for this fragile unanimity was never going to be specifically Anglican but interdenominational and aimed at the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, the Hon Frank Oliver and his deputy, Frank Pedley.

Development of Policy

A significant alliance between Blake and others had been established in purely advisory capacities by an English charity, The New England Company (NEC) (established in 1649, reconstituted by royal charter in 1662). The Company's charitable objects had largely, but not solely, exercised mission and education on behalf of the Six Nations of the Grand River, the ancient confederacy of the Haudenosaunee since about 1830. These objects included the historical Mohawk Chapel, a royal peculiar consecrated as St. Paul's in 1785, day schools, a large residential school, and the Mohawk Institute (1834-1970). In addition, there were four full-time missionaries spread over the ten school districts of the Tuscarora Township, which had been, since 1841 the vastly reduced home to the confederacy tribes.

The Institute had been run by the Company's missionary and agent Rev. Robert Ashton from November 1872. Ashton's domination of the Company's Canadian operations for most of the ensuing years was partly due to his efficiency in business on the Company's behalf, and partly the result of its perception of him as adroit in negotiating the complexities of the Indian Act with respect to Company holdings for mission. In reality, of course, Ashton was neither of those things; but he was a martinet and his rule of the Mohawk was legendary. Even one of Ashton's most serious detractors, David Williams, Bishop of Huron, admitted that the Institute was a 'model' of its kind, albeit in an acid-tinged context.[2] In 1908 Ashton was retiring from his role as chair of the Six Nations School Board to widespread relief. The Six Nations then reconstituted their school board at this juncture to exclude 'White' representatives. In 1908, the Company was seeking direction. According to the Governor, John Walker Ford, the Company had parted with a freehold property and were duly bound by their trusts to seek immediate investment in Canada of this £30,000[3] for the purposes of 'pious objects' with which to 'Christianize and Civilize' the Indigenous, with a

[2] Williams and Ashton cordially detested one another and were presently clashing, 1907-9, where the Bishop and the Company overlapped in jurisdiction over missionary and parish priestly obligations and to whose spiritual authority the Company's servants were to finally submit. What Williams wrote, in the Clerk's summation, was that the MSCC Resolution passed by their Board of Management "had no reference whatsoever to the Company's schools—the Mohawk Institution being in all respects a model of what such a place should be. But stating nonetheless his belief the presence of the living missionary is of more value from an evangelistic standpoint than even the schools", echoing Blake's position.

[3] See *Conference on Indian Education* (London, 1908), p. 4.

focus on the education of Indian children.[4] The charter clerk, C. Augustus Webb's work with Blake offered the opportunity for international exposure to Blake and Oliver. Yet, at the root of the NEC's debacle in 1908—to go with increased support for residential and industrial schools, or look for wider fields for charitable works made possible in their Supplemental Charter of 1899—was a microcosm of the difficulties which faced the MSCC and Blake as a whole. The ambivalence, vested interests, and 'microscopic' thinking, as Blake called it, which characterized missions in Canada were a function of vast geography, diverse Indigenous communities, and a badly skewed vision of the residential and day school models as missional. With two schools, St. George's, Lytton, BC and the Mohawk, the NEC was considerably less encumbered than the MSCC's nineteen establishments, all held tightly by bishops and various missionaries as indispensable.

From late 1906, the names of Blake, Bishop Henry Hutchinson Montgomery[5] and Archdeacon G. E. Lloyd[6] of Saskatchewan are mentioned in the New England Company's court minutes in London. Montgomery appeared before the court of the Company on 30 November 1906. The proceedings recorded that: "He referred to the great rush of emigrants to the Middle and Northwest of Canada; to the heavy demands made upon the Canadian Church in consequence, and to the resultant difficulty of adequately providing for the spiritual needs of the Indian population". They continued:

> He also stated that the question of maintenance of Schools and Industrial Institutions had recently come before the Canadian Missionary Board [MSCC] and that largely he thought at the instance of Mr. S. H. Blake, K. C. (a prominent Churchman and leading lawyer in Canada) the Board had decided to leave the support of the secular side of the Institutions to the State, and to devote the Church's whole energies and means to the more direct work of evangelization & itineration. [7]

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[4] The Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and Parts Adjacent in America, Boyle's Trust, Charter Trust and Williams' Trusts—all established the Company as beneficiary with the view to exercising their charitable objects for the purposes of evangelization and education. The phrase 'pious objects' was used particularly in the Company's Crown Grant of 1843, Tuscarora Parsonage, Mission and Churchyard Lots.

[5] Bishop of Tasmania, 1889; Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1901; CMG (1905) as prelate of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, KCMG (1928); father of Field Marshal Montgomery of Alamein.

[6] George Exton Lloyd, future Bishop of Saskatchewan, 1922-31, 1861-1940.

[7] London Metropolitan Archives CLC B 540/07920/8, pp. 35-6, Minutes of the Court of the New England Company.

When asked with whom the Company should confer at this crucial juncture, Montgomery recommended the Ven. G. E. Lloyd of Saskatchewan who was promptly invited to address the Company, but not before "Mr. S. H. Blake was an one" [*sic*].

Blake's Initiative

On October 15, 1907, Blake sent a letter, received by the Company's Court, "The Hon. S. H. Blake to the Clerk [Webb] enclosing a copy of Memorandum prepared by himself for the consideration of the Board of Management of the Missionary Society of the Church of England, the clerk noting "The Memorandum appearing to be highly important (being adverse to the policy of support of Boarding and Industrial Schools)"." The Company's chief missionary, James Leonard Strong, enclosed also an article dated October 25, 1907 from the Toronto *Mail and Empire*. Blake had probably sent the Company one of the various versions of the working summation of his first eighteen months as chair. Blake's nine-page memorandum with a closely-formulated series of precise questions would prove the basis for his future queries and discussions with all correspondents thereafter. Thus, here, the NEC were being brought in as engaged partners for whom the confidential briefing documents and discussion were to be opened. The first drafts of the memorandum, written in October 1906, had been circulated to the Indian and Eskimo Committee, the Management Board of the MSCC, and the leadership of Presbyterian and Methodist national mission societies within their respective denominations. But as time passed from October 1906, and more interest was shown in Blake's 'adverse' position, the Committee's work became less directed to the effects of the CMS's withdrawal and more focused on a central policy aimed at persuading Oliver. More particularly, the work was to shift advisory discussions for the Superintendent-General to the inter-denominational committee.[8] A great many policy matters had had to be clarified. By that time, the end of 1906, Blake's directions, political and pastoral, were set largely outside a solely MSCC frame of reference, although Tucker was part of both committees. There were budgets and allocations of resources, of course. But the primary element had to be the philosophical groundwork. What did the Church want? What could the Church do? No clear pattern or policy of "Indian Education" had yet presented itself either in the Anglican Church or in the Department of Indian Affairs. Blake, thus, intended in October 1906 to create such a policy and it was here he concentrated his

[8] GS 75-103 Series 2, Box 14, file 3, 1905-6, dated Oct. 9, 1906.

efforts. By 'the duty of the grace of liberality to the Indian brethren', Blake's set down a resolution in the form of a questionnaire, from the intentions of which he would not waver:

> That the whole question of Indian Schools and other work should be taken up and dealt with particularly in view of the withdrawal of the funds by those who have been aiding in England, and that the Indian Department be interviewed so as to endeavour to procure harmonious action between the Department and the Presbyterians, Methodists, and Church of England, all working together in this endeavour.[9]

For the MSCC to have success, Blake urged unanimity with the highest political imprimatur, Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, the Hon. Frank Oliver. In effect, Blake's papers during his tenure show he was going to take a three-part approach from the summer of 1906: 1) to get answers to his questions from dioceses with Indian missions now or formerly under the Church Missionary Society or others; 2) to establish a political connection with Oliver to produce an effective change in policy; 3) to ensure that an inter-denominational committee be established for negotiations within, among, and by the committee, taking soundings at all three levels of denominational politics, national politics and inter-faith politics. But the first phase of inquiry was to receive and to reflect, with his MSCC committee, on the terms of the responses. The second phase was to form an inter-faith coalition. And his final strategy was to script Oliver's 'new' policy, bringing all political views to bear, including the international field of Anglican benefactors and missions. To this end, Blake brought C. A. Sutherland of the Methodist Missionary Society, the Reverend Dr. Norman Tucker[10], Secretary of the Advisory Board of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, and representatives of the Presbyterian missionary society, together with leading laity, as his 'interdenominational committee', known by its detractors as 'Blake's Committee'. While Tucker was not in complete unanimity with Blake, there was mutual respect and

[9] Page 3 of the Oct. 9, 1906 document.

[10] Lewis Norman Tucker, 1852-1934, published with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. He was commended as an expert at this juncture for his 1907 *Handbooks of English Church Expansion: Western Canada* (Toronto, 1907) and administrative abilities: "An earnest effort is being made, under the most influential auspices, to bring the subject before the whole Anglican communion, in connection with the Pan-Anglican Congress of 1908. It will be seen at a glance that an important factor in the solution of the world-wide problem is that of Colonial Missions; and that, among Colonial Missions, the Canadian field takes the front rank from the manifold standpoint of need, of promise, and of far-reaching promise". (pp. ix-x).

understanding that the old CMS structure and its vested devotees could not remain as they were.

As Woods notes, the impetus for a wider audience for Blake's views came with his acceptance and detailed correspondence with Peter H. Bryce. In 1907-8, Blake decided to create an almanac of Indigenous peoples and educational problems in Canada for a wider audience (he urged his correspondents relentlessly for data for map-making), and in it he quoted approvingly Bryce's devastating critique of 35 residential and industrial schools:

> On June 19, 1907, Dr. Bryce, Chief Medical Officer of the Department of Indian Affairs, reported "on the Indian Schools of Manitoba and the Northwest Territory", that out of a total of 1,537 pupils reported upon, nearly 25 per cent are dead; of one school with an absolutely accurate statement, 69 per cent of ex-pupils are dead; and that everywhere the almost invariable cause of death given is tuberculosis, the result of imperfect methods of heating and ventilation.

This was Blake's 1908 pamphlet, *The Church's Missions Amongst Aborigines in America* which was to give the most accurate and widest possible reading of the difficulty of sustaining a residential system.[11] Following Blake's extensive correspondence with Oliver and others, he had decided that a statistical analysis following Bryce's forensic model was the better option. As he produced this material, drawn from a vast correspondence preserved in the General Synod Archives of the Anglican Church of Canada[12], the wider dissemination of his Bryce's case began to form itself. The New England Company's Court minutes record Blake's overture in early 1908:

> The Hon. S. H. Blake, K. C., …enclosing a copy of a letter…from himself to the Rev. B. Baring-Gould of the Church Missionary Society—suggesting the Convention of a Conference between representatives of the various societies interested in Canadian Indian work in regard to Indian Education, and the desirability of having centralized organization on both sides of the Atlantic to promote greater uniformity of systems and more methodized work.[13]

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[11] *Pan-Anglican Papers S. E. 4g*. Being problems for consideration at the *Pan-Anglican Congress*, 1908.
[12] GS 75-103, Series 2, Boxes 14 (files 1-3b) and 15 (files 1a to 2b)
[13] LMA CLC 540/07920/8 pp. 83-4, received January 22, 1908 and circulated at the Company's Court among the Members of the Company, February 12, 1908.

For Blake, and Bryce, this new presentation in the trans-imperial venues now anticipated was not, as Woods suggests, part of the Canadian Anglican discourse on the 'sacred' nature of the residential schools. Rather, this was to be a means of 'strengthening' Oliver's 'hands' to make good the political achievement of getting the government to implement Blake's ideas. Blake knew he was fighting the difficult path Woods analyzes: Blake quoted a sometimes critical school administrator George H. Hogbin in a letter of January 1908, despite reservations about Bryce's figures, "I do not think we can question the truth of the greater part of his statement of fact".[14] And if Hogbin was of the opinion "that a large percentage (much too large) of the pupils die during their school life or afterwards", there were serious detractors and agnostics about the veracity of this almanac-style Blake-Bryce offensive. None other than Blake's reasonable ally the Archbishop of Rupert's Land, Samuel M. Matheson, was part of what had become a dissenting committee to the work of what was called pejoratively "Blake's Committee", chaired by Dr. Thomas Ferrier of the Brandon Industrial School. This group resolved to question Bryce's figures as "exaggerated" in an undated minute of early 1908, despite numerous confessions of the kind Hogbin allowed. Having sent this on to Bryce for comment, he replied to Blake, "And yet there are men like your friend Ferrier who tells me I do not know what I am talking about". These exchanges took place just before Blake's *piece de resistance*, the reply to his many memoranda and letters by Oliver dated 14 January.

I would suggest that the concentration on the almanac-style reportage of Blake—gleaned over two and half years as chair of the MSCC committee and in direct answer to numerous questionnaires requested specifically by Oliver—and Bryce, as chief medical inspector to the Department of Indian Affairs, represented a seismic shift away from Blake's earlier soundings. Reading the Department of Indian Affairs' annual *Blue Book*, Blake had, by June 1906, identified a growing area of opposition to his work: the Diocese of Calgary contained an industrial school (funded at $120 'capitation', per head) which had been shut. There, Bishop Cyprian Pinkham[15], his archdeacon John Tims and Hogbin, had all come to Blake's sights as operating or defending wholly unworthy schools—Blood, Peigan, Sarcee and Old Suns'—all of which were to earn Bryce's strongest criticism in his report of the following year. In March, 1906, anticipating the need for DIA political change, Blake wrote on the Department's behalf to obtain what would be

[14] GS 75-103 Series 2, Box 14, file 3a, 1 January 1908, Blake to Oliver.
[15] Bishop of Saskatchewan, and first Bishop of Calgary from 1903, 1844-1928. He had been Superintendent of Education for Protestant Schools in Manitoba after 1873.

needed from the Primate, Archbishop Samuel M. Matheson of Rupert's Land: maps of every school, a list of every school in every diocese (industrial, residential etc.), a list of every scholar, exact location of each school, proposed closures, reason for locations, any proposed changes to location.

To this end, all bishops with missions in their dioceses were invited to a conference in March, 1906. The various arguments for residential over day, day over residential, industrial versus residential, were all set on the table either in person or in the weeks and months following. Pinkham argued in writing that his schools were more than adequate by Blake's reasoning. Blake reminded Calgary that $80,000 had been spent by the CMS on his schools with nothing to show for it. One of Blake's severest critics, F. W. Godsal of the Cowley Ranch in Calgary diocese was reminded $60,000 had been sent by Evangelicals in the east, "in addition to this comes great demand for Wycliffe". Rupert's Land, Rt. Rev. Samuel Matheson[16], argued for residential and industrial schools employed "Judiciously", arguing strongly in favour of mandatory and "compulsory Indian Education". Moosonee[17] was mixed: part of his diocese to the north, the Arctic, could anticipate future CMS funding, but it had been a mixture of CMS and Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK). The Rt. Rev. F. H. Du Vernet of Caledonia averred "The line of demarcation between White and Indian will soon be obliterated".[18] Missionary John Hines argued that, "The Indians have become demoralized by the Government treatment", preferring that a more "stringent" system must be adopted.[19] These were just samples of the passions Blake's inquiries excited. Blake held to the substance

[16] Metropolitan of Rupert's Land, 1905-31, Primate of All Canada, 1909-31, 1852-1942.

[17] Rt. Rev. John Holmes, a Church Missionary Society appointee, Bishop of Moosonee 1905-9, Bishop of Athabasca, 1909-12, 1858-1912.

[18] Rt. Rev. Frederick Du Vernet, Bishop of Caledonia, 1904-1924, Archbishop of New Westminster and Caledonia, 1915-24, 1860-1924.

[19] Rev. John Hines, 1850-1931, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, was a long-time missionary in Saskatchewan, having consulted with Chief Mistawasis and Chief Ahtakakup [Ahtahkakoop, to whom Hines refers frequently in his correspondence with Blake], retired 1911, a Church Missionary Society appointee in 1874 and worked closely with Archdeacon John A MacKay. Hines was highly respected and well-regarded by the Cree; he had been in this work for over thirty years by the time Blake used his advice, frequently as a foil to episcopal or other vested interests, when the tribes were faced with starvation after the massacre of buffalo: http://drc.usask.ca/projects/legal_aid/file/event160-2d7a0429.pdf.

of his brief, replying pointedly to special claims made by the Bishop of Moosonee in late 1907,

> It must not be forgotten that are dealing largely with keen businessmen who would say to you that any undertaking carried on in that way in the financial world would merely go into bankruptcy.[20]

Moosonee had been told that the dormitories of the schools were the heart of disease transmission,

> The school at Alert Bay is one of those that have become a by-word. Two persons who recently visited this school stated that they were disgusted by the appearance, visible to them while paying their visit of children covered with the evidence of tuberculosis not only apparently fading out of life but impregnating the whole of the school with this distemper.[21]

Despite Bryce's evidence of the most forensic kind, and Blake's collation of the best information available on the entire First Nations communities in early 1908, the Blake-Bryce offensive had occasioned the strongest tones Oliver was then capable of submitting. By Oliver's own admission they echoed Blake's words to Moosonee, "People of experience in the work are already beginning now to speak most highly of day schools". And while there could be exemptions, for healthy students of academic excellence admitted on the most stringent conditions to residential schools, the existing system was a morass of special interests inscribed on the brutal conditions inflicted on children throughout the Indian residential school system. Clearly Oliver's recitation of $6.5 million expenditure since 1877 on this 'system' would have to be reviewed, for increased expenditures in Blake's plan were inevitable: raising the stipends of teachers to a living wage; and raising the 'capitation' to $130 per student in very selected residential Western schools. Closures and increases alike would have to win parliamentary friends and voters. But more to the point, Oliver was recommending that greater planning and focus would have to be brought to bear on future residential school investment; and those structures deemed faulty, those schools condemned by Bryce, would have to go. Further, a lengthy list of closures projected (Brandon, the four schools in Calgary, Peigan, Old Suns', Blood and Sarcee) seemed designed to obtain maximal bitterness from Ferrier and Tims.

[20] Blake to the Bishop of Moosonee, 2 January 1908. GS 75-103 Box 14, file 3a.
[21] Ibid.

London Conference

Plans were in preparation in early 1908 for the great Pan-Anglican Congress of June in London, UK. The New England Company, its membership having read and digested the contents of Blake's brief, followed a motion of W. F. Webster, a leading London barrister, to direct the Charter Clerk (C. Augustus Webb) to write to representatives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society and all other societies engaged in "Indian Education" in Canada, to meet with the Missionary Committee of the Company to "discuss the best methods of educating Indian Children" on 12 February 1908. By April 15 a complete conference had been planned by Webb and was held at Church House Westminster, the Governor of the Company, John Walker Ford, in the Chair. The separation of "Indian Education" from the later June 1908 NEC conference on "Indian Evangelisation" showed precisely the NEC's and Webb's concurrence with Blake's dichotomous separation of mission and professional teaching.[22] Also present were notable NEC members such as the Earl of Stamford, Duncan Milligan (honorary chief, Six Nations); various Canadian bishops, including Keewatin, Bishop Joseph Lofthouse, a CMS appointee representing them at the conference; Archdeacon J. A. Mackay[23], a Blake correspondent; all under the benign patronage of Lord

[22] *Conference on Indian Evangelization in Canada*, Thursday June 11, 1908, Spottiswoode, London, p.24. The attendance at this conference was smaller than the "Indian Education", and included among the Company's representatives (Ford, Isaac Solly Lister, Harry Moody), the Bishops of the Yukon, South Dakota, Moosonee, New Westminster, Saskatchewan, Archdeacon Mackay, Canon Tucker (of the MSCC) and the English Bishop William Ridley (retired Bishop of Caledonia, 1878-1904, b. 1836, d. 1911); and Bishop Adalbert Anson (retired Bishop of Qu'Appelle, 1884-1892, youngest son of the 1st earl of Lichfield, 1840-1909). The emphasis was on itineration (colportage), translation and the movement of missionaries. MacKay here, also, wasted no time in criticizing Blake, for in answer to Isaac Solly Lister's question about statistical breakdown of Indigenous conversion, he said "All those statistics in the Pan-Anglican papers [meaning Blake's] are simply taken from the Indian Departmental statistics", whereas Blake had been asked for numbers by Oliver and Pedley.

[23] John Alexander MacKay, 1838-1923, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Church Missionary Society appointee, "son and grandson of Hudson's Bay Company men", his achievement was in creating an Indigenous clerical presence in Saskatchewan. He was an ally of Bishop Cyprian Pinkham of Calgary, a decided foe of Blake's in closing residential schools in Calgary diocese, which may have explained his enmity to the Blake-Bryce findings, despite his exertions throughout his career on behalf of

Strathcona and Mount Royal, Chair of the Hudson's Bay Company. In addition, Miss E. L. Newnham of the CMS,[24] and Miss [M. C.] Woolmer[25] of the CMS were invited. The subject was to be a debate, obliquely on Blake's *The Church's Missions Amongst Aborigines*—although that significant statistical offering was clearly intended for the latter conference—and Bryce's *Report* of 1907, inasmuch as their joint recommendations had informed Oliver's January 14, 1908 reply to the Interdenominational Committee. As was the custom, Spottiswoode printed the proceedings entire; and they are most illuminating. Ford greeted all participants with a brief rendition of the Company's history and present endorsement of the work of Blake and Bryce. Stamford relayed the mutual approaches between the NEC and Blake, and welcomed Bryce's salutary work.

Oliver's complete letter to Blake of January 14, 1908 was printed as an appendix. For reasons of ill-health Blake was unable to attend; nor was the Company's treasurer; nor Lord Strathcona; nor Harry Moody, the Canadian Pacific Railway's representative in the United Kingdom, a member of the Company and father to Sister Althea Moody[26] of the All Hallows', Ditchingham

day schools. Doubtless MacKay's expertise and long-standing service commended him to Blake. No personal enmity between the two men seems to have existed.

[24] Daughter of Bishop Jervois Newnham, Bishop of Moosonee, 1891-1904, Saskatchewan, 1904-21, 1852-1941, E. Letitia Newnham was organizing secretary of the Women's Auxiliary of the MSCC, 1911-21, and her presence speaks to Blake's ideal that all day school teachers on Reserves be accompanied by a spouse capable of their own gifts, including teaching, advice and instruction. See Anglican Church Women of the Diocese of Saskatchewan, Newnham's possible diary is found S-B117, see also GS-196 (General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, finding aid). See, *Piecing the Quilt: Sources for Women's History in the Saskatchewan Archives Board* (Regina, 1996).

[25] Secretary to the Church Missions Association, Colonial and Continental Church Society, Fleet St. London, auxiliary to the Church Missionary Society.

[26] Available at https://bcbooklook.com/2016/10/04/althea-moody; see also LMA CLC 540 B 07928/090, December 1916, p. 772. When the All Hallow's School at Yale, BC, closed Sister Althea Moody assisted the New England Company in their conveyance of the girls' section to the St. George Lytton, BC, school. Harry Moody was, 1883-1903, Secretary to the Canadian Pacific Railway in London, UK, and had close links with William Cornelius Van Horne as well as links to Strathcona.

foundation[27] for Indigenous girls at Yale, British Columbia.[28] These names alone suggest a strong trans-imperial network. The connection here between missions, maps, railways, centralization and other economic aspects of paying for the increases recommended in Oliver's ideas—now to be seen as a resolution by the conference—suggests that the question and the venue far exceeded what Woods has framed as the 'sacred' arc of the residential-boarding schools at the heart of the Anglican missional nexus. And a close reading of the sources both in the MSCC Committee and related correspondence, including that of the New England Company, shows his conclusions are clearly correct with respect to the outcome: that by the end of World War I the passage to residential/boarding schools in the Anglican Church of Canada (Church of England in Canada), 1919-22, the 'Forward' movement, had won decisively.[29] This aspect of the chronology thus places the deliberations in London in a different light altogether. There was something about the proceedings which recalled the earlier 'heroic' phase of mission—the presence and support of Lord Strathcona, representation by the SPG and the CMS—but there was a very real sense that this was a situation in which dire wrongs had to be corrected.

The Company urged all present to endorse the Resolution. There was some debate about exactly what that Resolution was to be, but the general tone of the meeting was positive; and while the considerable underlying tensions about precisely what had to be done were raised, it fell to the Bishop of Keewatin, a CMS appointee, to raise serious doubts over the figures and inspections placed before them by Blake and Bryce:

> We are anxious that the evangelization should be carried on first and foremost in preference to the establishment of Boarding Schools and Industrial Schools, which as Mr. Blake proves, have not been a success. The expenditure has been out of all proportion to the returns, and although I think that Mr. Blake's criticisms and Dr. Bryce's criticisms are by no means

[27] See https://www.all-hallows.org/history; Jean Barman, "Lost Opportunity: All Hallows School for Indian and White Girls," *British Columbia Historical News* 22: 2 (Spring 1989), 6–9; Jean Barman, "Separate and Unequal: Indian and White Girls at *All Hallows School*,1884–1920," in *Indian Education in Canada*, ed. Jean Barman, Yvonne Herbert, and Don McCaskill (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1986).

[28] The NEC would buy All Hallows' at Yale and incorporate the girls' school into their existing school, St. George's, Lytton, BC, with Sister Althea assisting with the conveyancing. See n. 25.

[29] The MSCC Board of Management was then chaired by Bishop Williams of Huron who was very enthusiastic about the residential schools and sought to have the Diocese of Huron take over the Mohawk Institute for a brief period in 1919-22.

> wholly correct, yet at the same time there is a great deal to be said on both sides. For instance, on the matter of the death rate in the Indian schools there is certainly a very great mistake. The report of Dr. Bryce condemning twenty-five Boarding Schools and eight Industrial Schools for a death-rate of 24 per cent. has been sharply condemned. The average death-rate has been something over 1 per cent. His figures do not give the *annual* death rate but the death rate *for fifteen years*. Indeed, last year's death-rate was under 1 per cent.[30]

This was precisely the nub of Blake's detailed letters with Bryce, that these figures be understood as annual and not averaged. But neither man was there to defend their findings. This was despite the earl of Stamford's introductory address where he laid emphasis on their drastic findings,

> In fifteen Schools—none of them more than twenty years founded—an average of 25 per cent. of the pupils have died. In other schools where careful statistics have been kept 67 per cent. were dead. These figures are terrible.[31]

The incidence of tuberculosis, scrofula, phthisis and other serious respiratory ailments associated with poverty, bad diet, and poorly ventilated structures—to say nothing of the ready admission of children already diseased—had found its way into Oliver's recommendation of public health nurses on reserves, a policy endorsed, and funded by the NEC on the Six Nations at Ohsweken. Lofthouse's interlocution for Bryce and Blake's severest critics went unmentioned. Archdeacon Mackay spoke vociferously on the great work of "Inspector Graham"[32] and the colony at File Hills, Manitoba, which was, in reality, a kind of Potemkin Village for the DIA where the appalling death toll had featured as among the most drastic in Bryce's work. The connection, again, went unnoticed. And, although all members present and all representatives generally, voted to support what some speakers called 'strengthening' Frank Oliver's 'hands', months after the conference ended, Blake was still receiving letters from missionaries such as John Hines who echoed the Department of Indian Affairs' constant difficulties about which authorities or authority within the Anglican Church was authorized to speak

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[30] *Conference on Indian Education in Canada: Convened by the Company*, Spottiswoode, London, 1908, pp. 12-13, Bishop of Keewatin, representing CMS, Rt. Rev. Joseph Lofthouse (1855-1933).
[31] Ibid. p. 10.
[32] William Morris Graham, 1867-1940, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, whose example was adduced by MacKay as a leader in "Indian Education", E. Brian Titley, who notes at this exact juncture Graham was passed over in favour of Duncan Campbell Scott for heading the administrative side of the Department of Indian Affairs. *Conference on Indian Education*, p. 17.