

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH and SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGE:  
IMPLICATIONS FOR AN ENGLISH-SPEAKING MINORITY IN QUEBEC

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## ABSTRACT

### THE ANGLICAN CHURCH AND SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGE: IMPLICATIONS FOR AN ENGLISH-SPEAKING MINORITY IN QUEBEC

Since the early sixties, social and political change in Quebec has fundamentally altered the relationships between the majority French and minority English-speaking populations. As francophones have laid claim to the decision-making spheres of power, anglophones have experienced losses to their community through out-migration and the loss of social power. This study reveals various responses within the church, incorporating concepts of community and 'place' as symbols in identity formation and cultural affirmation. Levels of financial commitment for individual parishes and mission outreach, numbers of Easter communicants and response to liturgical change all show distinctive patterns. The research also points to important implications for the church in relation to its aging population, the role of women, and the significance of family histories.

## RESUMÉ

### L'EGLISE ANGLICANE ET LES CHANGEMENTS SOCIO-POLITIQUES: LES REPERCUSSIONS POUR LA MINORITE ANGLOPHONE DU QUEBEC

Depuis le début des années soixante, les changements politique et social ont transformé les relations entre la majorité francophone et la minorité anglophone. Pendant que les francophones s'appropriaient les leviers du pouvoir, les anglophones perdaient du terrain suite à l'émigration. Pour évaluer l'adaptation des membres de l'église anglicane, les notions de communauté et d'espace symbolique sont considérées relatives à la formation d'une identité personnelle et dans l'affirmation d'une culture. Nous tenons compte du niveau de financement paroissial, des dons aux missions, de l'observation des Pâques, et des réactions devant les innovations liturgiques. Sous tous ces aspects, l'église anglicane du Québec se distingue par rapport aux autres provinces. La recherche indique l'importance pour l'église du vieillissement de la population, du repositionnement social de la femme, et de l'enracinement ancien ou récent d'une famille dans sa paroisse.

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## PREFACE

The idea for this research was born as the result of many personal strands coming together in the spring of 1987. My involvement in the Anglican church, my experiences growing up and living in small semi-rural communities in Quebec, and a longtime commitment to the field of geography, all contributed in equal measure to the formulation of this project. As one who has struggled with the French language while living in predominantly English-speaking communities, I feel empathy for the struggles of my francophone neighbours, but without confidence in my ability to communicate effectively with them. The concerns of anglophone Quebecers about their 'place' in Quebecois society are so much part of daily life that they are 'taken-for granted', usually only consciously perceived when we visit other parts of Canada. For some people these concerns become real fears, touched by resentment. But for most of us who have remained in Quebec through the past 25 years, there is a love for the province that transcends definition in terms of landscape, language or culture. Quebec is home, and within its boundaries we share lives, stories, and histories in our communities and churches.

I am indebted to many people who have given me their trust and their confidence, who, by sharing their faith with me, were opening up to view significant parts of their lives. To the members of La Nativite, Church of the Resurrection, St. Paul's, Grace Church, and St. Matthias, I wish to express my deep appreciation. Their warm welcome included meals,



I interviews, and even invitations to spend the night when it seemed roads might be closed by snow. I pray that I have not betrayed that trust by even one misplaced word. Not all that I have said will be warmly received; but I have tried to illuminate issues and structures honestly, and I hope that the context will be appreciated. I am grateful too for the cooperation and support of the rectors of each church, and Bishop Hollis to whom I spoke before beginning the research.

Special thanks must go to my ever-cheerful and always helpful advisor, Sherry Olson, whose ready willingness to offer prompt feedback in the last months of writing was especially appreciated; and to Audrey Kobayashi and Gregory Baum whose articulate and pointed comments ensured that I stayed on track.

The conception of this project and its research design are my own, and I was unable to find a study which was comparable. The national data, as I state in chapter 3, are original, although they are publically available through the Anglican Church of Canada. The parish data were collected from individual Vestry books, which themselves are the basis of the national statistics. Most of my research time was devoted to participant observation in the five parishes, where I attended meetings, conducted interviews, and generally participated in the life of the church. The documentation (notes) and recorded interviews are all available. Most of this information, while 'known' or 'intuited' by many priests who have wide experience in the diocese, has never before been collected and analysed.

To everyone who helped in this project, from the national comptroller who compiled a special listing of mission donations for me, to the parish secretary who helped me locate parishioners on a map, I say thank you.

Finally, my family has been wonderful. I owe my husband, Hugh, and my children, David and Stephanie, deep appreciation for their patience, support and even some culinary masterpieces. We have all learned through this project.

E.J.M.

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## INTRODUCTION - Chapter I

This thesis explores the importance of community for one group of Quebec Anglophones, those who are members of the Anglican Church in Montreal Diocese. It examines religion in its socio-political context, with particular emphasis on the social and political changes in Quebec since 1961 and the implications for personal and collective identities. Beginning with the Quiet Revolution in 1961, fundamental shifts in relationships between English and French Canadians have altered forever the majority-minority balance of power, and, just as important, the self-defined identities of these two historically dominant cultural groups.

Incorporating the humanistic perspective of social geography, I have attempted to clarify some aspects of the religion-society relationship in terms of a specific minority population caught in the challenges and tensions of social and political change. For the English-speaking population, the re-definition of its status within the wider society has raised questions as to what it means to be part of Quebec society, and what defines the anglophone 'community'. In addition to socio-political change, members of the Anglican church have also been faced with having to adapt to controversial changes within the church itself. These issues have had a significant impact upon all aspects of daily lives, as well as upon their perceptions of control and social power.



The dominant theme of this research is based on the proposition that for anglophones whose very sense of survival seems to be threatened, the need to define a community of meaning is being manifested in a continuing commitment to the church.

Michael Mann has analyzed the sources of social power, pointing out that "They are the generalized means through which human beings make their own history" (Mann, p.27). They include four primary networks : ideological, economic, military, and political. One important element in the identities of anglophones has been that of social power, through which they have traditionally been in control of all their major institutions. For most of their history in Quebec, anglophones have dominated and controlled the economic networks, and had significant influence in the ideological and political spheres as well. But since 1961 the balance of power has shifted dramatically.

Rooted in a humanistic philosophy, but also drawing upon historical materialist interpretation, the analysis combines a variety of methods and types of data in order to come to an understanding of the relationship between religion and society, and its implications for the behaviour of anglophones in Quebec. I investigate both the spiritual and the practical, both individual and collective, aspects of social experience.

One way in which I measure commitment and participation in the church is through empirical analysis of data such as church attendance and financial contributions, while qualitative data derived through many hours of participant observation and interviews have provided some insights into the meaning of faith, the importance of community, and the significance of the church as a source of personal identity and community.

Studies of the social and cultural relevance of religion are not only diverse in their philosophical and methodological underpinnings, they also vary in their concern for individual versus collective meanings. One of the greatest challenges I confronted in this research was to understand the links between the significance and meaning of faith for the individual and the dynamics of change in the institutional church and the wider society. To some extent I believe I have accomplished this through the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data at two levels of experience. The essence of the dilemma, epitomized in the divergent viewpoints of Durkheim and Weber, is the relative importance of the individual compared to societal structures in the constitution of society. Durkheim focused his attention on the importance of society and the collective consciousness, while Max Weber emphasized the primacy of the individual actor in relation to the social group. In attempting to formulate concepts which can effectively deal with this dichotomy, Alfred Schutz and

Anthony Giddens have made significant contributions. On the one hand, Schutz has pointed out that

all scientific explanations of the social world can and, for certain purposes must refer to the subjective meaning of the actions of human beings from which social reality originates (Schutz, 1962, in Gregory, p.125).

On the other hand, recognizing that there are constraints on social action, Giddens developed his theory of structuration, through which he describes the essentially recursive nature of social systems. His "duality of structures" expresses the mutual dependency of structures and agency, mediated through social practices. The constitution of society, therefore, is described as the consequence of recurrent social practices; structure, which is both constraining and enabling, is both the medium and the outcome of the conduct it organizes (Giddens, 1983, p.169). Within this framework, the problem for the social geographer becomes one of defining the interconnectedness of life-worlds and the societal structures within which they are situated. In the sense that 'structures' are social formations which are the outcome of complex processes of economic, political and ideological interactions, they are historically specific. They represent significant structural constraints to human action, and therefore, hidden though they may be, they act reflexively as both cause and outcome. My research attempts to understand

the extent to which the expression of faith by church members as social practice incorporates socio-political and community dimensions which reflect elements of structure.

For English-speaking Quebecers the structures, the rules and resources by which they have guided their lives, have fundamentally changed. Insofar as they have been able to control the transformation, they have been active agents in the structuration process. The problem seems to have been that the redefinition of their status and loss of social power have severely constrained their ability to exercise control, thereby creating tensions which, I suggest, are being manifested in parish churches. Since 1961 there has been a continuous net out-migration of English-speaking Quebecers, which peaked in the 1976-81 inter-census period between the election of the separatist Parti Quebecois in November 1976, and the rejection of sovereignty association by a majority of Quebecers in the Referendum of May 1980. Membership in the Anglican Church in Montreal Diocese has declined even more precipitously than in Canada as a whole as a result of the combined forces of out-migration of Anglophones and, over the longer term, the secularization of society at large. Total membership in Montreal Diocese was 32,000 in 1989, down from 94,891 in 1961, and 51,126 in 1976.

The choice of a single denominational group ensured that

questions of theology would be minimized, despite some necessary consideration of liturgical changes which are currently going on in the Anglican Church. The Anglican Church is representative of a Quebec institution which is primarily English-speaking, and it has the additional advantage of my personal knowledge and significant support by people in the church. The Diocese of Montreal, as shown on the map on the next page, incorporates an area of approximately 120,000 sq.km., including all of Metropolitan Montreal, and extending north of St. Jovite in the Laurentians, to Sorel 150 km northeast of Montreal, Knowlton in the Townships, and to the Ontario border. It includes 124 congregations within 78 parishes, of which five were selected as case studies of distinctive social groups. The time frame for this study is 1961 to 1989, from the beginning of the Quiet Revolution to the present, but greater emphasis is given to the period since 1971 when French Canadian nationalism began to be recognized by anglophones as a significant force redefining traditional relationships.

The two hypotheses upon which this research is based are:

I - That the socio-political milieu in Quebec, especially since 1971, has had an impact upon the Anglican Church in this province.

II - That responses vary as a result of different meaning systems, deriving from different life experiences and social groups.

In order to evaluate these two hypotheses which relate to two levels of experience, the individual and the collective, I have developed a series of sub-questions.

HYPOTHESIS I -

Apart from the obvious and significant impact of declining membership associated with out-migration, I shall be looking for other effects, subtle but significant, such as distinctive responses to proposed changes in the liturgy; shifts in the level of personal financial commitment; support of mission and outreach activities; and other forms of participation. I suggest that socio-political tensions in the province have been partly mediated through church involvement, and that the trend to secularization has therefore been moderated amongst Quebec anglophones. I suggest that the church has become a more important focus of community and a means by which cultural identity is being affirmed. I am asking whether the socio-political context has resulted in a heightened sense of place for members who perceive the need for rootedness in a time of change. If so, does this affect the response of Quebec Anglicans to the proposed changes within the church itself? Is there a relationship between the responses to liturgical change and social change?

HYPOTHESIS II -

At the level of the individual and his/her social group, I shall look for patterns of behaviour reflecting different

meaning systems incorporated into varying definitions of "community". Relying upon a phenomenological perspective, I shall use participant observation and interviews to elicit personal stories as a way of discovering what meanings people attach to their church and to community. Because the five selected parishes represent particular social groups, I anticipate significant behaviour differences between parishes, and their interpretation will require both structuralist and humanist interpretive perspectives. The fundamental challenge in this research is to weave together the individual and collective levels of experience in the context of both society and the institutional church. The next two chapters, outlining the philosophical and methodological frameworks, provide the foundation for the analysis which follows.

## CHAPTER II - RELIGION, SOCIETY, COMMUNITY

In this chapter I shall describe some of the key concepts and ideas which have framed the discussions concerning the religion-society relationship, with special attention to the question of 'secularization'. The central themes of my research include the relationships between religion and society, the meaning of community and place, and the importance of these to a sense of identity. The complexity of these themes, and the extent to which they focus on individual meanings, have led me to the epistemology of humanistic geography that provides the philosophic underpinnings and methodological choices appropriate to this project. They will be explored in the next chapter.

Religious faith incorporates many dimensions of meaning, both pluralistic and ambiguous, with the result that understanding is extremely difficult. While for some people faith affirms identity, rootedness, belonging and community through the sacralization, myths and tradition of the collectivity in the institutional church, for others religion is a separate, detached aspect of life which is increasingly irrelevant in the secular world of today. Nevertheless, as Baum has argued, "no matter how spiritual and how private a



religious concern may be, it always has a political implication; it is never socially neutral" (Baum, 1975, p.104). The complexity of understanding the roots of religion and its relationships to and in society are reflected in a vast literature far beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, I shall begin this chapter with a brief discussion of some of the key theoretical interpretations of the relationships between religion and society in order to underscore their complexity, as well as the diversity of views concerning the nature of these links. I also need to affirm the reality and power of the 'sacred', not only historically, but also as a continuing presence, having relevance in today's Canadian society. Following the discussion of the 19th century interpretations of religion and society, I shall briefly explore the development of ideas in the 20th century, and examine the significance of the concept of secularization.

#### Religion and Society - Some Interpretations

Alexis de Tocqueville, writing about the relationship between character and society in America in the 1830's, singled out family life, religious traditions, and participation in local politics as key elements contributing to continuity of free institutions. He ascribed to religious faith a key role in the development of North American society:

There is hardly any human action, however particular it may be, that does not originate in some very general idea men have conceived of the Deity, of his relation

mankind, of the nature of their own souls, and of their duties to their fellow creatures. -----  
 Fixed ideas about God and human nature are indispensable to the daily practice of men's lives;...  
 (de Tocqueville, 1840, vol. 2, p. 20)

The significant links between religion and society were also explored by Karl Marx, but from a different perspective. His starting point was the economy and the relationships between labour and capital. While de Tocqueville saw religious faith as a ground upon which political democracy could evolve, Marx saw religion as a product of the alienation of people from their social and economic institutions. He believed that religion, as a form of human consciousness, was determined by social conditions, and that it was ideological in character. He believed it could function as an invisible defense of power relationships and the existing order of society. Marx saw religion as a result of alienation within society arising out of institutional malaise and social ills. "Man makes religion, religion does not make man (Marx, 1844, in Feuer, p. 23)." He said that religion would reflect its social context as a "perverted world consciousness".

Religious distress is at the same time the expression of real distress and the protest against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of an unspiritual situation. It is the opium of the people (Marx, 1844, in Feuer, p. 263).

A few years later, Troeltsch also examined the important connections between religion and society, but he focused on

the significance of cultural differences in relation to which distinctive religious forms evolved. He saw an interactive relationship in which both religion and society contributed to a moral order which was not free of internal contradictions. Unlike Marx, he not only recognized a diversity of responses emerging out of the dialectic relationship, but he also explored the nature of these different forms. In his discussion of the relationship between Protestantism and modernity, Troeltsch points out the difference between freedom of conscience and democracy, arguing that Lutheranism and Calvinism evolved under different leaders and different conditions leading to two "Protestantisms" (Troeltsch, 1912, p. 53).

For it is only in relation to the older Protestantism in its various groups that there can be any question of an influence of Protestantism in producing modern civilization; seeing that modern Protestantism is itself an element in modern civilization, and has been deeply influenced by it. (p. 56)

Even today many of the apparent contradictions in the church's responses to society arise out of the different streams of Protestantism in the 18th and 19th centuries. Troeltsch goes on to show how the gradual transformation of the religious idea "signifies the creation of a form of religion essentially adapted to the modern world with its aspirations (p. 93)." The close relationship between religion and society, between modernity and Protestantism is described in terms of marriage, family, sexual relations, legal

structures, and political institutions. Individual rights enshrined in the English constitutional monarchy countered the democracy of Rousseau's majority rule out of the Calvinistic tradition. "It is the old and well-known antithesis between freedom and equality, which in general differentiates the Anglo-Saxon from the Latin conception of society (p.119)." Troeltsch extends the analysis to argue that the expansion of capitalism ultimately "has entirely loosed it from its former ethical foundation", becoming a power "directly opposed" to genuine Protestantism (p.139). Furthermore, "in its view of the relation of the individual to the community" Protestantism is surprisingly conservative, and far from being non-authoritative (p.150). Despite his concerns for an increasing humanism, Troeltsch believed that the hope for civilization is in the preservation of its strength through "the religious metaphysic of freedom" which an "all-too-human humanism cannot destroy (p.206)."

Perhaps the most profound exposition of the links between society and religion are found in the classic studies by Max Weber and Emile Durkheim. Here it is possible only to touch upon a few of the most relevant aspects of the work of Weber. His ideas, methodologies and interpretive analysis have had a profound impact upon all subsequent discussion of the religion-society relationship, and upon all social research. Rejecting the alienation paradigm of Marx, Weber argued for

the centrality of the individual, both as creative agent and as a conveyor of values and moral order. While the breadth of his scholarship can scarcely be adequately acknowledged here, I shall mention several areas in which he offers concepts, arguments and methodologies which are relevant to this project. One area of importance is his 'verstehen' approach, in which he focused on the importance of understanding the subjective meanings of individuals and their perception of reality, which, he said, would have a profound influence on the constitution of society. Weber showed that religion not only reflects society, but also contains the critical and creative elements necessary to changing it. He employed a variety of techniques to analyze the characteristics and problems of different spheres of human activity, and to explore the conditions of "emergence, continuity, change, and stagnation" of different types of social organization and cultural creativity. (Eisenstadt, p.xiv) He was able to combine historical and sociological analysis, interpreting and explaining patterns within both a single society and global societies. He employed "ideal" types as a way of generalizing but not reifying characteristic patterns of individual and collective behaviours.

Also relevant to my research is Weber's argument that social groups have differing perceptions of reality rooted in their life experiences, and that religious commitment can have

different political meanings depending upon the social class of the believers. He saw the possibility of change through human agency when people achieve coherence in their lives, combining personal needs with the needs of the community. His concept of social action is relevant here because it incorporates the concept of recursiveness, and the interdependency between the individual and the social context. "Action is social insofar as, by virtue of the subjective meaning attached to it by the acting individual (or individuals), it takes account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course (Weber, Theory of Social and Economic Organization, in Eisenstadt (ed) p.3)". His discussion of 'communal' and 'associative' relationships, through which he differentiated between subjective feelings and rationally motivated agreements, recognized distinctive intentions behind ostensibly similar behaviours. In other words, understanding through his 'verstehen' approach was fundamental to his analysis of a variety of complex social relationships.

Durkheim, like Marx, began with the broader society, seeing religion as the bond which contributed to the sense of belonging. For him, religion was associated with a community, confirming the members in common values. Whereas Marx argued that religion was a product of alienation, Durkheim saw a functional role for religion, as the symbolic

self-manifestation of the community, contributing to the equilibrium of society.

For the collective force is not entirely outside of us; it does not act upon us wholly from without; but rather, since society cannot exist except in and through individual consciousness, this force must also penetrate us and organize itself within us; it thus becomes an integral part of our being and by that very fact this is elevated and magnified (Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, trans.J.Swan,p.206-14).

Durkheim argues that the individual is dependent upon the collectivity, and that during times of "creation and renewal" people are led into closer relationships through which the intense exchange of ideas helps to realize the ideals of society.

Nevertheless these ideals could not survive if they were not periodically revived. This revivification is the function of religious or secular feasts and ceremonies....whatever draws men together into an intellectual and moral communion. (Durkheim, Sociology and Philosophy, trans.Pocock,p.80-97)

Another sociologist who has contributed to the discussion on the interrelatedness of religion and society is Karl Mannheim who differentiated ideological and utopian roles. As did Weber, he recognized the essential ambiguity of religion, arguing that different social groups will have differing life experiences which will affect their 'mind-sets'. He showed that the ideas and ideals of people evolve as the group to which they belong undergoes significant social changes. In

other words, ideas are grounded in social reality, in the life experiences and historical meanings which different groups live.

Ideological religion legitimates the existing social order, defends the dominant values, enhances the authority of the dominant class, and creates an imagination suggesting that society is stable and enduring. Utopian religion, on the other hand, challenges the existing order, and offers the possibility of creative change. This fundamental distinction defining the ambiguity and paradox of religion has been the source of many of the critiques of religious faith in the modern world. Religion offers many possibilities for action.

### Secularization

The nature of the religion-society relationship has changed in the twentieth century. The 19th century interpretations of the religion-society relationship were grounded in the assumption of the undeniable significance of religion. The 20th century apologists have had to ask questions about the relevance of religion; about the meaning of 'secularization'; and about the links between modernity, religion and secularization. The assumptions upon which the study of religion was undertaken were first challenged by Comte when he argued that the way in which people perceived the world was the basis on which social organization rested. "As man's way of perceiving the world changed from the



theological to the positivistic perspective, so the social order would also change" (Wilson, 1982, p.2). A brief summary of the important contributions to the discussion of the religion-society relationship in the 20th century follows, with particular attention to the concept of secularization. I have sympathy with "one impenitent practitioner" of religious study who referred to himself as a neo-Lutheran : "even if they do not have the strength to sin boldly, at least they cannot help erring boldly. Their motto is 'erra fortiter'" (Werblowsky, 1976, p.1)

The concept of secularization, like that of community, is difficult to define because it is so widely used with different meanings. It was originally used to denote the removal of property from ecclesiastical control following the Wars of Religion. (Berger, 1966, p.106) Today it has evaluative, ideological connotations, both positive and negative depending upon the user. In his book, A General Theory of Secularization, David Martin begins with describing certain broad tendencies associated with secularization, such as "religious institutions are adversely affected to the extent that the area is dominated by heavy industry", and that "religious practice declines proportionately with the size of the urban concentration" (Martin, 1978, p.3). He argues, however, that while they tend to be universal processes, there is no valid reason that they "must happen". His thesis is that

these "universal processes" occur very differently under different cultural and linguistic situations, and that specific "crucial events" shape sets of tendencies which fructify over time. His theory,

aims to relate certain broad social processes to particular historical configurations. This relation is summarized in a typological scheme organized around three distinct areas of institutions, belief and ethos. ....the historical configurations need a kind of documentation which can put the major 'set' of events within the complex counterpoint of contrary tendencies. (Martin, 1978,p.10)

Bryan Wilson also challenges the common perception that secularization connotes an evolutionary process inevitably associated with industrial societies. He emphasizes that secularization is "not only a change occurring 'in' society, it is also a change 'of' society in its basic organization" (Wilson,1982,p.148). It occurs in diverse ways and contexts, and it relates to the diminution in the social significance of religion. It does not mean that "all men have acquired a secularized consciousness" (p.150).

The actual patterns in which it is manifested are culturally and historically specific to each context and in accordance with the particular character of the conceptions of the supernatural that were previously entertained, and of the institutions in which they were enshrined. (Wilson, 1982,p.151)

My research has adopted this view. There has been an undeniable decline in church membership and attendance, as I describe in chapter 5. My thesis argues, however, that despite

this trend in Canada, the particular historical and cultural conditions in Quebec have contributed to particular responses in the Anglican church.

One of the key arguments against conventional usage of the term 'secularization' is that it usually refers to the decline of the institutional manifestations of religious practice, rather than to the meanings and symbols which individuals hold as sacred. Two important observers of the nature of religion in the twentieth century, and its relationships in society, are Paul Tillich and Mercea Eliade. Both argue that religion continues as a significant force in people's lives and that its disappearance is illusory.

When people dismiss religion today, arguing that secularization is an evolutionary outcome of a technological society in which 'modernity' defines rational and humanistic values, they implicitly reject an inner life in which "The sacred is saturated with 'being' (Eliade, 1957, p.13)." In his classic exploration of the nature of religion, Eliade does not deny the many variations in religious experience "explained by differences in economy, culture and social organization (p.17)"; but he posits the existence of a fundamental behaviour of 'homo religiosus'. He argues that "For religious man (sic), space is not homogeneous; he experiences interruptions, breaks in it; some parts of space are

qualitatively different from others. ...There is, then, a sacred space, and hence a strong, significant space;... (p.20)." For those who are members of the church today, their places of worship and the artifacts within them, constitute important centres of meaning. Their significance relates to a sacralization of objects which is tied to their belief in God and Christ, but also incorporates historical memories of events, rites and rituals shared by family and community in the context of a global church. There is an intimate link between the local and the global which provides both rootedness and universality in belonging. The place-centeredness of religious faith, which may appear overly concerned with material objects, is a reflection of the significance of symbols of continuity and rootedness which affirm identity. Religion is both spiritual and private, and also adaptive, radical, and collective.

Eliade shows that even people who consider themselves to be non-believers continue to be unconsciously rooted in memories of the sacred, in the stories and myths which inform religious belief.

Modern nonreligious man assumes a new existential situation; he regards himself solely as the subject and agent of history, and he refuses all appeal to transcendence. ....

But this nonreligious man descends from 'homo religiosus, and whether he likes it or not, he is also the work of religious man;...(p.203)

Paul Tillich also argues a position of the ultimate significance of religion even in today's world. In his Theology of Culture he claims that religion is about the meaning of life in terms of a total experience. His interpretation of culture, science and politics incorporates and synthesizes historic, religious and Christian insights within the framework of a critical philosophical theology. He argues that religious knowledge today is "not primarily the unfolding of a tradition; it is rather a turning towards reality.....a penetrating in an intimate sense into what happens day-by-day, in labour and industry, in marriage and friendship" (Adams,p.11). Arguing against a common view of 'secularization' as the compartmentalization of religion from other elements of social life, he denies the ultimate validity of 'spatialization', the limiting of the religious to one sphere. Using the notion of a 'boundary-situation' to describe the confrontation experienced as support or threat, Tillich suggests that freedom comes from 'unconditioned' support which is the "power of being that is the core of all creativity." The problem today is the extent to which culture appropriates "unconditioned forms" without giving attention to the "unconditioned meanings".

Tillich's analysis of modernity in terms of the relationships between religion and society makes a profound case against the commonly accepted view of secularization as

a necessary and inevitable outcome of an 'evolving society'. He argues that time is a qualitative construct rather than a methodical, cyclical form, thereby rejecting a concept of linear, evolutionary development in which religion is separated off and diminished in relation to the growth of technology.

Two other sociologists who have explored the relationship of religion and society are Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann. They present a much more functionalist view, incorporating an implied denial of the inherent mystery of the sacred, and giving the dominant role to society rather than to the individual. The dichotomy and ambivalence of the relative roles of the individual and the collectivity expressed in the differing perspectives of Durkheim and Weber is again relevant to the discussion. In his book, The Invisible Religion, Thomas Luckmann explores the "problem of religion in modern society". He suggests that rather than a decline in religion as a result of increasing industrialization, we should be looking for a new form of religious expression which is less obvious than in the past. He argues that there cannot be complete congruence between church, sacred cosmos, and the 'hierarchy of significance of the world view', because of the institutional specialisation of religion that transforms the relationship of the individual to the sacred cosmos and to the social order (Luckmann, 1967, p.80). The result is a church which becomes

'ambivalent' with respect to its religious function, and which enters into manifold relations with other secular institutions. Luckmann argues that religion is not so much increasingly separated-off as it is seemingly secularized through its non-religious relationships, thereby making it less visible. "The plausibility of the 'official' model of religion is potentially endangered by the 'secular' operations of the church (p.81)."

Acknowledging their debt to Marx, Weber, and Durkheim, Berger and Luckmann (1966) explore the "social construction of reality". They argue for the importance of linguistic symbolism derived from religion, philosophy, art and science as basic to the continuity of the real elements in everyday life. Symbolism and symbolic language "become essential constituents" of daily life (Berger & Luckmann, 1966,p.40). There is a critical reflexivity in the relationship between religion and society. "It is just as possible to say that pluralism produces secularization as it is to say that secularization produces pluralism" (Berger, 1966,p.155). His study of the religion-society relationship today convinces Berger that religion "no longer legitimates 'the world'", and that increased acceptance of pluralistic possibilities has relativized choices. "The religious traditions have lost their character as overarching symbols for the society at large, which must find its integrating symbolism elsewhere." (p.153)

Berger's definition of secularization is as "the process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols" (Berger, 1966, p. 107). He argues that it is more than simply a social-structural process, that it affects the totality of cultural life, and that it incorporates a subjective, individual secularization of consciousness. When one examines the meaning of faith to the individual, however, one is confronted by the mystery of the sacred which transcends such rationalist arguments.

The only consensus seems to be that secularization does not imply a denial of religion, nor its disappearance, but rather that its relationship to other areas of social life has changed. Discussing the dilemma of religion in the context of culture, Geertz argues that there is an :

....internal confrontation of established forms of faith with altered conditions of life, and it is out of that confrontation that the resolution of that crisis... will have to come. If the term 'modernization' is to be given any substantial meaning and its spiritual implications uncovered, the connections between changes in the classical religious styles and such developments as the rationalized forms of economic organisations, the growth of political parties, labour unions, youth groups, and other voluntary associations.....the emergence of new classes, and a whole host of other social novelties must be discovered." (Geertz, 1968, p. 20)

In Quebec, the contrasting histories, styles and structures of the Protestant and Catholic churches, make any



sweeping generalizations about secularization impossible. In the past both Catholic and Protestant churches have functioned as legitimating and supporting institutions, affirming the values of their members and of the communities in which they served. With the Quiet Revolution of the early sixties the relationships between religion and society in Quebec were fundamentally changed. My first hypothesis argues that in Quebec the secularization process is being mediated amongst anglophones by socio-political pressures. At the level of national societies, both Martin and Wilson have shown that "the meaning that is attached to church-going and church-giving differs in different societies" (Wilson, p.151). I examine this relationship at the level of Quebec society, and for distinct social groups in Montreal.

### Community, Place and Identity

The concept of community is attractive as a way of incorporating many of the ideas already touched upon in the discussion of religion-society relationships. It can include concepts such as 'mechanical and organic' solidarity (Durkheim), communal and associational relationships (Weber), and societal transformation and alienation (Marx). Ultimately, however, community is an "untidy, confusing, and difficult term (Scherer, 1972, p.1)." Regardless of its ambiguity, people who have no awareness of the problems of academic research and definitional criteria, accept the validity and significance of

'community' as a way of describing their daily relationships and existential life-worlds. For people in the church, their place of worship is a significant place : for prayer and meditation, rites of passage, and for shared family and community relationships. Indeed, "it would be astonishing if religion was not deeply involved with local community and personal identity in that community" (Greeley, 1972, p.148). Religion has incorporated "the ideology of community". Religious symbolism has been relied upon to legitimate local life. (Wilson, 1982, p.159) Regardless of the ambiguity of the term, the parish church represents 'communities-of-belonging' and meaning.

The interpretation of social life must take account of the structural change from local community to national and global communities, and in so doing it must acknowledge and look for new symbols by which people identify themselves. As Gregory Baum has pointed out, the Christian religion can be interpreted as "a set of symbols which people assimilate and celebrate, and out of which they define their lives and create their world.....the world is personally and socially constructed in a process in which symbols play a constitutive part" (Baum, 1975, p.252-3). One characteristic which is linked to secularization, is a change in social organization from one that is communally-based to a societally-based system. Toennies, Durkheim, Park and Wirth all regarded modernization

as gradually undermining the communal bonds linking individuals to locality. (Roof,1978,p.11) David Russo has shown that Americans "have always lived simultaneously in various levels of communities; over time the level of most consequence has shifted by stages from the little community, the town, to the big community, the nation" (quoted in Sopher,1979,p.138). As mentioned earlier, it has been suggested that as the wider society becomes more important as the locus of the individual's life, there is a concomitant and related diminution of the centrality of the church as a focus of community sharing (Wilson, 1982). Religion is intimately tied to community; it "draws its strength from the local, persisting relationships of the relatively stable group" (Wilson, 1982,p.154). The significance of 'community' in relation to religious affiliation raises questions about the meanings which individuals attach to their locale and to their parish churches as 'places' of meaning. "Our spiritual experiences are never wholly unrelated to the 'placed' character of our physical existence" (Lane,1988,p.188). Community, 'place' and identity are all important concepts directly related to the religion-society issues which I have been discussing, but with profound implications for the person. They ground religion in the realm of individuals.

The significance of symbols, community, and identity is underlined in this quotation from an illuminating book by

David Martin, called The Breaking of the Image :

Even sacrament becomes a badge and the members of the network wear the same badge with a difference. The result is an odd mixture of universal and particular. On the one side the sacred rite links the local congregation with the wider scope of the church at large. On the other side the quirks and quiddities give a special character to a local particular sentiment. People cling to the signs of their identity and their history." (1980, p.85)

Modern society is being confronted with challenges to its meanings, myths, symbols and identity. David Martin argues that modern society cannot subsist on mere technical rationality, and that religion has had a significant role in supporting the myths and symbols of our society. There are many, however, who argue that religion is no longer able to fill that role. Writing about Canadian identity, Dominique Clift suggests that "whereas religion once provided the principal focus for group identity, language now seems to have taken over that function" (Clift, 1988, p.116). For anglophones in Quebec, however, a common language is not a unifying element, and the emerging multicultural context, for historical and political reasons, is precluding the continuance of any sense of an "English (speaking) community". Realistically one can refer only to an English-speaking 'group'. Anglophones in Quebec need a sense of group identity and belonging, and since 1961 the basis of their 'community' has been severely limited. In his recent book, Charles Taylor

points out that "The full definition of someone's identity thus usually involves not only his stand on moral and spiritual matters but also some reference to the defining community (1990,p.36)." Moreover, "our modern notion of the self is just as much a historically local self-interpretation" (p.113).

The defining community for anglophones in Quebec has undergone transformation through the redefinition of its status, the loss of members, and, most important perhaps, the increasing irrelevance of the old stories, symbols and myths which have historically affirmed belonging. Myths and stories are important in individual lives as the bases of identity formation, reflecting the ways in which individuals relate in terms of life-worlds, place, and their communities.

Geographers who have been interested in the importance of community have tended to focus on the concepts of space and place. As Hillery showed in his definitional survey, there is no consensus on the meaning of 'community'. Examination of 94 different definitions indicated that for most people "community consists of persons in social interaction within a geographical area and having one or more additional common ties" (Hillery,1955,p.111). In all definitions there was agreement only on the centrality of people, and many did not accept the necessity of spatial criteria being a defining

component. Indeed, other studies have shown that "Propinquity is not a necessary condition for community. But nor is propinquity necessarily an expression of community" (Jones, 1977, p. 124). On the other hand, there is evidence of a spatial dimension incorporated within people's understanding of their church communities. This research uncovered distinctive spatial patterns that differ according to characteristics of the surrounding community and variations in people's existential life-worlds. These distinctive spatial patterns are associated with different perspectives and meanings attached to church membership and 'community'.

As a community the church offers unique institutional support for shared experiences and the maintenance of significant myths and symbols; and it also offers a rooted, material space to which symbols of continuity can be linked. Parish churches are both the existential focus of relationship, and the experiential source of placed meaning. Just as in times of dislocation the tendency for religion to be separated off from language and culture is checked (Martin, 1978), so too the local community may assume greater importance. Communally-based relationships and sacred places, through which local memories and stories affirm personal identity, may become more important.

A growing recent interest in 'place' has been reflected in studies exploring the ways in which socially constructed perceptions of place mediate between the individual's need for historically grounded meaning and the collective society's structural impact in controlling daily experience. Attachment to 'place', which may be a particular parish or church, reflects personal meaning systems. Yi Fu Tuan has explored some of the dimensions of 'place' in relation to religion, and points out that "Religion could either bind a people to place or free them from it" (Tuan, 1977, p.152). He goes on to differentiate between local cults which bind people to specific localities and universalist religions in which "no locality is necessarily more sacred than another". In the first, he suggests, there is a strong sense of the past, of lineage and continuity in place. "Security is gained through this historical sense of continuity rather than by the light of eternal and timeless values as propounded in transcendental and universal religions" (Tuan, 1977, p.153).

This distinction fails to acknowledge that many of the attributes given to local religions also operate for those universalist faiths in which people's personal histories are embedded. Beldon Lane describes the changing perception of sacred places of worship in American society in the 18th century.

Before 1730, the structure of American ecclesiastical space had been centripetal and hierarchical. Attention focused exclusively on the parish context, seating in the church was arranged to indicate social status, and services were held only in the proper place at the proper time. But...under the freedom of the revival spirit, services could be held outside or even in private houses. The outpouring of God's grace might be felt anywhere and, indeed, by anyone. Provincial ties to the narrowness of place were, therefore, weakened... (Lane, 1988, p. 32)

Place has an important role in the function of the religious imagination, and the construction of sacred landscapes and places of sacred meanings are important elements in understanding personal relationships in parish churches. As I shall describe in chapters 6 and 7, some of the changes in the Anglican church, that involve changing the physical shape of church interiors and the arrangement of people during services, are important issues for some parishioners in Montreal diocese. Places are imbued with meanings which may or may not be consciously articulated, but which nevertheless become an integral part of the total commitment to a church.

In his book, The Constitution of Society, Giddens makes a similar point :

A sense of place seems of major importance in the sustaining of ontological security precisely because it provides a psychological tie between the biography of the individual and the locales that are the settings of the time-space paths through which that individual moves. (p. 67)

Under conditions of change, when life-histories are being



challenged and social power eroded, the need for affirming identity will be more profound. The meaning of 'place' will change because it is a fundamentally human product, inseparable from the transformation of society (Pred, 1985, p.337). Very little has been written about the processes by which perceptions of 'place' become integrated into the individual's sense of identity. Part of the qualitative research in this project was directed at discerning how the local community and the church itself become integral parts of individual life-worlds. The importance of 'place' coincides with the transmission of the symbolic qualities of an area, usually through the dominant social group.

One of the interesting and unexpected issues which emerged during the research were the competing perspectives among church members on the importance of 'place' and tradition, and the role these competing views had in determining the outcome of specific topics of debate. Godkin (1980) has expressed concern that there has been a dearth of studies which examine the actual processes by which images of place become integrally woven into an individual sense of self. Several episodes that I record in detail, relating to specific issues in the parishes, illustrate the ways in which 'place' is intimately related to personal identity, and the processes through which the relationship evolves.

Meanings attached to community and 'place' evolve imperceptibly but profoundly in the context of the social group. Meanings, which confer belonging and identity, come out of a 'longue duree' which is historical; but more significantly, meanings are rooted in 'memory'. "Remembering the past is crucial for our sense of identity" (Lowenthal, 1985, p.197). "Memory", says Taylor, "is the soul's implicit knowledge of itself.(p.203)" The problem is that memories of the past and current realities are no longer congruent for Quebec's anglophones. As their status changes in relation to the French-speaking population, they are redefining themselves in terms of significant places, symbols and myths which have informed their past histories. Despite Clift's disclaimer about the role of religion in this context, a central hypothesis of this research argues that in fact religion has had a role to play in maintaining the sense of rootedness and tradition, reinforcing a sense of community and belonging.

Insofar as the parish churches reflect community values, religion will incorporate the myths and stories by which people define their life-worlds and which form a frame of meaning for their existence. Even as the local community seems threatened by the broad sweep of globalization, there will be a need to affirm individual identity in the context of a social group which has shared experiences. While the level of interaction may change, people will search for "ultimacy", a

term that Langdon Gilkey uses to describe as a "whiff of the sacred".

Myths .....signify a certain perennial mode of language, whose elements are multivalent symbols, whose referent is in some strange way the transcendent or the sacred, and whose meanings concern the ultimate or existential issues of actual life and the questions of human and historical destiny. (Gilkey, quoted in Greeley, 1972, p.118)

When these myths, symbols and stories are undermined or threatened, inevitably there is a response. It may or may not be consciously perceived or articulated. Defining the myths which are important to people is one aspect of the qualitative research in the individual parishes; another has been the attempt to explore the relationship of different myths to the variable behavioural patterns.

As I discuss in the next chapter, understanding individual meaning systems can be approached through ethnographic studies which must be situated in their historical and social context. Peter Jackson has pointed out that although ethnographic studies may not address structural problems or change directly, they nevertheless, "can make a distinctive contribution in analysing the consequences of those changes in terms of their local impact" (Jackson, 1985, p.165). Individual intentions need to be ordered, causally and temporally, with reference to their role in their individual histories. They also need to be placed

with reference to their role in their historical setting(s).

For the story of my life is always embedded in the story of those communities from which I derive my identity.....The possession of an historical identity and the possession of a social identity coincide (MacIntyre, 1981 p.221).

In Quebec, anglophones are struggling to redefine their identities in terms of both their societal context in Quebec and their local community. For some, the church has become one place in which they can retain a sense of rooted and historical meaning, and in which life-worlds reflect continuity and tradition. My research provides evidence that religion has provided an important ideological function as communities of tradition; but the parish churches have not become 'important centres of concern' connecting them to the wider global community. Their potentially utopian role seems to have been submerged by the need to preserve identities being threatened by their perception of the ongoing changes in Quebec. As communities of shared values and historical experience, and as 'places' having important meanings and symbolic roles, the churches are significant mediators of change. For individuals the church has been a source of identity formation and affirmation; a place of shared stories and historical meaning; and a community in which social change can be mediated through old and new symbols of belonging.

The Anglican Church is presently involved in a series of changes which directly affect the way in which services are conducted: who may lead or participate in conducting the services; the words that are used; and even the spatial relations of the congregation at worship. All of these changes, proposed and adopted, are controversial. Their acceptance or rejection is not merely a matter of doctrine. The tensions generated by, on the one hand, the perceived need to "modernize" the liturgical language and form and, on the other, the argument for the retention of tradition sustaining a unity of the world church, are themselves creating a dialogue.

In examining the ways in which the church in Quebec has responded to socio-political change, this research focuses on the meanings that people attach to all aspects of their church life: as spiritual worship; as an extension and celebration of their local community; as a building, a 'place', with historical roots; as a symbol of the British tradition and cultural identity; as a centre of shared personal relationships. All of these are intertwined with the local context, social group, and the ongoing changes in church liturgy. That is, there are continuing interactive relationships among the individual, the institution, and the historical and structural frameworks within which all are related.

CHAPTER III - METHODOLOGIES and THE EVIDENCE :  
SOURCES FOR QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

In recent years geographers have become increasingly interested in the distinction between 'grand theory and local knowledge' (Gregory, 1989, Foreword, Remaking Human Geography), a distinction having similarities to the different perspectives of Weber and Durkheim. With his 'verstehen' approach Weber has provided a significant foundation for humanistic geography and a focus on individual life-worlds. Durkheim's interest in the collective society as the basis of understanding religion is echoed in the structuralist approach of some geographers. This dilemma in establishing a starting point for understanding was also central to the 'geographie humaine' of Vidal de la Blache.

....to grasp the ongoing dialectic of milieu and civilisation, the perennial tension between the milieu externe (physically observable patterns and processes) and the milieu interne (values, habits, beliefs, and ideas) of a civilization (Buttimer, 1978, p.61).

In his ethnographic studies of the 'Chicago School', Robert Park relied upon a 'verstehen' approach through which he was able to understand the links between subject and object as worlds of shared meanings. His studies became important for their committed attention to the faithful reconstruction of local communities. The emphasis on experience and on the ways

in which identities were being negotiated in the context of particular social groups and spatial frameworks, were key components in what has come to be called 'insider/outsider' frames of meaning.

Critical of the universalistic claims of positivism, human geographers are now engaged in reformulating research strategies in which propositions are historically specific in both space and time (Gregory, 1989,p.73). Arguing for a humanistic philosophy, David Ley has pointed out the importance of having "contextual interpretation of subjectively meaningful social action" (1980,p.9). He argues for the importance of illuminating human values and experience as being integral to any study of people and place. "Humanistic geography examines the social construction of place, landscape, or region, as the interplay between people and contexts which they both inherit and help redefine" (Ley,1989,p.229). Anne Buttimer has summed up the issue most succinctly :

Diverse attempts to forge links between the unique and the general within a basically 'verstehen' approach to truth have tended to focus on method (Gadamer 1975), on ideology (Habermas 1968) or on epistemological foundations (Rorty,1979; Schrag 1980).All reveal how deeply ingrained are those habits of thought inherited from Descartes and the Enlightenment where subject and object, unique and general, 'insider' and 'outsider' confront each other across impenetrable walls of language and cultural tradition. (Buttimer,1984,p.7)

She argues for plurality in research style and personal

vocation, pointing out "the variety, ambiguity and often paradoxical nature of lived experience." A crucial challenge for the social geographer, and for this research, is to define the interconnectedness of the inter-subjective life-worlds and the societal structures within which they are situated. In attempting to understand the interconnectedness of religion and Quebec society for anglophones, it is important to understand how individuals view their parish churches, the meanings which they attach to tradition and form, and the stories and myths through which they identify their being. As David Ley has emphasized, the aim of geography should be:

....synthesis which will incorporate both the symbolic and the structural, both the realm of constraints and the realm of meanings, where values and consciousness are seen as embedded in their contexts, and where environments are treated as contingent before emerging forms of creativity (Ley,1980,p.20).

More recently he has been concerned about the fragmentation of human geography, calling for more attention to the need for integration. A renewed human geography should be "more representational (or empirical) than the recent past, more contextual in its regional, cultural and historical specificity, which seeks to integrate facts and meanings" (Ley, 1989,p.244).

In his review of social geography in 1986, Jackson



pointed to "the need to translate an understanding of the structural dimensions of social change into an understanding of their local impact in particular localities on the ground" (Jackson, 1986, p. 118). He has expressed the view that human geography has relied too much upon a 'super-organic' perspective, which has denied the important contributions of specific localities through social practices. (Jackson, 1989, p. 23) The particular localities which I focus on are five individual parishes which differ according to various socio-economic dimensions. The relationship of the demographic and historical characteristics of these communities to their parish churches and the changes within the wider institutional church can be understood only through research rooted in participant observation and interviews.

The humanistic philosophy on which this research is based draws upon the methods of ethnography, participant observation and qualitative interviewing, in order to grasp and to convey the inner life and texture of diverse social enclaves and personal circumstances. The central aim of ethnography is to understand another way of life from the perspective of the subjects, to realize their vision of their world. This study delves into three basic components of people's experience: what they know, what they do, and the meanings they attach to these. Based on the theory of symbolic interaction associated with George Mead and subsequently elaborated by H. Blumer,

this method rests on three premises : (a) that humans act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them; (b) that the meaning of such things is derived from the social interaction that one has with one's fellows; and (c) that meanings are handled in and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person dealing with the things he encounters. Mead proposed that "basic to human social organization is that of communication involving participation in the other" (1934,p.253). As he saw it, the 'self' required interaction with others and interpretation of the meanings which such relationships would involve. "One is influenced by the attitudes of those about him, which are reflected back into the different members of the audience so that they become to respond as a whole." The reflexive process which he describes involves the individual and the social group interacting in the context of a wider society.

Giddens' structuration theory provides a similar dialogical framework in terms of 'human agents' and 'social structures'. His theory incorporates the key concept of reflexivity as a process through which the production and reproduction of social life is achieved. It allows for individual frames of meaning being mediated by and actively changing the society within which they are situated. Both symbolic interactionism and structuration theory are contextual, and incorporate the possibility of power and

struggle as integral features of social life.

If we accept that meanings are important, then we must incorporate a research methodology which discerns meanings. As Buttimer, Ley, Jackson, Smith and others have argued, this necessitates an 'insider' perspective; the researcher has to try to understand the subject's point of view.

Knowledge, then, is an emergent property of enquiry. Experience is irreducible, and no other form of understanding can yield the authentic interpretations of society produced by this means of attaining a common identity between subject and object (Smith, 1984, p. 357).

The challenge is in making the link between the descriptive ethnography and logically rigorous analysis. Smith presents a cogent discussion of this process in which she underlines the crucial importance of logical inference, by which the researcher is able to draw conclusions about the essential linkage between two or more characteristics in terms of a set of theoretical propositions. Validation is achieved not through experimental replication, but through the logic of substantive argument, which itself is derived from an accumulation of experience and knowledge. What Susan Smith is proposing, therefore, is an analytically rigorous case study based on fieldwork and participant observation.

The problem in choosing an appropriate paradigm is

related not only to the nature of the enquiry, but also to the perspective of the researcher. "The choice of a paradigm is not value-free" (Baum, 1987,p.217). In opting for symbolic interactionism and structuration theory, I have tried to incorporate concepts which acknowledge the interdependence of the individual and society, and the importance of both statistical analysis and interpretive understanding through the use of qualitative techniques.

In his articulate discussion of the contextuality of theology, Douglas Hall has said that the relationship between religion and society is not merely one which should be "studied", but that it must involve a dialogue

with one's culture, a genuine give-and-take, in which the world is permitted to speak for itself, and in which therefore the Christian community opens itself to the risk of hearing things that it had not anticipated and to which it cannot readily respond. (Hall, 1989,p.79)

He goes on to argue for the need to question "dominant values and trends", and for the crucial importance of "the engagement of society" (p.115). The danger, Hall continues, is that contextualism as it applies to time

... will be too much influenced by the present and too little in touch with the past. Applied to place, it is the danger of being so thoroughly caught up in the life of one's own society (e.g. region, nation, language-world) that one tends to lose sight of the larger human community (Hall,1989,p.123).

As this research shows, some of the responses of Montreal Anglicans to the changing social and political milieu in Quebec indicate a reticence to move into the present, and seem to preclude participation in the global community.

#### Documentation

At the level of the Diocese, there is analysis of the documentation available from annual synod meetings; the monthly publications, the Anglican Journal (national) and the Montreal Churchman; articles which appear in the popular media from time to time; and various unpublished sources such as a report on French-English relationships prepared for the church in 1977, and a Long Range Planning Report based on the 1981 census, prepared for the Anglican Church of Canada several years ago. These various documents reflect the biases, concerns, and priorities of the church as it has confronted the many changes within its own structures and in the society around it. Minutes of meetings reflect policy planning concerns in the motions being presented, while the bishop's annual address is a clear indicator of the priorities of the church leadership. Editorials, letters to the editor and articles in the newspapers, and the results of surveys, have also provided documentary evidence of the ways in which the Anglican church and its people have responded to the social and political context.

### Statistical Data

At the Diocesan level, data relating to financial commitment, membership, and attendance can be compared to national figures, as well as to the figures of other dioceses. Whereas the documentary analysis will provide substantive data with respect to actual concerns and debates in the Quebec church, the statistical analysis will allow conclusions to be drawn with respect to degree of difference or similarity between Montreal and other dioceses in Canada, with respect to involvement and participation in the life of the church. The processes and meanings which have created the figures will, of course, be somewhat ambiguous, requiring analysis of complementary data.

At all levels, national, diocesan, and parish, it was possible to have time series data for attendance at regular services, numbers of Easter and Christmas communicants, and financial contributions. Parish income includes both 'open' and 'identifiable' offerings, in regular pledged envelopes or as contributions which are receipted for tax deduction purposes. It was possible to exclude the revenue from endowments and rental of church facilities which I do not consider to be representative of ongoing commitment. Data for the contribution to 'mission', or to purposes beyond the borders of parish and diocese, are treated separately in order to assess the extent to which Montreal Anglicans were willing

to support the church in other parts of Canada and the world. These data have been obtained for the years 1961 to 1988, with a few small gaps at the parish level.

One interesting question which has been the subject of discussion for the Canadian church as well as for parishes is how to define 'membership'. Many parishes seem to include everyone on their 'parish list' as a member, even people who were married in the church and have never appeared again. People who have moved away but may continue to receive mailings, and entire families sometimes remain on the list when only the parents still live in the parish. On the other hand, priests do tend to have a periodic review of these lists with their corporations, when only those people who have retained at least nominal links through a once a year attendance or financial contributions are kept on the list. Over the 27 years of the study the membership numbers do reflect the reality of participation although in the short term they may not be a precise measure. Generally the numbers will stay the same for five years or so then suddenly drop off when the list is brought up-to-date. The definition of membership can become an important issue at the annual vestry meetings, at which those who are allowed to vote according to church Canon, must be "regular communicants over the preceding six months at this church." The definition of "regular" then can require the most diplomatic resources of the clergy.

While most of the statistical data appear to be acceptably consistent amongst churches and the diocese, there have been minor difficulties ensuring comparable attendance data because of differing recording practices of the clergy. Whereas the church requires annual audited reports of the financial figures, the attendance at morning services was not always recorded. Sometimes only communion services were recorded; other times only the number of communicants is available. Use of attendance figures in the individual parishes, therefore, requires some judicious and knowledgeable decisions in order to ensure their compatibility. For example, at one church the priest was involved with the Masonic Order, and regularly held services attended by 150-200 people who were not part of his usual congregation. These numbers would substantially augment the average annual attendance figures, and therefore those services had to be deleted from the calculations.

The reliability of the financial data is affected mainly by changing volunteer personnel. Although it affected only one of my parishes, records maintained by the wardens, who may not fill their position on the corporation for more than a few years, occasionally disappear when they are kept at home and the church loses track of them. Another common problem is the rotation of priests who may not be knowledgeable about the terms of endowments, for example, and therefore the current



priest is dependent upon wardens for the information which tends not to be written down. The result is that debates are common, especially at the annual vestry meeting, about whether or not the interest on endowments may be used for purposes such as operational expenses and to cover the deficit.

Membership lists were made available to me in every parish, so that I was able to map the residences of all parishioners. This has provided an interesting series of spatial relationships in which the distance factors vary significantly according to the characteristics of the congregation. These maps provide one more element to consider in searching for the meaning of community in parish churches.

In a survey sent to each of the eleven regional deans in the diocese, I asked that the parish priests fill in a single sheet questionnaire at one of their regular clericus meetings. The response to this was 76%, with only one deanery not responding despite several follow-ups. The survey, directed at responses to changes in the church, requested information about the use of the new prayer book, acceptance of pre-confirmation communion, and adoption of the new ecumenical lectionary. This survey provided substantial information which I have compared to a national survey conducted 8 months earlier.

Qualitative Data and the Five Parishes

Another area of investigation was the particular activities of the diocese and the individual churches, such as whether or not there was concern for social justice, mission outreach, women's issues, prayer, clergy training and so forth. While a diocese may reflect particular aspects of the region and society in which it is located (such as a concern to help the unemployed, for example), there are also important relationships involving the leadership through the bishop. In attempting to understand these relationships, data relating to areas of activity and participation have been gathered from a variety of sources : diocesan records, the newspapers, publicity bulletins and meetings. Related to participation in different types of activities is the question of financial support of outreach initiatives, outside the diocese and/or individual parishes, figures for which are available from the national archives.

Changes in the church have often been controversial, and the extent to which they are accepted or resisted is another question which has been explored. Through surveys, interviews and analysis of meeting minutes, it has been possible to discern the responses of the diocese and individuals in their churches to changes which are occurring nationally. The responses at the diocesan level can be compared to what is being experienced in the parishes and by the individual church

member through participant observation and interviews. For all of the data obtained at the national and diocesan levels, it has been possible to have comparable information at the level of the parish, and in addition to generate qualitative data which is particularly relevant to understanding the meanings which people attach to their financial contributions; to their attendance at church; to the activities in which they participate; and to their acceptance of or resistance to change.

The selection of the five parishes was done in consultation with the bishop in the summer of 1987. I had requested an interview with him in order to inform him about the study I was proposing, and to get his support so that I would have access to documents in the individual churches. The criteria for the selection of the churches were: 1) that there should be a maximum of five for reasons of manageability, and 2) that they should represent a variety of social groups, located in differing urban-rural situations. Table 1 on the next page summarizes the main characteristics of the five.

Having selected the five parishes, I contacted the priest in each one and arranged to meet with him in order to discuss the level of my participation over the next few years : attending meetings, visiting bazaars, participating in dinners

Table 1  
FIVE STUDY PARISHES

Name	Location	Average family income surrounding census tracts (1986 Census)	No. on Parish List
St. Matthias	Westmount mid-city	\$95,000.	800 indivs. 437 resids.
Resurrection	Pte. Claire suburbs	46,000.	587 indivs. 169 resids.
St. Paul's	Knowlton rural	40,000.	755 indivs. 159 resids.
Grace Church	Pt. St. Charles mid-city	20,000.	274 indivs. 158 resids.
La Nativite	Rosemont mid-city	15,000.(est.)	377 indivs. 160 resids.

and pot luck suppers, even joining a cross-country ski outing. After two years of such contacts with all five churches, I began more structured interviews which took between 40 minutes and 2 1/2 hours. The activities generated hundreds of pages of notes; in a few cases they were transcribed from tape recordings. Most interviews were taped, although some people preferred that I record the interview in writing. The cooperation and support I received were quite remarkable, particularly since my questions related to personal spirituality and to perceptions about the socio-political situation in Quebec.

The meetings which I attended provided some of the most interesting information because they offered an

opportunity to see the church leaders interacting amongst themselves, while discussing and debating the various issues, priorities and concerns that would guide their church. At two churches there were meetings called for the sole purpose of examining their 'mission', including discussion of what they considered to be their strengths and their weaknesses. These provided illuminating insights into how decisions were being made, and what meanings the church has for people. I was always made to feel most welcome at all of these discussions. At two other churches priests had prepared descriptive reports about their churches, which were aimed at understanding the characteristics of the people and their needs. These were made available to me.

#### Considerations in the Significance of Financial Data

The financial data for parish income provide another interesting perspective on the meanings given to the church by Montreal Anglicans. Interpreting the financial data necessitated consideration of the question of philanthropy in Canada. I have described the national patterns of philanthropic giving and the analysis of these patterns by researchers in the field in order to assess the significance of my own data relating to donations to the church.

The decision to donate time, talents, and money to humanistic causes is grounded in cultural, social, historical,

economic, political, psychological, and philosophical forces. Attempting to discover and describe the patterns underlying the decisions and behaviours associated with humanistic activities has been the focus of research for Samuel Martin for many years.

Ethnicity, religion, education, and age : these are four fundamental characteristics that shape and influence man's humanistic behaviour. More subtle, but perhaps equally important, are actions and patterns rooted in how man chooses (or is ordained) to organize his life and occupy his days - lifestyle. (Martin, 1985, p.97).

In his book An Essential Grace, Martin identified three clusters of factors which he summarized as : 1) the ability to give (wealth, income, taxation); 2) Level One influences or high order motives emanating from inner values such as tradition, religion, philosophy and altruism; and 3) Level Two factors which originate outside the individual, such as ethnicity, education, recognition, and social acceptance. He comes to the conclusion that, despite some effect of income and "ability" to give as factors affecting charitable donations, the fact remains that :

No force in society is more pervasive and powerful than religion in shaping man's philosophy, his feelings and behaviour to mankind, his moral conscience, his benevolence (Martin, 1985, p.120).

His studies and those of other researchers all confirm a strong correlation between the degree of religious commitment and the level of financial generosity to all humanistic organizations. Contribution to religious groups is the single most important factor in 'explaining' or predicting the inclination to donate time or money to all groups.

More money is donated by individuals to religious organizations than is raised through donations from all sources by all other charitable organizations combined...more than \$1.3 billion in 1980. It is not surprising that the degree of one's religious commitment is the strongest single motive for giving money to the church. What is not widely known.....(is that the) degree of religious commitment, also is the most consistent and powerful motive associated with donations to non-religious organizations (ibid,p.185).

Supported by statistically significant data, Martin is unequivocal in stating that generosity declines systematically with a decrease in a family's stated religious commitment. He goes on to point out the implications for philanthropy in Canada when fewer people are maintaining strong religious ties, thereby foregoing the religious - moral philosophy that emphasizes responsibility, compassion, and sacrifice. Table 2 summarizes his findings.

TABLE 2  
FAMILY DONATIONS BY DEGREE OF RELIGIOUS COMMITMENT, 1981

	strong religious ties	frequent attendance	infrequent attendance	No religious ties
Donating more than \$100.	88 %	69 %	45 %	37 %
Family donations				
* religious	\$ 1,105.	\$ 264.	\$ 84.	\$ 21.
* non-religious	378.	133.	202.	189.
Total	1,483.	397.	286.	210.
Percentage of income	4.3 %	1.3 %	0.8 %	0.5 %
Hours of personal service	118	94	63	50

(Source: Martin, 1985, p.192)

Not only are those who have a strong religious commitment more likely to donate their time and money to humanistic causes, but the amount of their contribution as a proportion of their income is almost nine times higher. In his regression model, Martin identified a hierarchy of factors affecting the amount of family donations. In descending order of importance they are : degree of religious commitment, level of family income, number of dependent children, and affiliation with other Protestant denominations. In addition there were factors related to the proportion of family income, which included those already listed, plus the number of



community organizations served, Anglo-Saxon racial origin, level of residential and occupational mobility, and education. Significantly, the level of family wealth (as distinct from income) was not strongly associated with either absolute or relative size of donations.

Other studies by Deeg and Kitchen show relationships of philanthropy to income, family life cycle, and regionalism which have important implications for the data in my study. These relationships will be discussed more fully in Chapter 6 when I examine the financial data for Montreal's Anglican churches.

#### CHAPTER IV - QUEBEC : CONTEXT FOR ANGLOPHONES

In every respect except calendar time, centuries - not decades - separate the Quebec of the 1980's from the Quebec of the 1950's (Guindon, 1988, p.138).

For the francophone middle class, neo-nationalism - with its francophone assertiveness and delegitimation of anglophone power in Montreal - would represent an important declaration of collective self-worth in response to a history of cultural stigmatization (Levine, 1990, p.45).

Any discussion of the history of anglophones in Quebec must incorporate an understanding of the questions of identity and social power which have been at the centre of all French - English relationships in Quebec since the Eighteenth Century. The worldviews of these two main language groups have fundamentally different assumptions, the French seeing themselves as the majority in a French-speaking province, but under constant threat of extinction because of their minority status in North America; and the English having the confidence of a majority in North America, but being made painfully and more frequently aware of their minority position in the province. Anglophones today account for fewer than 800,000, less than 10% of the total population of Quebec. This simultaneous and contrasting experience for both groups is the ground upon which individual and collective identities have evolved. One French-speaking observer has commented that, "The relations between the French-speaking and English-speaking

communities are difficult at the present time because each community is experiencing, separately and vis a vis each other, an identity crisis (Letourneau, 1990). Historically, language has always been one essential element of group identity in Quebec. A second element has been religion. While the relevance of religion as a source of personal identity has been diminishing over the past 30 years, its relationship within culture continues to be very different for the two founding collectivities, French and English. I am suggesting that for anglophones whose very sense of survival is threatened, the need to define a community of meaning is being manifested in a continuing commitment to the church. Religion for some, despite its diminished role in personal meaning systems, continues to provide an important role as a cultural and social institution protecting and promoting individual and collective identities.

One important element in the identities of anglophones has been that of social power, through which they have traditionally been in control of their major institutions. But since 1961 the balance of power has shifted dramatically. With the beginning of the Quiet Revolution in the early sixties, the overarching role of the Roman Catholic church in Quebec in education, government, and all social relationships has been largely superseded by a secular francophone elite. Concurrently, and with even more significant implications for

English-speaking Quebecers, the balance of power between the two language groups has been reversed forever. By 1976, with the election of the separatist Parti Quebecois, anglophones were faced with the reality that they were no longer able to behave as a majority and that their status was being re-defined for them, as a minority in the province.

In addition to having to re-interpret what it means to be part of the "distinct society" of Quebec, a secondary dilemma for anglophones is that they do not constitute a homogeneous community who possess a common story. Whereas francophones lay claim to a common heritage of historical experience, anglophones in Quebec are an increasingly diverse group without either the historical commonality of experience, nor the ethnic links which can foster a sense of community. Until 1941 anglophones were mainly from the British ethnic community. But with the immigration of Jews, Italians and later Greeks and Portuguese, the majority of whom adopted the English language, the anglophone 'community' became less British. By 1971 people of British heritage constituted only 61% of Montreal's anglophone population (Levine, 1990, p.10). Furthermore, as many commentators have pointed out, since the mid-Seventies there has been a remarkable lack of leadership which previously had come mainly from the business elite. The demographic studies done by Gary Caldwell show two clear trends amongst the anglophone population : one is a spatial

differentiation, with Montreal claiming an increasing proportion of the English-speaking people; the second is the increasing heterogeneity of the group in Montreal, while off-island the dominant group continues to be of Anglo-Celtic origins. In other words, not only is there no ethnic or cultural homogeneity, there is also a spatial discontinuity, which means that anglophones are even less able to express themselves as a community. Finally, although as a percentage of the Quebec population, the number of "English mother tongue" has declined steadily since 1851, since 1976 there has also been a decline in absolute numbers.

A summary of the significant time periods and key events having an impact upon the perceptions and sense of security amongst anglophones is shown in Table 3. From the beginnings of this century French Quebec has undergone a profound metamorphosis, from rural to urban society, and from an agrarian to an industrial economy. Accompanying these changes has been an increasing determination by Francophones to change the inherently unbalanced nature of the distribution of power. Gradually, this has led to profound changes at the ideological level, encompassing a move away from the church, strong support for state involvement in the economy, and growing assertiveness in relationships with the federal government. A new neo-nationalism accompanied the shift from church to state power, and from anglophone dominated business to a

TABLE 3

## CHRONOLOGY of KEY SOCIO-POLITICAL EVENTS

- 1959 - death of Premier Maurice Duplessis
- 1960-61 - Quiet Revolution; Maitre chez nous
- 1967 - publication of Bilingualism & Biculturalism report
- 1968 - riots in Italian district of St. Leonard (Montreal) as a school board eliminates English as the main language of education
- 1969 - Bill 63 : the government affirms right to choice of language of education
- 1970 - kidnappings of James Cross & Pierre Laporte, and imposition of the War Measures Act in October
- 1974 - Bill 22 : French made the official language of the province; limits access to English schools to those who already have a working knowledge of French, and establishes programs for francization of firms doing business with the Quebec government
- 1976 - election of the separatist Parti Quebecois
- 1977 - Bill 101 : restricting access to English schools, intensified francization programs, and elimination of most English signs; French the sole official language of the National Assembly and the courts
- 1980 - Referendum : "Sovereignty Association" is rejected
- 1982 - Constitution repatriated without Quebec's signature
- 1987 - provisional acceptance of the Meech Lake Accord
- 1988 - Bill 178 : using the notwithstanding clause of the 1982 constitution, overrides a decision of the Supreme Court which affirmed the rights of stores to have a second language on outdoor signs
- 1990 - rejection of the Meech Lake Accord, leading to renewed nationalism and support for separatism in Quebec

corporate sector controlled by French-Canadians through the political process. As a prominent element in Quebec politics and social relations, this nationalism became dominant only in the Sixties.

Since that time it has shaped Quebec's development and "mediated the specific roles that dependence, cultural division of labour, and relations among classes have played within this development" (McRoberts & Posgate, 1988, p.3). As late as 1960, the sociologist Hubert Guindon commented on the persistence of traditional elites, even in the face of sweeping economic change.

While the changes wrought by massive industrialization could have considerably altered the composition of the power structure at the top levels, they have not done so. The decisive importance of the clergy and its ascendancy over the French-Canadian political and commercial spheres have not decreased in the transition from the rural to the industrial society. Quite the contrary: the clergy's importance has been strengthened.....The structurally significant group of the recently urbanized population is not the urban workers, but the new middle class, a rapidly increasing group of salaried white-collar workers with no definite political ideology (Guindon, 1960, p.546).

Guindon has argued that a major reason for the apparently successful ethnic accommodation in Quebec until after the Second World War was the mutually agreed upon separation of institutions. "In the fields of education, religion, welfare, leisure, and residence, institutional self-segregation has been total" (Guindon, 1988, p.33). There was also spatial

segregation through which anglophones were able to live entirely in English, virtually ignoring French life around them.

Through 1960, the majority of Montreal anglophones could work exclusively in English, live in generally homogeneous English-speaking neighbourhoods, send their children to English-speaking schools, and enjoy a full range of English-language social service and health care facilities (Levine, 1990, p.16).

Domination of the economy, both national and provincial, gave English status as the language of power and upward mobility, a fact not lost upon the new immigrants who were attracted to the anglophone sphere. Language began to assume increased importance in the changing perspectives of the two founding collectivities. In his articulate discussion of the 'symbiotic relationship' which had developed between anglophone businessmen and francophone politicians prior to 1960, Levine points out that there was a mutual 'nonaggression' pact through which business leaders expected political non-interference in exchange for substantial corporate contributions to political coffers. Furthermore, even in the question of schooling there was "deference toward English and an acceptance of Montreal as a bilingual city in which French was a subordinate language." (p.33) This was rooted in an ideology of cultural survival through church control over education and social and health services. Neither group was interested in encouraging state involvement in language and educational issues. But the Quiet Revolution, inaugurated soon



after the death in August 1959 of Premier Maurice Duplessis, changed all of these relationships completely and forever.

Before 1960 there was no serious, sustained political debate in Montreal over French or English rights in the city; by the end of the decade, the Montreal language question had become the provincial political issue. The deferential attitude of francophones to English vanished, as did the serene sense on the part of anglophones that living in Montreal was no different from living in Toronto or Boston (Levine, p.39).

The Quiet Revolution not only represented a modernization of industrial structures and educational institutional, it was fundamentally an emancipatory movement. The call to liberation by Jean Lesage who proclaimed the need to be 'maitre chez nous' was a symbolic torch of freedom. Encouraged by their pride in successful hydroelectric developments, French Quebecers began to demand a full decision-making role in the development of their province. They set out to redress the imbalance of 200 years.

The disappearance of 'la foi' and 'la race' and the myth of the land as distinguishing characteristics left language as the last expression of national identity for French society in Quebec.....For the English and French in Montreal, language had become not only the principal point of difference but also the principal point of rivalry (Clift & Arnopoulos, p.61).

Analysis of the period of the early sixties raises a multitude of factors and trends, but ultimately focuses on the politicization of a new middle class. The Quiet Revolution was

a process of "liberation from a long-dominant ideology.....(it was) no long avoided reconciliation with social and economic development" (McRoberts & Posgate,p.95). It has been interpreted not merely as a utilitarian response to industrialization, but more significantly as an issue of identity which necessitated the affirmation of the French Canadian collectivity (Taylor, cited in McRoberts & Posgate, p.102). Francophones were no longer willing to exchange cultural survival for a higher standard of living. Both could be achieved by replacing the formerly dominant church by a new and more powerful state. The central theme of the Quiet Revolution, 'maitre chez nous', politicized language issues and thereby destroyed the linguistic entente which had existed since Confederation (Levine,1990,p.40). Nevertheless, through the sixties English remained the language of the economy. As late as 1971, while 75% of the Quebec labour force was French-speaking, only 28% of the top management jobs were held by francophones. (Renaud,1978,p.61) Even as the structures of Quebec's political, educational and health institutions were changing, English-speaking Quebecers remained dominant in the economy. As a result, the significance of what was happening was not immediately apparent to most anglophones.

Initially, in the drive for separation of church and state, for economic growth and educational improvements, it seemed as though their francophone neighbours were being

converted to English goals and values. "It was assumed that this ideological convergence would support a stronger Canadian unity, a unity that was impossible as long as French Canadians had subscribed to traditional values" (ibid,p.97). For French Canadians, on the other hand, the change in ideology touched every corner of social and political life. They were transforming their self-perceptions and affirming their own capabilities. They also redefined their boundaries, basing their nationalism on a territorial identification, which by the time of the 1980 referendum had "reinforced the boundary around Quebec, rendering the ethnic and collective space much more secure" (Waddell,1981, quoted in Handler, p.188).

The creation and expansion of state enterprises in the sixties, such as Hydro Quebec, the Societe generale de financement (SGF), and the Caisse de Depot, resulted in a major new francophone presence in the economy. The cooperative movement and more aggressive ventures into banking such as the caisses populaires and the Banque canadienne nationale solidified their positions. At the same time, however, Montreal was declining as a national economic center, a trend which undermined an important structural support to anglophone power. Inevitably, French opinion leaders began to question the role of English-speaking business making decisions for the provincial economy (Clift and Arnopolous,p.120). With francophones demanding more equitable representation at

managerial levels, and a 'language of work' reflecting the provincial demographic structure, anglophones began to feel that their own economic opportunities were being threatened. The separation of economic worlds was being challenged.

When the government began its systematic overhaul of the educational system, removing church control, anglophones at first supported the changes. But when attention focused on language, and legislation was proposed which would restrict entry to English-language schools, anglophones began to express their uneasiness, and finally strong opposition to the legislation. One response was for the Protestant school boards to open French schools, thereby legally allowing immigrants to enrol in their system and at the same time enabling the boards to retain their administrative structures. The irony, of course, is that this move has also created the possibility of French-speaking school commissioners being elected to the boards. As is now becoming increasingly apparent to anglophones, the creation of French schools, designed to protect their administrative control of education, is now threatening to have the opposite effect with a greater number of francophone commissioners being elected to the Protestant boards. The result is an awareness by anglophones that even in the field of education there is an erosion of the control which they had retained even after the 'Revolution' of the sixties.

Similar concerns are being expressed continually about the loss of power over hospitals and other social welfare institutions. Even municipal jurisdictions are being affected, with laws basing the "bilingual status" of a town on the demographic structure of the population.

This new political dependency of institutional managers on the state (has) had the added effect, in the case of the anglophone institutional elite, of transforming them into a minority dependent on majority decisions, or, what is more to the point, on the majority's definition of the rules of the game (Guindon, 1988, p.63).

Slow to recognize the import of the social changes around them, anglophones have also had difficulty adjusting to the reality that their status has been redefined for them. Clift and Arnopolous argue that this is because the English population in Montreal has traditionally been sheltered from the cultural and ideological experiences of other business elites. "...they have treated nationalism as a movement which could be turned back with economic arguments" (p.49). "In the 1960's, there was a transfer from religion to politics then, in the 1980's, a transfer from politics to economics" (Dufour, 1990, p.120).

The 'Quiet Revolution' of the sixties was fundamentally associated with ideological and structural change. By the seventies the new ideology was being implemented and firmly entrenched through legislation affecting education and the

language of signs, the most important of which was Bill 101. Its impact upon the perceptions of anglophones with respect to their status in the province cannot be overstated. While the regulations themselves are mere irritants in terms of their concrete effect on daily lives, their symbolic meaning has generated profound tensions. The adoption of Bill 178 in December 1988 represented for many anglophones the final denial of their individual rights, and the ultimate rejection of them as a legitimate part of Quebec society.

There is a price for a new political consensus in Canada. And certain groups will have to pay this price. Those two unfortunate groups are the French outside Quebec and the English in Quebec (Guindon, 1978, p.90).

### Migration Patterns

The election of the separatist Parti Quebecois in November 1976 provoked an immediate and dramatic response amongst anglophones in their migration out of the province. The net out-migration of anglophones from Quebec has been a major factor in the decreasing Anglican membership in Montreal. While the departure of English-speaking people has been important for many years, the rate increased significantly after 1975. Tables 4 and 5 summarize the interprovincial migration patterns for Quebec and its anglophone community.

TABLE 4  
 QUEBEC INTERPROVINCIAL MIGRATION, ESTIMATIONS  
 1966-67 to 1982-83

<u>Year</u>	<u>Entries</u>	<u>Exits</u>	<u>Net Migration</u>
1966-67	44,737	59,215	-14,478
1967-68	40,457	56,183	-15,726
1968-69	39,071	57,766	-18,695
1969-70	36,226	72,067	-35,841
1970-71	34,633	72,628	-37,995
1966-71	195,124	317,859	-122,735
1971-72	38,810	59,271	-20,461
1972-73	35,594	55,666	-20,072
1973-74	40,773	55,909	-15,136
1974-75	37,834	47,133	- 9,299
1975-76	32,915	45,557	-12,642
1971-76	185,926	263,536	-77,610
1976-77	28,867	55,233	-26,366
1977-78	23,945	70,374	-46,429
1978-79	25,524	56,408	-30,884
1979-80	22,018	51,994	-29,976
1980-81	22,905	45,746	-22,841
1976-81	123,259	279,755	-156,496
1981-82x	20,722	44,844	- 24,162
1982-83x	27,452	50,020	- 22,568

Source : M.Baillergon, 1983, p.50, based on sources in Statistics Canada

x Provisional figures

Examination of the figures in Table 4 clearly shows the significant increase in net out-migration after 1975, peaking in the 1977-79 period. However, it is also worth noting that an important component of the net figures is the decrease in the numbers of entries. Not only did Quebec experience high

out-migration, but as well, fewer people were moving into the province, one-third fewer in the late seventies compared to the first half of the decade. Therefore the churches would have experienced two trends having additive effects : one, the loss of members (especially young families); and two, a lower rate of new members joining. The combined impact on the churches was not only fewer members, but also older, more conservative congregations who were having to adjust to the turmoil of Quebec society. They were also being confronted with the possibility of changes within the church itself. Those who stayed, forming an increasing proportion of the congregations, are also people who have had a long history in their individual churches. These members have a strong sense of tradition and commitment.

Table 5 provides a further understanding of the nature of the migration patterns in Quebec since 1966, showing the contributions to interprovincial migration from different language groups. This table clearly shows the dominance of anglophones in the migration totals. Moreover, while there was an increase of 40% in the numbers leaving the province between 1976-81 compared to the previous five years, there was an equivalent 40 % decrease in the number of English speaking people coming into Quebec.



TABLE 5  
INTERPROVINCIAL MIGRATION TO & FROM QUEBEC  
ACCORDING TO MOTHER TONGUE  
1966-71, 1971-76, AND 1976-81

Migration	Mother Tongue			
	French	English	Other	Total
<u>Entries</u>				
1966-71	33,400	46,900	4,600	84,900
1971-76	37,200	41,900	4,700	83,800
1976-81	31,875	25,220	4,210	61,310
<u>Exits</u>				
1966-71	46,900	99,100	14,400	160,400
1971-76	41,300	94,100	10,400	145,800
1976-81	49,940	131,530	21,560	203,040
<u>Net</u>				
1966-71	-13,500	-52,200	-9,800	-75,500
1971-76	-4,100	-52,200	-5,700	-62,000
1976-81	-18,065	-106,310	-17,350	-141,730

Source: Baillargeon, 1983; from special compilations of census data.

The combination of higher numbers leaving the province and fewer English-speakers entering, meant that the net out-migration of English mother-tongue migrants doubled in the late seventies. Between 1974 and 1976 there was an average of 16,000 Anglophones leaving the province each year; whereas in 1977 there were 25,000 who left, an increase of 50%.

The characteristics of the anglophones who were leaving were also highly specific. As the figures show, the net loss of anglophones between 1976 and 1981 was 106,300 people, of whom more than half were between the ages of 20 and 44. Furthermore, one fifth of the English-speakers leaving the province held university degrees (Alliance Quebec, 1987). Between 1966 and 1981, not only had 15% of the English-speaking ('mother tongue') community left, but also those who were leaving represented the younger, more highly educated segments of the community. Of those in the English-speaking community who had a degree, one third left; and of those who were English and 20-29 years of age, one quarter left the province (Baillergon, 1983). In the period 1971-81 there was an 11% decrease in the 'English-mother tongue' population in Quebec according to the census. Moreover, and significantly for Montreal's Anglican church, those of British ethnic heritage showed an even higher rate of decrease which was over 16% in that decade alone.

In addition to concern about the separatist party in power, there was increased apprehension with the passing of Bill 101, limiting access to English schools and restricting choice in the language of signs. On the other hand, there was a feeling amongst demographers that the impact of Bill 101 on the decision to leave the province would be temporary (Maheu, 1983). While this indeed appears to have been the case, the

numbers of English-speaking people coming into the province continues to be low, with the result that net migration is still negative. The recovery from the 1977-78 period when the net loss of population was 46,429, to the 1985-86 year when the net loss was only 3,415 is significant (Alliance Quebec, 1987). When combined with a birth rate that is below replacement, the implications for the anglophone community in Quebec are obvious. The absolute numbers are declining; and the age groups most affected are the economically productive, family-forming groups. The average age of anglophones in Quebec is rising, and the number of children is falling. Furthermore, even after the 1980 Referendum which affirmed Quebec's desire to stay in Canada, "as many as 73,887 English-speakers may have left the province between 1981 and 1985" (Statistics Canada study, quoted in Alliance Quebec, 1987).

In his 1984 study examining the demographic trends in Quebec, Jacques Henripin did not foresee any change in the direction of these patterns. Examining birth rates, mortality rates, migration patterns, and linguistic transfers, his conclusions were that the number of anglophones in the province, in both absolute and relative terms, would continue to decline. He included economic and social considerations, incorporating four different socio-economic scenarios to arrive at his projections. Using the scenario of "mediocre socio-economic conditions and great improvement in the

situation regarding French", he has predicted a decline of 12% in the numbers of "mother tongue English speakers", and a decline of 20% in "English home language" by 2001 (Henripin, 1984, p.53). His 'low' predictions were between 3% and 7% for the two categories of English speakers. Just as important however, are the predictions for the age groups, which suggest a major increase in the proportion of the older groups, and a decrease amongst young people ages 0-19 years. In addition to an older and declining English-speaking population, the churches are now faced with the possibility of a second wave of out-migration. Based mainly on anecdotal evidence but referring to a May 1990 Sorecom poll, a column in the Gazette in June 1990 under the headline, "Anglo exodus has an echo", discussed the possibility that older people are beginning to follow their children partly as "a form of battle fatigue". A 'secondary exodus' would also be linked to an understandable desire to be closer to grandchildren. The poll indicated that 10% of anglophones were making plans to leave within two years, while 24% said leaving was a possibility. Those most likely to go, nevertheless, are in the 18-to-24 age group (46%) and the 25-to-34 group (42%). The community feels threatened.

A 1984 report by Alliance Quebec made the following comment on the Henripin projections:

The English-speaking community feels no less threatened today than the French-speaking community did

in the seventies. The demographic predictions for our community offer serious cause for concern. The shrinking numbers threaten our ability to maintain the institutions which support our community. This infrastructure of schools, cultural institutions, health and social service institutions is the tangible symbol of a society (p.58).

Absolute numbers are important; loss of social power is important; and perhaps also important is the experience of day-to-day living with these new relationships which seem to offer fewer opportunities "within reach". As Courtice Rose has argued drawing upon the concepts of Alfred Schutz, intricately woven into the concrete reality of numbers and corporate ownership are the individual subjective experiences of daily lives (Rose, 1985). A telling article in the Gazette in March 1991 reported on the increase in calls to Tel-Aide by elderly anglophones who "don't know what to do with their homes. Their families are all moving. They have no contacts left."

The one major anglophone institution which has not been directly threatened by the new laws and political ideology has been the church. In contrast to the changed relationships which the French Catholic church experienced in the sixties in relation to every other institutional sphere, the Protestant churches have not been directly threatened by new rules and administrations. Religion provides a possibility for protecting ethnic and cultural identity at the level of the local community. It also represents for many people, tradition, roots, shared experiences and memories. People

relate to it at both the individual and the collective levels. The church offers both local community relationships with particular histories and myths and, through the institutional structures, a link to traditions affirming cultural identity and rooted meaning systems.

## CHAPTER V - THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN QUEBEC and CANADA

### THE CHURCH IN CANADA

The place of the church in the Canada of 1967 was graphically symbolized by the manner of its presence at Canada's centennial fair. When Expo '67 was being planned, a group of French-speaking priests and ministers in Montreal determined that the church would be worthily and imaginatively represented. The Christian Pavilion that resulted was an ecumenical venture, sponsored by Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox churches, and planned by members of several linguistic and cultural groups. .... Conservative evangelicals would have nothing to do with the ecumenical project but sponsored an exhibit of their own entitled "Sermons in Science". Here the message was clear, positive, and unambiguously religious. (Grant, 1988, p.225)

This observation by John Grant encapsulates the significant changes which were defining the religion-society relationships in the sixties. It was the publication in 1963 of Pierre Berton's The Comfortable Pew that focused Canadian public attention on the issues and problems of upheaval in the church. His book challenged the church and provoked widespread debate. "Worship, social outreach, evangelism, preaching, and fellowship all came in for serious and provocative criticism" (Stackhouse, 1988, p.210).

In the wake of Vatican II and profound changes in the Roman Catholic Church, the Protestant mainline churches began to examine their place in society, the results being published

in reports such as the Mutual Responsibility document of the Anglican Church in 1964. The churches sought to become more relevant, to determine appropriate responses in an increasingly secular society. The 'kiss of Peace' was revived, and as Grant describes, many other innovative practices were introduced.

Celebration replaced reverence as the ideal of liturgical reformers, introducing displays of banners, flourishes of trumpets, and a revival of liturgical dance. A splendid red hymn book published by the Anglican and United churches in 1972, along with other new denominational collections, had to contend from the outset with stiff competition from contemporary compositions that made free use of folk rhythms. Some experimenters brought into play current techniques of group dynamics and sensitivity training. (Grant, 1988, p.230)

The publication of the Dumont Report in 1971 underlined the need for increased lay involvement in church life, and greater participation in social justice. Questions of public policy began to provoke more interest, and led by the Catholic Church there was increasing radicalization of theological interest. Liberation theology and the 'preferential option' were discussed amongst Catholics, while Anglicans continued a more traditionally cautious response. A 1969 study commissioned by the Anglican Church on the relationship of the church to native peoples "startled them by its frankness into a process of self-examination" (Grant, 1988, p.232).



Adding to the turmoil during these years of self-examination and attempts to change, was the emergence of increasingly pronounced divergent paths within individual churches. New cults and sects were one part of this trend. But within the mainline churches charismatics, evangelicals, 'Catholic' Anglicans, and traditionalists became increasingly polarized, generating tensions and resentments down to the parish level. Furthermore, the ecumenism of the late sixties had begun to wane by the early seventies, and by 1975 was in retreat. Efforts at formal ecumenical advance ceased in 1985. Despite this, evidence of informal ecumenical cooperation is reflected in conferences and workshops, especially amongst those church members working for social justice.

The pluralism which I have briefly described here is one characteristic of the 'secularization' described in Chapter 2. As discussed earlier, secularization is an ambiguous term referring to a decline in religious participation and a marginalization of religion as a source of reference for social values. It is also a process of fragmentation through which the various aspects of life become compartmentalized or separated from each other.

Philanthropy has long gone, taken over by big business and the state. Politics has been almost completely secularized, despite the religious origins of the CCF and Social Credit. Community life, once dominated by religious societies and even church-sponsored athletic clubs, now has its centres

elsewhere. Most significantly of all, the transmission of culture through schools and universities no longer rests on even implicitly religious foundations. (Grant, in Slater, 1977, p.18)

One characteristic which seems to be part of the secularization process is the so-called 'marketing' approach to religion, which Bibby describes as 'fragmentation'. Within even a single denomination, there is a demand for and provision of many options, and religion is expected to provide 'satisfaction'. Commitment, without the social milieu supporting and demanding adherence, rather than being an obligation or a duty as in times past, is now tied to personal fulfilment. He argues that the drop-off in attendance is a symptom of the tendency to 'consume' religion selectively. "The fact that decreasing numbers of Canadians attend services every week suggests that many feel weekly attendance is unnecessary for experiencing what religious groups have to offer" (p.83). Grant describes these changes with particular reference to discernible "ideologies" within the church:

Since most local congregations today are virtually microcosms of Canadian society, those who wish the church to offer a distinctive witness are driven to counter-cultural positions of one sort or another.... ..evangelism has become almost synonymous with conservatism and social action with doctrinal novelty.....What seems most lacking is a sense of historical continuity that allows for movement with the times while retaining a sense of direction from the past (Grant, 1988, p.242).

This analysis points up the divergent threads of 'secularization', expressing a variety of needs and expectations amongst the faithful as well as various responses of the churches themselves. Across the country fragmentation seems to be a common pattern. "The movement from commitment to consumption is not limited to some parts of the country or some individuals or some religious groups. Fragment adoption is virtually everywhere" (Bibby, p.87). The relative proportions of people attending church had begun to decline soon after World War II, although absolute numbers of church members continued to grow until 1965. In Canada in 1946, 60 % of Protestants claimed to have attended a Sunday church service that week, a figure which had dropped to 45% in the mid-1950's, and to less than 30% by the mid-sixties. At present it is about 25% (Bibby,p.12). Table 6 shows the membership for Anglicans in Canada and Montreal since 1961. Canadian membership has fallen in that period by 37%, while membership in Montreal has decreased by 65%.

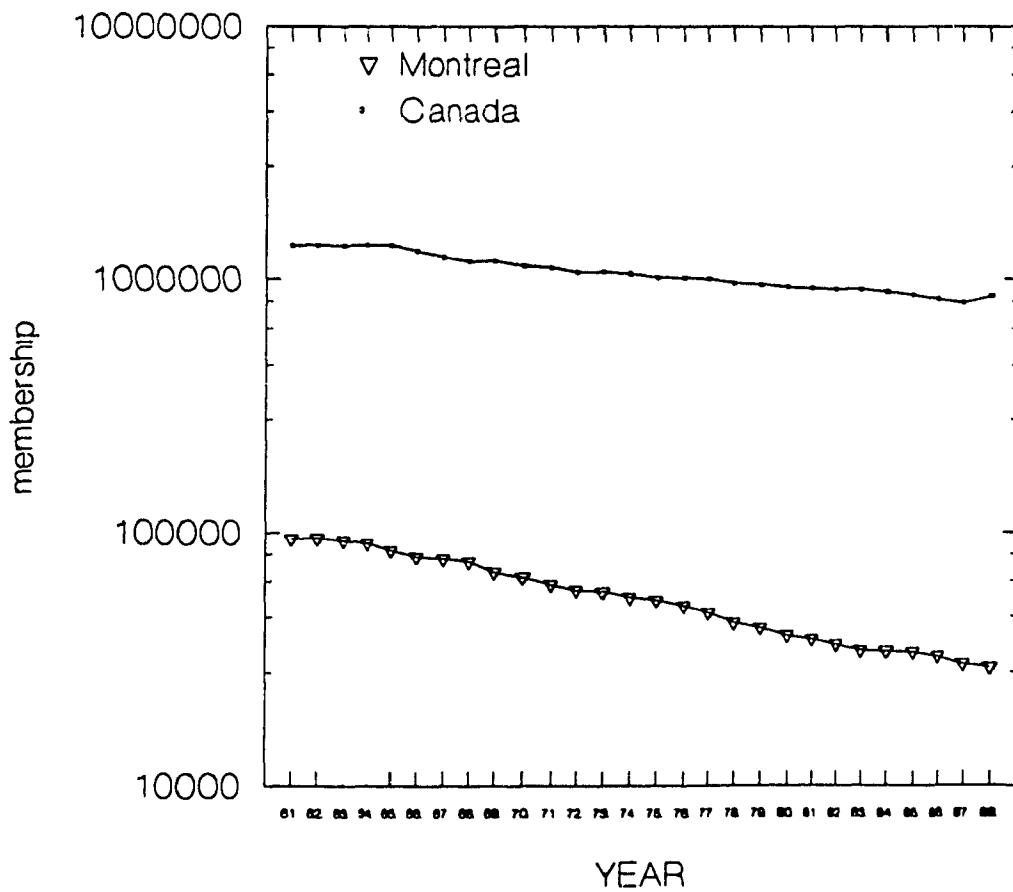
TABLE 6  
 ANGLICAN MEMBERSHIP, (ooo's)  
 1961 - 1985

YEAR	CANADA	MONTREAL
1961	1358	95
1966	1293	80
1971	1109	62
1976	1008	51
1981	922	38
1985	856	33

(Sources: Bibby,p.4; Synod Reports)

**Figure 1**

## MEMBERSHIP, Montreal &amp; Canada



On the other hand, while arguing for a common pattern of religious selectivity across the country, Bibby did discover significant regional variations in specific aspects of religious faith. As David Ley has pointed out in relation to other social measures, we see a marked increase in conservative values as we move from west to east, with the Atlantic provinces expressing the most traditional views (Ley, 1984). Everywhere a majority of people claim to believe in God; but in the "practice, experience, and knowledge" of Judeo-Christian faith, there is a persistent pattern of "Atlantic High, Pacific Low" shown in Bibby's data (p.87-89). Based on his 1985 questionnaire, a summary of his findings is presented in Table 7. His conclusion that "The range of Canadian religious commitment corresponds roughly to Canadian geography" (p.90), is uninformative with regard to the actual processes and meanings which are the important bases of the data. The statistically sound survey nevertheless provides one starting point for assessing what is happening in the Quebec Anglican church.

The Atlantic provinces and British Columbia are at opposite ends of the spectrum. Quebec shows a somewhat mixed pattern, but it approximates the Canadian average on most measures, except membership and baptism. For the Quebec figures (312 survey responses) there is no information as to

TABLE 7  
RELIGIOUS BELIEFS, PRACTICES, and INVOLVEMENT  
( % of population)

	CAN	ATL	QUE	ONT	PRAIR	B.C.
<b>BELIEF</b>						
God	83	93	90	79	83	73
Life after death	65	78	64	62	66	64
<b>PRACTICE</b>						
Prayer	53	71	54	52	54	41
<b>INVOLVEMENT</b>						
Affiliation	89	97	88	90	90	83
Membership	35	52	25	38	38	26
Attendance	25	42	27	23	23	19
<b>rites</b>						
Baptism	71	80	64	75	76	56
Confirmation	52	65	59	51	46	35

(Source: Bibby, p.88-89)

the relative proportions of French Catholics and English Protestants who responded. Bibby also examined the possibility of a relationship between "fragmentation" (different beliefs and levels of participation) and characteristics such as sex, education, and income. His findings are similar to those of American studies in which only modest relationships exist in these areas. The only demographic characteristic having any importance was year of birth, or the average age of respondents, although 'age' in itself was not shown to be an explanatory variable.

To the extent that there is a change in the commitment and participation styles of Canadians, the era in which one was born and subsequent socialization experiences have played a far more important role than formal education. Cultural and historical experience, rather than rational choice, seems to be the more important determinant of the style of religion Canadians adopt. (p.99).

In fact, what this acknowledges is the very limited scope of statistical relationships as a means of understanding the processes involved in changing religious patterns, and the meanings which people attach to their faith. It is precisely the cultural and historical experiences which are the subject of the current research.

#### THE ANGLICAN CHURCH and THE STUDY AREA

The patterns of membership and participation in the Canadian Anglican Church are similar to those described by Bibby for all denominations. A Long Range Planning Report prepared for the 1986 General Synod, and based on the 1981 census, summarizes the main patterns. In Canada, while about 10% of the population is Anglican, fewer than 10% of census Anglicans worship in churches on a weekly basis, and only 20% of members who are on church rolls worship on a weekly basis. Some of the most interesting findings reflect the trends referred to earlier described by David Ley and Reginald Bibby, specifically the east to west pattern of decreasing conservatism and adherence to traditional religious participatory patterns. The Anglican figures presented in the Long Range Planning Report show a pattern of east to west

declining rates of participation. The data show lower measures as follows:

- \* the ratio of confirmed Anglicans to census Anglicans, from 41 % in the ecclesiastical Province of Canada (Atlantic and Quebec), to 13 % in the Province of British Columbia;

- \* the ratio of average Sunday attendance to the number of census Anglicans; from 12 % in the east to 6% in British Columbia;

- \* the ratio of identifiable givers to census Anglicans, from 18 % in the east and 5 % in the west;

- \* and finally, the ratio of membership on parish rolls to census Anglicans: in the Province of Canada 2 out of 3 are members, whereas in British Columbia, only 1 in 5 of census Anglicans are on a parish roll.

When the Anglican Church first arrived in Canada from Britain with the first settlers it was as the Church of England, a name which did not change until 1955. It had a central role in the maintenance of order and morality, and it was taken for granted that it "was as necessary for civilization as language and political institutions" (Mol, 1985,p.212). Unlike the Catholic church for French Canadians, it did not become the guardian of English culture. According to Mol some of the reasons for this were the lack of missionary zeal, an accomodation to other English-speaking denominations, and a greater diversity of adherents, especially from the United States. It was a church associated with wealth and privilege, many of its members being leaders in the Canadian corporate world. It was only late in the nineteenth century that it began to move away from Bishop



Strachan's position that "a Christian nation without a religious establishment is a contradiction" (Grant, 1977, p.11). During the period of massive immigration in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the church was seen as the protector of Canadian identity, through the notion that the Dominion of Canada would reflect the 'Dominion of our Lord' (Clifford, 1977). This could be accomplished, it was thought, through the preferential encouragement of British immigrants and those of 'our stock', from Western and Northern Europe.

The close ties of the Anglican church to culture, class, and hierarchy were extended to the family unit, with strict rules regarding divorce, not relaxed until 1968. Mol argues that despite a tenuous correspondance between Anglicanism and the English culture, the Anglican church has perceived itself as an important protector of English culture, thereby separating itself through 'exaltation' (as the ruling aristocracy) and marginality (aloof from the rank and file). "In contrast to other ethnic groups, it could afford the relaxed posture of those to whom others adjust rather than those who have to do the adapting" (Mol, p.217). Related to this posture, and to continuing links with the church in England, there has been a significant leadership by bishops who were born in Britain. In 1952, only 10 out of the 26 bishops were of Canadian birth (Porter, 1966, p.515). Taking a

broader definition of Canadian roots as being "priested in Canada", 93% of the bishops between 1962 and 1976 were 'indigenous'.

Table 8 summarizes some of the main demographic characteristics of Canadian Anglicans. Anglican church members are English-speaking (98 %), and British (80.3%), compared to the Canadian population as a whole which is 68% English-speaking and 40% British. Anglicans tend to have a higher than average proportion of older people, and to be under-represented in the younger age groups. Compared to the Canadian average of 23% in the over 50 year age category, 29% of Anglicans are in this age group. In contrast, the 0 - 14 year age group accounts for 23 % of the general population, while this age group accounts for 20 % of Anglicans. There is also a slightly higher proportion of more highly educated people amongst Anglicans, 41 % had post-secondary education, whereas in the general population the figure is 39 %.

In the study area some of these characteristics are even more pronounced. The study area, the Diocese of Montreal, includes all of Metropolitan Montreal and outlying areas as shown on the map on page 94. From a membership of 94,891 in 1961, the membership in the church has fallen to 29,137 in 1988. (Figure 1, p.85) The appendix includes a glossary of Anglican terms, but a short summary of the administrative structure of the church will be helpful in following the discussion of the next two chapters.

TABLE 8  
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF ANGLICANS, 1981  
Canada, and Dioceses of Montreal, Quebec & Toronto

	Canada Angls. Pop'n		Montreal	Quebec	Toronto
% over 50 years	29	23	36	35	30
% over 65	10	9	16	13	18
avg. hhld. income, \$000	30	29	35	21	34
Not in labour force, % > 15 yrs.	37	35	42	33	52
%, Non-mover since '76	53	48	55	68	52
%, Post-Sec. educ'n	41	39	47	28	43
% British heritage	80	40	84	89	84

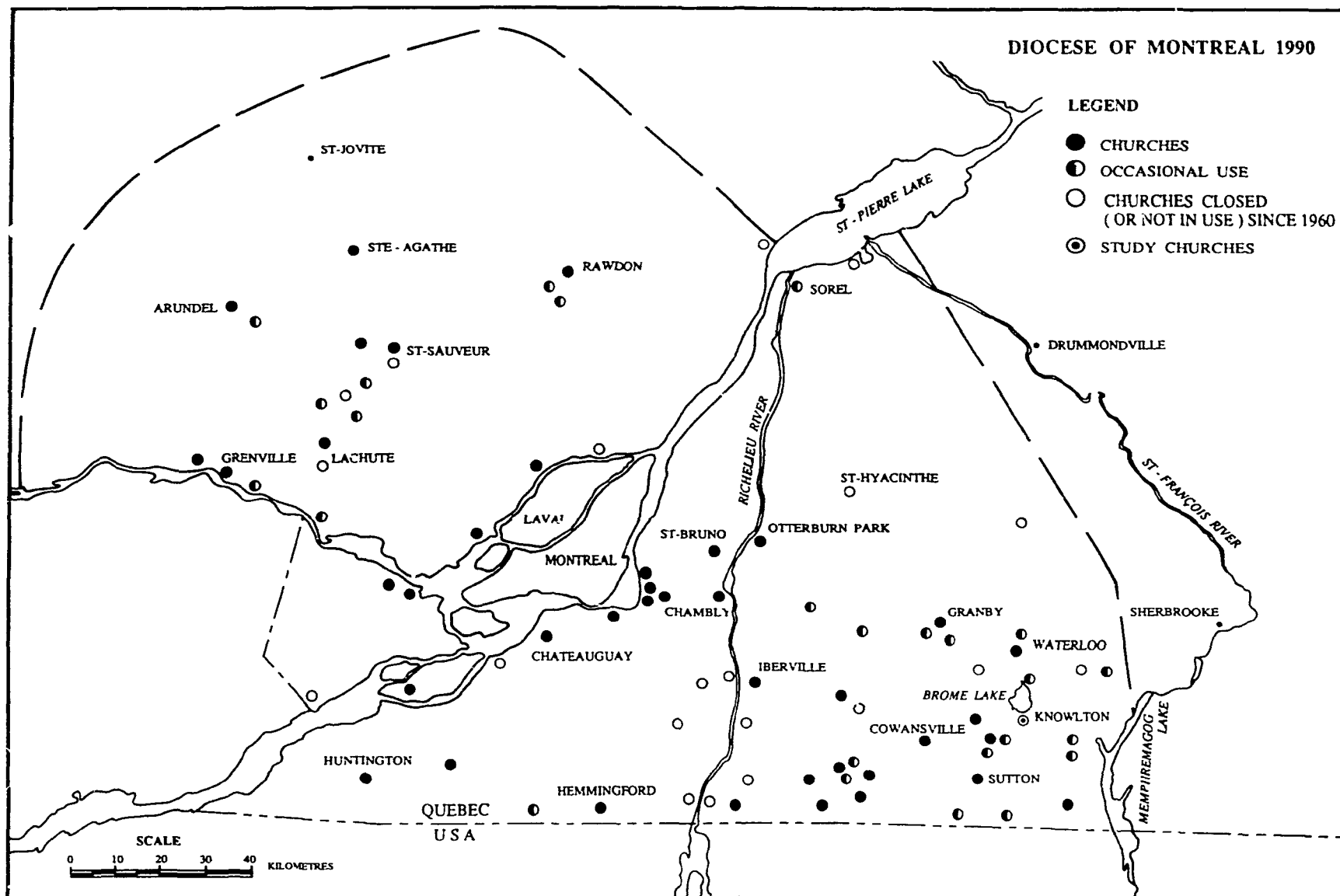
(Source: National Long Range Planning Report,  
Anglican Church of Canada)

The Anglican Church has divided Canada into four 'Provinces', which in turn are divided into Dioceses, of which there are 30 in Canada. The Primate is the elected head of the Canadian church, and each Diocese is headed by a bishop who is elected by both clergy and laity. There is no fixed term of office, with retirement or resignation being the decision of the bishop. Annual Synod meetings are held annually in each diocese, attended by the bishop, priests and representative

lay delegates, for confirmation of the budget and discussion and establishment of policies to guide the church.

Parishes are led by a priest and possibly an associate, who may have one or more churches and one or more congregations in his charge. A parish is referred to as a 'two-point' or 'three-point' parish, depending upon the number of churches. In Montreal Diocese in 1988 there were 104 active clergy, 78 parishes, 121 churches and 124 congregations. A church may be used by two distinct congregations, such as is the case at St.Luke's in Rosemount where an English service is held every Sunday morning by Rev.George Campbell, and in the afternoon a Haitian congregation meets under the name of La Nativite, led by Pere Yves Joseph. The number of services held is variable, and may use different liturgical forms and different prayer books.

The group which is legally responsible for the affairs of the parish is known as the 'Corporation', which includes the priest who is the rector, his/her appointed 'Rector's warden', and an elected 'People's warden'. The treasurer is appointed by the corporation at the annual vestry meeting, which must be held before January 31. Parishes are also run by a group of representatives from the various committees, called the 'Advisory Board', 'Parish Council', or 'Select Vestry'.



MAP 2

Some of the controversial issues in recent years have been the ordination of women, permitted in Montreal Diocese since 1978; admittance of young children to communion before confirmation; acceptance of an ecumenical lectionary (which stipulates the calendar of biblical readings); involvement in social issues such as refugees; and, the most divisive issue of all, the proposal to adopt a new, 'modern language' prayer book. The traditional prayer book is referred to as 'the red book', the Book of Common Prayer, or the 'B.C.P.'. The new prayer book, known as the 'B.A.S.' or the Book of Alternative Services, was introduced as a provisional book, approved by the National Synod in 1983, and published for distribution in 1985. It uses modern English and was introduced for a ten-year trial, at the discretion of the parish priest and in consultation with the congregation. Following the trial period there would be a decision taken as to the precise nature of a new prayer book. Many debates have focused on this point alone: whether or not the church will continue with two books, or whether the B.A.S. is a 'devious' introduction to an entirely new book, or whether some of the traditional B.C.P. will be retained in one book together with sections of the modern version. At the most recent Synod meeting, in June 1991, a motion was presented asking that the National church officially recognize and approve two prayer books. Of all motions presented at that meeting, it was this one which provoked the most vigorous discussion. In the end, with the

compliance of the new bishop, the motion was tabled. To date no consensus seems imminent.

The modern English of the B.A.S., and the various liturgical options which it includes, are only two of the controversial issues surrounding its introduction. There are also questions of doctrine which some feel is being altered, and the form of the service which is changed in the new book. The antagonism and dissatisfaction directed towards the B.A.S. and those who have taken strong positions in its favour reflect deep feelings which are not easily explained. As I shall suggest in the chapters to come, for the Montreal churches there may be a link to the Quebec context. Another factor is unquestionably the historical role which this book has had in the church.

Public prayer in Anglicanism has, from the mid-sixteenth century, been shaped by one remarkable book. All churches are made what they are, in great measure, by their distinctive ways of worship. But the Anglican ethos is peculiar in that so little else shares the central, formative, traditional place that is occupied by the Book of Common Prayer (Wolf, 1982, p.105, quoted in Marshall, p.112).

Even in the face of differing theological emphases and outlooks, the prayer book has been the source and inspiration for the corporate expression of Anglican spirituality. It is a book which has not insisted upon a specific shape to ministry, nor particular methods in prayer, nor even how to

use the scriptures.

The earliest Church of England prayer book was essentially an English-language version of the Catholic missal and breviary. A number of later revisions emphasized Protestant elements, and the version of the Book of Common Prayer finally adopted in 1662 was until this century seen by the evangelical wing as a guarantee of the Church's Protestant nature. The Anglo-Catholics, for their part, never ceased hoping for a prayer book that would emphasize the Catholic character of the church (Garvey,p.31).

In Britain, several parliamentary measures have been introduced and hotly debated, all centered "on the belief that not enough has been done to ensure the integrity of the Book of Common Prayer" (ibid). The prayer book is the pragmatic focus for Anglicans, the crux of their faith. Therefore any changes to it which seem to undermine its historical and traditional roots will inevitably be challenged. As one might expect, much of the antagonism to the B.A.S. has come from older members of congregations, while younger people tend to be more accommodating. There will be elaboration of this issue in the Quebec context in the following chapters.



## CHAPTER VI -

THE RESPONSE OF QUEBEC ANGLICANS TO A CHANGING CONTEXT

- A. Diocese of Montreal, 1961 - 1988
- B. The Documentary Evidence
- C. The Prayer Book and Changes within the Church

In 1961 in Montreal Diocese there were 94,891 Anglicans on parish rolls, in 99 parishes. By 1988 numbers had fallen by 69% to just over 29,000 Anglicans in 78 parishes. Numbers of people on the parish rolls ('members'), and the number of congregations, are two measures which can indicate the level of commitment and participation in church life. Numbers are useful in indicating levels of commitment and participation in church life, although no single indicator can stand alone as a measure of religious commitment. In this chapter I shall examine the trends in Montreal Diocese, including membership, financial contributions, identifiable givers, attendance at both regular and festival services, and contributions to 'mission' or causes beyond the parish or diocesan borders. Each of these has a slightly different meaning for those who are involved with the church, and therefore each shows a different pattern through time and in relation to other dioceses in the country.

As I describe the various indicators of Anglican

involvement in Montreal Diocese, it is important to recall several of the related issues discussed in previous chapters. In particular, the impact of migration patterns upon all aspects the church must be emphasized. In Montreal the very sharp decrease in the number of Anglicans of 39% in the period 1971-81, compared to 17% in Canada and 27% in Toronto, was directly linked to net out-migration of anglophones. (Figure 2) Furthermore the anglophone population itself was changing, to one less based upon an anglo-saxon heritage. Whereas in 1961, 73% of the English mother-tongue population in Quebec was of British origin, by 1981 only 60% of English speakers claimed a British heritage. For the Anglican church in Montreal, this suggests a diminution of its traditional membership on two fronts, language and ethnicity. Secondly, as already discussed, there was a national trend of declining church populations after 1963. Finally, as I touched upon in Chapter 3, the results of studies of Canadian philanthropy are relevant to the discussion of 'offerings' in the church, and will be elaborated upon in this chapter.

### Characteristics of 'Census Anglicans'

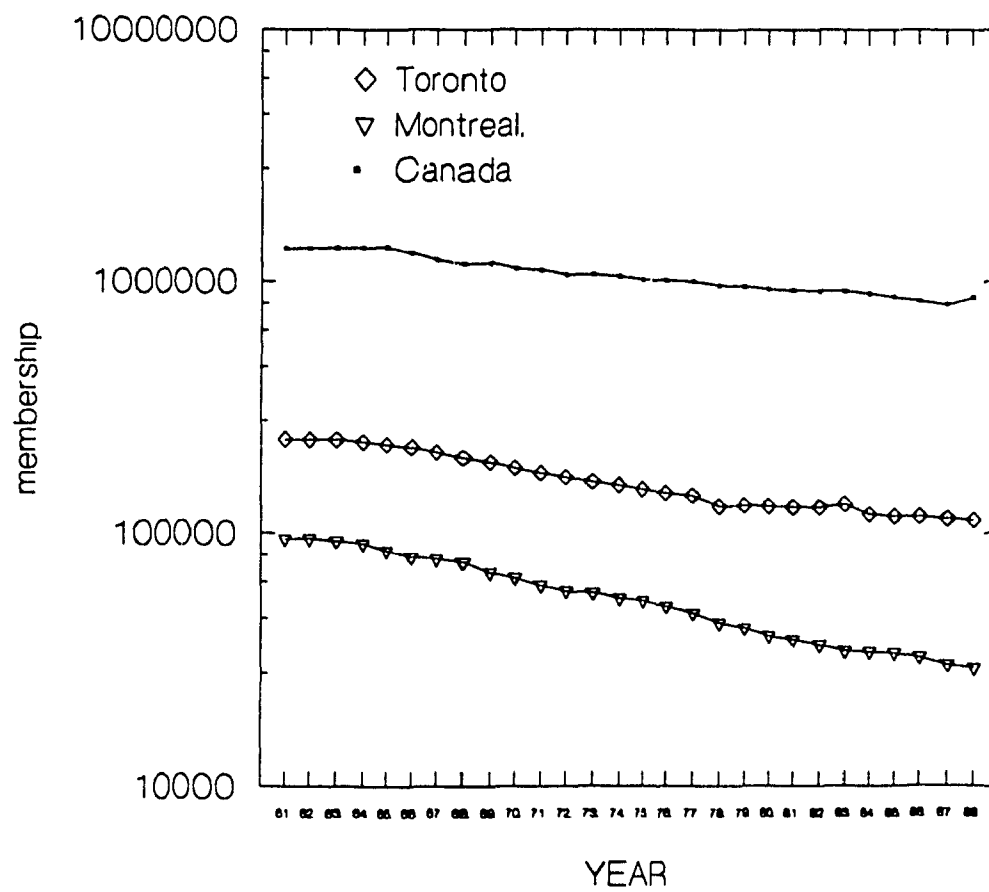
Describing the demographic characteristics of Anglicans in Canada and Montreal is possible only as a snapshot, for one year using the results of a specially commissioned Long Range Planning Report based on the 1981 census. The study showed

that Canadian Anglicans are overwhelmingly English speaking (98%) and of British origin (80.3%). They are over-represented in the older age groups and under-represented in the younger age groups. Thirdly, because of their age distribution they account for a relatively larger share of married, divorced and widowed persons. Fourth, they are slightly more educated than the population at large, and tend to have average or slightly above average family incomes.

Montreal Diocese, because of the high net out-migration pattern, has a population even more dominated by an older age group which has a higher average income, although it is income which is fixed because of pensions. Table 8 in the previous chapter summarized the demographic characteristics of Montreal Anglicans in 1981, with comparisons to Canada, and Quebec and Toronto Dioceses. The figures show that both dioceses in Quebec have older and less mobile populations than Toronto or Canada as a whole. Nevertheless, in Montreal the average household income is 16% higher than the Canadian average, despite the higher proportion of retirees indicated by the high percentage not in the labour force. The high proportion of older Anglicans is important for the potential impact upon individual churches in terms of congregational acceptance of change; level of contributions; and in relation to the types of activities in the church. The lower percentages of in-migrants in Quebec churches also suggests a church

FIGURE 2

MEMBERSHIP, Montreal, Toronto & Canada



population firmly rooted in "the way things have always been done".

Another focus in the Long Range study was an analysis of church statistics relating to membership, attendance, confirmation and numbers of identifiable givers. One of the most striking patterns observed in these data is an east-west progression, with decreasing levels of involvement from east to west across Canada. For example, while nationally only one quarter of the census Anglicans have been confirmed, the percentages vary across the country from 41 % in the ecclesiastical Province of Canada, to 13 % in British Columbia. Table 9 below summarizes these regional patterns.

TABLE 9  
MEASURES OF INVOLVEMENT OF ANGLICANS  
BY DIOCESE & ECCLESIASTICAL PROVINCE, 1981  
PERCENTAGE OF CENSUS ANGLICANS

<u>Diocese</u>	<u>Members</u>	<u>Confirmed</u>	<u>Givers</u>	<u>Attendance</u>
Fredericton	67.9%	40.5%	14.5%	14.0%
Quebec	73.7	53.7	21.2	14.2
Montreal	38.3	27.1	11.9	10.8
Province, Canada	67.2	41.3	17.8	12.2
Toronto	25.0	17.0	7.6	6.8
Province, Ontario	33.5	22.3	9.7	8.0
Province, Rupert's	33.5	19.2	8.1	8.4
Province, B.C.	19.1	13.1	5.3	5.9
Total, Canada	37.8	24.0	10.3	8.6

(Source : Long Range Planning Report)

These figures show that Montreal Diocese, which is part of the Province of Canada, has patterns different from the rest of Eastern Canada. However, compared to the rest of the country including Ontario and Toronto, based on every measure in this table, Montreal Diocese shows higher rates of involvement. These figures all relate to "census Anglicans", those people who have identified themselves as Anglican, regardless of whether they are church members. As a percentage of 'census Anglicans' Montreal diocese in 1981 had higher membership on parish rolls, proportionately more confirmed Anglicans, and a greater percentage of people who attended services and supported the church financially than anywhere else in Canada except the Maritime provinces.

In contrast to Montreal, the participation rates in the Diocese of Quebec are even higher than the averages for the eastern ecclesiastical province, suggesting strong support for my hypothesis regarding the importance of the church as a community focus and as an affirmation of cultural values. While Montreal is substantially lower than the averages for the ecclesiastical province, they remain higher than the other major metropolitan diocese of Toronto by over 50% on all measures. Now I shall turn from 'census Anglicans' to those who are on parish rolls as members.

### Membership on Parish Rolls

Although the definition of 'membership' in one sense is very simple, as explained in the previous chapter, it nevertheless presents some difficulties. 'Membership' is the numbers of people on parish lists and because, to a large extent, it depends upon the discretion of the rector, it has to be used judiciously.

While there has been a general decrease in membership across the country, there is also a significant regional pattern having a distinctive east-west component. The regional pattern is shown in Table 10, with generally lower rates of decrease in Eastern Canada.

TABLE 10  
MEMBERS ON PARISH ROLLS, by CHURCH PROVINCE  
Percentage Change, 1961 - 1986

Ecclesiastical Province	% change 61-66	% change 66-71	% change 71-76	% change 76-81	% change 81-86
CANADA	-3.6	-6.0	+1.1	-5.9	-4.5
ONTARIO	-3.4	-15.4	-13.4	-9.7	-19.7*
RUPERT'S LAND	-6.3	-17.4	-10.8	-7.3	-5.1
B.C.	-11.4	-25.1	-17.3	-16.6	+1.6
<u>CANADA</u>	<u>- 4.8</u>	<u>-14.2</u>	<u>- 9.0</u>	<u>- 8.6</u>	<u>-9.5</u>

\* In 1984-85 Huron Diocese showed a decrease of over 40,000 members, a decrease of almost 50%, although all other figures, including the number of congregations, are virtually unchanged. (Source : National Synod Reports, 1962-87)

As these figures show, the years of greatest decline everywhere in Canada were in the late sixties, although the size of the relative change varied markedly, from -6% (1966-71) in the Maritimes and Quebec (the 'Province of Canada'), to -25 % in British Columbia. Montreal Diocese should be considered separately. The small rate of decline in the Province of Canada would be negligible were it not for the very sharp decrease in Montreal Diocese. The effect of Montreal on this Province's figures is clearly shown in the figures in Table 11. In 1961 Montreal Diocese accounted for over 25% of the Province of Canada's membership; whereas by 1986 its share had fallen to 10.7%. While membership in the Province of Canada, excluding Montreal, was 273,763 in 1961, it was 268,788 in 1986, a small drop of only 2%, compared to - 66% for Montreal Diocese, and over 38% for Canada as a whole.

TABLE 11  
MEMBERS ON PARISH ROLLS  
MONTREAL DIOCESE, % OF 'CANADA PROVINCE'  
1961 -1986

Year	M e m b e r s		Mtl., % Canada Prov.
	'Canada'	Montreal	
1961	368,654	94,891	25.7 %
1966	355,392	80,249	22.6
1971	333,950	62,154	18.6
1976	337,662	51,126	15.1
1981	317,774	37,735	11.9
1986	300,919	32,131	10.7

(Source : National Synod Reports, 1962-87)



In the 1976-81 period alone, Montreal's decline in absolute membership was double that for the rest of the 'Province' combined : 6497 for the rest of the 'Province', and 13,391 for Montreal Diocese. The sharp decrease in the number of Montreal Anglicans is, of course, directly related to the high net out-migration of anglophones described earlier.

Whereas the Montreal decrease in membership is uncharacteristic of the rest of its ecclesiastical province, the Montreal trends are similar to those of Toronto Diocese. The accompanying graph, on semi-logrithmic scale, (Fig.2, p.101) shows the significant decrease in membership (Anglicans on parish rolls), for Canada, Montreal and Toronto. The steepness of the line (indicating rate of change) shows Montreal as having the sharpest rate of decrease. The percentages are shown in Table 12. In the period from 1961 to 1986, Montreal Diocese experienced a decline of 62,760 from its parish rolls, representing two-thirds of its membership. In the same period there was a decrease of almost 40% in Canadian membership, and a decrease of almost 51% in the numbers on parish rolls in Toronto Diocese.

Table 12 provides a comparison of membership trends in the two major metropolitan dioceses and Canada as a whole. There was a precipitous decline in membership everywhere in the period after 1966. The peak year for membership in Canada

TABLE 12  
MEMBERS on PARISH ROLLS  
PERCENTAGE CHANGE, 1961 - 1986

<u>Years</u>	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Toronto</u>	<u>Montreal</u>
1961-66	- 4.8 %	- 7.1 %	- 15.4%
1966-71	-14.2	-20.8	- 22.8
1971-76	- 9.0	-16.8	- 17.7
1976-81	- 8.6	-12.3	- 26.0
1981-86	- 9.5	- 8.0	- 14.8

(Source : National Synod Reports, 1962-87)

was 1954, and the greatest rate of decrease occurred in 1966-67 when, in a single year, there was a drop of almost 6% in membership. Secondly, Toronto and Montreal experienced a sharper rate of decline compared to the Canadian average until the eighties when Toronto's decrease levelled off. In the years 1966-76, Montreal and Toronto show similar rates of decrease. This period is bracketed by two five-year periods when Montreal experienced twice the percentage decline in membership that Toronto did, and triple that of Canada. Especially notable is the decline of 26% in membership in Montreal Diocese in the period 1976-81, the years during which there was the highest rate of net out-migration.

#### Financial Contributions

In addition to membership on parish rolls, several other measures of church participation and commitment are important.

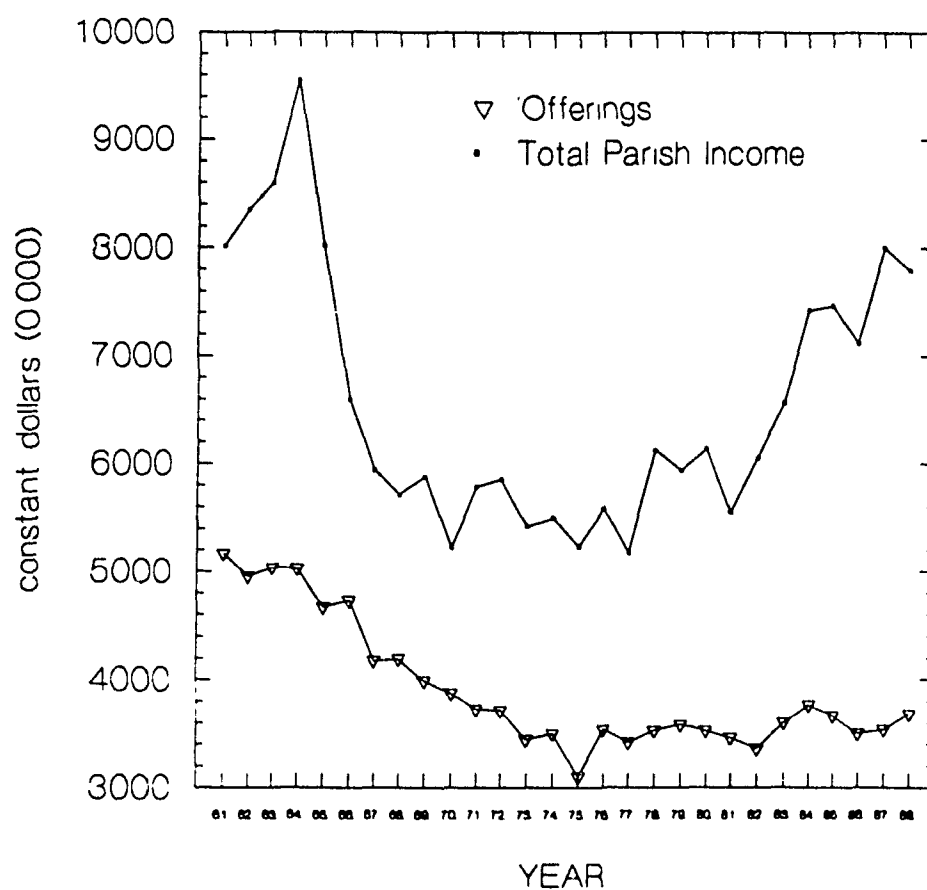
One of the most important is 'offerings'. The graph on the next page shows the relationship between 'offerings', which include 'open', 'regular envelope', 'special', and 'regular capital account', and total parish income. Endowment and rental income are the two significant sources of income which have been excluded from the 'offerings' in order to provide a more valid index of financial commitment on an ongoing basis. All financial data have been converted to 'constant 1981 dollars', using the Consumer Price Index. (Appendix C)

Two related measures of church participation are dollars for mission outside the parish or diocese, as an indication of the degree to which Montreal Anglicans are willing to support causes beyond their own borders; and, available on a limited basis, is the number of 'identifiable givers', those people who receive income tax receipts for their donations to the church. This second one provides a slightly more refined indication of church commitment than 'membership', although it does not necessarily reflect the numbers of people actually going to church.

The first graph (Figure 3) shows the total offerings for Montreal Diocese from 1961 to 1988. There is an almost continuous decline from 1961 to 1975, from a high of \$5m million (in constant dollars) to a low of just over \$3m million in 1975. The reversal after 1976 of this steady

FIGURE 3

## TOTAL PARISH INCOME &amp; OFFERINGS, Montreal



decrease is striking, particularly in view of the continued decline in membership, and can be seen to rise until 1980, when it declines slightly for two years, followed by a rise, stabilizing at \$3,500,000.

A more meaningful measure in terms of the commitment of individual Anglicans is the offerings per member, as shown in Figure 4. On a per member basis, the contributions in Montreal Diocese begin the sixties with sharp fluctuations, but then show a gradual increase to just over \$98 (per member, per year) in 1975. Then there is a dramatic increase in contributions, to \$158 in 1980, \$180 in 1984, and a peak of \$192 in 1987. When these figures are compared to the Canadian per capita values the increase in Montreal's financial contributions is even more startling. On the assumption that some of the same urban lifestyle, education, income, and high mobility patterns of metropolitan centres would apply to both Montreal and Toronto, per member contributions were compared to those for Toronto. Shown in Figure 5, the trends seem to be very similar. Examination of the figures in more detail, in Table 13 (page 113), shows that the per capita donations in Toronto are higher than those for Montreal from 1966 until 1977 when the gap narrows significantly. In 1980 for the first time Montreal parishioners are donating more to their churches per member than are Torontonians.

FIGURE 4  
'OFFERINGS' PER MEMBER, Montreal & Canada

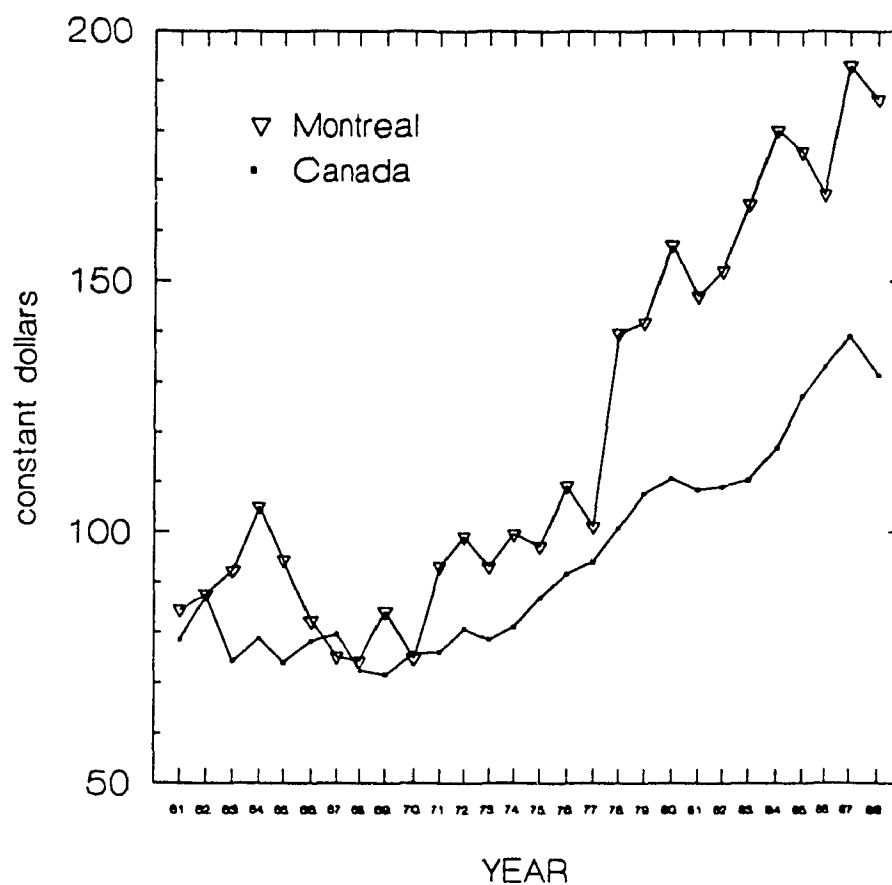


FIGURE 5

'OFFERINGS' PER MEMBER, Montreal &amp; Toronto

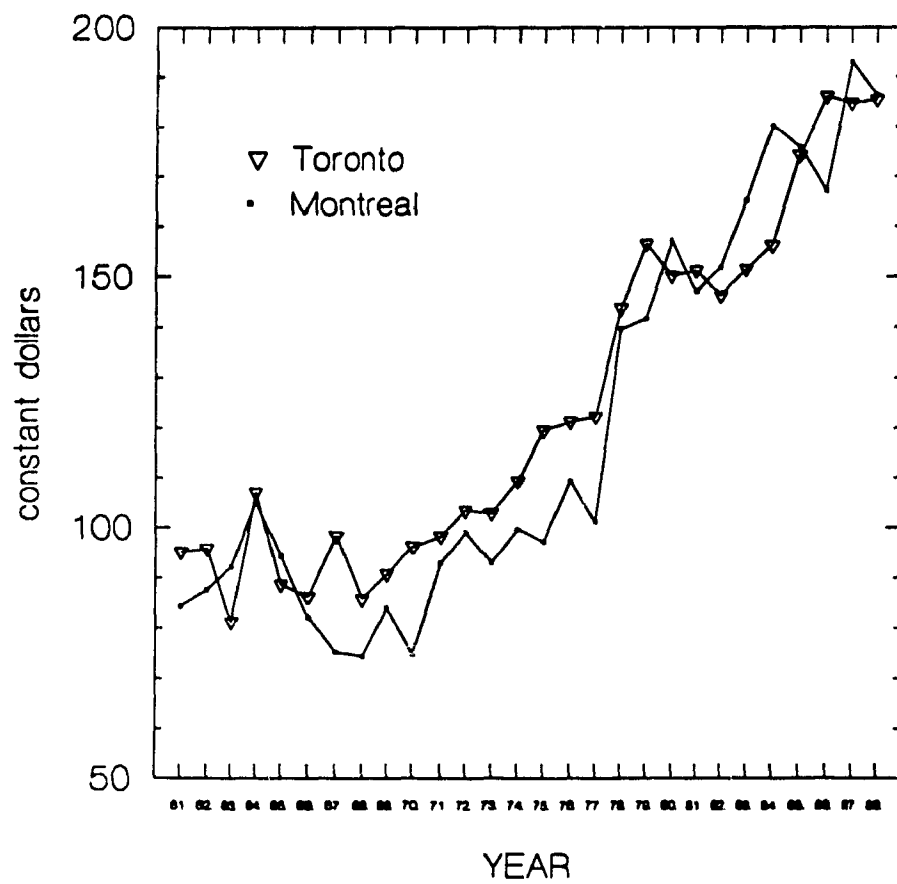


TABLE 13  
% CHANGE in FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS & MEMBERSHIP  
(in constant 1981 dollars)  
MONTREAL AND TORONTO DIOCESES

Year	p e r c e n t a g e		c h a n g e	
	Total Contributions		Membership	
	(1981 \$)			
	<u>MONTREAL</u>	<u>TORONTO</u>	<u>MONTREAL</u>	<u>TORONTO</u>
1961-71	-27.9	-24.0	-34.4	-26.5
1971-76	- 5.0	+ 2.5	-17.7	-16.7
1976-81	- 2.2	+ 9.4	-26.2	-12.3
1981-86	+ 1.0	+13.0	-14.8	- 8.1

(Source : Annual Synod Reports)

TABLE 14  
AVERAGE PER CAPITA OFFERINGS  
(in constant 1981 dollars)  
MONTREAL, TORONTO, & CANADA

	<u>Montreal</u>	<u>Toronto</u>	<u>Canada</u>
1961 - 75	\$ 89	\$ 97	\$ 78
1976 - 86	148	127	109

(Source: Annual Synod Reports)

Table 14 shows the average per capita contributions in Canada, Montreal and Toronto Dioceses. Over the period from 1961-75, Montreal's contributions per capita were 8.4% less than Toronto's, on average; whereas in the period 1976-86, they were 20% higher. Compared to Canadian average parish income per member, Montreal experienced higher average



contributions in both time periods, being 13.6% higher than Canada in the early period, but being over 35% higher after 1975. Looking at the average contributions for the two time periods, Montreal's increased by over 66% between the two time periods, whereas the per capita offerings in Toronto increased by only 30% in real dollars.

What makes these high rates of contributions in Montreal particularly significant is that they contradict many of the patterns described by all the studies of patterns of philanthropic activity in Canada. In chapter 3 I referred to the studies conducted by Martin, Deeg, Kitchen, and Decima Research for the Centre for Philanthropy. A study by Deeg based on income tax returns showed that the numbers of people contributing to charitable causes has been declining since 1970. "The proportion of Canadian taxpayers claiming charitable donations (i.e. over \$100) in 1980 was significantly lower in all income categories" (Deeg, 1984). The same study showed that the most significant decrease occurred amongst high income earners. Fewer than 50% of families earning over \$50,000 claimed deductions in 1980, compared to 78% in 1970. Pensioners, on the other hand, showed the highest proportion of their income being given to humanistic causes.

The regional pattern of philanthropy described in the Deeg and Kitchen studies is of particular significance in

relation to the patterns for Quebec and for the francophone population. Table 15 shows the regional and urban differences in the amount of charitable donations per taxpayer (which provides a measure of the 'participation rate'), and per donor (which indicates the size of actual donations).

TABLE 15  
CHARITABLE DONATIONS  
BY PROVINCE & CITY, 1980

	Donations, \$ per person	
	<u>per taxpayer</u>	<u>per donor</u>
Quebec	\$ 31.3	\$ 491.
Yukon/N.W.T.	47.9	557.
Newfoundland	56.3	499.
Nova Scotia	65.4	513.
P.E.I.	73.7	485.
B.C.	79.3	739.
Ontario	84.3	619.
Manitoba	88.6	662.
New Brunswick	90.0	615.
Alberta	93.7	824.
Saskatchewan	108.7	669.
Canada	71.1	689.
Quebec City	43.7	491.
Montreal	55.5	635.
Vancouver	83.0	718.
Toronto	90.6	755.
Winnipeg	90.3	648.
Halifax	92.2	588.

(Source : Deeg, 1984)

These figures show Quebec as having the lowest per taxpayer donation, less than half the national average, and the second lowest average per donor in Canada, almost 30% lower than the Canadian average. In Quebec, almost 40% of families make no charitable donations, while in other regions non-contributors range from a high of 27% in British Columbia to a low of 16% in Atlantic Canada (Kitchen, 1986). The low values for Quebec apply regardless of whether the receiving institution is religious. This is shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16  
VARIATIONS IN MEDIAN AMOUNT DONATED  
BY TYPE OF ORGANIZATION, 1987

	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Outside Quebec</u>	<u>Quebec</u>
Non-religious	\$ 42.	\$ 47.	\$ 26.
Religious	137.	155.	73.

(Source: Decima, 1987, p.12)

While there is a difference between the anglophone and francophone patterns within Quebec, as shown in Table 17 below, donations by Quebec anglophones still remain significantly below those in other parts of Canada.

TABLE 17  
CHARITABLE DONATIONS BY MOTHER TONGUE OF H.O.H. & REGION  
AS A PERCENTAGE (%) OF GROSS FAMILY INCOME

Mother Tongue	R E G I O N					
	<u>Atlantic</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Ontario</u>	<u>West</u>	<u>B.C.</u>	<u>Canada</u>
English	1.26	.55	.92	.90	.75	.91
French	.84	.32	.47	1.48	.35	.38
Other	.60	.35	.77	1.75	.93	1.01
Total	1.22	.34	.86	1.11	.77	.78

(Source : Kitchen, 1986)

This table showing the distinctive regional pattern of contributions, highlights the fact that even when linguistic characteristics are taken into account, Quebec's anglophones give substantially less compared to all other regions in the country. Contrary to what these patterns show, the financial data for Montreal Diocese indicate substantial levels of support, and significant increases in per capita contributions, in constant dollars, especially since 1976. Despite anglophones in Quebec having a record of the lowest charitable donations in Canada (Table 17), Montreal's Anglican community gives substantially higher per capita amounts than the Canadian or Toronto averages. Moreover, despite the Kitchen study showing a decrease across the country since 1970 in the numbers of people contributing (as a percentage of all potential contributors), the opposite trend is true for Montreal Anglicans.

### Identifiable Givers

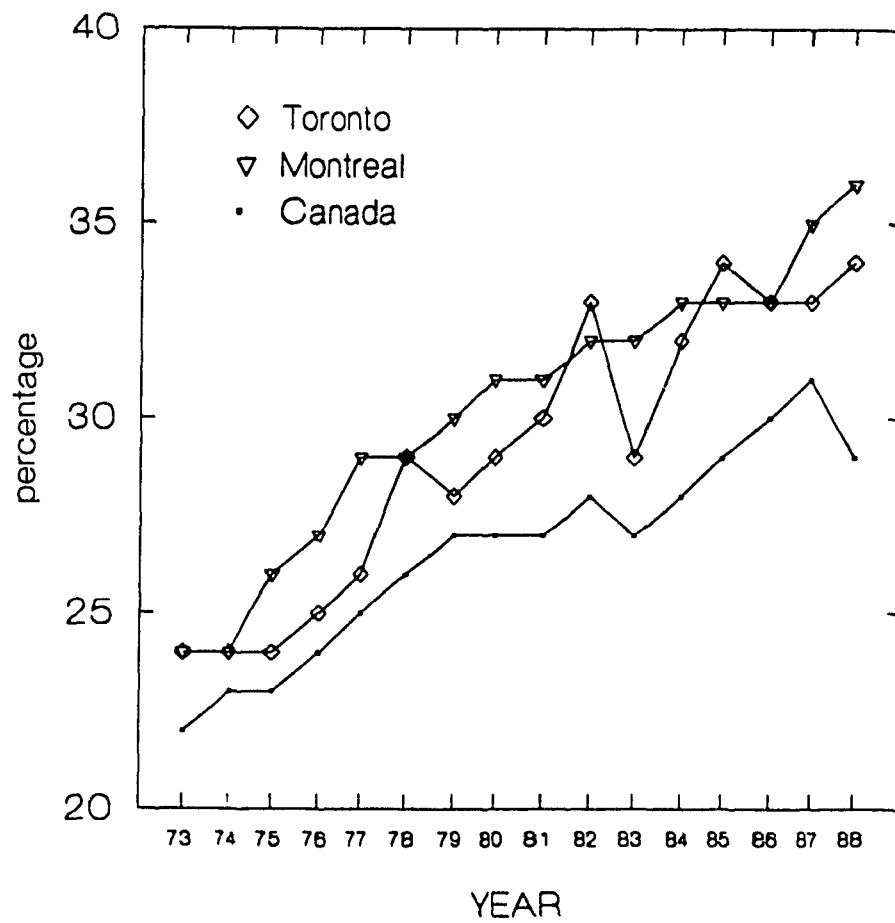
A third measure of commitment to the church is identifiable givers. Identifiable givers are those to whom tax receipts are issued by corporation treasurers, and therefore they reflect the numbers of people contributing regularly and/or in significant amounts to the church. A comparison of the number of identifiable givers to the membership is shown for Canada, Toronto and Montreal in Figure 6. This graph shows that Montreal Diocese has a higher percentage of givers than either Toronto or Canada, and that this higher percentage has been consistent throughout the period from 1974 to 1986 with only two exceptions, when Toronto was higher in 1982 and 1985. These data suggest that the numbers who continue to support the church financially in Montreal not only have remained high, but compared to the Canadian average the percentage gap has widened, especially since 1975. It would seem that, despite high rates of out-migration, those who are still in the diocese are supporting the church in increasing proportions.

### Attendance

Another measure of religious involvement is attendance, at regular services and special festivals. In order to compare dioceses, because of differences in the sizes of individual churches, there must be a relationship established

FIGURE 6

## IDENTIFIABLE GIVERS, % MEMBERSHIP



to total membership. Unfortunately average attendance figures, which are reported for most dioceses in Canada, are available for Montreal for only the years 1973-77. In comparing attendance as a percentage of total membership, Montreal is shown to have a very low participation of about 17% in the years 1973-77, compared to 21% for Toronto and Ottawa dioceses. For Montreal in that time period, although there is a slight increase in average attendance, it is not possible to draw any conclusions from such a small time frame. In the case of the other dioceses however, there seems to have been a steady increase in the average attendance compared to membership. The reasons for this may be related to a variety of factors. One may be mobility patterns insofar as newcomers to an area who join a church are more likely to attend than those whose names may simply have been on a list for many years despite infrequent attendance. On the other hand, average attendance would rise if church corporations were to eliminate those from the rolls who are non-attenders, thereby making the roll more reflective of actual religious commitment. Average attendance would also increase, of course, with a real change in the attendance averages, and this is particularly evident in the statistics for individual churches in which the resident minister is an important factor in the size of congregations. The variations seen in individual parishes is the subject of Chapter 8.

TABLE 18  
AVERAGE ATTENDANCE, % OF MEMBERSHIP  
BY DIOCESE, 1973 - 85

Year	Mtl.	Fred.	N.S.	Ott.	Tor.	Rup.Ld.
1973	16.7%	23.8	15.6	20.	20.	21.6
1974	16.5	22.1	15.6	19.8	20.1	20.7
1975	17.4	19.7	14.7	20.6	20.7	20.8
1976	17.8	19.4	15.4	19.3	21.5	21.1
1977	18.1	19.8	14.9	18.2	22.2	21.8
1978	-	20.0	15.1	20.8	26.1	25.5
1979	-	20.6	15.2	22.0	25.9	23.4
1980	-	21.1	16.2	24.0	26.2	21.2
1985	-	23.8	19.6	23.3	28.1	23.7

(Source : Annual Synod reports)

It seems that for Montreal, whereas per member contributions are very high, attendance compared to the membership rolls is low. This may reflect either inflated parish lists with high numbers of people who have moved away but remain on the rolls; or it may indicate a high number of people in the 'fringe' group of people who claim membership but attend only once or twice a year, probably the special festivals.

Earlier it was shown that until 1975, Toronto's per member contributions were higher than Montreal's. When an index is derived from the relationship between parish income and attendance the comparison to Toronto is slightly different, with Montreal consistently higher for the period 1973-77. Montreal is 8.5% higher in 1973, and 8.6% higher in 1977. This indicates that the low attendance in Montreal



churches compared to membership is not reflective of donations, and that in fact contributions by any measure are high.

Another way in which this question of active participation in the worship services may be approached is through examination of data for attendance at the special festivals of Christmas and Easter. For many members, regardless of their lack of participation at any other time, attendance at these festivals is important. The commitment to their faith, to the community in which they live, and the symbolic affirmation of social and community values expressed through the Easter and Christmas services draw large congregations among which are many people associated with the 'fringe' group of church members. Because it is the Easter service which is most important for Anglicans; and because the Christmas attendance is significantly affected by the day of the week on which Christmas falls and by the weather, I have relied upon the Easter figures, comparing them to average attendance and membership. These figures are for communicants rather than total attendance.

The trends in Easter communicants for Montreal and Canada are shown in Figure 7. Plotted on a semi-logarithmic scale, the slope of the line represents the rate of change. The steady decrease in Canada was reversed in 1972 since when there has been a slight increase in the numbers. For Montreal, however,

FIGURE 7

## EASTER COMMUNICANTS, Montreal &amp; Canada

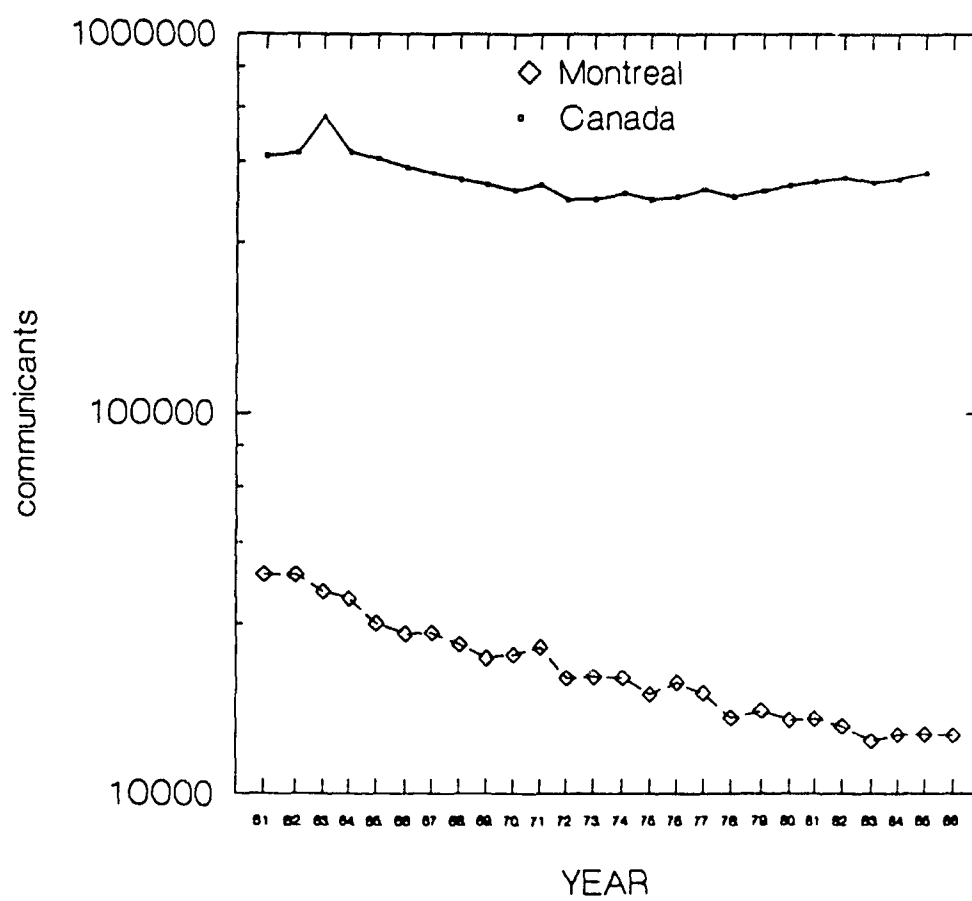
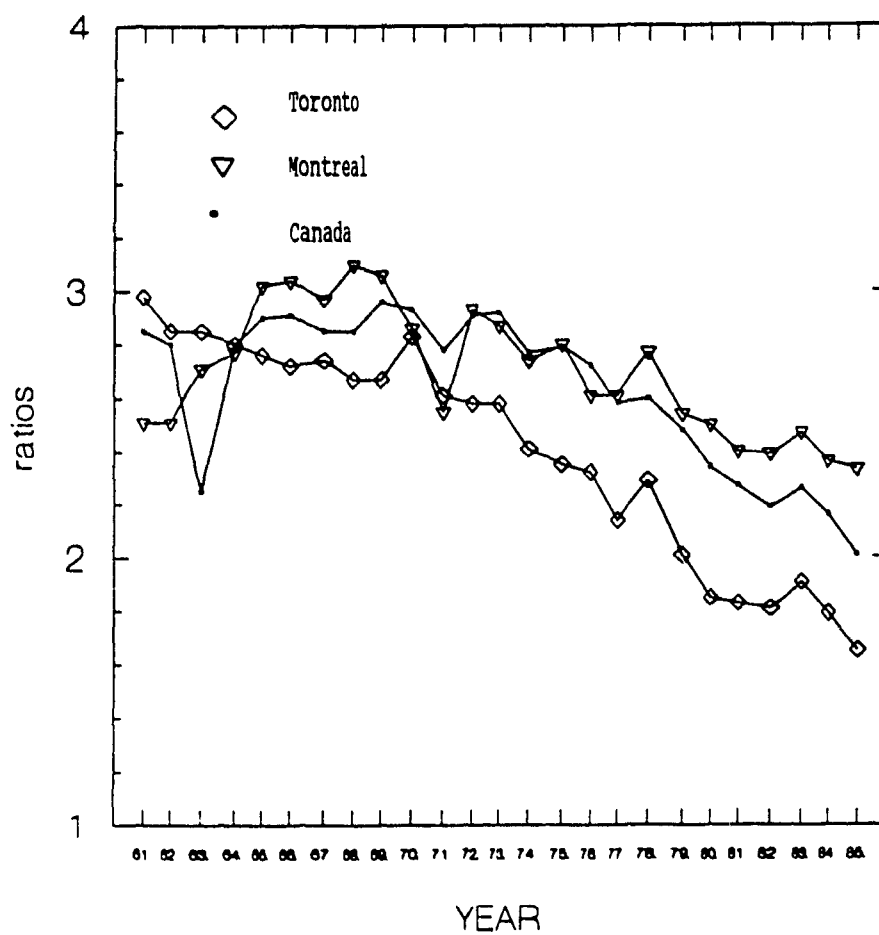


FIGURE 8  
MEMBERSHIP : EASTER RATIOS



with the exception of what may be a significant stable period from 1972 to 1977, there has been a steady decline in the numbers of Easter communicants. What is especially interesting is the derivation of a ratio of Membership:Easter communicants, shown in Figure 8, which indicates the extent to which membership actually reflects a degree of religious adherence. There are several generalizations which may be made about church participation based on these ratios as they are shown in Table 19.

The ratios shown here will be larger when there are relatively fewer people attending the Easter service compared to membership, apparently reflecting a larger 'fringe' group of church adherents. These data show a consistent pattern of declining ratios, indicating that of those who are members a larger proportion are attending at least once a year. Secondly, Montreal has generally high ratios, with lower ratios than both Toronto and Canada in only one period, the four years 1961 - 65; as well as being lower than the Canadian average during one other period, from 1970 to 1976. It is possible that the lower ratios in five of these seven years may reflect higher rates of participation at the beginning of the seventies when political tensions were rising. However, the evidence based on these figures alone is tenuous at best.

TABLE 19  
RATIOS of MEMBERSHIP to EASTER COMMUNICANTS  
CANADA, and the DIOCESES of MONTREAL & TORONTO  
1961 - 1986

<u>Year</u>	<u>Canada</u>	<u>Montreal</u>	<u>Toronto</u>
1961	2.85	2.51	2.98
1962	2.80	2.51	2.85
1963	2.25	2.71	2.85
1964	2.80	2.77	2.80
1965	2.90	3.02	2.76
1966	2.91	3.04	2.72
1967	2.85	2.97	2.74
1968	2.85	3.10	2.67
1969	2.96	3.06	2.67
1970	2.93	2.86	2.83
1971	2.78	2.55	2.61
1972	2.91	2.93	2.58
1973	2.92	2.87	2.58
1974	2.77	2.74	2.41
1975	2.79	2.80	2.35
1976	2.72	2.61	2.32
1977	2.58	2.61	2.14
1978	2.60	2.77	2.29
1979	2.48	2.54	2.01
1980	2.34	2.50	1.85
1981	2.27	2.40	1.83
1982	2.19	2.39	1.81
1983	2.26	2.47	1.91
1984	2.16	2.36	1.79
1985	2.01	2.33	1.65

(Source : Annual Synod Reports)

It would appear that Montreal has in fact maintained a larger group of occasional church attenders than other parts of the country, with ratios consistently higher than both Canada and Toronto since 1977. The average ratio for Montreal in this last time period is 2.48, compared to 2.32 for Canada, and 1.92 for Toronto.

### Mission Commitment

A fifth and final measure of commitment is the amount of financial contribution to mission or to causes beyond the borders of the parish and diocese. In looking at this area I wanted to assess the degree to which Montrealers correspond to a national norm of 'mission giving' in order to determine whether or not there is evidence of parishioners' reluctance to support 'outreach' because of their concern for the apparent threat to their own churches and communities. Several categories of data have been examined, including the Anglican Appeal, the Primate's World Relief & Development Fund (PWRDF), and the specially inaugurated campaign called Anglicans in Mission (AIM) which ran from 1983 to 1986, but is still 'on the books' as parishes try to meet their pledged commitments.

The figures for contributions to the Appeal, from 1974 to 1982, while not definitive in themselves, do seem to suggest that Anglicans in Quebec may be more focused on supporting their own parishes and dioceses than on 'outreach' or mission. Lower amounts are being contributed from Montreal Diocese whether they are expressed as a percentage of parish income or on a per capita basis. Contributions per member are lower in Montreal than the Canadian average for every year except 1976 and 1978. Table 20 shows the average contributions, as a percentage of income and per member, for several dioceses over

the period 1974 - 82.

TABLE 20  
 ANGLICAN APPEAL  
 % OF PARISH INCOME and \$ PER MEMBER  
 1974 - 1982

<u>Diocese</u>	<u>a v e r a g e</u>	
	<u>1974 - 82</u>	<u>1974 - 82</u>
	<u>% parish income</u>	<u>\$ per member</u>
Montreal	.0088	\$ 0.83
Quebec	.0085	0.69
Ottawa	.0184	1.60
Toronto	.0098	1.05
Canada	.0115	0.91

(Source : Annual Synod Reports)

These figures show that Montreal Diocese, when compared to other dioceses in eastern Canada and to the Canadian average has a record of low mission contributions, measured both as a percentage of income and on a per member basis. On the other hand, the pattern of giving per member to the PWRDF for Montreal is approximately the same as that for Canada and for Toronto for the period 1973 to 1986. This is shown in Figure 9. Finally, there are data for the AIM campaign which was a special effort by the national church to meet long term mission commitments by collecting a large amount in a three year drive for funds. Pledges were at the root of the method, heralded by commentators as a new model for institutional campaigns.

The Anglicans in Mission campaign of 1982-83 was a model of formula fund raising. AIM was orchestrated at the national level by fund raising mercenaries, at the diocesan level by mercenaries and clergy, and in the parishes by volunteer lay people. The consultants produced a step-by-step plan....." (Martin,p.215).

Despite the high income per member through regular offerings in Montreal, the pledged amounts for this diocese were significantly lower than other areas in the country : almost 25% lower than Toronto's per member pledges in 1983, when the per capita income was over 4% higher. Table 21 below describes the amounts pledged and the per capita receipts as of the end of 1986. It can be seen that Montreal had honoured only 77% of its pledge, compared to 92% for Canada and over 95% for Toronto.

TABLE 21  
 ANGLICANS IN MISSION  
 AMOUNTS PLEDGED & REALIZED, PER MEMBER  
 1983 AND 1986

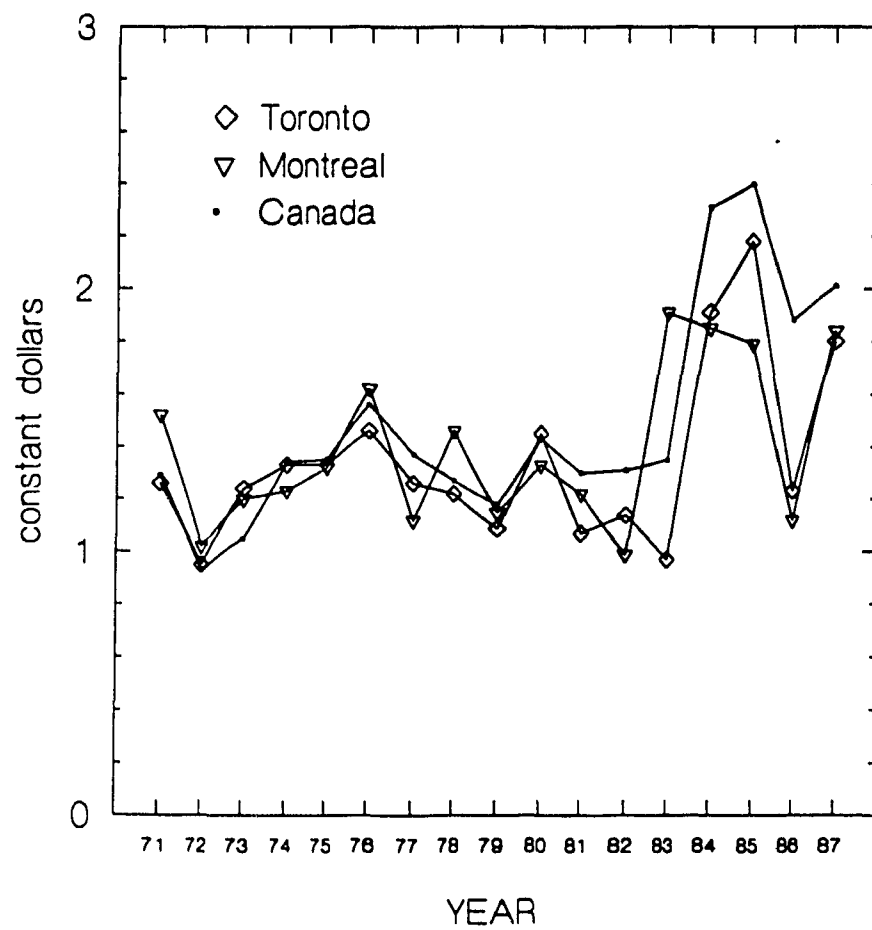
<u>Diocese</u>	<u>Pledged, 1983</u>	<u>Realized, 1986</u>	<u>% Realized</u>	
	<u>% income per cap.</u>	<u>per cap.</u>	<u>of total pledge</u>	
Montreal	30.6%	\$59.26	\$48.36	77.3%
N.S.	42.6	41.30	38.93	92.1
Toronto	43.0	76.40	81.05	95.3
Canada	45.9	59.50	59.93	91.9

(Source : National Comptroller documents; Synod Reports)



FIGURE 9

PWRDF PER MEMBER, Montreal, Toronto, Canada



Whether one considers the pledged amounts, or the dollars actually received by AIM, the figures shown in Table 21 show a clear pattern of low financial commitment to mission in Montreal Diocese. When these data are considered together with the Appeal data there seems to be evidence that indeed the diocese has been less generous than other areas of the country. There would seem, therefore, to be a case for a certain amount of defensiveness or protectiveness indicated by the poor response to the national appeal for mission.

### Summary

The many measures of Anglican involvement show a fairly consistent pattern of east-west variation, with Montreal having distinctive characteristics compared to dioceses to the east and to the west. In its rates of change for both membership and income per capita, Montreal has experienced changes comparable to Toronto Diocese. Whereas the mood of laity and clergy alike in Montreal's churches is frequently pessimistic and deprecating in terms of participation, in fact the data expressing involvement relative to 'census Anglicans' is more favourable for Montreal than for points west. On the other hand, low attendance at both regular and Easter services relative to membership indicates a lower level of active commitment in Montreal. In addition, Montreal has per capita contributions which are consistently amongst the highest in the country. The patterns may be summarized as follows :

1. In the period from 1966-76, the rates of membership decrease in Montreal Diocese were comparable to those of Toronto despite the impact of net out-migration in Montreal.
2. The pattern of financial contributions in Montreal has been much higher than the Canadian averages since 1961, but especially since 1976. This is particularly significant when viewed in relation to previous studies showing low altruistic involvement by anglophones in Quebec. Compared to Toronto, there has been a higher rate of increase in average per member contributions. This has been especially true since 1976 when the difference between Montreal and Toronto in average contributions per capita rose to 20% .
3. Average attendance compared to membership is lower in Montreal than in most other dioceses.
4. Based on ratios comparing Easter communicants and membership, Montreal has had generally higher ratios since 1961, indicating a larger 'fringe' group in Montreal that rarely attends church despite membership.
5. Comparing membership to the numbers of people who make contributions to the church, Montreal Diocese has higher % participation (Identifiable Givers) than does Toronto.
6. The only financial measure in which Montreal is lower than Canadian and Toronto averages, both on a per capita basis and measured as a % of parish income, is in relation to mission commitment as expressed through contributions to the Anglican Appeal and AIM.

Interpretation of these patterns must be related to other data generated in this study. Nevertheless, I suggest that the high financial contributions, and the high percentage of identifiable givers both point to a determination that the churches should survive. Protectiveness and defensiveness would seem to be indicated in the low level of commitment to mission. On the other hand, the diocesan data do not suggest active participation in the church. Through analysis of documentation and surveys described in the next two sections,

I shall explore these patterns from a different perspective in order to broaden the scope of the interpretation. Subsequent chapters will investigate individual parishes, and interviews will focus on the significance of active participation.

#### B. THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

Institutions which function on the basis of personal relationships and are sacred in character find it more difficult to compromise with an incoming group than those which are concerned with impersonal relationships and perform more secular functions (Ross, 1954).

In her article, Aileen Ross discussed the increasing hostility of the English-speaking population which perceived itself as being pushed out of the Eastern Townships in the fifties. She described the gradual merging of French and English populations in economic and political institutions, but found that linguistic tensions were more apparent in the educational and religious institutions. What is particularly interesting is her observation that because of their denominational distinctions, the English-speaking Protestant churches were unable to function as rallying points for community activities and support. "The religious divisions of the people appeared in their social life." Furthermore, Protestants and Catholics were so far apart that "the Protestants do without religious services rather than attend Catholic churches when their own have gone."

The patterns which Dr. Ross discerned in this early period of anglophone decline in the Townships can still be seen in Montreal Diocese, and are reflected in the articles published in the Anglican newspaper and in the words of the Bishop's annual addresses. My observations suggest that the patterns Ross reported are in fact more complicated. In this section I shall use documentary evidence to examine how Quebec Anglicans have responded to the socio-political changes described in Chapter 4.

Until the fifties the Protestant churches had performed a significant role in affirming Canadian identity, providing a sacralized image of Canadians as part of a homogeneous population sharing a heritage of political democracy and evangelical Christianity (Clifford, 1977, p. 28). In the fifties the churches lost this central role of legitimation and affirmation. Documents such as the Montreal Churchman and the Proceedings of Annual Synod meetings indicate a certain detachment of the Anglican Church in Quebec from its social milieu. In the socio-political ferment of the late sixties and early seventies, however, changes were forced upon the consciousness of church members, and the Anglican Church responded in two important ways. First, in recognizing the importance of participation in the decision-making process, the church began to become more actively involved in the society around it. Second,

individuals began relying upon the church for affirmation and reassurance of identity and belonging. This double-edged response has carried with it both participatory and defensive attitudes. While the church was reaching out to the wider community, its members are also protecting a core of tradition. In this section, I provide evidence of institutional outreach. I shall reserve for the next section the evidence for a focus on tradition and a need for stability.

During the pivotal fifties, the decade of transition for the church in Canada, the Synod proceedings for Montreal diocese reveal an ideology which had four main characteristics. (1) There was concern for global patterns of social change and conflict, without specific acknowledgement of Quebec. (2) A need to preserve the status quo was implied in the lack of any radical motions or discussion of new initiatives. (3) There was a preoccupation with administrative issues such as pensions, and (4), the rapid pace of suburbanization focused attention on a need for new churches and the training of more priests. Not only is there no evidence that the church was actively involved in the society around it, the Synod proceedings through the fifties do not record even awareness or interest in Quebec society. Even the death of the formidable Premier Maurice Duplessis in 1959 did not provoke any comment in the published proceedings.

References to government were invariably to the federal level, and were usually commendations. In 1962, the final year of Bishop Dixon's tenure, he acknowledged the outside world : "The winds of change in the world field of the Christian bodies are forcing themselves upon our attention."

In the 1960's throughout Canada, following an absolute peak in church membership in 1964, declining church attendance began to have an increasing impact upon congregations. The initial response by all denominations was studies and reports. All churches began to examine their role in society, and to question the ways in which their message was being communicated. In 1964 the Anglican Church of Canada endorsed a major initiative aimed at increasing its involvement in mission through acceptance of a statement entitled Mutual Responsibility and Interdependence. In 1965 the United Church published its study of The Changing Church in Canada; and in 1969 there was a study of the Ministry of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. As mentioned earlier, the Dumont Report in 1971 in the Catholic Church represented a significant attempt to increase lay involvement in the church, and to work towards social justice. These studies reflected a consensus amongst church leaders on the need for greater participation in society, and an acknowledgement that "secularization" seriously threatened the role of religion in society.

Indications of social awareness by Montreal's Anglican church emerge slowly and in limited ways. During his first address to Synod in 1963, the new bishop announced the inauguration of French language training courses for priests. This was the first explicit acknowledgement of a need to integrate into Quebec life. The following year he described the church, not as a "luxury liner" but rather "as a life-boat with a mission." In the Montreal Churchman that year, in a front page article reporting on the consultation on the Mutual Responsibility document, one commentator suggested, "It is easy for a minority church, as we are here, ....to become a sort of club" (December 1963). In another issue of the Churchman, it was pointed out that "our communion is now no longer exclusively Anglo-Saxon nor exclusively English-speaking" (October 1963). During the next few years new committees and study groups were formed on religion and labour, foster homes, and the Protestant school system. These moves testified to a broadening commitment to participation and community responsibility. In May 1965 women for the first time were permitted to attend Synod as voting delegates. In 1967 for the first time in the Bishop's annual Synod address, political events were mentioned when he mourned the death of Governor General Vanier and called for peace in Vietnam. Later that year a conference on poverty in Quebec specifically addressed the need for the Anglican Church to define a new role for itself as an "ally of the powerless." One participant



complained that the church "is just another bastion of the Establishment and Privilege", and that it does nothing at all except "ambulance work" (September 1967). The published evidence suggests that by the end of the sixties the Anglican Church in Montreal had begun to be aware of its socio-political context, and to speak out on such broad social issues as women's roles and poverty. Despite this, our sources do not yet show an acknowledgement of the nationalist movement gathering momentum around it. Except for the French courses, neither the Synod Proceedings nor the Churchman gives any hint of the socio-political ferment in French Canadian society.

On the other hand, there is some evidence of official church response to public policies in the form of briefs prepared by Montreal Diocese concerning proposed legislation. Reacting to Bill 62 (tabled in October 1969), which sought to unify the school boards under a linguistic rather than confessional administration, the brief accepts the concept of linguistic boards, as long as they stay within the framework of confessional guarantees and freedom of choice of the language of education. There is explicit acceptance of bilingualism and recognition of an increasingly pluralistic society. One analyst suggests that this acceptance was rooted in an underlying attitude of self-interest. The church may be "open to the charge that immigrants were being used as a screen for English self-interest" (Lee, 1984, p.62).

Interpretation of the motives behind the Anglican response is difficult. But whether or not it was essentially self-interest as suggested by Lee, I suspect that the church leadership recognized the inevitability of an increasingly multicultural context for Quebec. It also sought a moral position affirming the need for greater equality for all. Indeed, the Anglican brief explicitly accepts responsibility for the 'two solitudes' and acknowledges "our slowness to promote equality of economic opportunity" (ibid).

A few months later further concrete expression of concern came in the Bishop's address to the annual Synod meeting in May 1970, just months before the October FLQ crisis. Bishop Maguire said:

....some English-speaking Quebecers feel threatened and wonder about their future here.....(we must appreciate) the very real threat our French-speaking brothers see to their language and culture in this vast North American continent (Synod Proceedings, 1970).

The following year he asked that the church "aim at authenticity in our role in the new developing Quebec.....In the society of our day we must be prepared to bless new forms of life, living experiences, social and economic ordering....." (Synod Proceedings, 1971). In 1972 he opened his review with comments on three bills being presented in the Quebec legislature. These bills were aimed at the reorganization of the ministries of Health and Welfare, of

Education, and changes in the rules for real estate assessment. This was a major change from twelve years earlier when even the death of Premier Duplessis provoked no comment. This was the first time the church had openly commented on the political process in Quebec. Within the next couple of years bilingualism had become "not simply an advantage but a necessity" (Montreal Churchman, October 1975), and the new Bishop, Reginald Hollis, in his address in 1976 commented on the political confrontation between teachers and the Quebec government. The position of the Bishop's letter on the front page of the December 1976 issue of the Churchman reflects the importance which the church now attached to the political process in Quebec. This letter focused on the results of the November 15 provincial election in which the separatist Parti Quebecois won a majority of the seats in the legislature. Bishop Hollis asked the question, "Is there room for us?" Then he continued :

Whatever happens in the political field I see our church continuing to have a role here. The English 'minority' is not the tiny fragment that some people imagine that it is.....Increasingly we shall try also to reach out to the French community.....Let's not forget that our Anglican Church is not just an English Church.....However, it would be foolish to deny that we are at a crossroads, a very significant point in our nation's history (Montreal Churchman, Dec.1976).

In the United Church, within a year of the election of the separatist Parti Quebecois, a report of the General Council acknowledged that conflict was inevitable but saw it

"as an opportunity for growth and participation and not as a tragedy or reason for avoidance" (Williams, 1984, p. 195). A significant change in attitude was evident in the issues of the Anglican newspaper which followed all through 1977 and 1978. In the February 1977 issue there was a report of a national television broadcast by Radio Canada of a French Eucharist service at Christ Church Cathedral in Montreal. This event provoked the following slightly ambiguous poem by Keith Stowell:

En francais the Anglos pray....  
Who'd have thought to see the day!  
Let's hope tommorow in La Presse  
The Francos don't say 'What a messe!'

In the same issue and on the front page, a headline proclaimed the upcoming "Silver Jubilee of Queen service at St. Matthias", commemorating the accession of Queen Elizabeth and initiated by the Monarchist League of Canada, also to be televised nationally. Perhaps the placement of the two stories, monarchy on page one and French service on page two, is indicative of the real importance attached to each initiative. Another article in this issue reported that the Primate had appointed an adviser on English-French relationships and referred to the establishment a few months earlier of an Ecumenical Consultation on the problems of Quebec. Describing the outcome of the meetings, the article notes that there was surprise amongst the 13 Anglicans who

participated in the consultation by 'the depth of socialist feeling' expressed by the French-speaking participants. This is suggestive of the extent to which Anglicans had remained detached from the evolving ideologies of French Quebec.

By the spring of 1977 the provincial government was already proposing changes to the language of education through the publication of its White Paper. Again the Bishop responded with a front-page letter to the church members:

One of the big debates of the present is whether to speak out or to keep silence.....The government wants all areas of life to reflect the Frenchness which it equates with Quebec.....It is not surprising that in this call to 'nationhood' there should be emotion.....we must speak for freedom of access for all citizens of this country to English and French education. We must protest education being controlled for political ends... (Montreal Churchman, May 1977).

A few weeks later at the annual Synod meeting there was vigorous debate over Quebec nationalism. In the Bishop's charge (address) which opened the meeting, there were strong political comments made which were subsequently emphasized in the television reports. After summarizing the 'good news' of diocesan life, Bishop Hollis, responding to charges that he 'had his head in the sand', denied his escapism from political realities, arguing that:

The political future is not inevitably set. We have a part to play in it. The White Paper and Language Charter are major documents in our province and we must respond to them..... It is sad that Bill One (later to be Bill 101) in no way responds to the reaction of the White Paper in the matter of education. The use of education to attain political ends is deplorable.

Quebec is not just a French province. How can it be a French province when there are more Anglophones here than in six of the other provinces that make up this country? I am not speaking of just the English language, but of an Anglo culture that has contributed to this province.....The English minority is not a colony of newcomers, nor are we of insignificant numbers. We belong in Quebec, we still have a contribution to make to Quebec (Synod Proceedings, 1977).

He went on to point out the existence of a French ministry in the diocese, noting that in past times the "French Canadian community was a tightly-knit community identified with the Roman Catholic church", but that the changing times offered new opportunities. While there seem to be overtones of defensiveness and self-justification in the message, many of the clergy for whom it was intended saw it as optimistic. The Montreal Churchman commented on the generally positive reactions of clergy to the address, although there were those who felt it was politically naive.

During the next two days of Synod there was heated debate about the wording of a motion to be communicated to Premier Levesque. The final form was as follows :

"This Synod expresses its support for any Governmental legislation based on justice and equity for all and which will enhance the multi-facets of Quebec society.

And be it further resolved that this Synod opposes any encroachment or infringement on civil liberties within this province."

As part of the letter to Premier Levesque the motion was published in the June 1977 issue of the Churchman. In the letter the bishop described the association of the Anglican church with the English community as the "result of historical pressures and the strong identification of the French community with the Roman Catholic church." He added, there was no desire "to be an ethnic church, and many of our younger clergy are fluently bilingual."

For the first time, the church was being openly responsive to political events and even attempting to enter into a dialogue with political leaders. Regardless of the fears and self-interest which underlay these efforts, there can be no dispute about the fact that the church had recognized and acknowledged the significance of the changing social and political milieu. At the same time, the struggle to come to terms with the new realities was manifested in the differing points of view and debates within the church. The original motion dealing with Bill 1 was very different from the one described above which was eventually passed. The original motion asked that Synod support the guiding principles of Bill 1, recognizing "the legitimate concern of the Quebec government to preserve and protect French language and culture in the midst of an anglophone continent ", noting

anglophone worries about the infringement "upon equally vital concerns of minority groups in the province", and urging the government to "use its power to ensure the continuing vitality and strength of both anglophone and francophone communities." It is difficult today to understand objections to this statement, but at the time it initiated a vigorous, and at times hostile, debate which ended with a complete re-wording of the motion. Although several people opposed the new motion, pleading for a greater degree of trust in the government, the amended version passed "with a large majority and a standing ovation for its mover" (Churchman, June 1977).

In the following issue of the Churchman, in September 1977, the front page headline read, "BISHOPS' BRIEF NOT PRESENTED". A brief prepared by six Anglican bishops had not been allowed to be presented at the government hearings. In fact, all presentations from the religious community, all of which were anglophone, had been rejected. There can be no question that the leadership in the Anglican Church felt threatened by the new legislation, as well as frustrated in their inability to make themselves heard. The church began to examine its status and role in society. Three months later the newspaper reported on an "encouraging" statistical study of Montreal Diocese.

To see if the prophets of doom had any credence in their predictions that the Anglican community in this



Diocese was shrinking fast due to socio-political developments, statistics have been produced covering attendance, and finances for the past 35 years. It must be granted that many experts have stated that 'statistics can be made to prove anything or nothing.' Whether one wishes to give a positive interpretation to such data will depend a lot on the level of one's faith (Churchman, Dec.1977).

The difficulty of course is interpretation. The study showed a drop in average attendance of almost 7% throughout the Diocese, but in the same paragraph two West Island deaneries were singled out where the English population had been increasing, and the conclusion was drawn that "There appears to be not too much to worry about when the difference over five years (1972-77) in the case of these deaneries is a little over 4%." What is particularly interesting was the comparison between the attendance and the membership figures. While attendance had dropped by 7%, membership declined by 10%. Membership was directly affected by out-migration, while attendance is a function of motivation. One priest who examined the statistical results of the study suggested, "The church seems strongest when facing challenge." Another priest opined, "Certainly, when one looks at the involvement of church members today and the level of their support, there's no cause for worry." The figures which I have examined relating to attendance and financial commitment would seem to support this opinion about 'involvement' and 'level of support'. The decrease in membership stands in contrast to an increase in the number of identifiable givers, from 13,611 in

1972 to 13,740 in 1977. The conclusion by those who studied the survey was that "although the numbers have declined the interest of the average parishioner has increased" (Churchman, Dec.1977).

Church leaders were concerned about the implications of Quebec's new direction, in terms of a loss of membership which would mean the gradual absolute decline of the Anglican church in Quebec. Church leaders seemed to be predicting a smaller church, but a more committed one. The bishop, in his monthly letter, expressed the view that the statistics showed the church "losing ground", but that Anglicans should therefore "give all our powers to make our mission more effective in reaching people."

Two months later his letter expressed a growing concern:

My dear people,

I'm writing a couple of days after the announcement by the Sun Life that they intend to seek approval for a move to Toronto. That really is a blow. We'd survived 1977 without the disastrous move of the anglophone population that had been predicted by some, but Sun Life's action raises speculation again about the possibility of more wholesale moves.

As a church, though, we cannot afford to live with a defeatist mentality. Instead we're going to take the initiative. By invitation of the Diocesan Council, Bishop Festo Kivengere is going to lead us in a diocesan mission next September. The mission has two purposes. One is to get (people) into church..... and the other purpose is to try and present the Christian faith in a way that can be understood by those outside the church.... (Churchman, Feb.1978).

This initiative represented the first of several prayer and renewal conferences which marked the 16 year tenure of Bishop Hollis, from 1975 to 1990. While it is always difficult to separate trends in the church from individual styles and priorities of its leaders, certainly there is no question that Bishop Hollis was instrumental in developing a particular type of diocesan ministry focused on prayer and renewal conferences which reflected his personal faith. As one priest said to me, "As the bishop goes, so goes the Diocese". Priests who identified more strongly with social justice issues and who tended to become involved politically, found themselves to a certain degree marginalized. Commenting on the various streams within the church, an April 1978 article described the outcome of a day-long workshop:

Three different religions? If someone had not known the nature of the meeting, they might have been excused for thinking just that. But the panelists were all members of one church (Churchman).

In their attention to legislation affecting education, Anglicans were expressing their apprehension about the long term effects that restricting school enrolments would have on the English-language system. There was another aspect to education which also was controversial, and which was perceived as having an impact upon the English-speaking community and, of course, upon Anglicans. This was the issue of the basis of school board organization. Beginning in the sixties, various governmental committees had tried to change

school board organization from a confessional to a linguistic definition. Apart from the constitutional guarantees provided for confessional school boards, there was also a question of control. As long as some boards retained their Protestant identity, the Anglican church was able to claim at least a symbolic if not a practical responsibility for education, and by extension for the dissemination of cultural values.

It is no coincidence that a major article appeared in the Churchman in February 1978 describing and commenting upon the role of religion in Quebec schools. Referring to the mandate of the Protestant Committee of the Superior Council of Education of Quebec, the article explains the role of the Protestant Committee in protecting and advancing the religious and moral values particular to Protestantism. A Protestant school, the article says, "is an institution which in its administration, pedagogical approach, and discipline, maintains those values which have been integral to the Protestant community of Quebec." The article addresses the question of the validity and desirability of having confessional boards by quoting the Protestant Committee's argument:

In short we hold to the position that the moral elevation of society does not come by abandoning one's principles to the lowest common denominator of the common school: nor is cultural survival made more likely by definitions framed in terms of the superficialities of language. Rather, moral elevation and cultural survival will come by holding fast to

principles and by embodying those principles in the school system (Churchman, Feb. 1978).

To the charge that support of the confessional system really reflects a desire to protect English rights and privileges, the article points out that there are nearly 100,000 French Protestants in the province, and that the number is growing. I would suggest that the engagement of the Anglican Church in this issue was related to the need to retain a measure of symbolic power in a major institutional framework, as well as an awareness of the need to become more publically and politically involved. The church understood the significant links between education and culture, and its own contribution to this relationship seemed to demand continuation of the confessional system. In addition to the broad cultural context, schools have a multifaceted role within their communities, encouraging and supporting community-building relationships in a wide social context, with regard to which the Anglican church would need to retain institutionalized links. In other words, the Anglican support for confessional boards was not only based upon broad cultural considerations, but it was linked to an understanding of the individual social experience.

From 1969 to 1978 the church became increasingly involved in the socio-political environment in which it was situated. In the spring of 1978 its efforts to come to terms with change

were evident in the Churchman's front page story headlined "Premier Levesque lectures Canadian Club", which included a photo of the bishop talking to the Quebec premier. The lead paragraph described a head table of business leaders including "prominent Anglicans", the chancellor of McGill University and the president of the Montreal Board of Trade. By implication rather than words the article underlined the church's need to redefine and strengthen its role in Quebec society, both in terms of its members as business and educational leaders and in terms of its commentary on the political process. There are hints of ambivalence in the reporting. The premier did not 'point out' that business investment in Quebec had increased under the PQ, but rather that the premier had 'claimed' that "investment is up in Quebec". The final quotation used in the article was Levesque's statement that, "It must be understood that free choice is out in matters of education." There was clearly a struggle in the adjustment which was perceptibly that of an outsider seeking to ensure not only that it would be heard, but also that it would be responded to. The bishop's letter expressed the uncomfortable status of Anglicans :

I do hope you will seriously pray for Mr. Levesque as well as for our other political leaders. Prayer is a very real way in which we can make a contribution on the political front. But remember that prayer often leads us into action. If it is serious prayer it may push us into all kinds of other involvement (Churchman, May 1978).

Not only was the church responding to society, but it was

beginning to take the initiative in integrating itself through the development of a French language ministry. A conference was held in May 1978 under the theme "What it means to be a Francophone Anglican" which looked at the relationship of Anglicanism to culture, at obstacles and trends in French language ministry, and at relationships with other Christians. It seemed clear to the 40 participants that "the greatest perceived need was for ways to communicate the nature of our communion in the French milieu.....The association of our church over the years with British culture has made it very difficult for us to be truly and honestly 'French'" (Churchman, Sept.1978).

Another meeting of significance occurred that summer when Anglican and Roman Catholic bishops met to exchange views on political events in Quebec, the positions of majorities and minorities, evangelism, and the possibilities for improved cooperation between the churches. This was followed the next day by a meeting of the Anglican leadership which focused on a French language ministry and administrative changes such as bilingual information pamphlets, prayer book, and statistical forms, none of which had ever been available in Quebec.

In his opening address to Synod that year, the bishop concluded that the impact on the church of anglophones emigrating had not been "to any considerable degree at this

point." He noted the loss of "valuable lay leadership" but also remarked that the clergy had not left "seeking greener pastures". He also pointed out that the financial picture was not as bleak as some had predicted. Despite these notes of optimism, later in the Synod meetings there was lengthy discussion about a proposal to cut back the amount of money being sent to the national office. Even as the per capita contributions were rising, the awareness of declining membership, was causing Montreal Diocese to hold back on contributions outside its borders.

The church in Quebec was being buffeted also by changes in the national church, specifically by the controversies around Christian initiation (baptism) and the ordination of women which had been approved by the National Synod in 1975. In 1978, Montreal Diocese accepted the ordination of women; and it was in October that the first woman priest was ordained in Montreal, despite protest by a small but articulate group of clergy and lay members.

The beginning of 1979 seemed to offer a greater degree of stability even though political uncertainty continued to preoccupy the church. The bishop acknowledged that 1978 had seen a 25% turnover in clergy, which was "unusually high for us", but he continued to call for an optimistic perspective, seeing the new year as one of "opportunity and challenges"



(Churchman, Jan.1979). A concrete expression of optimism through financial contributions outside its borders was not forthcoming. Growing insecurity was apparent in the responses of the parishes to the request from the National Synod for an increase in financial commitment. Rather than accede to the request for \$196,000. as its fair 'apportionment', Montreal Diocese agreed to only \$180,000.. For the second year in a row the Montreal church had exhibited a defensive stance, protecting its financial security and holding back on contributions to the wider church. The treasurer, Mr. George Buckingham, expressed concern that Montreal Diocese was not "accepting our fair share", and that the decision to restrict the level of national support reflected upon Montreal's priorities (Churchman, Jan.1979).

With evidence of continuing resistance by the parishes to increasing their apportionments, Bishop Hollis convened a precedent-setting meeting of parish corporations.

Underlining the seriousness of the meeting, the clergy have been told by their bishop to rearrange schedules to ensure attendance.....The meeting, which will set the level of parish commitment for 1980, replaces the former system of 'target apportionments'.....In the past, Deanery Chapter meetings had been the forum for this kind of discussion...( Churchman, Oct.1979).

The conflict reflected a long standing tension in church government : the corporation and parish treasurer were the people responsible for parish budgets, while those who

represented the parish at Deanery and annual Synod meetings were usually elected delegates with no real understanding or power with respect to the financial commitments. At a time of significant pressure on financial resources, and with every indication that membership would continue to decline, the church was attempting to introduce a new method of communication to ensure that budgetary commitments could be met. As the editorial on the front page of the Churchman pronounced:

At last a meeting has been called with real financial teeth....A procedure of real commitment should ensue. ....At last we will see a really democratic meeting of the diocese, freed from the filter of second-hand reports, freed from the delay of isolated decision-making (Churchman, Oct. 1979).

Coming into the eighties in Montreal, the Anglican church was a changed institution. The struggle to retain a strong sense of purpose and identity continued as the church engaged in the debates leading up to the Referendum of May 21, 1980, which asked Quebecers to decide whether they wished to proceed to negotiations on sovereignty association. During the months leading up to the referendum, articles in the Churchman referred to discussions amongst the bishops of both Roman Catholic and Anglican churches. In his monthly letters published in the Churchman, Bishop Hollis called for church members to become politically involved; and an editorial even suggested a Lenten study programme which would focus on the theological implications of sovereignty. The editorial pointed

to adjustments which had been made by Anglicans: "We have to come to grips with being a minority within a minority". In May a communique was signed by ten Anglican bishops who urged the laity to "play as full a part as possible in the development of political structures." A summary of the Synod proceedings prepared for the June issue of the Churchman provides a telling glimpse of the ways in which people in the church were responding. Father Bradley described the opening Eucharist service as one expressing the "desire to hold onto the traditions we have." He continued:

The opening Eucharist was a return to the older pattern of clergy vested and sitting separately, which gave a chance for a lot of colour. Banners and crosses seemed to abound as three bishops, archdeacons and canons were appropriately attended and distinctively seated in places of honour. (Churchman, June, 1980)

The bishop's charge that year included a paragraph in French, and fully one half of it addressed the question of Quebec and the changing socio-political environment. He said that,

Whatever the vote in the referendum, we have a contribution to make to life in Quebec. As a church we have been here for 220 years, and that cannot be lightly abandoned. Indeed, our hope is to widen our contribution to Quebec. (Synod Proceedings, 1980)

When one contrasts this address with those presented in the sixties, the change is seen to be dramatic. The bishop went on to acknowledge "with regret" that nothing had been done to advance French language evangelism. Nevertheless, the

front page of the Churchman in April announced the "Premiere ordination en francais a Montreal", of a deacon from Zaire. The rejection of a 'yes' vote in the Referendum seems to have given the church an opportunity to address other concerns. That there was a sense of relief following the Referendum result is shown in subsequent news stories in which there are fewer specific references to the Quebec political situation.

By September 1980 the Churchman included more articles on issues such as the new prayer book, questions of the Third World and refugees, and administrative concerns such as the renovation of the cathedral. The Bishop's letter referred to the cathedral renovation as a sign that the church is not "fading away". The rise in adult confirmations, he said, do not point to "a dying church", and the six churches achieving rectory status do not reflect a church that is "closing up shop". He also reported on the creation of a task force which would consider the future "deployment of ordained personnel". While there were many signs of strength, the need to point to them is indicative of the existence of ongoing concern for the future of the church.

In his address opening Synod in 1981, the Bishop Hollis commented on the changing demographic characteristics of the Anglican church, being "less Anglo-Saxon and more the Canadian cultural mix." He affirmed the "need to be involved in

political processes that shape our society." Later that year he 'deplored' the use of emotional levers by politicians in their attempts to guide the constitutional debate. He urged fellow Anglicans to "express our disquiet" over the rhetoric being used. While Quebec Anglicans continued to feel "the pressures of living in our province under what at times appear to be discriminatory measures" (Churchman, Dec. 1981), they also were more receptive to the idea of 'mission'. The headline for a story about the parish budget commitments in 1981 was "Wardens Enthusiastically Support Mission". Individual parishes had pledged an increase of 10% in their mission allotments, money which would be used outside their parishes.

Other indications of an opening up to global responsibilities came with the publication of the Social Service report in 1982. "In the decade preceding this report, the Diocese of Montreal has indicated clearly a renewed interest and intent to pursue more actively broad areas of social concern." (Churchman, Mar. 1982) The report noted the support given to Vietnamese refugees, and the increasing involvement of Anglicans in school chaplaincy work, and in contributing to the debate regarding the government's proposal to deconfessionalize school boards.

At the same time as the church was responding to the social and political context around it, there was evidence of

increased commitment in another area. The bishop's letter in March 1982 expressed the conflicting responses which had become apparent:

I'm faced with two pictures. The first is a depressing one, but the second is in stark contrast to the first and gives me encouragement. A recent poll shows the possibility of a significant decrease in the Anglophone population within five years. There is a growing frustration that Anglophone opinion carries no weight with the government. Our school system is threatened. .... The second picture is from some personal returns that the clergy prepare for me..... the financial picture across the diocese was very encouraging for 1981. The reality is that church members want our church to stay and to bear witness (Churchman, 1982).

Accompanying these concerns for the financial stability of the church in the context of social and political change, and the problems of declining membership, were the changes being proposed and adopted within the church itself. Montreal Anglicans were confronted with significant changes in liturgy, form and language of worship, women's ordination, and the question of pre-confirmation children receiving communion. These issues will be explored in the next section which looks at the importance of tradition in times of social and political change. Together with the liturgical changes being proposed in the wake of Quebec's socio-political storm, social issues regained prominence, expressed in stories focusing on women's issues such as the establishment of the Ecumenical Women's Centre, and homosexuality, AIDS, and abortion. It is not surprising that Montreal Anglicans have been seen to be conservative, resistant to change, and perhaps

even somewhat parochial in their concerns.

Summarizing the many changes in his tenure of sixteen years as bishop, Hollis pointed out that:

Our social service ministry has expanded, with St. Michael's Mission being firmly established for the transient at the Church of St. John the Evangelist, with the opening of Auberge Madelaine for transient women, with the formation of the Montreal Pastoral Institute as an ecumenical centre for counselling, and with an active programme to aid refugees at Tyndale-St. George.

..... We still have a long way to go in the area of French ministry, but the diocese is now much more related to the French fact than it was when I became bishop (Churchman, May, 1990).

The contradictory responses of a more public and politically engaged ideology, and more defensive financial strategies apparent in the parishes, with increasing resistance to monetary support beyond diocesan boundaries, were finally incompatible. On the one hand there was recognition of the need to be involved in society, locally and globally; on the other hand, parishes feared for their survival. The responses at the parish level will be examined in Chapters 7 and 8. The final section of this chapter examines the ways in which church members have responded to the changes within the church itself.

#### C. THE PRAYER BOOK and CHANGE IN THE CHURCH

Individuals behave in distinctive ways when they feel cut off from the flow of time, excessively attached to the past, isolated in the present, without a future, or rushing toward one (Kern, 1983, p. 3).

As Montreal Anglicans struggled to adjust to the social and political changes around them, feeling cut off from the mainstream of events and powerless to influence them, they were also faced with changes within the church itself. For some this challenge has created enormous difficulties. One of the most traumatic changes in the church has been the introduction of a new prayer book. The first part of this section will describe the various responses to the new prayer book, as reflected in the monthly newspaper, parish newsletters, interviews, and in the results of a survey which I conducted in 1988. A national survey on the level of acceptance of the new Book of Alternative Services was conducted a few months earlier so that there is a basis for comparison. I shall be arguing that the strong opposition to the new prayer book in Montreal is related, in part at least, to the insecurities caused by the unstable social and political milieu. While it is difficult to measure, Montreal Diocese appears to have been particularly resistant to adopting the new BAS prayer book. The following story appeared in a parish newsletter in 1987:

For all of us Christmas Present is enhanced by memories of Christmas Past. On Christmas Eve we drive .....somehow always through a gentle fall of snow..... to where the lights of the church gleam yellow through the night, the aromas of evergreen and hot wax greet us, and the old familiar carols which we have sung since grade school once again shake the rafters. And,



though in our peripatetic lives the voices in the chancel may change, the words of the service echo down through the years. This is Peace, and Joy, and Home.

What if. What if after the turkey has been pummeled about, after the grandchildren have been put to bed with the same rituals their parents expected, we drive to our church and find a 'For Sale' sign? With a 'Sold' sticker superimposed. Sound like nightmare country? Look around....it's happening.

Written by a 68-year-old woman, the story shows her own fears for survival. She describes her own journey back to her roots in a small Townships village. Finding the little church converted to offices was a "considerable shock", and in the cemetery where her parents were buried, "The grass was very long, one of the tall tombstones had toppled over and there was a sinister looking subsidence in one corner." Turning from her past, she looked at her own parish today, a few miles from downtown Montreal, and wondered about the future. She was expressing her need to preserve the landscapes, traditions, and language of her Anglican Church. She was threatened by the changes around her: some changes only vaguely understood, and others challenging her sense of rootedness. For her, the words in the new prayer book do not "echo down through the years."

Following its publication in the fall of 1985, the Book of Alternative Services was introduced into Montreal Diocese in the spring of 1986. It was originally understood that it would be used for ten years on a trial basis, after which time it would be assessed by a national joint committee of

laity and clergy. While there have been some reasoned arguments put forward against specific changes incorporated into the BAS based on theological grounds, much of the debate has been local and emotional. It has often been conducted surreptitiously rather than in open forum. In Montreal, parishes have been divided; people have left the church; ministers have been personally attacked and blamed. Contentious issues include changes in the order of service; the emphasis on the Holy Spirit being called down upon inanimate objects; the introduction of the 'exchange of the Peace'; and the very language of worship. While congregations have not been especially concerned about the first two matters, the dissension generated by the new language and the exchange of the Peace has been profound.

In its editorial in March 1988, the Montreal Churchman commented, "No gain without pain". Church leaders, it stated, would do well to apply the words of the hymn "Only he who bears the cross may hope to wear the glorious crown", as they attempt to resolve the "portentous issues presently occupying much of our attention and energy." The editorialist described the situation in his own parish :

There is deep feeling, both for and against. We are using both books, and three forms of the Eucharist. Not everyone is happy; some are disgusted. Some will not budge to exchange the Peace; others leap into action, beaming bright like the Star of Bethlehem in orbit for a dubious birth. But the Sacrament is unchanged. ....

Grace is invalidated only when we refuse to accept it: not by strange words, or actions that invade our privacy, or female priests. (Churchman, March 1988)

The bishop's support of it, as reflected in his annual addresses to Synod, was consistently cautious. While acknowledging that its format was one of which the Anglican Book Centre could be "justly proud", he also pointed out that the Book of Common Prayer (1959) was still the official book of the church, and he left the decision as to its use up to the individual parishes. In his 1987 address, Bishop Hollis noted that the introduction of the BAS had been difficult in some parishes, and that its use at the opening Eucharist at Synod that year signalled the beginning of its use in alternate years. He underlined the need for parishes to have a "healthy trial" in order to be able to provide useful feedback to the national liturgical commission; and again in 1988 he asked that "the voice of the wider church be heard" in order to ensure an effective process of revision.

His words did not hint at the storms gathering strength in many parishes. Because the bishop left the timing and method of introduction of the BAS to individual clergy, its successful introduction depended to a large extent upon the diplomacy, personality, and communication skills of the local priest as well as the relationship between the rector and the congregation. One priest said to me (not entirely in jest), "Whatever I tell them, they'll do". But there has never been

a BAS service at his church, because its introduction would finally drive away the last of the elderly congregation. At other churches where the BAS is used once a month on a regular basis, certain parishioners do not attend. Many churches have two congregations : those who attend only BCP services, and those who attend regardless of which prayer book is being used. At an annual vestry meeting which I attended there was 'vigorous' discussion about a proposal to increase the number of BAS services per month from one to two. The vote was tied (13 - 13) and the priest opted for the status quo. At another church, where there has been almost no use of the BAS, the congregation is so against it that the clergy scarcely mention the possibility of its introduction. In an interview with a member of this church I asked her opinion of the new prayer book. Her response was unequivocal :

I love the traditional hymns and the choir. I don't like the kissing and shaking hands in the Peace. That's an invasion of my private space. I want the service to just kind of roll over me. I don't want to think about the words. I've said the traditional service for all my life; I don't even need the prayer book. I used to go to church six days a week when I was growing up. Dad would never miss church on Sundays in Toronto, and the other five days was when I was at school (a private girls' school). That is all part of me. (Interview, Feb.1988)

When I asked her what she would do were the BAS to be used at the regular 11:00 service, she replied that she doesn't want it forced on them, and if it were she would simply leave. "No fuss. I'd just kind of quietly slide out."

Another parishioner at the same church described the process by which the rector had introduced the new prayer book. When, after three special meetings called to 'explain' the BAS, it became obvious that the congregation would not accept it, the solution adopted was to have a third service on Sunday mornings for those who wanted to use the BAS. The result was a service which attracted about 5 - 10 people and which was discontinued after about 18 months. The man describing this process to me said that when he had told a meeting of the Advisory Board of the book's general acceptance across Canada, "It was like closing an iron door; the faces turned to stone. One person said that sociability was for outside the church." When the parishioner told of his experience in a California church where the exchange of the Peace had seemed so joyful, and was it not 'sad' that they seemed to be morose, someone jumped up at the meeting and "sternly, with great emotion, said 'How can you make jest with what we take very seriously indeed?'"

In those churches in the diocese where the BAS has general acceptance, two factors seem to be important: the rector's attitude and communication skills, and the characteristics of the congregation. The relationship between these factors is both dialectical and in a very delicate balance. At a suburban church characterized by a mobile population and an active Sunday school, introduction of the

BAS was achieved relatively comfortably. By a general 'consensus' of the monthly Advisory Board, not by a formal vote at the annual vestry, the congregation agreed to use the BAS at about half of the regular services. It was gradually used more and more. At one meeting someone mentioned this, with the mild complaint that he always seemed to be "flipping back and forth" (from section to section). The response from one of the wardens was : "I'm older than you and I manage!", at which everyone laughed. Two very different congregations had very different reactions to the new prayer book. Two congregations were experiencing themselves as 'community' in fundamentally different ways.

One public manifestation of opposition to the new book was the organization of the Prayer Book Society, first formed in Toronto in 1986 soon after the publication of the BAS. In October 1988 an inaugural meeting for the establishment of a Montreal Branch was held at St. Matthias Church. Disclaiming any ideological connection with the organization by virtue of its premises being used, the rector assured me that "they" were simply renting the facilities. Despite the disclaimer, it is unlikely to have been coincidental that the meeting site selected happened to be a church where the BAS is not used. With about 150 people attending, the large hall was almost full. In the audience were both Montreal bishops (Bishop Hollis and his adjutant, Bishop MacLean), ten clergy, and

laity from about ten different churches. Men outnumbered the women. The theme announced for this meeting was 'The Prayer Book and the Church in Crisis', and one of the handouts was a quotation from a letter to the Daily Telegraph (January 1987), written by Terry Waite just before he disappeared on his ill-fated mission to Beirut.

Over the years, in very many ways, we have removed ourselves from our history and our heritage....the secular spirit devours everything within its path.....We need to be restored to our past so that we can continue confidently into the future. Oh for leaders who know the language of symbol....who realize that bread alone does not satisfy.

In his opening remarks to the meeting, the chairman said, "We are members of this organization because we're deeply concerned to keep the prayer book central to the Anglican faith." The speaker, Dr. Robert Crow, defined liberal and conservative factions in the church, the first being people for whom truth is related to personal experience; whereas for conservatives, "Truth is tied definitely to scripture. The task of a conservative with his (sic) belief is obedience and understanding." He went on to suggest that the issue of the prayer book is "not an isolated phenomenon" but rather only the beginning of a significant "reformation". The prayer book, he pointed out, "has shaped our spirituality; our self-definition as Anglicans." He expressed concern about the ongoing liturgical chaos since it seemed there would be no decision taken on a new book for at least ten years. "The

American church should serve as an object lesson for us, where the use of the traditional book has been declared illegal."

During the question period someone asked whether the BAS was a deviation from sound doctrine. Admitting it was a difficult question, Dr. Crouse replied, "The short answer would be 'yes'." Many of the clergy at the meeting seemed intent on expressing their support for the new book. One priest pointedly exposed the many-faceted traditions of the Book of Common Prayer when he asked which version of the book Dr. Crouse considered to be "the tradition". Another priest expressed concern that the speaker had made an inappropriate connection between the BAS (as cause) and the fact that the Anglican church now remarries divorced people. Dr. Crouse denied the causal relationship, but did suggest that indeed the BAS "recognizes and, in a sense, sanctifies certain changes ongoing in society."

During the entire discussion only three or four people asked questions which showed support for the speaker; and neither of the bishops said anything at all. While it appeared that most of the people at the meeting supported the views of the Prayer Book Society, most of the priests in attendance spoke in defense of the BAS. Six months later another meeting was held attended by only about 50 people. A petition was distributed, to be signed and sent to the bishop requesting



that "the starting point of any future revision of the Anglican liturgies be the Book of Common Prayer." In his address to Synod later that week, Bishop Hollis expressed support for the ongoing revisionary work of the national liturgical commission, and asked for mutual understanding because "we are not all helped to worship by the same forms", and the acceptance of divergent forms "might save our church from losing numbers." Despite the Prayer Book Society, there seems to have been only limited interest in active participatory opposition to the BAS. Nevertheless, the results of the surveys show a strong core of opposition in Montreal which is more pervasive than in other parts of the country.

### The Surveys

The national survey took place at the end of 1987, and by May 1988 40.5% of congregations who received the questionnaire had replied. The Montreal survey which I conducted was mailed in March 1988, with final returns of 73% received by August. In both surveys, questions were asked regarding the extent of use of the Book of Alternative Services, and whether or not the churches own copies of the book. The major difficulty interpreting the results derives from the use of the word "regularly", since it might mean once a month or once a week.

At the national level, 70% of congregations use primarily

the BAS for Eucharist services, and 20% of congregations do not use the BAS regularly. The most conservative of the dioceses is Fredericton where only one third of parishes uses it for Eucharist services. Montreal is the most conservative diocese in the country after (in order) Fredericton, Quebec, and Nova Scotia. This pattern corresponds precisely to the pattern of mission giving. Comparing the nation's two metropolitan dioceses, one sees a marked contrast: in Toronto only one in six congregations do not use the BAS regularly, whereas in Montreal almost 40% are in this category. Using another measure, in Montreal only half the parishes use primarily the BAS for the Eucharist, whereas in Toronto nearly three-quarters do.

One may argue that Montreal represents an 'Eastern' conservatism, which I have mentioned several times already, and which David Ley has described in other studies. (Ley, 1984). I would suggest, however, that 'metropolitan' factors should make Montreal correspond more closely to the Toronto pattern. Insofar as Montreal diocese shows a substantially lower rate of acceptance than Toronto diocese, I would attribute this resistance not simply to an 'Eastern' regional conservatism, but to a need for stability and rootedness based in the tradition of the prayer book. If the socio-political situation in Quebec had not been so threatening, there might have been greater acceptance of the

## BAS in Montreal.

In my survey, for which there were 70 returns (representing 70 congregations and a 73% rate of return), 43% use the BAS at all or most services; while 70% use it at some or most; 31% do not use it at all. Because I was interested in the extent to which churches were accepting other changes in the church, I included questions about the new lectionary and the admission of pre-confirmation children to communion. Only 14 congregations use the BAS exclusively, use the Ecumenical lectionary as well, and admit pre-confirmation children to communion. Sixteen use the BAS most of the time, but do not admit pre-confirmation children to communion. These 30 congregations, representing 43% of the respondents, would approximately correspond to the national survey figures for the use of the BAS at Eucharists. The national data show Montreal with 53% of the congregations using the BAS frequently, somewhat higher than the measure which I derived based on a higher rate of return. I suspect that the difference lies in the characteristics of those who returned their national surveys, mainly being those who do use the BAS.

Resistance to the BAS seems to be related to population change, with a perceived threat to the local church; the characteristics of the congregation, especially in terms of age, mobility and family histories; and thirdly, the

effectiveness of the leadership, especially the rector in communicating the desirability of adopting the BAS.

As I shall discuss in greater detail when I look at individual parishes, the degree to which the church is integrated into the wider community and functions as a focus of social interaction seems to be important in affecting the level of acceptance of change within the church. The results of the survey show that most of the churches that have refused the BAS are churches located in areas of significant population change. In those churches which are dominated by "old families", and by a sense of tradition and historical precedent, there is frequently a perception of community based upon memory rather than upon active shared participation in church activities today. When the social group that defines these churches also feels threatened by declining church membership there tends to be a powerful motivation for retaining old and familiar forms. As a generalization, it is the churches in central Montreal, and in the Townships and the Laurentians which have resisted adopting the new prayer book. Most accepting have been churches located in areas of growing anglophone populations (especially the West Island), and areas of high mobility where youthful populations have not been strongly inhibited by older, more conservative congregations. Where the BAS has been accepted for frequent use in older and declining churches (such as St. Columba in Notre Dame de Grace,

and St. Ignatius in Mascouche) there seems to have been an important role for the rector in encouraging the adoption of the new prayer book.

Consideration of the 21 churches which do not use the BAS at all gives some weight to the suggestion that uncertainty about the future and the perception of a threat to the continued existence of the home church can inhibit acceptance of change. Traditional forms and rituals may acquire added importance as symbols of stability. St. Matthew's and St. Thomas, for example, have experienced amongst the highest rates of decrease in their membership, (over 80% compared to the diocesan average of 66%). Characteristics of the congregation itself may contribute to entrenched traditional forms. Grace Church in Point St. Charles and St. Matthias in Westmount, at opposite ends of the socio-economic spectrum, have similar negative attitudes to the BAS. Each of these congregations has a strong nucleus of people whose histories in their churches span 30 - 50 years. Their sense of identity extends beyond Anglicanism to incorporate a socio-cultural context in which shared family histories are important.

Similarly, at several of the downtown churches, there is a legacy of generational rootedness which gives added meaning to the membership. At St. George's, St. John the Evangelist, and St. James the Apostle, use of the BCP seems to be linked to a

tradition of a cultural elite with shared memories and family histories. There is a symbolic community of meaning in using the older book with its familiar order and words. Two other spatial groupings of churches which have not accepted the BAS are on the South Shore, including two in Longueuil and Greenfield Park, and several in the Eastern Townships, and in the Laurentians, north of Montreal. These churches, too, have experienced severe losses in membership due to out-migration of English-speaking residents and the spatial concentration of anglophones on the island.

There are three West Island churches, (in Pointe Claire and in Lachine), and several in Eastern Montreal which belie these generalizations. The three on the West Island have refused to adopt the new book; and those in Eastern Montreal are using it. In both instances it is possible that the incumbent rectors have had important roles in determining the liturgical form.

There are other changes introduced in recent years in the Anglican Church, most of which have met with opposition in Montreal. One of these is the proposal to permit pre-confirmation children to have communion. In Montreal diocese the acceptance of this has been slow compared to dioceses in Western Canada. At the Synod meeting in 1980, for the third successive year, there was a lengthy debate about

this issue. In the end the motion was referred back to the parishes for further study. At one church there has been discussion of this issue for almost three years, and after about six 'public' meetings, to which very few parishioners came (despite a concern by the corporation of an outcry once it was accepted), the issue was settled at the annual vestry meeting in January 1991. Even today the guidelines are ambiguous enough that acceptance of children for communion prior to confirmation is a decision of the rector, who is free to decide whether to consult with his parishioners. The only firm request is that children who have received communion in other dioceses be allowed to continue. Partly linked to the east-west conservatism trend noted earlier, it seems likely that the resistance is also related to a need for stability and tradition.

Another change for the church came in 1982 when the new lectionary, the scheduled pattern of biblical readings, was introduced. Not everyone was happy about it, and even today many churches in the diocese do not adhere to it, remaining instead with the lectionary given in the traditional prayer book. In his letter in the Churchman in May 1982, Bishop Hollis outlined his reasons for asking that the new lectionary be used, including unity in the church across the country and an "ampler selection of Scripture readings". Replying to someone who asked if "change is really necessary?", the bishop

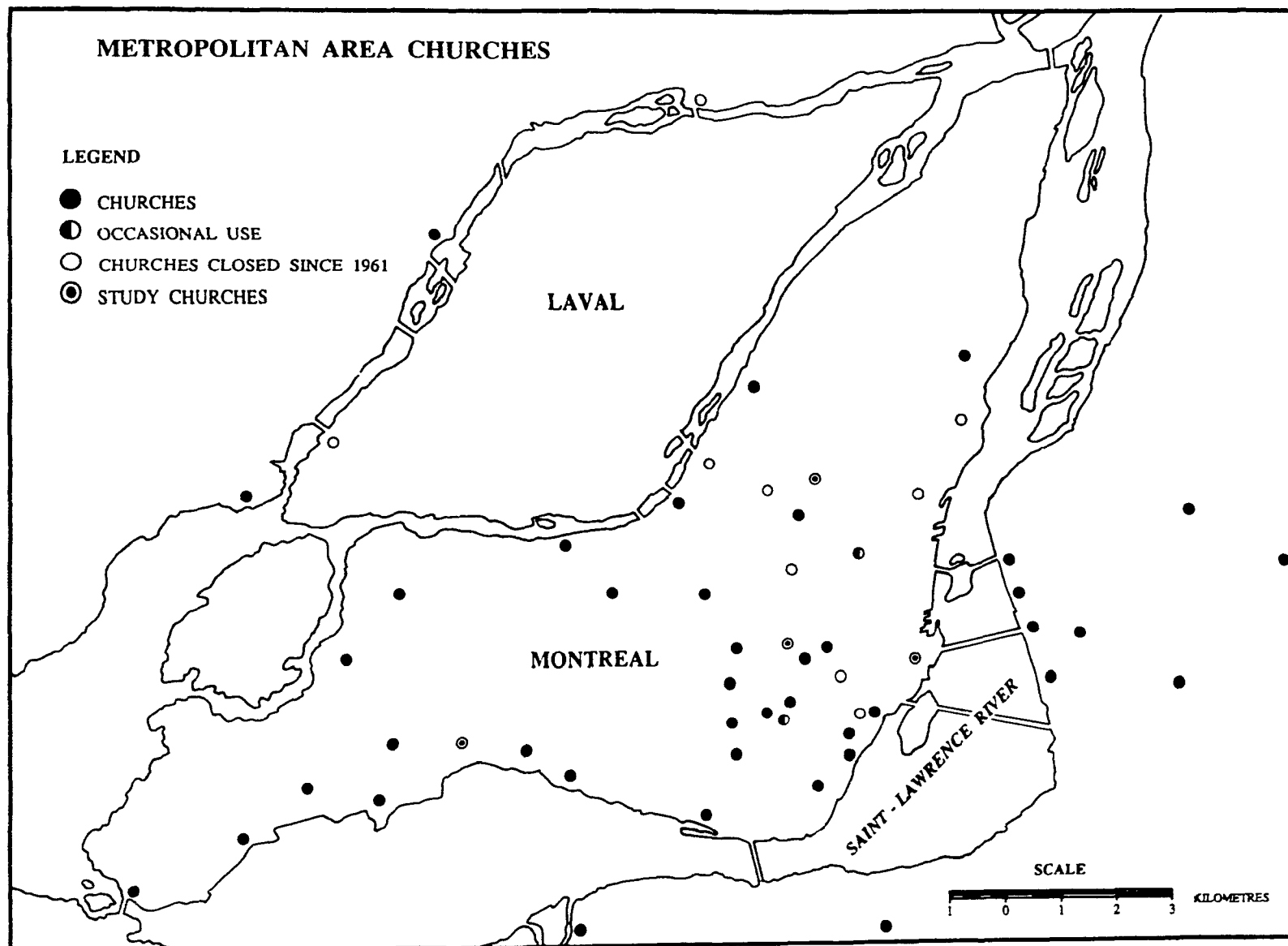
said he was not "lightly abandoning the Prayer Book", but that "convenience" was not a reasonable basis for retaining the older form. (Churchman, May 1982) Nine years later there are still many churches which do not use the new lectionary.

This chapter has examined the ways in which the church has changed in its awareness of its socio-political context since 1961. I have described the concerns of the church, and the ways in which it has responded. There have been both positive efforts to integrate into the socio-political milieu of Quebec, and there have been responses which are defensive. The persistent concerns for declining memberships, for example, have been alleviated to some extent by the substantial improvement in per capita offerings. There is evidence in the higher attendance at festival services that "in times of crisis people turn to religious institutions in order to understand the problems they face," (Westfall, 1989 p.174). The higher percentage attendance at festival services than in other parts of the country, suggests a stronger commitment among the 'fringe' group in the church. Indicative of the desire to be more integrated in the Quebec community are some of the new initiatives: encouragement of the clergy to learn French; presentations to the government of particular points-of-view; and the appointment of special committees on French-English relations. While there has been outreach towards the Quebec community, there has also been evidence of



defensive behaviour. Even as per capita contributions have risen, the commitment to mission beyond diocesan borders has been low in Montreal. In apparent efforts to ensure stability within the church, there has been resistance to proposed changes, particularly the new prayer book.

All of these behaviours, both positive and defensive, reflect concerns of people whose personal histories, meanings, and identities have been threatened. The diocesan patterns described in this chapter hide variations amongst the parishes. The next two chapters explore these variations, with respect to five parishes selected on the basis of different demographic and locational characteristics.



MAP 3

CHAPTER VII - THE CHURCHES : COMMUNITY, PLACE, IDENTITY

The relationship of the individual to God is ultimately personal, but it is mediated by the whole pattern of community life. There is a givenness about the community and the tradition. They are not normally a matter of individual choice (Bellah, p.227).

The next two chapters examine the lived worlds of Anglican members in terms of their commitment to and participation in their community churches. For individuals, the meanings that their Christian faith, and more particularly their local churches, have for them derive from a complex interaction of community and social values, family experiences, and the broader cultural context. Religion is one important way in which Canadians participate in community life. On a pragmatic level, as we saw in Chapter 3, they give more money and donate more time to religious organizations than to all other voluntary associations put together.

Commitment to the church, of course, represents far more than time and money. The local church is a community of worship incorporating the local and the universal, the sacred and the secular, and myths and stories. It is bricks and mortar as well as symbols and rituals. While reflecting the debates and tensions of the institutional church, the parish also exhibits specific characteristics related to variations of social class, mobility, age and education, all of which are

tied into particular histories. These 'variations on a theme' define and describe communities of shared experience having histories, memories and traditions which give meaning to church life.

The parish church contains within it three interactive elements. There are the people who share activities, relationships, experiences and stories. In a concrete material way, the church building and its furnishings provide a means through which people can affirm and maintain a sense of rootedness and belonging. The third element is the compendium of formal and informal organizational and social links, the relationships, which define, describe, and limit the dynamic of the church community. All of these interact to become churches which have distinctive characteristics of meaning and behaviour. The importance of these three elements suggest an emphasis on group interaction and meaning which is consistent with Mead's theory of symbolic interaction. In describing how intragroup interaction contributes to the development and maintenance of 'self', Mead's analysis is particularly relevant to our understanding of the parish church and how individuals relate to it. He argues that individuals acquire shared meanings with others and in relation to place as a result of the need to affirm an identity and to develop a coherent 'self'. In other words, the search for individual meaning occurs in relation to reference groups such as the

church, which generate communities of shared experience, tradition and security. These next two chapters examine the ways in which the individual meanings and attachment to place are intricately related to the community church. Symbolic interaction provides a useful framework for understanding the relationships and interactive structures which affirm identity and belonging.

The socio-political context of Quebec further complicates the final outcome in these interactive structures. It has combined with the specific social milieu of each of the churches to create ever-evolving communities.

Our past experiences continually take on new meanings in the light of more recent events and must be constantly re-worked and re-evaluated in accordance with our present outlook,.... (Wilson,1982,p.141).

In the particular context of Quebec, the local church has become for many people a place of increased significance, having meanings associated with cultural identity and security. Both Relph and Tuan have discussed the ways in which places can "incarnate the experience and aspirations of people" (Tuan,1971,p.281). They argue that a place can become a focus of a sense of belonging to the social group.

Geographers, in becoming increasingly interested in social activity spaces and in the ideas of socially constructed places, have focused attention on community.

Despite a "strong pattern in modern society (which) is the fragmentation of space and time" (Seamon, 1980, p. 162), geographers have begun to reexamine how 'community' evolves. Anne Buttner has suggested that there is a relationship between the emergence of the notion of place as a significant motif in literature, politics and song, and abrupt changes in the social and intellectual environments. "It appears that people's sense of both personal and cultural identity is intimately bound up with place identity." Loss of home or 'losing one's place' may often trigger an identity crisis (1980, p. 167). She also points out that when the "fundamental values associated with any of these levels of experience are threatened, then protest about the meaning of place may erupt."

The interviews and discussions which form the core data in these two chapters exhibit differences in the ways in which 'community' is perceived and the responses are correspondingly distinctive. People spoke eloquently of their parish churches in which their life's passages had been celebrated; to which they attached symbolic importance as protectors of their culture; and from which they expected continual nourishment and affirmation. They reflected the many layers of individual meanings : symbolic, emotional, cultural, spiritual, ideological, and political. The parish churches are both personal and institutional in their impact and meaning.

In the discussions which I report in the following pages, it is important to acknowledge that there are both insider and outsider perspectives which occasionally seem to be at odds. While the interpretation of certain patterns of behaviour in accordance with diocesan trends and statistics may appear to be reasonable to the 'outsider', the 'insider' may not recognize the 'explained' rationale as being relevant to his/her experience. As Anne Buttimer has pointed out, for those living the everyday movements they become so fundamental that they are not even reflected upon. The meanings of place and community are dynamic; they should be viewed as "horizons for basic life processes rather than as artifacts or nouns" (Buttimer, 1980, p.186).

### The Five Churches

As explained in Chapter 3, the five parish churches were selected in consultation with the Bishop and with the object of obtaining a cross-section of demographic and locational characteristics. They vary in ways which affect the 'community of meaning', for example in behaviours and priorities affecting activities in the church, such as the relative importance of social activities, the residential spatial pattern of members, and the relative acceptance of liturgical changes.

The first set of distinctive characteristics which were summarized in Table 1 in Chapter 3 can be briefly described. Many studies, especially in the United States, have attempted to find statistical correlations between these demographic and locational attributes and various behavioural patterns in the church. There are almost no unequivocal statements which can be made regarding such positivist 'explanations'. The role of education, for example, in 'determining' spiritual commitment, or the relationship between financial contribution and family income, are not consistent or reliably quantifiable. My research has shown, however, that there are other demographic factors which do have profound significance for the ways in which people relate to their churches. Age, for example, or more specifically the stage in the life cycle, has a direct relationship to the inclination of people to attend church. I have evidence for a significant role of 'life-cycle' in defining important structural and organizational relationships within the individual churches. Mobility, in terms of the years spent in the parish, also has a strong link with the participation of church members. Related to 'life-cycle', mobility characteristics are important for their impact upon the ways in which people become integrated into the stories and traditions of the church. They suggest reasons for difficulties which are encountered as some church members attempt to hold onto their traditions and to preserve continuity in the face of change. Finally, demographic



characteristics of churches include the male-female balance. There is evidence that this relationship has great significance in all aspects of church life.

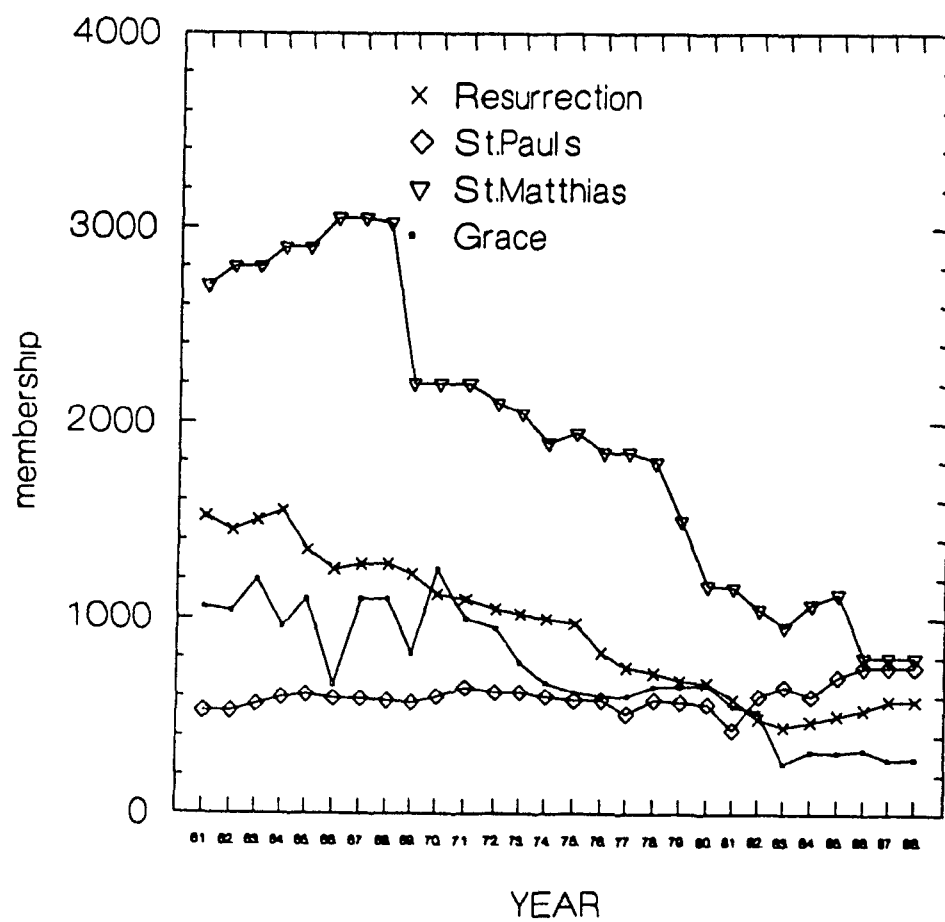
The difficulty in exploring these relationships lies precisely in the number of contributing factors combined with the particular nature of religion as a personal framework of meaning. Belief in God cannot be quantified. The importance of spiritual renewal for parishioners cannot be measured. Ultimately, the meaning which the church has for people must be accepted as subjective, and be described subjectively. The five churches which were selected according to objective criteria exhibit variations in the subjectively defined behaviours, but these behaviour patterns will not necessarily be repeated in other churches having their same objective conditions. On the other hand, to the extent that the broader institutional and socio-political contexts intrude, we can make some broad generalizations about common relationships.

#### ST. MATTHIAS

St. Matthias Church is located in the geographic centre of Westmount, one of the wealthiest communities in Canada, with average per capita income over \$58,000. In a province where only 10% of the population is anglophone, 70% of Westmount's population is English-speaking. A lovely old stone

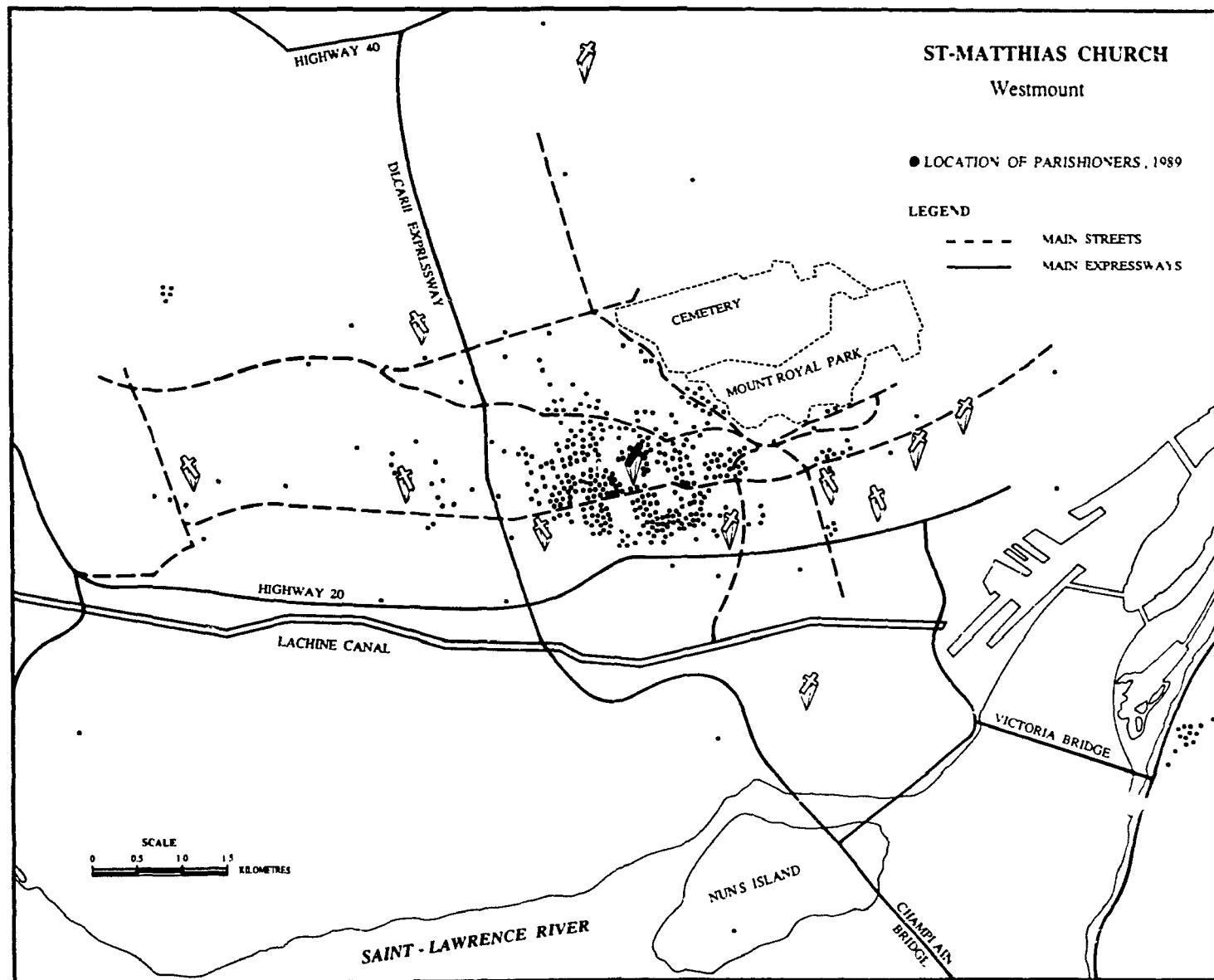
FIGURE 10

## MEMBERSHIP, Four Parishes



church perched, almost precariously, on the edge of the steep incline of the mountain, St. Matthias welcomes visitors through two massive old oak doors. A pair of Union Jacks hanging in the chancel eloquently points to the links with Britain. Prayers of intercession in January 1991 during the Gulf War were for "our Queen's Forces". A large organ at the back of the church, in front of which is an impressive series of choir pews, testifies to the reputation earned here amongst Montreal Anglicans for its well-trained men and boys choir. Music is important to the congregation in terms of its own perception of itself, and in how church members view it. The choir is a vital part of life at St. Matthias. There are 439 names on the parish list, or approximately 900 people who are members of the church. Approximately 68% of the members live within Westmount's boundaries, and 88% within 5 km of the church. The annual operating budget is almost \$300,000., (\$264 thousand in 1990), with regular contributors providing about three quarters of this amount.

There are two regular weekly services, both on Sunday mornings, in addition to a monthly Evensong service late Sunday afternoon which features the choir. The average attendance at services is 20 at the 8:00 am Eucharist, 100 at the 10:30 am, and 40 at the monthly evensongs. There is a clear majority of older people at all services, with an average age around 60 years. The Sunday School is small,



MAP 4

always struggling to maintain sufficient numbers to continue, while assurance of teachers is also a problem. In 1988 there had "been talk of paying someone to organize it ", said one former warden. Confirmation classes seem to attract 8-10 young people each year, but as one teacher from a private school who knows these youth said to me : "I had never seen them at church; suddenly here they are at confirmation, 'being done'. And we haven't seen them since." As with all of the churches in which I involved myself, the participation of young people ages 13 - 30 was almost nil.

There are several characteristics of St. Matthias which make it distinctive in the diocese. The wealth of its members is important, but not in an absolute sense so much as in terms of the implications for past experiences of power and shared social status within the community and church. The values and commitment which the 'old families' bring to the existential meaning of their church is crucial to understanding the difficulties encountered by those who wish to initiate effective change at St. Matthias. Most of the members have belonged to the church for many decades, and have family histories which are punctuated by marriages, baptisms and funerals at St. Matthias. At the same time, in the wider community they have known the power and influence of the elite who control the economic and political spheres in Montreal and Quebec. In this period of enormous change in Quebec during

which they have seen many of the younger business leaders leaving the province, while their own influence has been undermined by the emergent business elite of the francophone population, the members of St. Matthias have sought to retain the familiar forms in their church, preserving a sense of continuity essential to their own identities.

Even as their wealth might seem to protect them from the economic insecurities of unemployment, and there might not seem to be a need to protect the status quo in other areas of their lives, they nevertheless bring to their worship a 'conservatism' which eschews the desirability of a modern language liturgy, the possibility of female clergy, and the potential for a nearby 'drop-in' center. It is not that they are ignorant of changes in the wider church; nor that some members of their congregation do not actively support some of the new initiatives in the church. It is simply that, as a congregation, they do not accept them. Despite a short trial period at a 9:00 service, there has been a steadfast refusal to consider adoption of the new prayer book at any of the regular services; in appointing a new rector, the 'search committee' understood that a female would not be considered for the position; and in discussing the possibility of a drop-in centre in cooperation with a nearby church, two members of the advisory board abstained from voting on a motion which merely asked for further investigation, while

the others were reticent to commit even moral support to the idea.

The sense of community which one feels in this church is somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand many parishioners spoke to me of the lack of any experience of community; there is a general consensus that "everyone is very separate", and that none of the parishioners sees each other socially outside the Sunday morning service. On the other hand, time and time again people mentioned the choir, and the importance which is attached to it as a nucleus of strength and commitment in the church. I shall return to this issue because it is crucial to an understanding of the meaning which St. Matthias has for its members. One active member said that he saw "two parishes", one which turns out for the funerals of the elite, and the other being the committed group of 100 or so regular attenders who support the church through active participation in worship services and social events.

In most churches, one group which usually functions as a focus of community sharing is the women's association. Understanding the role of the women in the church, and the ways in which they perceive their relationship to the church, involves examination of a complex variety of elements which I shall present here as they apply to St. Matthias. The combination of out-migration and secularization, as well as increasing numbers of women entering the workforce, have all

had an enormous impact upon the women's activities. The past four years has been a period of great insecurity for the women's association which has not been able to fill its executive positions on a consistent basis. A recent newsletter included the following comment from the current president:

When I was elected to the position of co-president of the A.O.W. after only being in the church for a few months (in itself an indication of desperate times!), I accepted the post with great enthusiasm and with the hope of being able to bring in some new blood and vigour to the group. After only nine months in this position, I must admit to being very discouraged and pessimistic as to the future of our organization. Aside from a few handfuls of very dedicated and hardworking individuals, it is becoming increasingly difficult to get people to take on jobs and to see them through, without constant supervision.....This creates an enormous burden on an already aging and dwindling group of people and puts us all in an untenable position....  
...As it now stands, only six out of a slate of twelve members of our executive, are prepared to return to their jobs next year, leaving the top three posts in particular, unfilled.

This articulate description of the situation for the women's association at St. Matthias is not unique. All of the churches exhibit similar concerns for the aging population and for the lack of commitment to the volunteer duties, with much being done by few. Where St. Matthias is different is not only in the degree to which no one seems to be forthcoming, and in the recognition that the organization may cease to exist, but more particularly it is in the reality that the numbers are in fact there. The potential for an active women's group



exists. This is not a church surviving on an attendance of 30 or 40, as is the case at Grace Church which I shall describe next. It is a church which has a large pool of educated women who are not all working during the day at paid employment. While for some of the churches which I describe (Grace Church and Resurrection, for example) the women's groups serve an important role of bringing people together to share in the social and altruistic experiences of community, at St. Matthias the women's group seems to be a "duty". There is little sense of enjoying the shared commitment or of wanting to enhance the experiential meaning of their Christian faith. For many of these women there are many other competing activities, such as Museum guides or hospital guilds, which provide outlets for their social, altruistic and intellectual needs.

At the annual meeting in January 1989 there were 32 ladies present. I sat at the back next to a delightful 78 year old lady who was busy knitting and alert to everything going on around her. She wondered why I was there, I was 'so young'! Another lady I talked to said that she was not a very regular attender at church because they are away on weekends at their house in St. Agathe. 'Weekenders' are a frequently mentioned 'problem' for St. Matthias. She was surprised at such a good attendance at this meeting; last year there had been only about six people, she said. At the end of the meeting the president asked how many would be at the next meeting in a

month's time, only eight hands were raised. The struggle of the women's group is one related not to potential numbers but to attitudes and values amongst the church members who do not seem to need a church community for their social sharing.

The determination of the president to ensure the continuance of a fundraising and fellowship group resulted in her proposal at the annual vestry meeting in January 1991 to form an "all members" group, not restricted to women. Arguing that "We must all be accountable if we hope to build momentum and growth within our congregation and community at large", she initiated a committee to define the guidelines for the new group. In the spring of 1991 the Association of Women was disbanded, and a new fellowship group, including both men and women, was formed in its place.

The decision to include men as part of the 'women's group' at St. Matthias is not unique; other churches have also discussed such a move. As the women's groups are increasingly dominated by retired-age people, many of whom have retired spouses who would benefit by the shared socializing, there is a recognition of the need to redefine the rationale for these groups. At the same time there are paradoxical struggles to retain old forms which served particular power interests. For some women, especially those whose histories span many decades in the church, the church has provided a means for

self-affirmation and public recognition, and strongly established relationships, sometimes known as 'cliques', become the basis for a powerful informal structure of control. The womens' group wields enormous power in terms of providing a 'community' ambience, of organizing social functions and receptions for special occasions, and in their very presence in the church they know more about the details of administration and organization than any new warden who takes office for a three year term. Their power is real even if it is not acknowledged by church officers and the clergy, which frequently it is not.

The irony in their struggle to re-form a new type of organization, is that new young women in the church have great difficulty being integrated into these groups. Even assuming that a new female member is introduced into an association meeting, it would take her years to understand the many informal rules, traditions, and stories which guide the 'way things are done'. In this St. Matthias is not unique. It is a situation, however, which seems to be exacerbated in Quebec by the lack of large numbers of new young members who can act as initiators of change. In churches dominated by the older age groups, the women retain their power as a way of perpetuating their identity and sense of belonging.

Despite these problems, the women at St. Matthias have

continued to provide important sources of funds. Their fundraising bazaars enabled them to contribute \$24,000. to various causes in 1988, of which almost 50% went out of the parish. One interesting aspect of ladies groups in all the churches is that they tend to retain complete control of their finances, which often do not appear in the audited financial reports and are contributed to the total church revenue at the discretion of individual executives. As an issue this topic is one of the most delicate for any rector to address.

As I said earlier the evidence for a sense of community at St. Matthias is ambiguous. Two groups, organized mainly by women, which exhibit a degree of commitment and shared responsibility having significant elements of community are the Meals-on-Wheels, and the team of Pastoral Care visitors. What is interesting about these activities, one of which is not strictly a St. Matthias organization although it is based in the church, is that they have had consistent leadership, directed at specific goals within known timeframes. They have achieved an outreach into the Westmount community, serving the elderly population thereby creating a sense of shared lives given meaning through common experiences of the past and being enabled to carry them into the present.

Despite a powerful presence in the church, the women's groups are often overlooked in general discussions about the

"direction of the church", and at vestry meetings their reports are short, almost insignificant beside the attention given to the choir, budget, and building renovations. In the autumn of 1988 a special meeting at St. Matthias was called to discuss 'stewardship', and to develop a questionnaire which could be the focus of a parish-wide campaign. It was almost two hours into the meeting before the women's groups were acknowledged, when one lady pointed out that the proposed questionnaire hardly mentioned them. As someone whose family history is deeply rooted in the church and who is respected for her strong faith, she was listened to when she said that "some activities are glossed over. Meals-on-Wheels is not even mentioned." She went on to say that "There's too much emphasis on music. This (the questionnaire) is asking for facts. But we need 'feel'. (Sept. 1988)"

After acknowledging her concern, however, the next question referred to the ultimate objective of stewardship visiting, asking whether it was to solicit money. The answer was: "Not necessarily in the initial contact." Another parishioner said he hoped that at least a year could go by before a financial campaign was begun. "I'm sure we're not going to close this place down. Our job is to look ahead two or three years, and to be self-sustaining." The definition of stewardship provoked some discussion, but always returned to a focus on money. Noone returned to the comments of M. or

acknowledged an awareness of the potential importance of women in stewardship.

At a second meeting on stewardship, M again expressed clearly her concern for the lack of community commitment at St. Matthias, particularly in the women's association which she described as "a very nebulous group", with "nothing to bind them together except the rummage sale and bazaars." (Oct. 1988) One man suggested that in view of the problems keeping the women together, "Why not cancel the women's group and put them under 'parish support'?" The solution was perceived to be an organizational one which could be solved by rearranging the pieces. The meeting did finally acknowledge the significant contribution of the women through their fundraising activities, and agreed that they should be encouraged to continue.

Another important group in most churches is the 'Sunday' or Church School, for children ages 4 to 12. Its very existence is perpetually threatened by small numbers and in one year recently (1987-88) there was no school at all. Each Sunday 6 -12 youngsters file out early in the service, accompanied by several parent-teachers. In reporting on their activities at an Advisory Board meeting in 1988, Mrs. J. noted that :

The good news is that we have an increase in the number of teachers who are helping; but unfortunately they don't come every week. We have 7 teachers, so

there is always someone there. But it would be better if they weren't different every week. Combined with intermittent attendance of the children, it is very difficult to generate any sense of community. (Oct.1988)

Typically, the reports on the Sunday School and Youth Group activities did not generate any questions or comments. The apparent lack of interest was in contrast to the many questions directed to the financial report. More recently, in 1990-91, an increase in the number of Sunday School teachers and young people has generated some optimism. As one man said to me, "The increased interest of young fathers who have volunteered as teachers is a good sign."

Any discussion of a "sense of community" at St. Matthias inevitably focuses on the choir. One relatively new member described the basis for his family's decision to join St. Matthias :

I think back to when we were looking around for a church, and we had gone to St. Stephen's for awhile. There were a lot of very attractive things about that church. But, really, when we looked at the congregations, we realized that we wanted one which was rooted; where there was a sense of community and long term commitment. St. Stephen's is a very transient population. (Nov.1988)

There is no question that the population of St. Matthias is rooted; that there are intricate links in family histories, and a strong feeling for the legends of times past and

significant family celebrations and rites of passage. To conclude, however, that there is a strong sense of community is to overstate the meaning of that word. The young assistant priest commented that "my wife wouldn't feel comfortable with our three-week old baby in church. We would need a less formal, freer kind of environment." (Nov.1988) One ex-warden pointed to "a solid core of commitment amongst the 100 people who come to church every Sunday." He described the "enormous potential" amongst the parishioners, but also felt that the church is putting its "head in the sand". In describing his own strong sense of loyalty, he admitted that he did not feel truly part of a "community" church. He summed up by saying, "I enjoy it; I love it; but I may leave tomorrow!"

At one meeting someone said that the church needed to make people feel more welcome, but that people did not know each other well enough to share their 'emotional' selves. When it was pointed out that St.Matthias members become enthusiastically committed when there is a specific goal, such as an 'organ fund', it was suggested that everything be broken down into projects. Again, the choir was pointed to as an example of a group with clear goals, with a 'mandate', and in fact, "everyone at this meeting is connected in some way to the choir. In the choir there is a very strong sense of community. The men share a lot."



The question of the choir and its role at St. Matthias is particularly interesting, with profound implications for the functioning of the whole church. Most of the church leaders are associated with the choir. It is the choir that epitomizes community. It is the choir which accounts for the single largest expenditure from the budget. It is special services at which the choir is featured that attract the largest congregations. The reality of the participation by the choir in the life of the church, however, is at odds with this common perception of it as a 'community-builder'. The only meetings or events which choir members attend are those which directly affect them. At a major 'parish retreat' held over an entire weekend in November 1989, the purpose of which was to discuss and formulate a 'mission statement', there was only one representative from the choir. Nor do choir members participate in social events such as the "Patronal Pot Luck Luncheon" or the Shrove Tuesday pancake supper. As important as the choir is perceived to be in generating a sense of community, there is little evidence to support any participation outside the regular services.

A series of meetings held to consider a replacement for the choir director of eighteen years provided an illuminating perspective into the role of the choir at St. Matthias, and the meanings which are attached to the choir. The meetings highlighted the extent to which the choir is both the greatest

strength and the greatest liability for St. Matthias. At two parish meetings called for the express purpose of discussing what the congregation would like in a new director, attendance was overwhelmingly choir members. Using the search for a new choir director as an opportunity to examine the needs and priorities, and the possible choices, the corporation asked members to consider, 'What is the nature of the music programme?'; 'What is the long term vision?'; 'How viable can it continue to be in terms of recruitment and cost?'; 'What would be the future composition of the choir?' Implied in the questions, of course, was the possibility of changing the type of music, the form of services, and even of introducing girls and/or women into the choir.

Some choir members responded with hostility; but all were unanimous in arguing for the status quo. Their presence dominated both meetings. Presenting an alternate view was a member of the congregation whose two boys had been active in the choir for many years:

We've been very fortunate having two boys in the choir, stretching over twenty years, and we feel they've both benefited enormously. Moreover, they have involved us in our attachment to St. Matthias; and that experience has multiplied through many households. And I suppose one reason I've felt very positive about the music programme is not only the beauty of the music, but also because it fills the church, it builds the parish. So when I find that the very person who has been the sparkplug behind so much has found recruiting a problem, then we should take a hard look at it. In fact the tradition of the men and boys choir may no longer be supportable. (Feb. 1989)

While several people acknowledged there was a recruiting problem, noone was willing to discuss the possibility of introducing girls or women into the choir. One parishioner who sings in the choir, described a church in Boston where the explicit emphasis on 'the arts' as a means of communicating the gospel, seemed to offer a model for St. Matthias. He said that the importance of the men and boys choir was that it offered "a music programme that does this sort of thing that goes with the liturgy and is a strong part of our service."

The question of cost was raised by a parishioner who pointed out that:

...the music programme last year cost us 16%. In the cathedral, with costs only 15% more than us, it cost only 10% of their expenditures. 16% for St. Matthias, that shows you where we have our priorities. 10% for the cathedral, which considers itself the heart of the diocese and runs a music programme because it feels it has to demonstrate it is the heart where the Anglican liturgy is highly important. 11% at St. George's; 11% in St. James; and 4% in St. Barnabas. The point is these churches feel there should be a limit on their music. The question is, do we in St. Matthias with the deficits we have, really want to spend our money in this way on the choir? (Feb. 1989)

Continuing at some length in his analysis of the budget, and the issues which he felt needed to be addressed in deciding on the future music programme, he asked:

Is it practical, desirable, necessary, that we should restrict the spiritual instruction that our boys are getting just to the boys? If it is so desirable, should not the girls be included? They're 50% of the youth of the parish. Why shouldn't they be entitled to some of these benefits of this education? (Feb.1989)

Although there was an articulate presentation of the choices and issues, in the end the views of the choir which sought to maintain the traditions were accepted. One choir member said that they should be looking at "value provided"; while a choir mother suggested that they should be taking into account as extra benefits the Christian education and fellowship offered through choir participation. Taking another perspective, the man who was challenging many of the strongly held traditions of St.Matthias suggested that the choir often dominated the worship services, precluding participation by the congregation. His views were certainly not supported by others at the meeting. He questioned the overall goals of the church:

I wonder if we have our priorities right .....we need to consider how music is integrated with the mission of St.Matthias as a parish church. Do we also think of the refugees? What about the mission to singles? We need to widen our horizon; to become less static; to be a growing parish. I do feel that a challenge is necessary. (Feb.1989)

Noone was interested. Choir members diverted attention away from the issue of finances and 'priorities', towards consideration of who the next director would be. When a warden suggested there would have to be expenditure cuts because of

an impending deficit, the choir reply was : "There is not a balance sheet on the choir; the income might go down if the choir were not here." Focusing on the qualifications of a new director, one choir member said that since "We're staying with a men and boys choir for the time being...", thereby assuming a decision which had not been taken on the criteria for selection. The choir was injecting a subtle but effective form of coercion into the discussion to ensure that its composition, leadership, and traditional music would all remain intact.

The influence of the choir at St. Matthias does not end with decisions concerning the music. Choir members actively seek to influence other important norms within the church. Illustrative of this intervention is a story related to me concerning the 'cross-bearer' member of the choir who was so upset when the rector included the recently consecrated, and female, Bishop Harries in the prayers of intercession that he "stomped out of the church" after the first verse of the final hymn. Two weeks after this, St. Matthias celebrated its Patronal festival followed by a potluck luncheon. Not a single member of the choir came to the luncheon, as they were all being entertained at a choir member's home. Following by only two weeks on the "choir hearings", the claims for the choir's contribution to a feeling of community seem at odds with the reality. The power of the choir is real; it is exercised in

terms of enriching the services, but the reality is that it does not support community sharing amongst the wider congregation. The lack of participation by choir members in social events or in discussions concerning the direction of the church, detracts from efforts by others to strengthen a sense of community and shared experience at St. Matthias. When I suggested this to one of the former church wardens, he expressed surprise, saying: "I admire the choir. It used to be the drawing card for the church, and the centre of its creativity", and adding that he felt that the choir was trying to adapt to the wishes of the congregation, that it "no longer" acted in relative isolation.

In addition to the choir and the women's groups, there are other less tangible experiences of community which define the relationships at St. Matthias. There is an important majority of parishioners whose family roots extend through several generations. The experiences which these families bring to their relationship with St. Matthias are important to the ways in which they respond to many of the proposed changes within the Anglican communion. The possibility of changing the music programme met with resistance not only from the choir but also from several of the long time families who equate the traditional music with their definition of the meaning of spirituality. For them the traditional music is the central focus of worship. A conservative chord is apparent in other

areas such as the reaction to female clergy, the new prayer book, and the possibility of admitting preconfirmation children to communion. While there are about eight or ten individuals who are active in the church and willing to look at some of these options for change, their voices are rarely heard .

The role of women is significant from several points-of-view. While they are more involved than the men in organizations and fellowship, even taking into account that two recent wardens have been women, their participation in leadership roles is less. At Advisory Board meetings men outnumber the women and dominate the discussions, and the core of 'sidesmen' are exactly that, men. At the Easter service in 1989 there were 8 people who took up the collection : all men. One of the servers at communion is a woman, who is also a leader in the Altar Guild and who is active in mission projects outside the parish. There are men who still refuse to accept communion from her. Her particular commitment and involvement in the church is unique at St. Matthias, and it is being visibly rejected by the males in the church.

There is also evidence of a female networking structure which uses its power to control decisions and ensure that "traditions" are maintained. Two forces seem to be operating here. One is the need for individuals for control. The second

is a natural tendency, seen in all the churches, for 'seniority' and especially 'family roots' to be given status. One woman wielded enormous control through several sources of power: as a secretary to the rector for over twenty-five years, having long family connections, and as a leader of one of the organizations. Her exercise of power for over twenty-five years reflected an element of church life which has roots in the intimate nature of church "community", but also in the dearth of alternative outlets for women who have a need for power. The existence of such entrenched interests is particularly apparent in churches having a long history and pride in family roots. In the churches such as Resurrection which have a more mobile and younger population, status acquired through 'family connections' and generational contributions to the church is much less significant.

Another aspect of church life is bible study. Commenting on the interest in bible study at St. Matthias, one person said quite simply: "We've tried discussion groups, bible study, and small group meetings (Cursillo). But there isn't much interest in this kind of thing here." One family has hosted a bible study in their home for several years, without any success in attracting more than three or four regular attenders. Viewed by others in the congregation as a separate and distinct group, they themselves do not feel that they have the same spiritual values and needs as others in the congregation.



Indeed, there is little relationship between themselves and the larger congregation. They admitted to knowing very few of the parishioners; and when she had a major exhibit of her artwork the parish was scarcely aware of it. Despite their strong spiritual commitment and participation in diocesan activities, they represent the extreme in the isolation of St. Matthias members from each other.

Reinforcing a sense of community within the church may be social relationships outside the regular church services and activities. The 'social space' of members, in their overlapping circles of friendships and contacts, is limited at St. Matthias. Parishioners agreed that the church does not function in an integrative role, that friendships are neither formed nor developed amongst other church members.

In Toronto everyone goes to church; it is the done thing; it's for show. Church is part of the networking system. That's not the case in Montreal. Anglophones have other institutions for their social networks. In Quebec Anglicanism does not have the clout the way it has in Toronto where being an Anglican implies status. Here the Anglican church is in such a minority position, it in no way reflects the prevailing culture, and no one cares if you're an Anglican or not. we don't have our friends amongst the church members. (Feb. 1988)

The sense of community at St. Matthias is ambiguous. There is pride amongst members in their choir, and there is a common perception that the choir is essential to the identity of St. Matthias and to the continuity of tradition. Women are active in fundraising, attempts to maintain a sense of

fellowship, and in the Altar Guild. Their acceptance by the men as leaders and decision makers, and their visibility in support roles such as greeters and sidespersons are very limited. Spirituality is hardly mentioned at meetings, and it is not evident in the activities of the membership. Shared family histories have contributed to maintaining a sense of belonging and continuity, but there is also an exclusiveness which is intimidating to new members. The strong resistance to change seems to be related to the dominant role of the male choir, as well as to the pride in 'tradition'.

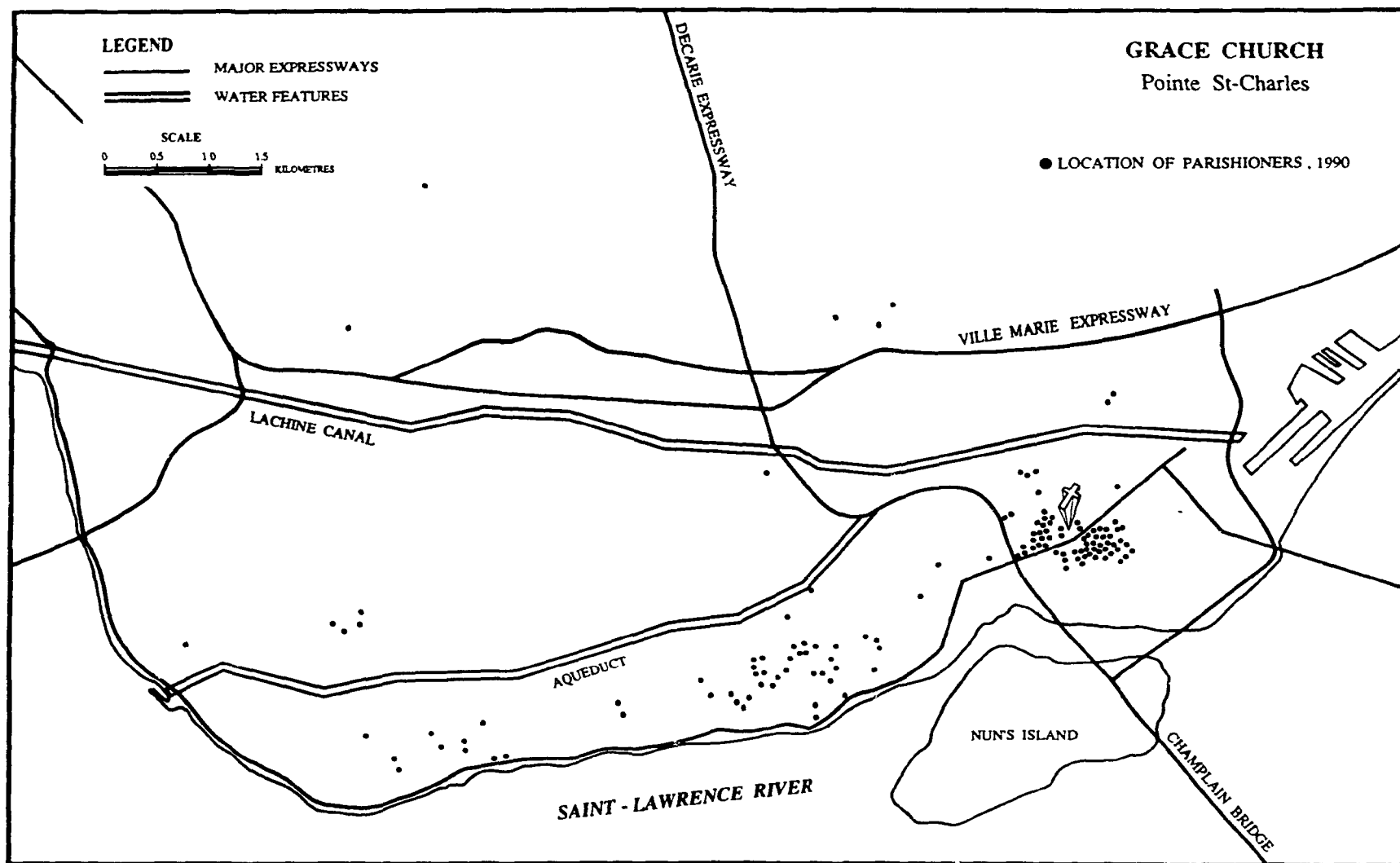
Despite the significant lack of true community at St. Matthias, there are two indicators which suggest an ongoing determination to ensure its continuation. First, there is no lack of financial commitment. Secondly, even as people move out of the immediate vicinity of the church, there is an inclination to retain membership even when presented with 'intervening opportunities'. Both of these concrete demonstrations of further meanings attached to the church will be explored in the next chapter. First I shall describe the community experiences which I found at the other four churches in which I have been involved.

#### GRACE CHURCH

Grace Church is located in Point St. Charles, a working class area which used to be the home for the hundreds of

British immigrants who in the late Nineteenth century worked in the emerging industrial complex along the Lachine Canal. The church building is an imposing red brick structure built in 1871, in need of major repairs having suffered years of deterioration through benign neglect. Through the "kind assistance of the general manager of the Grand Trunk Railway", land was given for the building of the church, and therefore "the committee decided that the church should be named after his daughter, Grace. (in Down Through the Years) Its location in the middle of a run-down, poverty stricken area in which the unemployment rate of 25% is the highest in Montreal, sets it at the opposite end of the economic spectrum from St. Matthias.

Average family income in this area is \$20,000, and almost 40% of the population over 15 years has less than grade 9 education. There continues to be a high percentage of English-speaking people, almost 50% in the area immediately around the church. The percentage of people living in this area who are over 65 years is about 15%, compared to the Montreal average of 10%. The large church has a capacity for about 650 people, although average attendance at Sunday services is only 50. The parish list includes 158 names, of whom 46% live in "the Point", and 53% have pledged regular donations by having envelopes. There is no rectory and the rector has chosen to live in a middle class area about 7 km



MAP 5

from the church. For twenty years there has been a 'retirement' home associated with Grace Church, located just a block away.

My notes on the first service which I attended in 1988, a Palm Sunday service, describe a sense of shared community very different from that experienced at St. Matthias.

Entering the church very early (so I thought) I was surprised at how many people were already there : about 25; and there was an easy-going atmosphere as people greeted each other. I sat at the back. Except for the two men who had greeted me at the door, there were no other men. The ladies were grouped in pairs throughout the church. Four sat about half way down, and another group sat in different pews on the far left, but all chatted with each other. Most of the ladies were wearing hats (felt-brimmed) and most had kept their coats on although it wasn't particularly cold. As people could be heard coming in, those already seated would turn to see who it was, and often nod, smile and even wave a 'hello'. Then I saw a big robust lady talking to people, distributing envelopes, and generally looking as though she ran the place. She came over to chat to me, but continued to keep her eye out for others coming in, and would occasionally call out to someone; in one case she made a remark about the roof caving in, which, she said to me, they could not afford to fix. By this time there were still fifteen minutes before the service was scheduled to start, and her husband appeared on the chancel steps to announce the three hymns selected for the morning 'hymn sing'. Some sang; others continued to talk. Then in the middle of this a couple came in with their pet poodle, all dressed up in a neat little jacket. No one paid any attention. At exactly 11:00 the songs ended and the rector appeared to begin the service. There were now about 70 people in the church, 18 men and 50 women, as well as four children who later went out to the 'nursery'. (March 1988)

In the attire of most of the women, in their hats and dresses, and in the three piece suits of the men, there was a

certain formality, which was carried over into the traditional P.C.P. service. Indeed, in the mode of dress there was no indication of the poverty that I knew to exist around the church. There was no sign of the new B.A.S. prayer book, and the service itself was muted, perhaps in part because of the average age of well over 65. Despite a scattering of the 70 people all through the large interior, there was a sense that everyone knew who was there and probably had made note of who was not there as well.

Men filled the established roles of greeter, sidespersons, and server, and the names of wardens listed in front of the bulletin were all men. The records compiled since the 1870's show an overwhelming dominance of men. There has never been a female warden, and as Synod delegate they have represented the church only in the three years, 1966 - 68. In fact, the historical record set out in the 1982 volume, entitled Down Through the Years, provides lists of "Our Parish Laymen", including treasurers, auditors, secretaries, wardens and delegates, but completely omitting officers of the womens' associations. At the service, despite the dominant numbers and more lively presence of the women, at the time of the communion, it was two men who stood at the chancel steps to help any of the elderly who might need it.

Despite contrasting socio-economic lifestyles, there are

interesting parallels between Grace Church and St. Matthias which reflect similar concerns for the traditions and commitment to the survival of the church. Like St. Matthias, a high proportion of parishioners live outside the immediate area of the church and a very high proportion have family ties extending back over many decades. Again like St. Matthias, there has been strong resistance to adoption of the new prayer book. Said one parishioner to me : "The BAS has hardly been mentioned here; noone wants it!" The strong conservatism of the congregation extends to other proposed changes such as communion for children prior to confirmation. "The rector has not even suggested it. It's a watering down of confirmation. I don't like the kids up at the altar." Also similar to St. Matthias, there is very little participation in diocesan events such as Cursillo or the bishop's conferences on prayer and renewal. Another similarity is in the tendency to formal male leadership, while it is the women who contribute the hours and the organizational leadership for fundraising events. On the other hand there are several men at Grace Church who are always available to help at the rummage sales and church suppers. While the separation of traditional roles is not absolutely pre-ordained at Grace Church, certainly the executive roles (such as delegate to the annual Synod and the wardens) are firmly held by the men.

There are several ways in which people are brought

together at Grace outside of the regular services. Most important are the rummage sales twice a month at which about 20 faithful workers pull out boxes of clothes, books, odds and ends from a large room behind the stage, and carefully lay things out on tables around the large basement hall. For three hours local people come to find needed coats or shoes or skates or slacks at prices ranging from fifty cents to a couple of dollars. The ladies of the church chat; a small coffee room provides refreshments; and another \$100. or so is earned for the church. Most of the women here, and the five or six men who help, are over 65 years old, and most live several kilometers from the church. These rummage sales provide an important opportunity for social sharing in a common cause, and over many years a strong sense of loyalty and commitment has evolved. One lady I talked to who was sitting behind one of the laden tables, a tiny frail 83 year old, was baptized in Grace Church in 1905. Another told me that she had been in the Sunday School in 1918 when there were 500 children in it. (I did not question her number.) They filled the nursery, and the hall, and after church they went upstairs for bible study, she said. One lady lives in LaSalle, another in Verdun, and one in 'the Point'. One said to me : "When they started N.D.G., a lot moved out; St. Matthew's Church was half from the Point in its early days." Everyone remembered the 'old days' with fondness for the vibrant community and lively church functions. One of the ladies described Gord, who was there



helping them organize, move tables, and count their money. Gord had been in Sunday School with them back in the Twenties; and through the years has done everything in the church : sung in the choir, played the organ, warden, treasurer, delegate to Synod, and he still continues in almost every role, and on every committee and event. His parents had been active church members, and his own commitment is almost legendary amongst the congregation.

Another very important source of community sharing are the suppers, to which the wider community may be invited. These are always very well attended. An annual Anniversary dinner each October, which includes entertainment by a local amateur group, usually attracts over 100 people. When I arrived at 5:45 for the 6:00 pm dinner in 1988, most people were already seated and were quietly chatting. The rector was nowhere to be seen: at the precise time on the ticket he emerged from a back office, leading a small group of invited guests who included other local clergy, and the bishop and his wife, to the head table. Gord acted as master of ceremonies, introducing the head table and inserting jokes which helped everyone feel they were included in the community of sharing. Someone had found me a place to sit. It turned out I was sharing a table with a couple who live in St. Agathe. The man explained that he had grown up in Point St. Charles, and even after he had left, spending years in Britain as a Rhodes

scholar and later in Toronto as a dean at the university, he has always retained his connection with Grace Church. Today, although they live in the Laurentians, about 120 kilometers from the church, they continue their allegiance by coming to a service about once a month. While this is perhaps the most extreme example, according to the rector most people on the parish list have never been members of any other church, and many continue to return to Grace even after they have moved into other neighbourhoods. One couple who return each year for the anniversary celebration live about 10 kilometers away, and are active members of another church. But they continue their links with Grace, to the extent that they are on the Residence board of directors and always attend the important social functions. The entertainment for the evening was a local "kitchen band", including wash tub strings and kazoo, which kept the dinner guests entertained for almost an hour and a half with songs familiar to the elderly assemblage.

Another dinner which is held annually is the potluck dinner before the Ash Wednesday service at the beginning of Lent. When I attended in 1988, a group of six ladies had been working all afternoon, baking some 'extras' and sharing the social time together. When I arrived 15 minutes 'early' there were people seated at all the tables, waiting quietly. Of the 38 people who came for dinner, no one was under 60 years old. All of the men were in suits, and the women all wore neat

dresses with jewellery. Three women were particularly striking because of their chic clothes: fur coat and hat, navy wool coat, and one lady with a smart looking snood covering her head. Two of them have worked closely together on the Grace Church Residence, and only one of the three lives in Point St.Charles near the church. At these dinners, everyone is known to each other, but there are distinctive groups: the three chic ladies, the lively workers in the kitchen, a few elderly ladies from the residence, the men, and finally a group who always seem to come in pairs and who never talk at all.

Despite the cheerful chatter of the rector, and a particular sense of persistent community, I always feel a sense of resignation amongst most of the people. At the Anniversary dinner in 1989, a city councillor was one of the invited guests. He gave a short but comprehensive presentation, completely in English, on an issue of special interest, the proposed changes in the local bus routes which would greatly facilitate transportation to the downtown. He was thanked by only polite clapping. More successful in generating an enthusiastic response were the 12 women from a neighbouring church who provided old fashioned entertainment in the singing of such classics as 'White Cliffs of Dover', and 'Hello Dolly'. Their average age was about 66 years old, and their obvious enjoyment was transmitted to the audience.

One important part of the life at Grace Church has been the residence for the elderly which was opened in 1969 but was finally closed early in 1990 because there were too few residents. It had provided room and board for women who did not need nursing care and who could dress themselves. It was a house with 9 bedrooms, a living room - dining room, and a large kitchen. "The people are not all Anglican, but they must all go to the monthly communion service, even if they're Catholic. Bruce (the rector) is very fussy about that." When it closed after all attempts to attract new residents had failed, there were only three ladies living there. It also provided a significant outlet for one long term Grace Church member who has lived in the Point since 1942, and who had been a nurse until her retirement 15 years ago. Together with one other lady they had managed the finances, arranged for all maintenance, and supervised the person who cooked the meals. They also helped the residents with some of their shopping. Its closing was a blow to the church's sense of direction and service in the community, as well as to the individuals who had taken it on as their special mission.

The monthly 'select vestry' meetings are very low key and extremely short, being mainly a presentation of the rector's activities and a financial report from the women's association. Typically there is no discussion of broad issues concerning the overall direction of the church in the

community, attention being focused on the amount of money brought in by the rummage sale, or the problem of finding an organist. There is a pervasive sense of survival, of holding on to the declining community and the church building as a way of preserving the remnants of a past without any real hope for the future. The interviews, while reflecting this atmosphere, added a depth of perspective in terms of a strength and perseverance which seemed almost heroic in this time of alienation and cynicism. To the sense of fatalism was added acceptance without bitterness.

One of my conversations illustrates the family ties which parishioners are striving to use as a way of ensuring the survival of Grace Church. The woman I talked to attends Grace Church 'most Sundays', especially because of her eighty-year old parents who still live in the Point. Having moved out after high school, she said she had not realized that the Point was "blue collar". When she was first married she lived in an adjacent community, but for the past 20 years she has been in a middle class suburb about 20 kilometers from the Point. Her own daughter is now a teacher at a school located even further from the downtown. When the daughter gets married in June it will be at a church near where they will be living in the suburbs. As her mother told me, however, she had considered getting married at Grace Church, "cause you'll never find a nicer church anywhere...not with the lovely

decoration". Only with the grand-daughter is there a reluctant break with membership at Grace Church.

In addition to generational ties, people also tend to retain links through participation even after moving out of the parish and into other churches. This was made apparent at a service in September 1989 as I witnessed the active roles of two couples who had returned for the anniversary service. One man, who had arrived a half hour early, went up one aisle and down the next, greeting everyone in the church before the service started. The second man, Ron, stood helping people down the chancel steps all during communion. Said one parishioner to me :

The single most important thing about the church is the people, regardless of whether they are educated or not. They are good people, and that gives me hope, a good feeling. They provide a sense of support. I'm sorry I didn't go to functions earlier. I never used to go. I might have been better off with them, in the forties. Their heads are on right. Relationships were cemented in the 20's and 30's.

One long term member who has lived in the Point for almost 50 years was resigned to the probability that Quebec would separate from Canada, and his response was to "let them have it". He would probably move to the Maritimes. Typically many of the older people have children and grandchildren living outside Quebec, such as Faith, whose children live in Winnipeg and Kitchener; the Watts whose children are in Nova Scotia; and the Mitchells whose daughter had moved to Vancouver. Said

one lady : "If I were younger I would leave the province." But she went on to add that, "If it separated I would stay; I don't give a damn; as long as my friends stayed." Amongst those who have stayed there is a sense of resignation and an apparent feeling of powerlessness to effect any change. When the city councillor came to the dinner to describe the plans to improve transportation noone asked any questions; when I enquired about who had been elected in their riding two days after the provincial election in 1988, noone seemed to be sure; when the rector announced that there was a petition on the notice board to be signed by those wishing to protest Bill 178 very few added their signatures.

I asked the rector about the parish involvement in the Point community projects. He said that when he had arrived in the parish in 1983 he decided to stay away from any involvement because they were all "Marxist-Leninist" groups. The Anniversary and Lenten meals, the Residence, and the twice monthly rummage sales, are the focus of interest at Grace. Survival of and loyalty to the community of Grace Church are the overriding goals. With many parishioners who have been members for over 50 years, and family ties going back even further, Grace Church may have the highest proportion of long time members of any church in the diocese. The other side of this is the absence of any growth through new and younger family members.

While one sees in the heroic struggles for survival at Grace Church the extremes in the diocese, elements of them can be seen at many other churches. In the determination of the women to retain control of their finances, and to carve out a niche of self-affirmation; in the rejection of a modern prayer book; and in the return of members for the anniversary services, there is a tangible demonstration of a need to belong and, in the context of a community, to ensure that identity is nurtured and affirmed.

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, KNOWLTON

In many ways St. Paul's Church is the most complex of the five churches. Within it are several distinctive "groups" defined by interests, historical experience, theological concerns, and socio-economic backgrounds, with the result that interpretation of the meanings which St. Paul's has for people is more difficult. Unlike the fairly homogeneous populations of St. Matthias and Grace Church, which have maintained a consensus concerning liturgical choices, the parishioners of St. Paul's are from diverse backgrounds, experiences, and traditions. Combined with a period of significant change in both church and community, the result for St. Paul's has been a recent history of tension and acrimonious debate, but also growth and renewal.

St. Paul's is located 125 kilometers from Montreal in a





MAP 6

formerly rural environment, in the town of Knowlton which has a population of 5,000. "Formerly rural" is an important description because it underpins some of the variable responses within the church, reflecting a rapidly changing social context. Located on a beautiful lake, and surrounded by the rolling hills and mountains of the Eastern Townships, Knowlton has been a second home to many wealthy anglophone families for generations. Many of these families who own estates and wooded properties have made substantial contributions (including endowments) to St. Paul's over many years, some of them moving permanently to Knowlton following retirement from active employment. For some parishioners Knowlton is their only home, where they work and go to school. Among these people are some whose family roots go back several generations, while others have moved to Knowlton in the past decade to set up new businesses, taking advantage of the growing local economy. Finally, a significant impact upon the landscape of Knowlton and its environ has been made by a new and growing group of two-home "yuppies", many of whom choose condominium living. The changing landscape and social fabric of Knowlton (officially called Lac Brome) have been directly associated with and reflected in the tensions and changing congregations of St. Paul's.

In a 1988 letter to the editor of Montreal's English daily, the Gazette, one 'resident and businessman' from

Knowlton expressed his annoyance about the reporting of the changing townscape, pointing out that "dozens of business people have worked together restoring dilapidated turn-of-the-century buildings". Declaring himself proud of the "sophisticated blend of country charm, classic architecture and a vibrant lifestyle", he objected to the derisive tone of an article in which "obligatory antique-looking wooden signs" were described as part of the new 'yuppie' image.

His defense of the changes in Knowlton articulated the conflict of values and interest groups which have characterized Knowlton's social milieu for the past five or six years. As described in a travel article in the summer of 1990:

This once sleepy village by the shores of Lac Brome has become a hive of entrepreneurial activity, mainly thanks to the efforts of out-of-towners who have come here to start new businesses. ....a complex of historic clapboard homes converted into boutiques, art galleries and restaurants. (Globe & Mail, Aug. 15, 1990)

The author describes many of the new entrepreneurs who have recently arrived from Toronto, New York, and Montreal, to "get off the fast track".

It seemed as if every second person was from somewhere other than Knowlton. The newcomers have brought new blood to the village, but despite their entrepreneurial successes, many are resented by the old guard.

The definition of 'newcomer' is variable. When I asked one

long-time resident if she had family roots in Knowlton, her reply was, "Oh no; we've been here for only 30 years." But she remembered seeing the mother of one church member "driving in a horse and buggy with a small black hat on her head." Since she seemed to feel she was really "from the city", I asked if that meant she were part of the "Westmount group" I had been hearing about. No, she did not feel there was an association there either. Describing a different group of 'newcomers', she said to me :

The people who have bought the condominiums are the ones who come out only on weekends. They haven't integrated into the community at all. And there's a lot of French. It's quite alarming. (Jan.1989)

The perception of different "groups" is very real and important, and is frequently mentioned in discussions about the community and church. Another lady described the farm she had lived on for many years, near the "old cattle trail" which goes up over the Glen toward the railway tracks. "Now there are trails all over the place. The area of West Bolton is known as 'Little Westmount'; or they would like it known as that! They bring their city out here with them."

Said one member to me : "We have a very strange mixture of locals and Montrealers here." Then she went on to define herself as a local, while her husband was certainly a Montrealer, 'transplanted' a year earlier following his retirement.

Newcomers and old guard; young families, couples, the elderly; the wealthy and the middle class; farmers and retailers : all are part of the new mosaic of Knowlton, and of the stone Anglican Church situated just behind the city hall. The church itself was established 145 years ago, but was rebuilt following a fire in 1948. It holds about 250 people. About one hundred parishioners attend on an average Sunday most of whom live within 3 km of the church. The parish list includes 155 names, of whom about 75% are in church at least once a month, 140 are 'identifiable givers', and about 100 have envelopes.

A description of the characteristics of St.Paul's is a study in contrasts compared with the diocese and the two churches which I have already described. Attendance, membership, and offerings all show significant increases since 1980. Membership in the period from 1981 to 1986 rose by 75%, compared to a decline of 15% in the diocese. In contrast to the few children in Sunday School classes at both Grace and St.Matthias churches, St.Paul's school has an enrolment of more than 50, with an average weekly attendance of 35. The Sunday congregation at St.Paul's is strikingly younger than most, dominated by couples in their thirties and forties. While all of the other churches I studied have a youth group which is barely struggling, at St.Paul's there is an active ecumenical group involving about 25 young people. Small group

bible studies and "house churches" involve about 70 parishioners in weekly meetings. The 'parish profile' sent to a prospective clergy applicant in 1987 for the position of rector described the church as : "A Christian community.....A biblical church.....A worshipping community....A service church." It is a church which seems to have defied all of the trends in Montreal diocese. Nevertheless, there has been a cost.

As the graphs in the next chapter show, St.Paul's reversed a persistent 1971 - 81 decline in membership and offerings with the arrival in 1982 of a young, energetic and charismatic priest who initiated significant changes, ultimately leading to a growth in membership. The growth was accompanied by severe stresses as older, conservative members reacted to the evangelical nature of the new ministry. Changes in the music, challenging preaching from the pulpit, unwavering acceptance of new liturgical forms with the introduction of the B.A.S., bible study in homes, and an active healing ministry all combined to threaten the tradition of Anglican conservatism. Seventeen people are known to have left the church, although several continue to contribute financially. When asked to characterize those who left, the response was "the cocktail circuit". They were people who could not accept change to non-traditional forms and styles. The decrease in revenues was more than compensated for by an increase in the number of smaller weekly contributions, and

most people I talked to, while unhappy about those who had left, felt that on balance the new situation was much more hopeful for the future. Asked whether those who had left had been very active in the church, the initial response was yes; but on reconsideration the consensus seemed to be that "they weren't really very regular attenders. It seemed that their real commitment was "in their wallet." On the other hand, any time there was a real need for something in the church such as a new carpet, "they were informed and it just appeared." Their main participation was in their attendance at the annual vestry meeting each January.

When the priest left for a church in Winnipeg in 1987, a "search committee" was formed which would choose the replacement. The selection process itself provided an interesting commentary on the changing nature of both the congregation at St. Paul's and the community of Knowlton. At the meeting where eight members of the 'search committee' were to be named through an election process, 12 people were nominated for the 6 positions in addition to the two wardens. One disgruntled lady who was not elected had not been to church for four years, and has not appeared at St. Paul's since. However, she had wanted to serve on the committee, recognizing its importance in establishing the criteria for selection on the basis of parish priorities, and ultimately, in finding a new rector. The clergy, in part determined by the

leadership in the lay community, can have a profound impact upon the growth or decline of a church, particularly during periods of change. As the graphs in the next chapter show, there can be significant impacts on attendance, financial contributions, and membership related to the clerical leadership. These statistical data can reflect the ways in which people respond to the ministries, personalities, and capabilities of the clergy. They reflect upon styles of leadership as well as the degree of acceptance of spiritual and theological questions.

One of the most significant areas of change initiated by the new priest had been the introduction of "house churches". As a significant basis for community and fellowship, they provided a concrete vehicle for strengthening commitment to the church beyond the Sunday services. Their downside was described to me by one participating member : "People get comfortable in their groups, and they don't want to split them up in order to form new groups. After awhile they are seen as being 'cliquish', and they don't grow." Many of the older, more conservative people in the church who do not participate in these small group meetings feel they are divisive and exclusive.

The language of the parishioners clearly reflects the deeply spiritual meanings attached to their church. The



'Parish Profile' referred to earlier was prepared for prospective new priests, describing the community around St. Paul's, its congregation, and the various "ministries" which are offered: the church school, youth ministry, house churches, visitation, overseas mission, family life, music ministry, prayer chain, tape ministry, and so on. Each activity in the church is viewed as a special ministry, guided by people whom "God has gifted" in those areas. At the annual vestry meeting in 1989, there was a discussion about how decisions should be made in the parish. One man said that they must "take these issues and talk about them....pray about them, and see where we stand in the Lord, to ensure that we are more Christ-centered." This is not the language of Grace Church or St. Matthias.

In many ways, however, St. Paul's reflects the discussions, debates and problems common to other churches in the diocese. The members of the ACW, the women's association, verbalized the frustrations and dilemmas which seem to affect all of Montreal's Anglican churches. There are concerns that young women are not joining; that many young women work and cannot attend mid-day meetings; that the older women prefer daytime meetings because they do not like driving at night; that young women are not interested in bazaars and knitting; and so forth. As with other churches, the women's association at St. Paul's has difficulty filling its executive positions,

and there are fewer members each year. Presently there are about 15 ladies who attend monthly meetings, which tend to be mainly social gatherings following a short eucharist. Because of the social nature of these gatherings, there has been friction with the new rector who would like to insist upon theological content in all activities in the church.

A characteristic of the St. Paul's ACW, which is typical of the women's associations I encountered everywhere, was the way in which the women retained control over all fund-raising decisions and the eventual disbursement of funds. The thousands of dollars raised by the ladies through bazaars, rummage sales and coffee parties does not enter the records or budget of the corporate church; the accounts are not audited; and the ladies decide how the money will be spent. These arrangements, seem to reflect not only a need to exert control in a particular area of church affairs, but also the situation of women in society. There was real antagonism towards the new rector at St. Paul's when he "suggested" that rummage sales and bazaars did not meet his criteria for "Christian action", which was directly related to their self-definition of their contribution to the ongoing work of the church and its mission to those in need in the community. At their annual meeting in November 1988 the group of 20 women decided how they would allocate over \$2000. For the sister church nearby, in desperate need of repairs, there would be

\$1000.; \$100. would be given to the Sunday School; \$100. would be given to each of two residences in other areas; and so forth, until most of the balance had been allocated. There is a strong sense that the rector's intervention would not be welcome! Within a few months of his arrival, in fact the new rector did intervene, with the result that two executive members resigned. His fundamentalist theological position has been at odds with raffles; the serving of alcohol at meetings; and the celebration of hallow'een in a church basement. Not all of the women were willing to accept any restriction on their activities. The ACW clearly feels it should be allowed to define its areas of contribution without interference.

The opposition to the new prayer book which precluded its introduction at both Grace Church and St. Matthias is manifested at St. Paul's by the existence of two congregations : one older, traditional group at 8:00 when the 1959 Book of Common Prayer is used; and another younger, family-centered one at 10:00 am, when the new Book of Alternative Services is used together with modern songs and guitar accompaniment. Part of the concern for the BAS focuses on the 'modern' language and on the informality of the service. But there is also antipathy towards the exchange of the Peace. Said one of the older women: "People would come flying over to me, give me a hug and a kiss! I never knew what to expect. It was awful." On the other hand, even though she usually attends the early

service, she admitted that the new rector has "toned it down a little" by suggesting that people shake hands, and that they not move around the church as much. Her objection seems to have been to the bodily contact (hugging) rather than to the actual 'exchange'. There are others who will not acknowledge, even by a handshake, the exchanged prayer of 'Peace', saying that it is "such an invasion of my private space".

On one occasion the rector implicitly acknowledged the reality of two congregations when he announced at the 8:00 service that there was to be a baptism by immersion in the afternoon at one of the nearby farms, and that everyone was invited: "This isn't only for the 10 o'clocks", he said, "it's for the 8 o'clocks too!" During the announcements he also noted the upcoming picnic the following weekend, stressing that he hoped they ( the people at the 8:00 service) would feel welcome. Even the style of dress at the two services points to the contrasting meaning systems of the two congregations. At the early service, suits on the men, dresses on the women, and generally 'smart attire' described the dress style. The young families and couples who arrived for the 10:00 service, on the other hand, were dressed in slacks, casual sweaters and plaid shirts. The informality of the later service is apparent even when the traditional BCP service is followed, as for example in June 1991 when most of the 'hymns' were 'Songs of Praise', part of the liturgy (the 'Venite') was

taken from the modern songbook, and guitar accompaniment was used. The response from the older members of the congregation is striking by their absence. At this service very few in the congregation were from the older age groups or represented long-time residents.

In addition to the controversy around the use of the new prayer book, there has been some concern about the introduction of pre-confirmation communion for children, mainly amongst the older, more conservative members of the parish, those who attend the early BCP service. An important issue in the Anglican church in the past decade has also been baptism, and the guidelines which clergy should use in accepting a 'candidate' or not. At St. Paul's the two most recent incumbents have taken a fundamentalist stance in feeling that non-church attenders should not expect to have their children baptised at St. Paul's. This has generated concern amongst some of the older members who would like to have grandchildren baptised in the church, but whose own children may not be practising Anglicans.

Despite the evidence of divisiveness, there is a significant sense of shared community and common commitment amongst all groups in the church. Although there is an inevitable separateness in activities such as the women's bazaars and the younger families' 'ski day', there are also

opportunities for shared participation. At a 'spaghetti supper' in the winter of 1988, more than 130 tickets were sold, and although the majority of those who attended were young families (including about 30 children ranging in age from 2 to 17 years), there were also a significant number of older people. Organized by the young people with exuberance and informality, the evening included entertainment by old and young alike, skits, songs and jokes which all contributed to a lively shared experience of community. One contribution to the programme was a poem read by a mentally handicapped girl who is always included in church activities. Abandoned as a child and brought up in a series of foster homes, she is obviously very comfortable with the community at St. Paul's, and her poetry reading was well received by everyone. One noteworthy aspect to these informal social occasions is that they are scheduled for Saturday nights. At most churches social events carefully avoid Saturday nights when "people might be busy".

Other avenues for social interaction are provided in the monthly 'hymn-sings' at the nearby sister church which is being maintained but is not used for services. The hymn-sings are organized by one of St. Paul's long-time members in order to help fund the maintenance, and for the pure enjoyment of community sharing. They run from June through October, and attract about 70 people, which is all the tiny church can

hold. There has been a sporadic move on the part of the men to organize a 'men's breakfast' on Saturday mornings. In general, however, the men who have been most active in the church recently are the younger men who participate in the Sunday School and help to organize family social events such as the ski day and the spaghetti dinner.

One problem common to all churches is the budget, and ensuring that it has a positive balance at the end of each year. At St. Paul's, in contrast to the other churches, even the discussion of money is in words and language strongly tied to religious faith. Discussion of the budget usually takes up a major part of annual vestry meetings. But in 1989 at St. Paul's the budget was not introduced until three hours into the evening meeting, by which time some people had left. Among those who stayed there was concern that they could not afford a deficit which would absorb endowment interest, but their concern was expressed as : "We need teaching on what God wants, and how to apply the biblical teaching.", and, "When the spiritual life improves, the giving will increase....that's the Lord's work." There was some discussion about tithing, and about the possibility of a parish letter asking members to consider that as an option in their pledges. In the end no action was taken in terms of a parish letter, but it was agreed that more planning should be done in future to avoid overspending.

Mission is another area of church involvement which helps to illuminate meanings of church participation. I suggest that the extent to which parishioners feel threatened influences their willingness to contribute to causes outside their own community. At St. Matthias there has been a substantial degree of financial support for "mission" outside the parish itself, particularly for several women's centers in Montreal, as well as through the apportionment system of the diocese. In addition, with the guidance and encouragement of the young priest assistant, St. Matthias has supported the possibility of sponsoring a refugee family. At Grace Church, on the other hand, there has been almost no mission support outside the parish. St. Paul's provides another variation on the way in which parish churches consider their responsibility for Christian mission beyond their individual parishes. In financial terms they have allocated approximately 20% of their budget to mission, a figure which is suggested by the diocese. They also contributed to a specific project in Africa, through which their contributions helped in providing a rice mill for a village. But in fact, and not in any sense atypically, there has been very little discussion or expressed concern for 'outreach' at St. Paul's. The following exchange at one Parish Council meeting, at which the group was trying to establish a budget to be presented at the annual vestry meeting, describes the attitudes of many parishioners in many churches. The ambivalence on the part of most discussants towards a



commitment to mission is a strong thread through the discussion.

J - Under ministry beyond the parish, we didn't quite know what to do here. The local youth is what C. was asking about a minute ago. For mission outreach there isn't a place in the budget. If there was a category, then people could occasionally put money into an envelope especially for outreach; for SAMS, or the rice mill or whatever.

K - But maybe it would be better to simply allow it to be an 'in and out' amount, and not be included as a budgetary item.

C - But what does that say about our church, in the sense that our budget doesn't include other than the church's assessment for mission. When I give a dollar to the church and none of it is spent on mission outreach except for what the diocese has asked for, we have no control over how that money is spent. But I'm suggesting we put aside money in the budget for mission outreach. Why can't we look after mission the way we look after building maintenance? Why can't we set up a mission fund just as we're proposing to set up a capital fund for the building and a computer?

F - Do you want to take money away from something that is already in there? Or do you want to add it on? We're already looking at an 18% increase....

J - Should we make it a budget item and increase the budget?

C - My point is that, even though 20 cents of my dollar goes to mission, I wonder how much of that money actually gets to the people it is supposed to help. I wonder if it is eaten up in administration.

F - I would rather have no figure than a minimal figure.

The discussion continued. In the end no decision was reached, and there was neither a "mission" category nor a special fund created. C. was persistent for over half an hour in presenting

his view that outreach should be a budgeted item, but in the end his argument was ignored in the face of having to increase the financial commitment of the parish in presenting the budget at the annual vestry meeting.

St. Paul's is a parish with distinctive characteristics in terms of its youthful congregation and strong emphasis on commitment to spiritual values and small-group bible study. The impact of the new priest in 1982 was profound, and his arrival coincided with significant changes in the demographic characteristics of Knowlton itself. Together, a challenging priest and a changing local community, have led to significant implications for the nature of the parish. On the other hand, the determination of the women to retain control of their activities and their finances represents needs unrelated to liturgical or demographic change. Their response to the possibility of change has been to protect their traditional roles and relationships, thereby ensuring continuation of an area of control in their lives which gives meaning and structure to their lived experience. One member said that its purpose was mainly "commaraderie" and that she liked the mix of people from all sorts of backgrounds, while also acknowledging that the age range was narrow. Despite explicit recognition of the problems of an aging membership in their association, which is not being renewed through younger members joining, the women are unwilling to change the nature

of their meetings, even including changing to evening meetings. The experience of one "young president" a few years ago ended with her "leaving in tears"; but the woman describing it said that, "I still haven't figured out why she thought we were so awful." Their dilemma is typical of many churches.

Interviews suggested an uneasiness amongst church members about the changing nature of the Knowlton community, especially regarding the 'condo' people who are not perceived to have compatible community values. There seemed to be less concern about the increased numbers of non-anglophones, and certainly few people at St. Paul's believe there is any real threat to their own church. Indeed, my evidence suggests a dominant attitude of confidence for the long term. When I asked one parishioner how she felt about the French ministry in the church, her response was, "I've never heard any of it." She thought it was a "good idea", but wondered if there were "any French people interested in the Anglican church". She expressed the view that perhaps it was "just numbers chasing". When asked whether or not she thought of the Anglican Church as being part of the Church of England she acknowledged that as a child that was so, but that no longer did she incorporate this into her perception of what the church is. Bilingual signs in the church were okay, she felt, "After all, we're in a French province." Her roots in the Townships extend back to

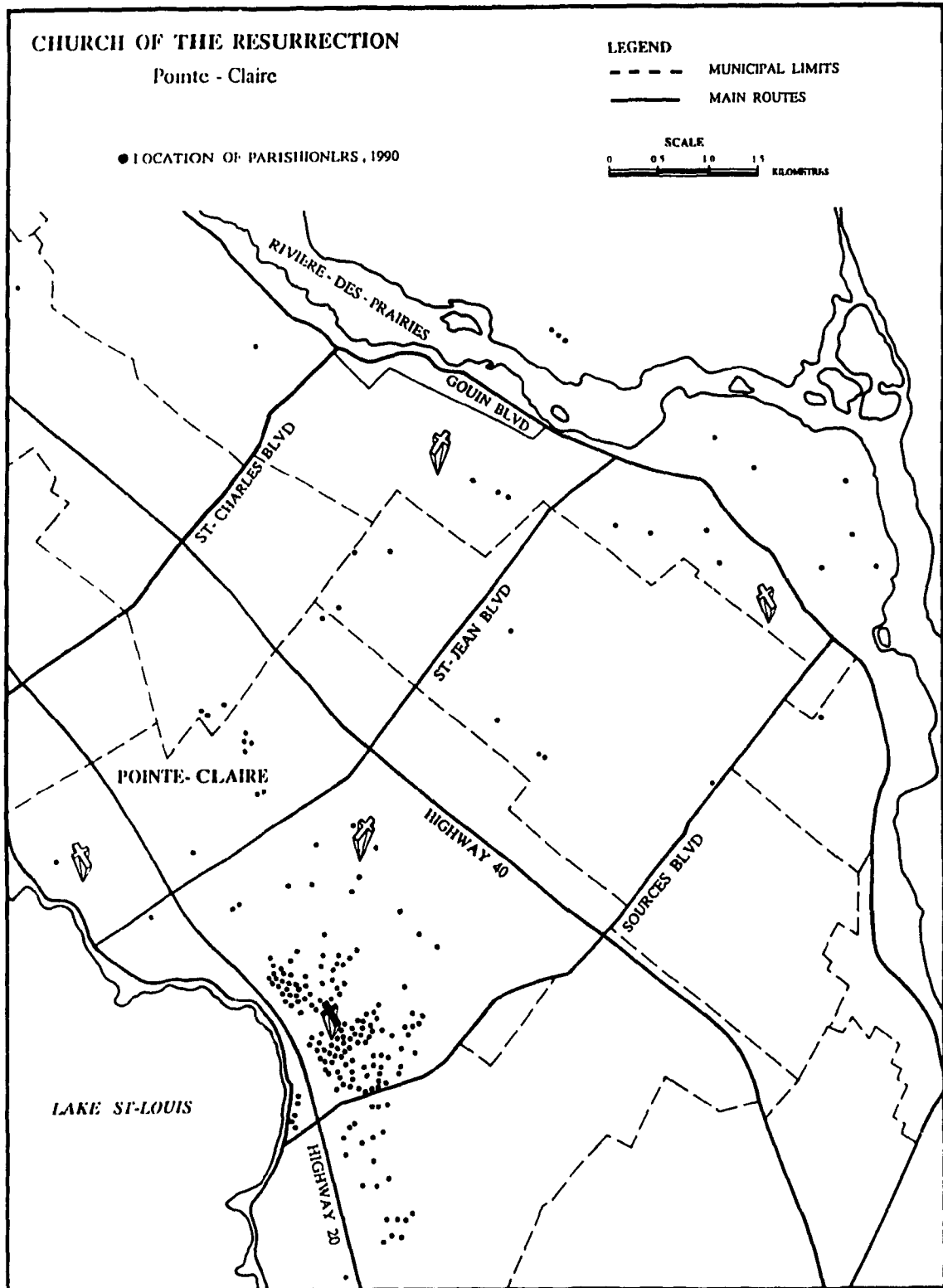
her great-grandparents who were buried in an Anglican cemetery a few miles away. She feels a strong sense of continuity both with the area and with the church, but expressed the view that the rector is "unhappy" with those like her who want to maintain the traditional forms. Her description of the young people who attend the 10:00 service is that "They're nice, ordinary kids. I like them." But she preferred the 8:00 service and its traditional words and form, and like many of the older people in the congregation, she has separated herself from the "main" service in order to maintain links with it.

St. Paul's is a complex church, with several distinctive groups of parishioners who are having difficulty coming together in worship, but who seem to enjoy their differences in other activities. It is a church which seems comfortable in its Quebec milieu, mainly because there has not been any direct threat to its existence or challenge to change in relation to francophones or ethnic minorities. On the other hand, the variety of life experiences and histories in the church seems to have created a particular dynamic which, together with the leadership and ministry styles and of two rectors, have contributed to tensions around the issues of change within the church itself. In common with other churches, St. Paul's is reluctant to commit itself to mission and justice issues; and also like others, the women's group

exhibits the need to retain its independence of church officers and budgetary rules. David Martin's description of "local quirks and quiddities" in association with common "dykes and contours" never seemed more appropriate than in relation to St. Paul's.

#### CHURCH of the RESURRECTION

The fourth church selected for study is Church of the Resurrection in Pointe Claire, a suburb of Montreal located 30 km from the downtown. The village of Pointe Claire grew up as a summer community of anglophones on the shores of Lake St. Louis, becoming incorporated in 1911. While it still retains some of the ambience of a quiet old village, since the building of highways in the fifties and improved public transportation by both bus and train, the 'suburb' has become an important city of 30,000 population with a balance of residential, commercial and industrial land uses. It offers an impressive range of services, including a large hospital, nursing homes, indoor skating rinks and swimming pools staffed by Olympic caliber coaches, facilities for summer programmes in baseball, soccer, and tennis, one of the best public libraries in the province, and both English and French schools. The population is predominantly anglophone (75%); average family income is \$50,000.; the unemployment rate is about 9%, lower than the Montreal average of 10.3% (1986).



MAP 7

Pointe Claire has a slightly higher proportion of older people, with over 11% being over 65 years. While there is a high rate of mobility, with over 40% of the population having moved within the past five years, there are also many residents who have lived in the community for several decades. There is a mix of all types of housing, with 57% of the population living in single detached homes, 13% living in highrise apartments, and 27% living in other rental accommodation such as town houses and low-level apartment buildings. The rapid growth of Pointe Claire which accompanied the highway construction in the fifties has resulted in a high proportion, about 40%, of housing built at that time.

In the census tract immediately around the church the population has a higher proportion of young families, and a higher rate of mobility (44%) than Pointe Claire itself. Approximately 75% of the membership of Church of the Resurrection lives in this census tract immediately around the church. Built in 1964, the church is of a modern architectural style. Many of today's members were active in the fund raising campaign at the time of its construction. Despite diversity of age and mobility characteristics in the congregation, in socio-economic terms the population is homogeneous, middle class with expectations and attitudes reflecting a conservative, family-oriented tradition. There are 239 names on the parish list, which includes 183 families. Approximately

130 people attend church regularly on Sundays. As with the other churches there are two services, an early service at 8:00 using the BCP, and the later 10:00 service using both the BAS and the BCP alternate weeks. Of all the churches, it is at Resurrection that there seems to have been the most equable accommodation made by 'both sides' of the prayer book debate. While there are certainly some people who attend only the early service because they are assured of the BCP, the antagonism towards the new BAS still apparent at St. Paul's, and the complete rejection of it experienced at St. Matthias and Grace Churches, cannot be detected here.

General acceptance of a variety of liturgical and musical forms seems to be related to a variety of demographic, community, and leadership factors. The meanings of the church are different from those in the other churches because of different life experiences and differing levels of apprehension for the future. An important result of the high mobility, for example, seems to be the ease with which new members are integrated into the congregation, and the concomitant lower profile for 'entrenched positions'. The negative side of mobility is that those who accept positions of leadership (such as wardens) are often unable to complete their terms because of job transfers. The rector noted that the turnover of executive positions, particularly amongst the younger members, is a serious problem for Resurrection. The



diversity of age, on the other hand, has meant that there is a wide variety of activities. At this church the socio-economic homogeneity of the congregation situated within a secure anglophone environment seems to have had an impact upon many relationships. While there is some diversity of perspective on the meaning of faith, for the most part the members of this church cannot be labelled by one of the main streams of today's Anglicanism.

Rector: "I look at a map of the other churches in the area; what are they doing well? One is a fundamentalist church, and getting more so all the time; the two northern neighbours are wildly charismatic, and we have the refugees from there, who don't like the touchy-feely business; and Dorval is from the point of view of social awareness. So now, what sort of ministry can I do here? Basically we've opted for a good liturgical ministry. Doing what others are not doing. This church has always been slightly old-fashioned, leaning towards the liturgical tradition, because of the people it serves."

There are a few people who are involved in the evangelical Cursillo movement and who lead bible study in their homes, but most of the membership looks to the church as a community, sharing in social activities and friendships. This is a church in which everyone is known, and people are welcomed. It is a democratic church, with monthly meetings at which all groups contribute. Above all it is a relaxed church in which everyone is encouraged to participate. Of all the churches, the spatial distribution of its members is the most compact, with 75% of

the congregation living within 2 km of the church. This nucleated pattern is reflected in the functioning of the church as a centre for community participation drawing upon both parishioners and local residents who are not church members. Despite the nucleated distribution, there is a secondary area about 6 km away from which some of the parishioners come, passing several Anglican churches on the way. One woman who has served as a warden and delegate to Synod described her experience of attending the other churches when she first arrived in Montreal five years ago:

I came from a church which was very similar to Resurrection. The other two parishes which are closer to my house are what you might consider 'ministering churches'; and those people are the kind who stand up and affirm, 'I am a Christian'. When I walked in there it scared me to death. I've been in lots of churches, but you'd never stand up and say that. You'd never go out and knock on someone's door and ask them to come to church. When I walked into those churches I felt like I was in a foreign land. I had to find my way back to Resurrection, in a comfortable setting. It wasn't long after that the the BAS came in, and I grew with that. I love it now. It's something that grows; when the changes come slowly you can accept them and adjust to them. But if you turned to the parishioners tomorrow at Resurrection and asked them, 'Okay, what's your special ministry?', well, you'd see the church just clear right out! I'm not going to start preaching the gospel and knocking on my neighbours doors! (Apr.1989)

The main groups and activities include the Sunday School, in which there are about 50 children registered and 25 who attend regularly; the ACW; a monthly 'Tea and Topics' when speakers are invited and tea is served following the

presentation; a struggling youth group; a group which does 'Pastoral Visitation'; and an informally organized 'young families' group. There is, of course, also the Altar Guild and choir. The bible study involves about four of the members at Resurrection.

The relationships amongst the congregation which are distinctive include the overlapping memberships, the high degree of male-female integration, and the opportunity for mixing of age groups. Unlike other churches, there is no longer a strong separation of male and female roles, particularly in relation to wardens, Synod delegates, and greeters. There are also many opportunities throughout the year for the various age groups to be together. These characteristics, examples of which will follow, seem to be related to the homogeneity of the congregation and their common understandings of meanings, the high mobility combined with a nucleus of long-term residents, and also in part at least to the interaction between the rector and the congregation. The rector has accepted and encouraged a middle-of-the road approach to liturgy and music, and has supported the need for community social gatherings without any apparent theological content.

The church members convey a sense of community founded upon the security of the anglophone community around it, but

also conscious of the need to protect and enhance the shared fellowship. A woman described her concern for her 78 year old aunt living in the Eastern Townships who is "afraid of dying in French". Although the aunt's background was French, her original name being 'Deschamps', the family name had been changed four generations earlier to 'Fields'. When I asked what she herself thought about having bilingual signs in Anglican churches, she replied that she was "all for them", but "there's so much fear among the older people."

The amiability of the Resurrection community has not always been thus. In the late seventies, for five years until 1982, the incumbent priest had uncompromising ideas about liturgy, elements of communion, and the theological commitment of every church member, which caused a major rift in the congregation. During his time there was a devastating drop in membership and financial contributions, both of which were a direct result of the difficult priest-congregation relationship. At a time when other Montreal churches were experiencing significant increases in their revenues, at Resurrection the parish income fell precipitously. It was also the time period of the greatest out-migration from Quebec of young anglophones, with the result that there was an inordinate impact upon those who stayed in the church. Even today many speak with deep resentment about the difficulties caused by this priest and his inflexible approach to his

faith. Said one member to me : "Everything stopped when he was here. Once he called us 'hard-boiled eggs'!" When we look at the ways in which members participate in the church it is important to take into account not only the relative roles of society, culture, and community relationships, but also the special role of the incumbent minister.

Business meetings offer interesting views of the church-in-action which reflect attitudes and values of the parishioners. At the monthly Advisory Board meetings, a sense of participatory democracy is apparent in the arrangement of chairs in a circle, with no 'head table'. Occasionally, this informality carries over into the presentation of important reports, such as the financial report. At the 1988 annual vestry meeting, it was presented unaudited, and the treasurer was unable to answer fully some of the questions which were asked. The attitude seemed to be that the financial report was a mere formality. The nominating committee report at this meeting proposed three deputy wardens because of the problems experienced when church officers moved unexpectedly. Also at this annual meeting, in thanking the out-going warden the rector commented that her 1986 appointment had been the first ever female warden at Resurrection.

One area in which Resurrection is typical of other churches is in the general lack of interest in the wider

church, and in outreach or mission in particular. There is almost no discussion about or allocation of money for 'outreach'. This was noted by the student assistant who served with the rector in 1987 when she presented her final report to her college. She pointed out that Resurrection is served very well in the areas of fellowship and worship, but that there has been very little concern for outreach into the community and beyond.

One major concern expressed at many meetings has been for the youth. Despite efforts by several parishioners to lead a youth group, and discussion about the possibility of a paid youth worker, the church has not been able to generate enough interest amongst the young people to sustain a group. At the 1988 annual vestry meeting the discussion on the needs of youth showed the frustrations being experienced by many churches. One lady wondered if they could "pool the resources of the three Anglican churches in the area", and hire someone to lead a youth group. When someone wondered how "that would affect our budget?", the response was that, "Even if it seems to be major, we need the children for the future!" But some people felt that if "parents can't get kids to church, how can we expect a stranger to?" Others argued that the needs of the young people should be a priority. "The money is important, but we also need faith; God will find the means." When someone suggested asking the teenagers what kind of programme they

wanted, a man said:

They don't seem to know what they want. They may be interested, but there always seem to be other conflicting activities. Church is at the bottom of their list.

Although there seemed to be agreement on the importance of the youth leader, and that dollars are not important if the youth get involved, in the end there was no vote on allocating money to a youth project. Despite being located in a community of young families, Resurrection has been unsuccessful in building a youth programme.

The women's groups, however, are active and growing. While the ACW is experiencing some of the same problems as in the other churches, there is an enthusiastic group of about 20 ladies who form a core group. The ACW raises about \$15,000. each year through bazaars, a giant garage sale, military whist and fashion show. It is also responsible for catering special events such as the Harvest Supper, and in one case the ACW women hosted a 'shower' for someone who was about to be married and would be moving to Toronto. The ACW membership overlaps into the 'Tea and Topics' group who arrange for speakers once a month, on topics of general interest to seniors, such as financial planning, antiques, and travel. This monthly activity has grown in two years from about 30 people, to over 75 men and women, many of whom do not belong to the church. It has evolved into a broadly-based community

activity, providing fellowship for seniors who live in the vicinity of the church.

After one of the ACW meetings one member expressed concern about not being able to attract the younger women to join, and they had been unable to fill one of the executive positions. The conversation which ensued was described as follows:

S. - "And I remember asking one of the ACW ladies, how do you see your role? She said that they are the ones who earn the extra money for the church. But that wasn't all. They're also friends. So in other words, and this was the complaint of one of the young mothers, 'I can't afford to hire a babysitter just to come out to socialize.' The ACW sees itself as fundraisers, and as a group for fellowship. Their concern is, what if it falls apart? And yet, we have the young couples group springing up. Maybe this problem will take care of itself. It might look as if things are being done 'because they've always been done that way', but they do change."

The Sunday School is strongly supported, with a core of about six teachers who meet regularly to discuss the curriculum. It has a regular attendance of about 30 children. One of the teachers initiated an "Advent Event" a few years ago, which has had success in bringing together the many ages within the church, from grandparents to young children everyone is invited to participate. It is essentially a 'craft fair' after church at the beginning of Advent, at which everyone has an opportunity to make a variety of decorations, wreaths, and ornaments for Christmas. After a hectic hour and



a half during which time about 70 people, including 30 children, make their decorations, everyone is invited into the church for a short service of dance and blessing. This 'event' typifies the distinctive warm, and welcoming community at Resurrection, in which people from all age groups share their faith in mainly social settings with strong family orientation. Another way in which the young families have begun to emphasize their need for community sharing is in their informal bowling nights which attract about 25 adults and some teenagers.

The lively and relaxed atmosphere of a Thanksgiving dinner in 1988 was very different from the quiet, seated group which I had encountered at Grace Church. The participatory democracy already mentioned, carried through in this social event, when numbers chosen from a hat determined which table would be invited to 'line-up' first at the buffet table. An auction later that evening provided for more shared fun and laughter. Bidding was fast and furious for the services of fellow parishioners (such as a dinner for four, or help with home repairs). An informal sing-song led by a new church member brought the evening's fun to a close.

Other community-oriented programmes at Resurrection include the summer 'Day Camp' for children, ages 4 - 12 years old, and a pastoral visiting programme. The latter is

supported by about 15 parishioners, many of whom are retired men who visit about 20 hospitalized and shut-in people. The day-camp attracts about 75 youngsters from the neighbourhood, including many who are not affiliated with the church. These shared community-of-interest activities seem to be related to the high degree of homogeneity of middle class and anglophone backgrounds. On the other hand, there is also a lack of outreach beyond the community.

During one of the advisory board meetings at which the motions to be presented at the upcoming Synod meeting were being discussed, someone asked "Should the church be involved in politics at all?" The rector firmly pointed out that the church is part of society, is affected by it, and should be active in it. Someone else expressed concern about the motions opposing free trade and the nuclear submarine programme. The views expressed all reflected conservative, middle class perspectives.

At another meeting, called to discuss a critique of the parish prepared by the student assistant, there was barely disguised hostility to his assessment that "Resurrection is not working at reaching out beyond its immediate community". Some of the hostility was directed to the student's assumption that church members should feel 'called to a ministry'. There was a consensus that the concept of 'ministry' carried

threatening evangelical connotations, and that "only a minority of people see their Christian commitment as a ministry."

Most of the people at Resurrection regard what they do as a bloody duty. The ACW is putting on this; I'm a member; so I'd better turn up and take my station, whether it's at the kitchen sink, or whatever. They certainly wouldn't talk in terms of a ministry.

The idea of developing a 'mission statement' for the parish was unequivocally rejected as being unnecessarily wasteful of time and energy. In defending their "many quiet ministries behind the scenes" the members expressed a sense of frustration that an "outsider" should see only the reported events, apparently unaware of the informal network of support providing drives, visits, and meals. Concerns for youth and continuity of lay leadership were viewed as internal problems coming out of the societal context but ultimately to be solved within the framework of the existing structure of Resurrection.

In arguing for ongoing growth in the church, one woman used the example of 'Tea and Topics' which "has been enormously successful" in reaching out into the community. The tone of the meeting gradually moderated from its initial hostility as everyone began to focus on the perceived strengths of the parish.

S.- "There's a continuity here, isn't there?"

B.- "Well, I'll tell you this. There's quite a few here who I went to school with; that's when there was a huge youth group and nothing else."

S. 'And now we have all these young children all over the place. It's getting better. I think you can start to look out of the parish when you're sure the roof over your head is going to hold. I think that's the stage we're reaching. We're starting to feel secure and confident, not only financially but also our numbers are growing."

J.- "It's much easier to absorb gradual growth. Because each church has an ethos, and in a way you want the people to make that ethos theirs....the joining of stories."

L.- "And yet we've come a long way in ten years. It used to be that you knew when you walked in what book you would be using, which hymns would be sung, and you could fit in comfortably. We've moved a long way from that, but at our own pace, not feeling we're radically changing. We're maybe not running, but we're moving, steady, like the tortoise. Dependable. You know where you're going to be when you go to church. There's not going to be any big surprises pulled on you, which is important in our changing society."

J.- "Some sort of continuity with the past; and recognizably Anglican."

B.- "Therein lies my security."

S.- "I had a little concern when I first read it (the student's report), and I was concerned about this word 'status quo'. Many of the people I've spoken to were so worried at one time about losing the whole shooting match, the whole church as they knew it, that they were clinging in many ways to the status quo, because they were afraid of losing it. But we're starting to feel comfortable now, secure enough with the parish and fellow parishioners, with the minister, with the community, that we can start to grow now."

Explicit recognition of insecurity and the need to protect the church are woven into the larger community context in which parishioners feel confident in their commitment and

mutual responsibility.

J.-"If a request goes out that somebody is needed to help I think you'll find that they'll be there. Something I'd like to say is that if old people were encouraged to form a prayer ring it could be an incredible dynamic. And I would be prepared to go out and visit people, and talk about this. We haven't tried that, have we?"

As the meeting came to a close the student asked for an overall reaction. Replied one woman, "A little bit over-critical, I think."

The Church of the Resurrection reflects the community within which it is located in its mobile, economically and linguistically homogeneous population. The parishioners span all age groups, and live in the immediate vicinity of the church. Insofar as its location alleviates the immediate threat to survival that haunts Grace Church, for example, Resurrection can enjoy a security which frees its members, enabling them to approach liturgical changes within the church more equably. The variety of activities and the membership overlaps reflect a continuity between the community and the church which is less definable in the other churches which I investigated. While interviews and discussions revealed a conscious awareness of the problems of a minority status in Quebec and the importance of the church as an anglophone institution, there was no real sense that imminent demise was possible. The importance of the church to the identities of some parishioners was apparent in their stories of past

events, from the original fund raising campaign in the early sixties to the problem of the rector in the late seventies. There are attachments to rituals such as baptism and discussions were intense as to where they should take place in the church. But always there is a sense of openness. There are few signs of entrenched interests, and few examples of concerns with the status of 'old families'. Compared to other churches, there is flexibility and democracy, but still no utopian initiatives. The security of community location does not encompass a global confidence.

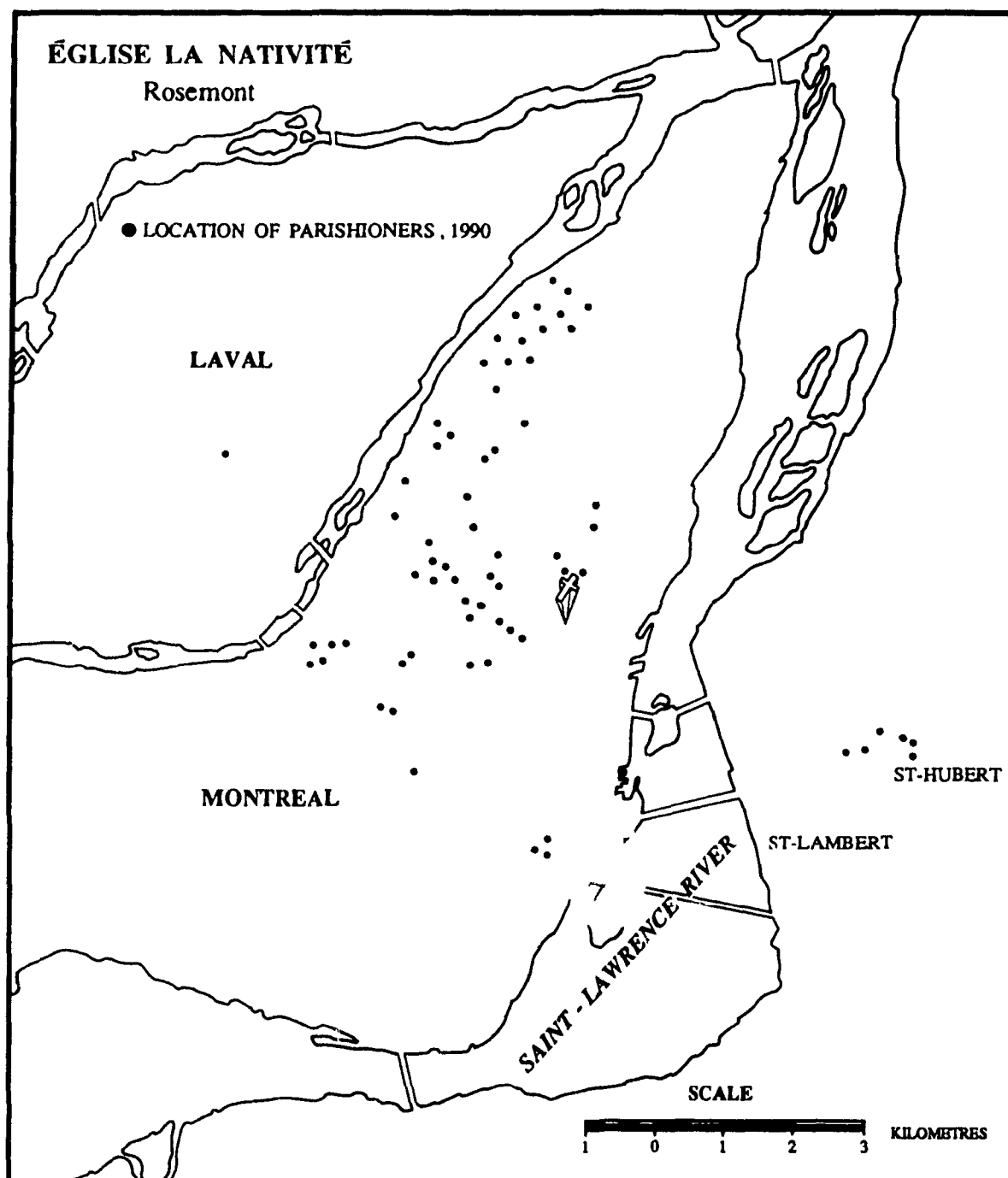
#### LA NATIVITÉ

La Nativité is unique in the diocese. It is an Anglican Haitian congregation without its own church and must use the premises of an anglophone church in Rosemount for its Sunday afternoon services. The large, red brick church is situated in a formerly English-speaking part of Montreal, in a landscape of semi-detached brick houses, and rows of duplexes and triplexes, most fronted by old trees and cracked sidewalks. Today the area is home to a multicultural mix of new Canadians.

Attending a service here is an experience in cultural transformation. Apart from the architecture of a large old Anglican church, there is little which is familiar. The prayer book is a French translation of the American Episcopal

book, and the use of French and Creole languages are two important differences. But more than these, it is the interaction amongst the congregation and their casual behaviour as members come into the service, often up to an hour late and chatting quietly as they make their way to the front of the church, which give an ambience unlike any other Anglican church in the diocese. There are no 'hymns'. Instead there is a lilting, unaccompanied singing of creole songs. The 'Peace' is exchanged as a rhythmic song-dance, during which everyone is greeted. The sermon frequently lasts more than half an hour, during which people continue to enter the church, all the while greeting their friends. The service usually begins on time at about 2:15, when there might be 10 people in the church. By the time the sermon begins, typically about 50 people are there; and by the end of the service perhaps 70 people have gathered.

There are about 100 families on the parish list, of whom about half are represented on any given Sunday. Unlike other parishes where the majority of parishioners live within two kilometers of the church, at La Nativite most live 10-15 kilometers away. Widely dispersed in outlying, low rental areas, most must depend upon public transportation. The location of the church was a matter of availability for afternoon services, being rented from St.Luke's at a modest cost. The "parish" was originally established in 1975 when a



MAP 8



few Haitians began meeting in the home of a Haitian priest. A few months later, they began to hold services in a hotel room, a situation which continued for about a year. In 1978, a new priest, white and anglophone, was appointed. According to the present incumbent, he "n'a pas recu bon accueil lors de sa premiere messe a la paroisse." However, during his 8-year tenure he became a loyal friend to many recently arrived Haitians and trusted spiritual leader of the Haitian church. Interestingly, his replacement, Pere Joseph from Haiti, provoked some concern amongst the congregation who, according to a knowledgeable priest, resisted the idea of a Haitian priest who would represent the authoritarian style of Haiti. The congregation wanted someone who would help integrate them into North American life. However, following an interview by members of the congregation, Father Joseph was accepted in 1985, and La Nativite has continued to serve a small but loyal group of Haitian Anglicans. In 1990 two other small congregations were established in Montreal North and in Lachine.

All of the members are from Haiti, most of them having been active in their churches before immigrating to Canada. In a report which he prepared about his parish, Father Joseph described his congregation, noting the important role of women:

Il est important de mentionner des maintenant que les femmes actives constituent environ 90 à 95 pour cent de l'assistance régulière. Elles forment l'épine dorsale de la paroisse. Leur âge varie entre 25 et 50 ans. Si certaines sont infirmières et d'autres secrétaires de bureaux, la grande majorité travaille dans les manufactures. Les hommes ont entre 25 et 60 ans et sont tous mariés. Ils travaillent dans les manufactures. Les jeunes....sont imprégnés de la culture québécoise. Les enfants sont ceux dont l'âge se situe entre 0 et 14. Ils sont nés au Canada. Ils parlent tous le français mais comprennent le créole.

The distance travelled to get to church and the desire to socialize result in most people staying after the service for a reception in the basement hall, at which homemade meat-filled pastries are served with coffee and juice. The elderly people sat quietly, while the children dashed about with exuberant energy. The ladies prepared the food in the kitchen while the men, remaining separated from the women, stood about talking. The gender separation is apparent in all aspects of life in La Nativite. The younger women who are very conscious of this provoked a confrontation at a vestry meeting in 1989.

It had been decided that a committee should be formed to formulate a plan to ensure that the parish was self-supporting within five years. After a great deal of lively, noisy debate, volunteers were requested. Instantaneously seven men materialized on the committee, and someone announced they did not need anymore. One young woman jumped up to say that women formed the basis of the church; they had not been given adequate opportunity to be part of the committee; and they

demanded representation. One man, described to me as the resident 'comic', said that "If she wanted to be on the committee that badly, she probably wanted to be a man." He was shouted down, and three women were elected to the committee.

Meetings usually begin quietly, and with apparent respect for the chairmanship of the rector. But inevitably, discussion and debate become lively as more and more people offer their strongly held points of view. There is a very loyal core of commitment. Despite this, Father Joseph complains that it is difficult to widen the group of active parishioners. He attributes this in part to the widely dispersed congregation and to the need for reliance upon public transportation. There are added problems of many people being on shift work, and others who are single parents with full-time jobs.

The people of this church are not concerned with the issues which have divided other churches in the Diocese. There has been no discussion about the BAS, for example, because they continue to use the American prayer book, translated into French, which is very similar to the BAS, with which they are comfortable. Another source of conflict for Montreal Anglicans that is already accepted by the Haitian members is the admission of children to communion before confirmation, which has been part of their practice for any years. Their acceptance of exhuberant children, even during business

meetings, is typical of their acceptance of children in all aspects of church life.

Primary concerns are the need for their own church building located closer to where they live; a desire to be financially self-supporting instead of having to depend upon the diocese for subsidies; and a sense of isolation from the diocesan (anglophone) church. Because most of the congregation speak no English, and some do not read, they are reluctant to attend diocesan events, especially formal meetings such as the annual Synod. There is also a belief that the diocese does not know or care about their existence, let alone their problems. Father Joseph comments in his report that the original goals of the Haitians in coming together for mutual support through their faith are continuously affected by the "institutional politics" of Montreal diocese.

C'est une communauté qui se rassemble pour continuer les gestes de foi commencés en Haïti. Le début de cette paroisse a été marqué par le besoin de se réunir pour partager les nouvelles expériences, identifier ensemble les défis et surmonter, dans la solidarité, les obstacles rencontrés dans le nouveau pays.

Prior to his arrival in 1985, the parishioners formulated a 'job description' for Father Joseph. The elements of this document indicate some of the key areas of concern for the members of La Nativite. Some of these include counselling support for families, help with immigration problems and unemployment, formation of self-help groups such as for the

elderly, sensitizing the diocese to the particular needs of the community, and consultation with the bishop on ways to achieve other 'stations'(congregations) for Haitians. All of these indicate a strong desire on the part of the congregation for a strengthening of their community through more opportunities for meeting together and improving their security in Canada. Two meetings which I attended were devoted almost entirely to plans for upcoming 'social' events which would involve not only the congregation but also the friends and relatives of members.

Father Joseph, on the other hand, sees a need for a reaching out of the Haitian community and becoming engaged in the society around it. He has tried, unsuccessfully, to involve the congregation in such current issues as free trade, refugee policy and the G.S.T. "J'aimerais aussi que les acteurs soient vraiment des acteurs et non des spectateurs." His objective is to encourage both the strengthening of the church community and to become more actively engaged in social action. He has expressed disappointment in the lack of interest by the congregation in issues not directly related to their situation. At the annual vestry meeting in 1989 he introduced a motion to oppose the expulsion of illegal Haitian immigrants from Canada. To his dismay it was unanimously rejected by the vestry meeting.

An important area of difficulty for La Nativite is the cultural barriers they experience in relations with the diocese. "On y trouve toute la culture anglo-saxon et toute la vision ecclesiale britannique." Father Joseph is concerned that 'rival' churches such as the Baptist and Pentecostal churches which frequently offer services in French, seem to offer stronger cultural ties. They seem to be attracting some of the Haitians who might otherwise become members of La Nativite. The common experiences of adjusting to a new country and culture can be more important than the ties to the Anglican faith, and in many cases parishioners of La Nativite attend other churches as well. Some members return to La Nativite only for the main festivals such as Easter and Christmas. The attraction of services in the Baptist churches is the cultural similarity to experiences in Haiti; the liturgy is less "rigide et fermee". The relationships between culture, the socio-political milieu, and the church are strong indeed.

In strengthening the commitment to La Nativité, the youth group and the women's association are especially important because they are active and growing groups, with strong elements of community sharing. The problems for even these groups are in having to overcome distance, and as Father Joseph explains, the different cultural perspective which seems to be a factor inhibiting active social and political

engagement. The paternalistic socio-political system of Haiti has influenced the "mentalite et l'attitude qu'on rencontre dans le milieu ecclesial". There is an expectation of hierarchy and "blind obedience" which has implications for the attitudes of the members of La Nativite. In the acculturation process, "Ils ont du epouser de nouvelles valeurs". The return to Anglican services at Christmas illustrates the importance of tradition and ancestral ties. "Ils pensent pouvoir continuer l'oeuvre de leurs peres and surtout etre en lien avec les parents et les grands-parents episcopaliens decedes." Despite the links to tradition, however, there is evidence of alienation which the Anglican Church in Montreal has not addressed :

Face au diocese, les fidelées pratiquants de la Nativité n'ont pas plus de sens d'appartenance que 'les distants' face a la paroisse. Ils se montrent très réticents quand il s'agit de participer a des activités diocesaines en raison des barrières culturelles et linguistiques mentionnées plus haut. Ils se sentent comme des étrangers ....Il n'y a donc pas de communication entre eux et le reste de diocese. Tout se fait selon anglaise pour repondre aux attentes des canadiens anglais et des britanniques.

La Nativité is a church founded on the needs of newly arrived immigrants to share their faith and their problems of adjusting to a new culture. It continues to struggle, not with the concerns of Quebec nationalism or changes in the liturgy, but with an anglo-saxon dominated church which does not seem responsive to its needs. As a community, La Nativite offers

weekly fellowship and a sharing of adjustment to the North American experience. But it is concerned with the need for a more centrally located church, and increasing the financial independence from the diocese. As one warden said to me, her elderly mother does not attend regularly simply because it is too physically demanding to make the journey, and so she attends a nearby French Catholic church instead. The isolation and alienation they feel is directly related to the cultural distance from the Anglican Church as much as it is to the society around it.

#### Summary

These five parishes reflect differing perspectives on church life. Concerns for family roots, the language of the liturgy, the needs of youth, and how to balance the budget are common in all congregations, but with different emphases, and having different implications for people's relationships in the church. In all parishes there was concern expressed about the out-migration of anglophones, particularly as members left and wardens had to be replaced. But despite evidence at Synod of strong feelings against the 'francinization' of Quebec, responses in the parishes varied according to the community and social group defining the parish membership. Another area that was shown to be especially significant was the role of women. In every parish women were seen to be in ambiguous relationship with the church. On the one hand their commitment to fundraising and community-building activities were seen to



be crucial to the life of the church. Their daily activities in the church have given them knowledge and, with it, power to control many of the decisions being made by others in the church. On the other hand, they are most often excluded from positions on the corporation, and during public presentations it is always men who officiate. Particular coping strategies have been developed by women, such as independence of their budgets, in order to protect their 'domains'. Complicating these relationships further were the attributes of lifecycle and an aging population, especially in relation to family histories and traditions in the church. All of these affect the meanings which people attach to their church affiliation and the dynamic relationships which reflect these meanings. In the next chapter I examine some of the statistical expressions of church affiliation, which also show both commonalities and divergences among the five parishes.

## CHAPTER VIII - THE PARISHES : SOME STATISTICAL MEASURES OF COMMITMENT AND THEIR SPATIAL PATTERNS

As described in the last chapter, the five parishes show differences in organizational structures, age and mobility characteristics, relationships between men and women, and perceptions of the importance of community and tradition. These distinctive characteristics are reflected in various measurable attributes of church participation. In chapter 6 we reported measures of church commitment for Montreal diocese and compared them with Canadian and Toronto patterns. The distinctive patterns of participation shown in Montreal diocese after 1976 seem to be related to specific provincial socio-political changes. In this chapter I shall examine the same figures at the level of the parish, comparing them to each other and to diocesan averages. While some anomalies arise from the arrival of a new priest or establishment of a special capital fund for a new building, certain fundamental similarities can be attributed to the socio-political context. Timing and magnitude of variation reflect the special characteristics of each congregation.

Footnotes to the tables and graphs indicate discrepancies which affect comparability, notably the attendance figures for St. Matthias. For most of the period, from 1962 to 1983, the rector recorded only the attendance at Eucharist services, with the result that about half of the actual attendance was not recorded. I have therefore estimated attendance at 190% of

the actual figure recorded in the vestry books. The estimates also affect 'offerings per person', a measure calculated from attendance figures. Despite this caveat, what is most important (and is not affected by the 'estimates') is the general patterns rather than the specific values.

La Nativite has been excluded from most of the tables because of its special character associated with its ministry to the Haitian community. Its temporary location in rented facilities and the short duration of its existence are other factors making statistical comparisons with the other parishes somewhat irrelevant. Data for La Nativite are discussed separately.

While the socio-political environment of Quebec is reflected in the broad patterns of both the diocese and individual parishes, it is the distinguishing "quirks and quiddities" which are of concern here. The factors which seem to define most strongly the differences between the parishes are those which reflect different social groups and lived experiences. They can be summarized as "characteristics of community", including demographic change, especially out-migration; and, the histories of the church and community, especially as it relates to family histories, shared memories, and traditions. The statistical reality of out-migration does not sufficiently describe the impact upon a church

congregation. A decrease in numbers is accompanied by a non-quantifiable sense of perceived threat that is particularly important when mobility options are constrained by lack of alternative employment opportunities. Differences in community characteristics are also defined by the history of the church itself. Where there is a long history, and where memorial windows, plaques, and needlepoint kneelers are important symbols of family belonging, there is a profound sense of continuity and the need to preserve the myths and shared stories which underpin personal and collective identities. It is the potent combination of this sense of 'place' defined by tradition and historical memory, and the intense perception of threat to its maintenance, that together seem to affect acceptance of change and the propensity to contribute time and money. The data for individual parishes help to illuminate some of these relationships.

The relationship between priest and congregation has a marked effect on the annual statistics such as membership and attendance data. Over the period from 1961 to the present apparently erratic patterns may reflect the arrival or departure of a priest. During an 'inter-regnum', for example, when visiting clergy serve the parish between clergy appointments, attendance usually drops significantly. When this period extends over several months, decrease in the size of congregations may persist over an even longer period. More

or less popular appointments are reflected in attendance data, as for example in the period from 1977 to 1982 at Resurrection which shows a continuous decrease in membership and offerings at a time when they were increasing at other churches. At St. Paul's the impact of a new priest in 1982 can be seen in the sharply rising attendance figures; and at St. Matthias a new priest had brought new members in the period 1983-85, but his subsequent involvement in a scandal caused a marked period of decline.

Tables 22 and 23 summarize the changes in membership, attendance, Easter communicants, and offerings (in constant 1981 dollars) for the period 1961 to 1986 in four parishes. We see that the numbers of "census anglicans" decreased in Montreal diocese by 32% from 1961 to 1981, and in three of the four parishes decreases ranged from 35 to 62%, the highest decrease being around Grace Church in Point St. Charles. The only parish in which membership increased was St. Paul's in Knowlton, where growth can be attributed to increased population, related in turn to a new highway improving access to the area in the mid-sixties. Comparable decreases occurred in attendance and the numbers of Easter communicants. Even at St. Paul's, attendance decreased by 17% and Easter communicants by over 50%. Membership for the four parishes is shown in Figure 10 on page 187.

The broad patterns of giving in all parishes reflect those of the diocese described in Chapter 6, with an increase in financial contributions after 1976. Figure 11 shows a significant change in 1976 in all parishes, although for Resurrection change seems to have been moderated by the clerical problems noted above.

Tables 22 and 23 show some interesting similarities between Grace Church and St. Matthias, with severe losses of membership, attendance and offerings. While the figures are directly related to out-migration, the two parishes also have long histories and a sense of rootedness. Their histories combined with high losses in members seem to reinforce the need to ensure continuity.

TABLE 22  
CHANGING CHURCH POPULATIONS, FOUR PARISHES  
Percentage Change, 1961 - 1981

	Census Anglicans	Membership	Attendance	Offerings	Easter Comms.
Grace	-52.5	-48	-27	+20.5	-48
Resurrection	-36	-62	-52	-18.5	-42
St. Paul's		+ 7	-49	+64	-42
St. Matthias	-45	-57	-42	- 6.8	-56

(Sources : Synod Reports, Vestry books, Census 1961, 1981)

FIGURE 11

## OFFERINGS, Four Parishes

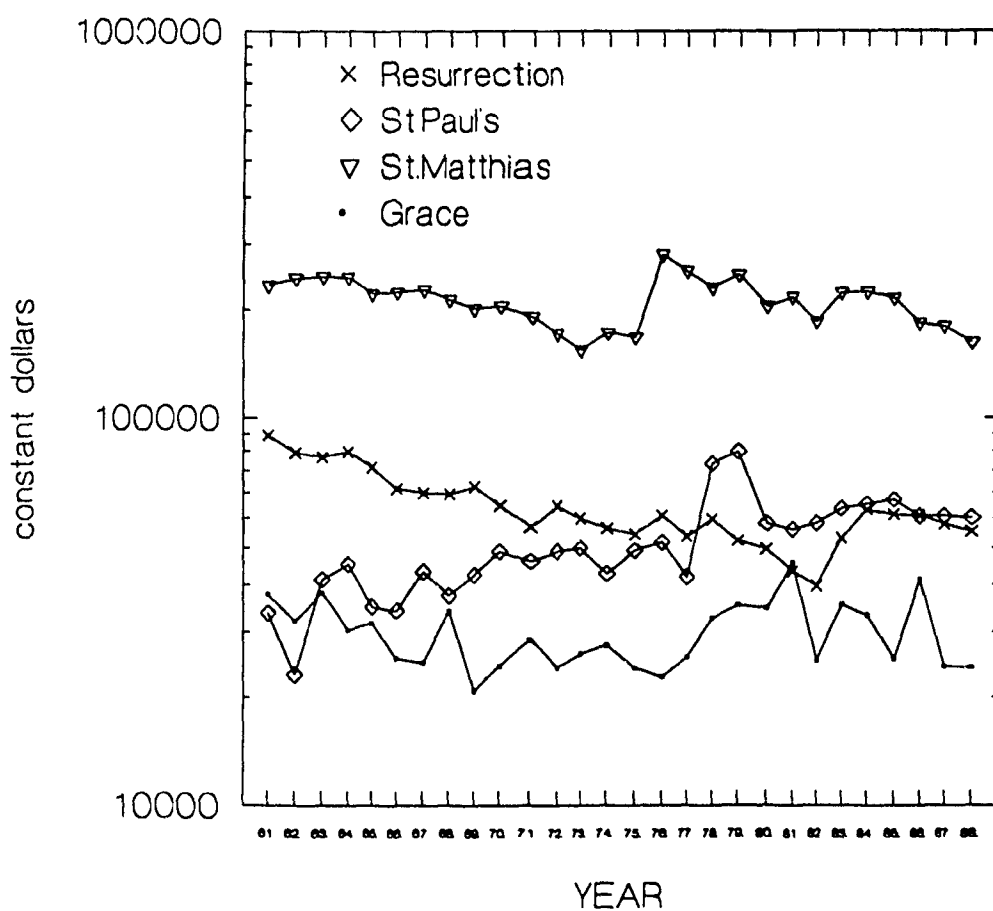


TABLE 23  
CHANGES IN FOUR PARISHES  
Percentage Change, 1971 -- 88

	Membership 71-88	Attendance 71-86	Offerings 71-88	from Peak to 1988
Grace	- 72	- 41	- 15	- 45
Resurrection	- 32	+ 9	- 2	- 12
St. Paul's	- 16	no change	+ 28	- 33
St. Matthias	- 64	- 25	- 14	- 41

(Sources : Synod reports, Vestry books)

In those parishes which have experienced the highest out-migration, Grace church losing 53% and St. Matthias 45% of 'census anglicans' from 1961 to 1981, membership losses were also high, at 72% and 64% respectively. One would expect a sense of threat to the viability of the parish church. Attendance at these two churches declined less than at St. Paul's or Resurrection, and offerings actually increased at Grace Church, while at St. Matthias they declined by only 7%. In other words, severe losses of membership seem to have been countered by greater efforts to maintain the church. In the period 1971 to 1988 a similar pattern is evident. While membership decreased greatly (72% and 64% at Grace Church and St. Matthias respectively), offerings decreased by only 15%. Total offerings (Table 26) show that in the 1976-81 period both these churches had offerings comparable to the high amounts being contributed in the early sixties. While the increase at St. Paul's seems to be associated with the increase in membership, at these two churches the change may reflect determination in the face of the 1976-81 period of instability.



TABLE 24  
MEMBERSHIP, FOUR PARISHES  
1961 - 88

Year.	Grace	Resurrection	St.Paul's	St.Matthias
1961	1060	1506	525	2700
1966	1100	1250	590	3050
1971	1000	1090	645	2200
1976	600	816	580	1850
1981	550	584	560	1160
1986	330	750	700	800
1988	285	750	750	800

(Source: Synod Reports)

TABLE 25  
ATTENDANCE, FOUR PARISHES  
Average Weekly Attendance at all Services  
1961 - 1986

Year.	Grace	Resurrection	St.Paul's	St.Matthias
				(* est.)
1961 ('65)	171	305	172	400
1966	154	199	148	370
1971	120	148	141	210
1976	129	161	103	120
1981	124	108	87	223
1986	71	162	141	263 ('85)

(Source : Vestry books)

TABLE 26  
 OFFERINGS, FOUR PARISHES, 1966 - 88  
 Open, Regular, & Special, in constant 1981 \$  
 (in 000's)

<u>Year.</u>	<u>Grace</u>	<u>Resurrection</u>	<u>St.Paul's</u>	<u>St.Matthias</u>
1961	35	<b>90</b>	31	220
1962	30	81	22	230
1963	<b>35</b>	79	38	<b>231</b>
1964	28	81	42	230
1965	30	75	33	209
1966	24	66	32	211
1967	23	64	40	214
1968	32	63	35	202
1969	20	66	39	191
1970	23	59	45	194
1971	27	52	43	182
1972	23	59	45	164
1973	25	55	46	149
1974	26	52	40	166
1975	23	50	45	161
1976	21	<b>56</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>263</b>
1977	24	49	39	<b>240</b>
1978	<b>30</b>	55	<b>76</b>	<b>216</b>
1979	<b>33</b>	48	<b>82</b>	<b>234</b>
1980	<b>32</b>	46	53	194
1981	<b>42</b>	40	51	205
1982	24	37	51	177
1983	<b>33</b>	49	58	210
1984	<b>31</b>	<b>58</b>	60	211
1985	24	56	61	203
1986	<b>38</b>	55	55	175
1987	23	53	55	172
1988	23	51	55	156

Note: Peak values in bold print.  
 (Source: Synod Reports)

FIGURE 12

## WEEKLY ATTENDANCE, Four Parishes

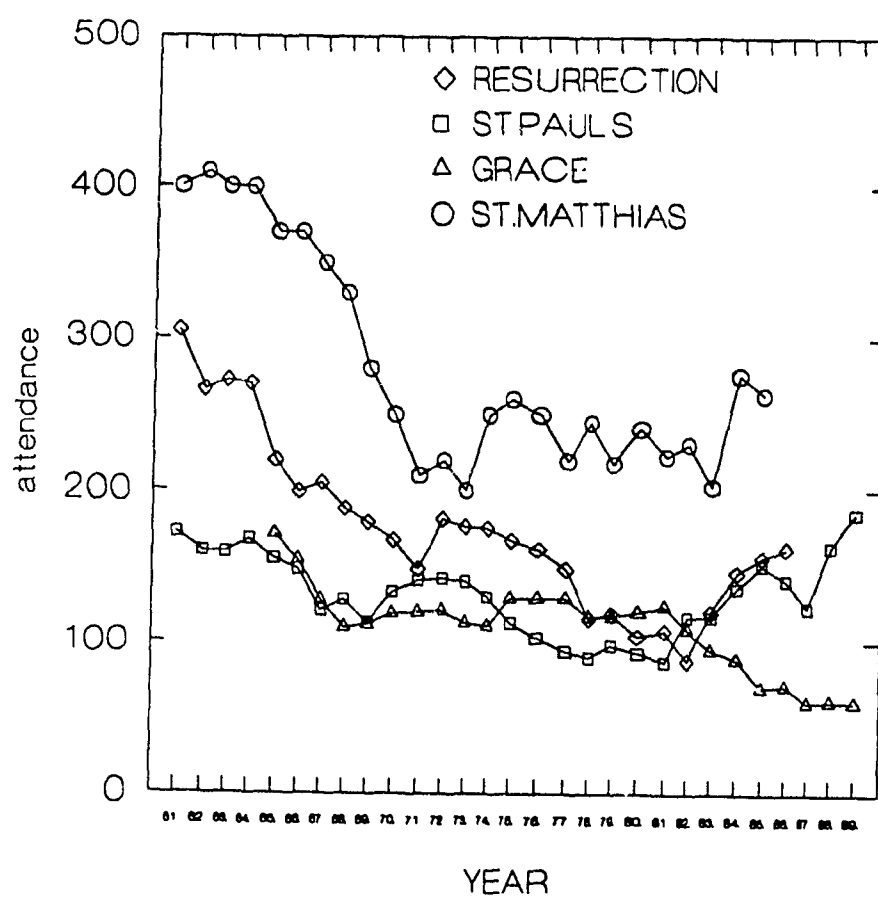
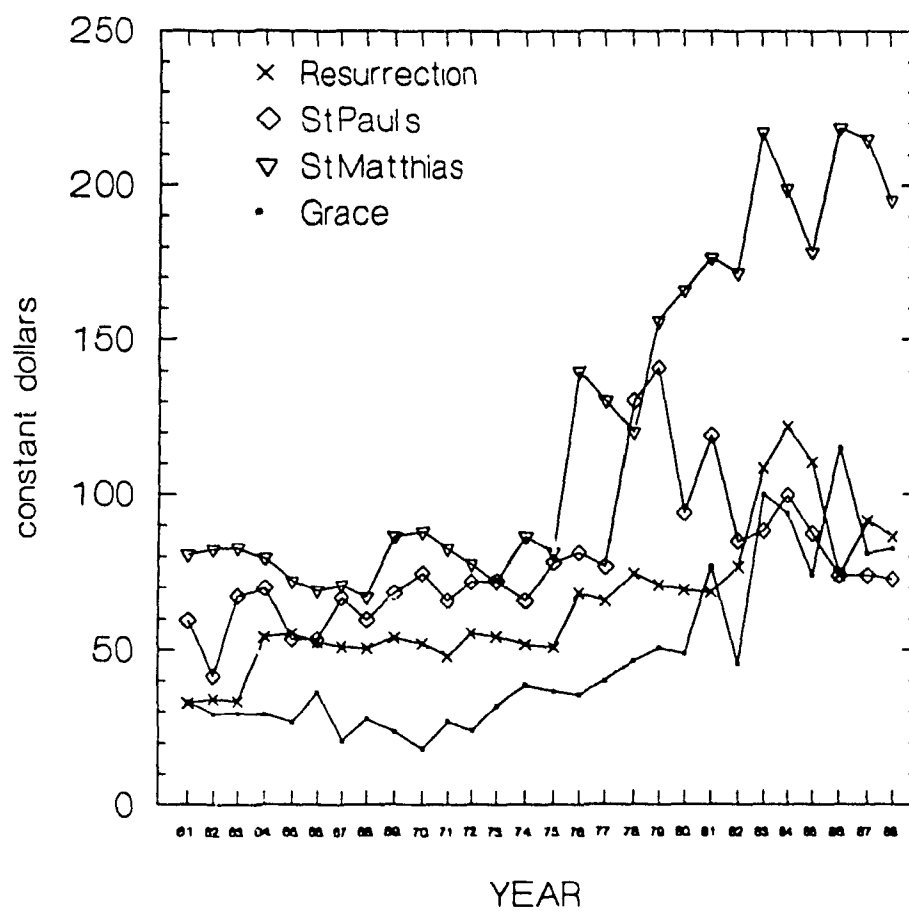


FIGURE 13

## OFFERINGS PER MEMBER, Four Parishes



Another element which affects the level of financial support is the relative wealth of an area. The neighbourhood of Grace Church with its high unemployment and low educational levels, has only limited ability to increase its giving. The figures nevertheless show a remarkable persistence of high donations, indicative of a strong commitment to its survival. St.Paul's and St.Matthias, on the other hand, are located in high-income areas and have members who have long histories and who have given endowments or large donations although they may not participate actively in church life.

TABLE 27  
OFFERINGS PER MEMBER, FOUR PARISHES  
(in constant 1981 \$)  
1961 - 1988

<u>Year.</u>	<u>Grace</u>	<u>Resurrection</u>	<u>St.Paul's</u>	<u>St.Matthias</u>
1961	32.88	32.66	59.40	80.53
1971	26.81	47.94	65.93	82.69
1976	35.37	68.28	81.28	139.76
1981	76.71	68.62	119.09	176.34
1986	115.28	73.98	73.86	218.42
1988	82.59	86.40	72.79	195.20

(Sources : Synod Reports, Vestry books)

TABLE 28  
OFFERINGS, PER PERSON ATTENDING SERVICES (Annual)  
(in constant 1981 \$)  
1961 - 86

<u>Year.</u>	<u>Grace</u>	<u>Resurrection</u>	<u>St.Paul's</u>	<u>St.Matthias</u>
1961	3.33('65)	5.69	3.51	10.60 est.
1971	4.28	6.80	5.80	16.70 est.
1976	3.18	6.64	8.88	23.05 est.
1981	6.53	7.12	11.32	17.63
1986	10.32	6.59	7.56	14.80

(Sources : Synod Reports, Vestry books)

The data for St.Paul's are generally positive: increase in membership between 1961 and 1986; compared to other churches, smaller decrease in average attendance at services; and the greatest rate of increase in total offerings. Despite this growth, there have been significant decreases in the size of individual contributions. Between 1961 and 1981 there was a 20% increase of contributions per member, but since then there has been a decrease of almost 40%. In the period from 1961 to 1981 contributions more than doubled, but since then there has been a decline of a third. These decreases are especially remarkable in view of the overall increase in the diocese and for the other parishes in this study. Several factors appear to have caused this.

FIGURE 14

## OFFERINGS PER MEMBER, St.Paul's &amp; Diocese

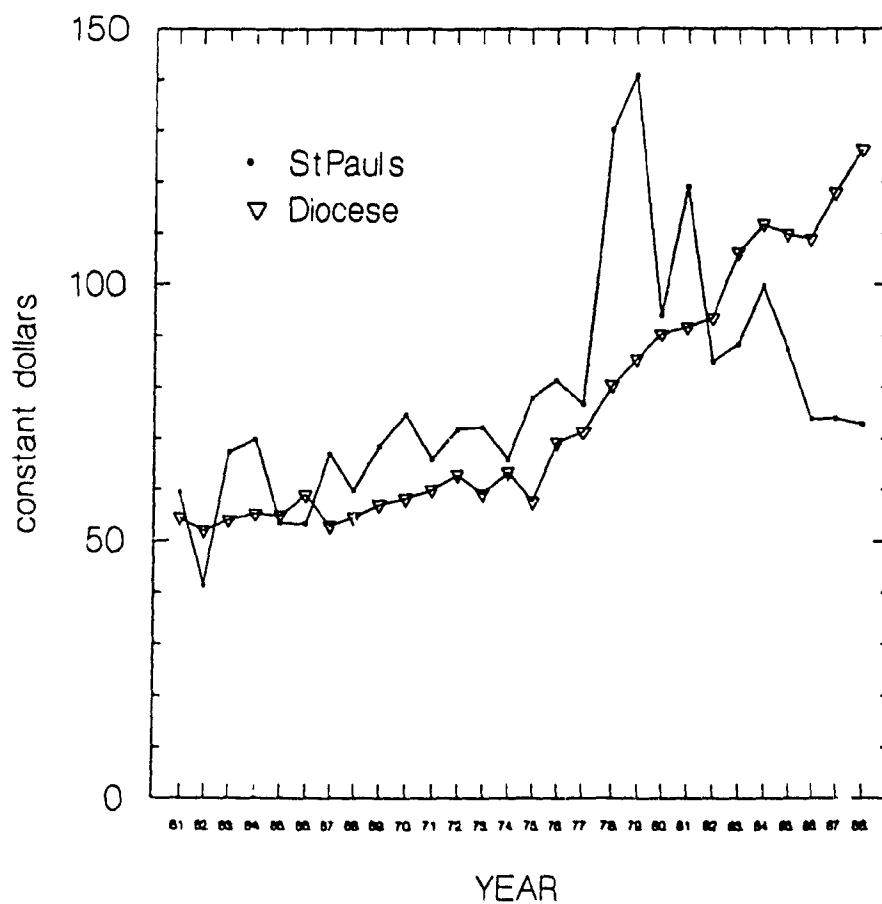
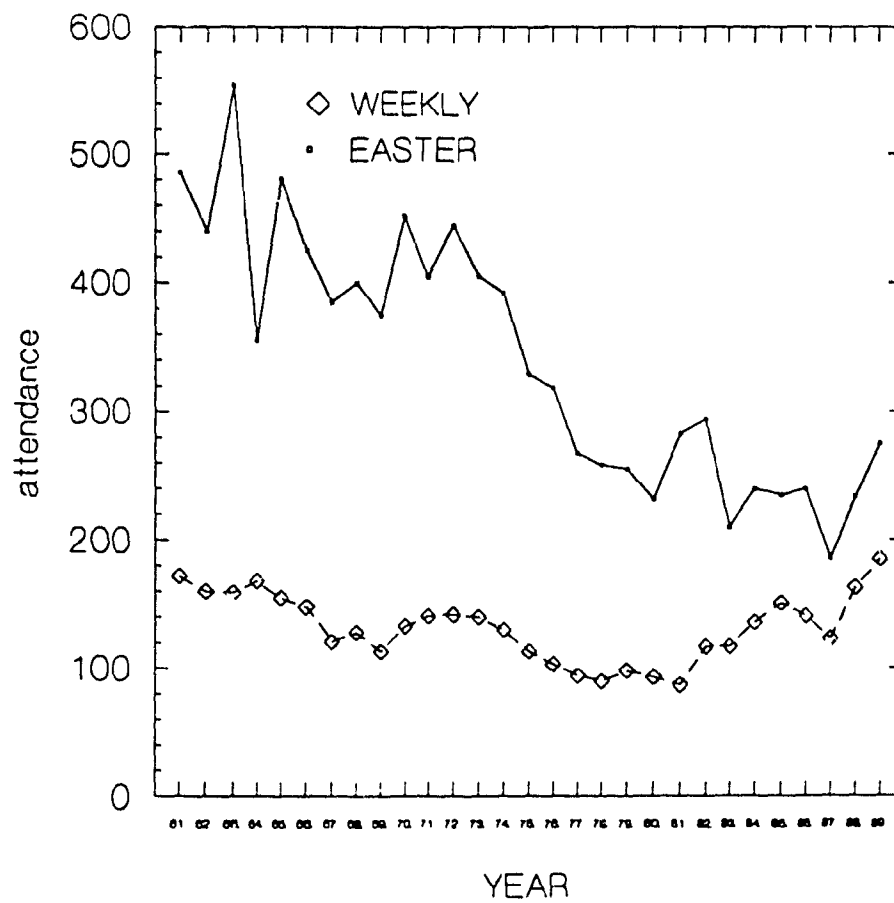


FIGURE 15  
ATTENDANCE, ST PAULS





The characteristics of the community, which has experienced growth, albeit of young professionals and entrepreneurs, who are predominantly anglophone, may account for part of it. As the interviews confirmed, there is little evidence that people here perceive a threat to their church or to their cultural identity in this community. However, the clerical leadership has also been an important factor. The nature of the ministry and beliefs of the two rectors who have been at St. Paul's since 1982 have affected all aspects of church life. The uncompromising introduction of the new prayer book and a charismatic ministry drove away approximately 17 people who were also major financial contributors. For the active congregation there has been greater emphasis on a sense of community through prayer, and a certain pride in the vibrancy of services and active youth participation, which incorporates a feeling that 'people with money' are not important if they do not bring a 'commitment to Jesus' with them. There is an unwillingness to accept other meanings of belonging to the church other than that which 'proclaims Jesus as Lord'. I heard concerns expressed by a few of the older members, and by the clergy, about the loss of these affluent members, but others did not acknowledge that as important. Fewer people of wealth and a youthful congregation which puts less emphasis on financial commitment have resulted in a growth in attendance and a decrease in the size of individual donations. Despite the overall decrease in per member

contributions, this parish exhibits the same temporal pattern as other parishes: in 1978 and 1979 absolute contributions rose by almost 75%, and per member contributions almost doubled (Table 27).

St. Matthias, like St. Paul's, had a sharp increase in offerings after 1975: absolute offerings rose 75% in one year alone, (from 1975 to 1976), and per member contributions rose by about 50%. As we saw earlier, St. Matthias had experienced high membership losses (70 % from 1961 to 1986) partly due to out-migration of anglophones from the province. During the same period, the level of donations was increasing significantly, on a per member basis by almost 2 1/2 times in 1988 compared to the 1961 level. Losses in membership were compensated by increased financial commitment of those still there. The perceived threat to the cultural community and a need to affirm the continuity of St. Matthias seems to have provided added impetus to increased contributions after 1975. Today the determination to compensate for member loss may not be enough to sustain the church since the absolute contributions have been declining since 1985. In 1988, in constant dollars, the total offerings were about 30% lower than they had been in 1961, and 41% lower than the peak in 1976. As described in the previous chapter, there is a real concern about the future ability of the congregation to continue to maintain this large church. Covering operating

FIGURE 16

OFFERINGS PER MEMBER, St. Matthias &amp; Diocese

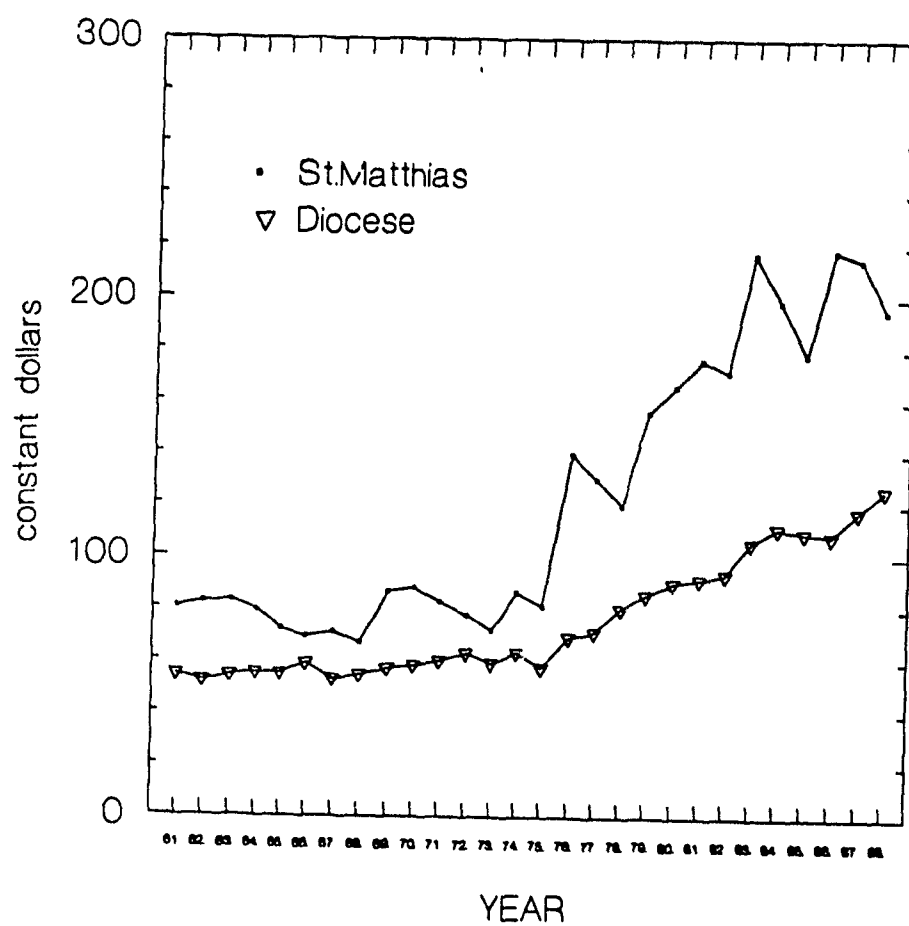
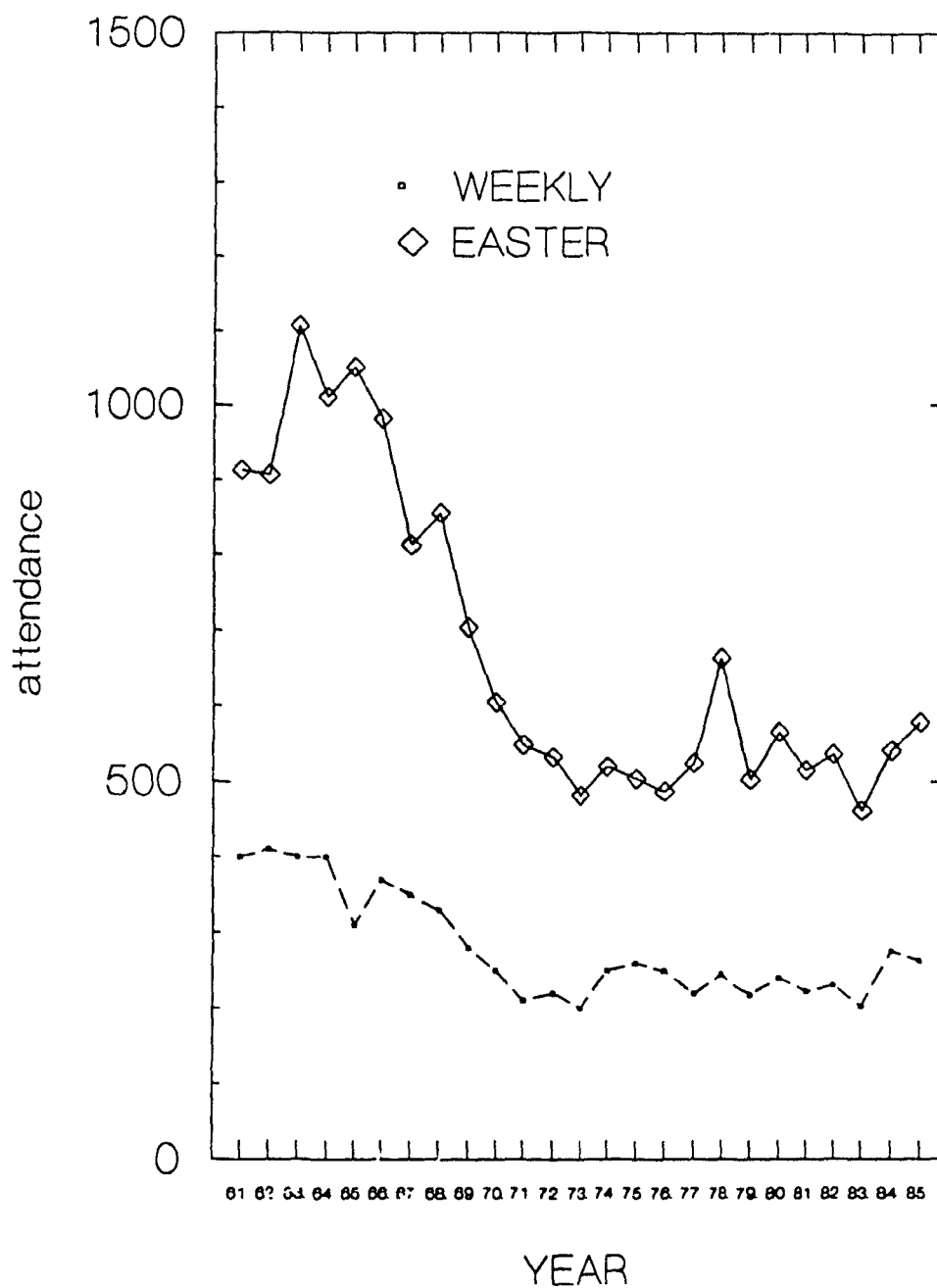


FIGURE 17

## ATTENDANCE, ST. MATTHIAS



deficits through withdrawal of capital from endowment funds is feasible for only a limited period, and wardens at St. Matthias recognize the problem.

At Church of the Resurrection all data show persistent downward direction. Membership of 1500 in the early sixties, and a peak in total offerings (constant dollars) in 1963 have never been matched. Per member contributions at Resurrection approximated the diocesan values until the difficult years of 1977-82. Although the congregation at Resurrection did increase its contributions during the late seventies (see Table 26) to \$9 in 1978 and \$8.40 in 1980 per attending member, this represented an increase of only 35% over the 1961 value, whereas at St. Paul's the donations had more than quadrupled, and at St. Matthias they had doubled. The arrival in 1982 of a new priest had an immediate impact, with per member figures over \$100. in 1983 for the first time in the church's history, and once again approximately the same as the averages for Montreal.

At Grace Church we see temporal patterns similar to the other churches, with a steady increase in per capita contributions especially after 1976. Total offerings peaked in 1981, and on a per member basis, the offerings at Grace have increased over 2 1/2 times, comparable to St. Matthias and Resurrection. Measured according to the people who attend

FIGURE 18

## OFFERINGS PER MEMBER, Resurrection &amp; Diocese

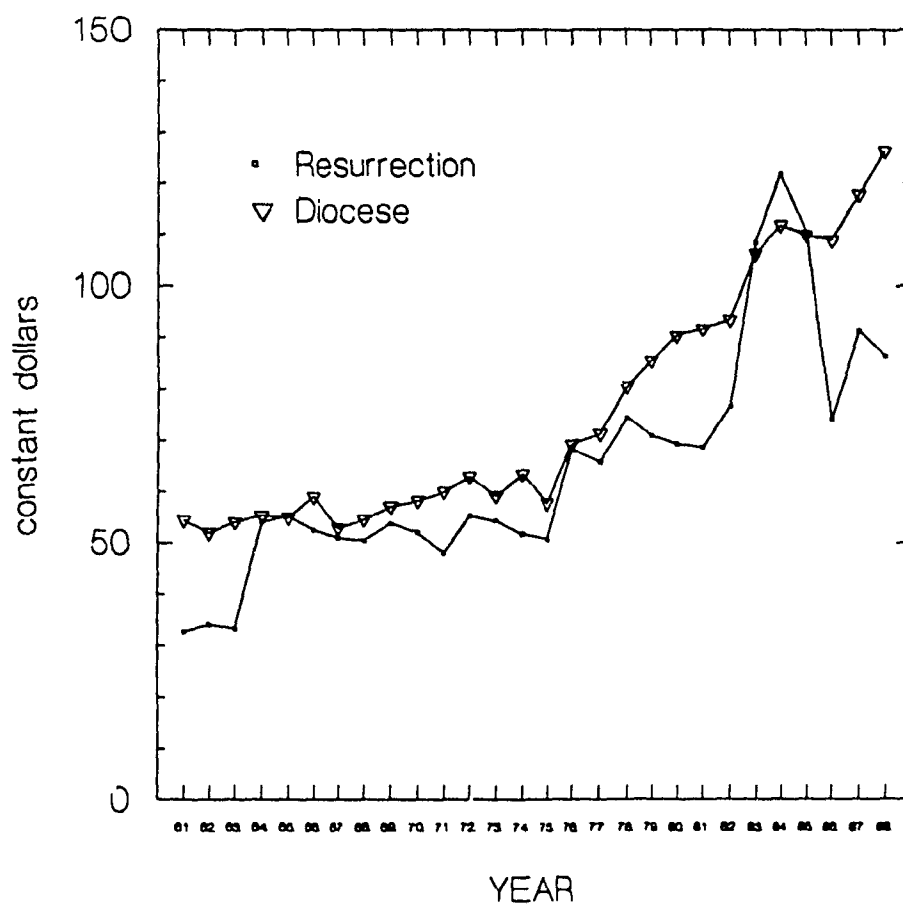
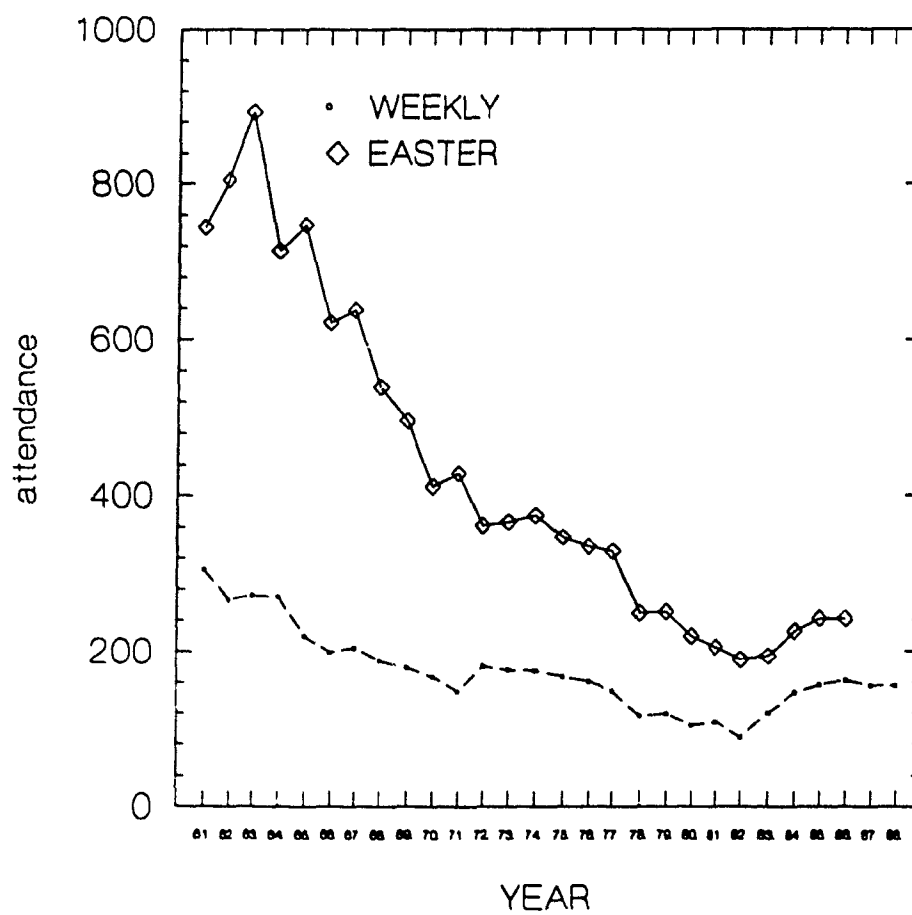


FIGURE 19

## ATTENDANCE, CHURCH of the RESURRECTION



services, the offerings are substantially higher than either Resurrection or St. Paul's, and have tripled since 1965. All of this suggests that even amongst parishioners whose income is severely limited by both employment income and the high percentage of pensioners, the determination to ensure the survival of Grace Church has produced high levels of contributions.

Variations between parishes also exist for patterns of attendance. Two measures provide another way of assessing the meanings which the church has for people. The ratios of attendance to membership and average attendance to Easter communicants suggest differences in participation rates, distinctive behaviours of a "fringe" group who retain membership despite minimal participation in worship service. In the early sixties, at a time when Knowlton was still a rural and relatively isolated community, St. Paul's had a higher participation rate than any of the other parishes, with one third of the membership attending church, compared to 15% at St. Matthias, and 20% at Resurrection. The higher level of participation may have been related to the importance of the community and social interaction in this rural environment. The trends in this participation rate show interesting differences between parishes through time. While at St. Paul's there has been a steady decrease since 1961, at Grace Church and St. Matthias the opposite is true, indicating that a higher



FIGURE 20

## OFFERINGS PER MEMBER, Grace &amp; Diocese

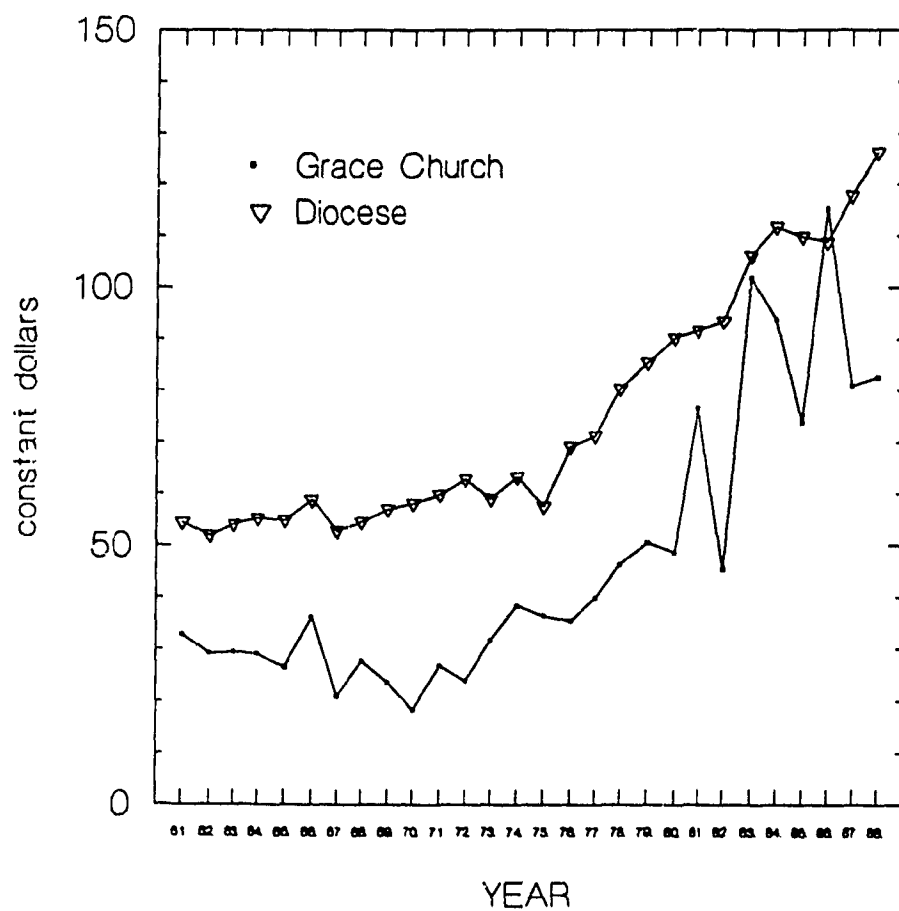
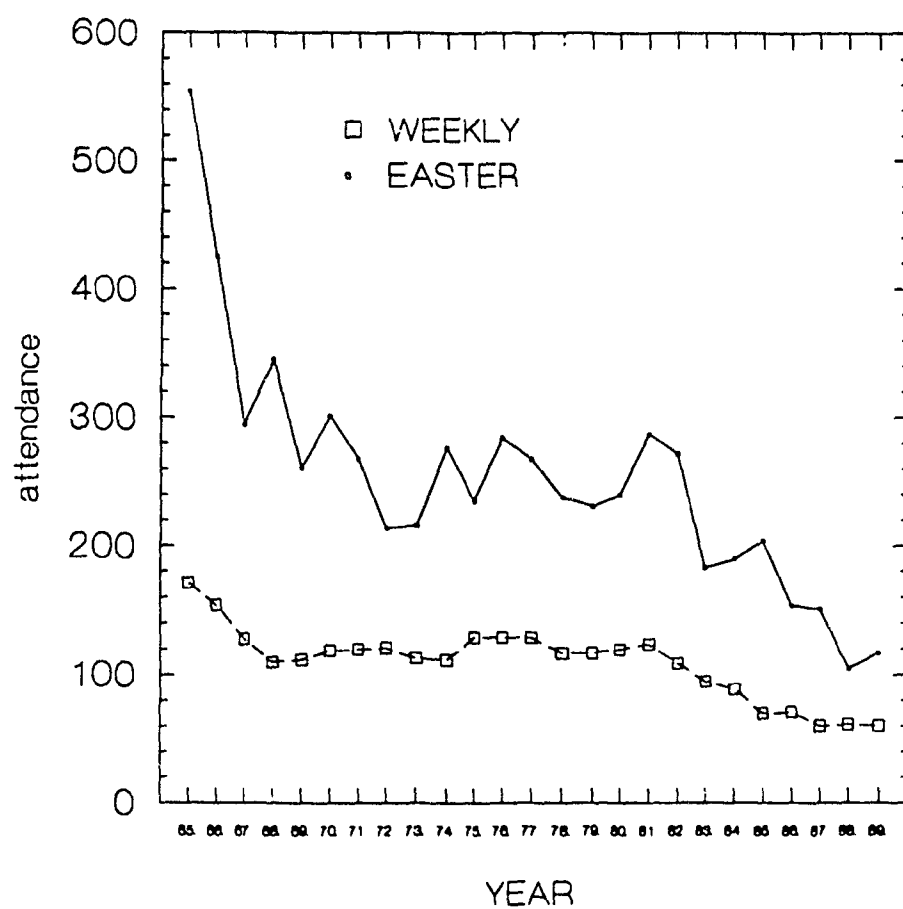


FIGURE 21

## ATTENDANCE, GRACE CHURCH



proportion of members are actively attending worship services today than in 1961. In other words, there is a smaller 'fringe' group, a situation which also exists with respect to Easter Communicants. By 1986 all churches show a common participation rate of about 20% for attendance compared to total membership.

TABLE 29  
ATTENDANCE, % of MEMBERSHIP\*  
FOUR PARISHES, 1961 - 1986

<u>Year.</u>	<u>Grace</u>	<u>Resurrection</u>	<u>St.Paul's</u>	<u>St.Matthias</u>
1961	16	20	33	15
1966	14	16	25	12
1971	12	14	22	10
1976	22	20	18	14
1981	23	19	16	19
1986	22	22	20	23

\* Attendance calculated as total of all services, divided by 52 for a 'weekly' average.  
(Sources: Synod Reports, Vestry books)

As discussed in Chapter 2, there has been debate about the meaning of secularization, with many people pointing out that declining church attendance does not necessarily reflect loss of faith. One element in this debate is the continuing affiliation of people with a church even though they do not attend regular services. The large congregations at Christmas and Easter give some support to the argument that many people regard attendance once a year as sufficient commitment to their faith. As I showed in Chapter 6, after a period of declining figures for Easter communicants in Canada, there

been a trend of increasing numbers since 1975, even as membership has continued to fall. In Montreal, the ratios between membership and Easter communicants have dropped at half the rate of Canada, indicating that Montreal has retained a higher proportion of occasional attenders. In the parishes there are discernible differences in the size of a 'fringe' group, which I measured by comparing average attendance and Easter figures. These are shown in Table 30 below.

TABLE 30  
RATIOS, EASTER : ATTENDANCE  
in four parishes  
1961 - 89

<u>Year</u>	<u>Grace</u>	<u>Resurrection</u>	<u>St.Paul's</u>	<u>St.Matthias</u>
Averages				
1961-66	('65)3.24	2.98	2.89	2.76
1966-71	2.79	2.87	2.97	3.64
1971-76	2.06	2.21	2.98	2.78
1976-81	2.09	2.09	2.86	2.50
1981-86	2.32	1.71	2.10	2.21
1983-89	2.19	1.61	1.60	-

(Sources : Vestry books)

The high figures in the sixties show that there was a larger number of people attending the Easter service in relation to those who attend regularly. These ratios decreased as the numbers of Easter communicants decreased compared to total attendance. Expressed another way, amongst those who continue to be members of the church today, there is an increased likelihood that they will attend regularly, and that fewer 'fringe' people will attend only at Easter. At St.Matthias and at Grace a 'fringe' group continues as a

significant part of the membership, and probably accounts for the continuing financial viability of St. Matthias in particular. There seems to be a relationship between the existence of this 'fringe' group and the spatial patterns of membership which I shall describe later. For those who remain active, the frustration, as described in the previous chapter, is in the vain attempts to encourage a more participatory community of shared experience within the church.

### Spatial Dimensions

I have already alluded to important distinctions in the spatial distributions of the congregations in relation to their churches, and the maps which accompanied the discussion in chapter 7 illuminated these differences. Table 31 summarizes the spatial patterns, showing the percentages of parishioners living at varying distances from the churches. The most obvious contrast is that between La Nativite and the other parishes. Especially in view of the low average incomes and the fact that few members own cars, the distances which members must travel to attend services makes their commitment all the more impressive.

TABLE 31  
DISTRIBUTION OF CHURCH MEMBERS  
% living at variable distances from the church

Distance (in km)	La N	Resurr.	St.P	Grace	St.M
2 km	8	75	61	46	77
5 km	39	92	79	65	88
10 km	82	100	91	84	95
Total List	64	230	159	158	463

(Source : Parish rolls)

Grace Church also has a distinctive pattern, with only 46% of the members living within 2 km of the church, and over 15% who live beyond 10 km. This is the result of the high out-migration from Point St.Charles throughout the period after the Second World War. Many of the people who moved into adjacent municipalities have continued their affiliation with the church, and fully half of those who attend regularly live several kilometers away. Others who remain on the membership list are people who grew up in the Point, but after marriage have moved into middle class neighbourhoods. One such young man recently became the new treasurer of the church, despite the fact that he lives about 10 km away and passes three intervening churches on his way to Grace each Sunday. There is a unique commitment to Grace Church which seems to spring from a loyalty to the working class roots and the shared belief in affirming the importance of those beginnings.

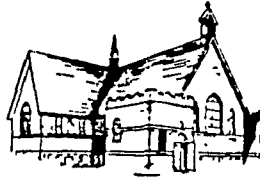
Resurrection shows the most concentrated pattern, coming out of the 'celebration' and extension of the local community which is described in chapter 7. As Map 7 shows, there are some members who live about 7 km away, who have purposefully chosen a church that has a conservative, middle-of-the-road liturgy, eshewing the charismatic services of two closer churches. But, over 90% of the members of Resurrection live within 5 km of the church, which is reflected in the community-based activities, as described in the previous chapter. St. Matthias, described by one parishioner as the "first church out of the downtown which can be considered as a family church", also shows a concentrated pattern. However, having more than 12% of its members living over 5 km away suggests there are also many who have maintained links with the church for historical reasons. During one interview a woman told me that she came from 4 km away, passing two other churches, because her "family had always gone here" and she "loves the music".

Finally, the distribution of the congregation at St. Paul's is clearly related to its location in the middle of Knowlton. That there are more than 20% who live further away than 5 km is due to the rural nature of the setting, there being no reasonable nearby choice, and the generally dispersed residential pattern of the population.

The spatial patterns add one more dimension to the understanding of community relationships and the choices which people make in where they decide to worship. Contiguity or extension of community is certainly one important factor. However, family ties, a feeling of identity with known liturgical forms, shared social experience and memory, and the music all contribute to people's sense of belonging. The relative importance of these factors varies and seems to have coherence in distinctive ways according to the dynamics of the social group in the particular community environments.



## CHAPTER IX - CONCLUSIONS



*You are invited to a  
Service of Thanksgiving  
for 97 years of ministry  
of the Church of the Ascension  
5434 Park Avenue, Montreal, Quebec  
Sunday May 12th at 4 00 p.m.  
Celebrant The Right Rev Andrew Hutchison  
Bishop of Montreal  
This will be the final service in this  
building, as we will then be merging  
with St. Guthbert's Church  
The liturgy will conclude with  
the deconsecration of the building,  
which will then be handed over for  
secular use as a library*

Attending this "Service of Thanksgiving," were many people from other parishes who well understood the factors which had contributed to the final decision to close the church. Many, especially in the downtown areas, are faced with a similar possibility. This service reflected some of the significant responses and problems faced by the Anglican Church in Montreal. It was a metaphor for the fears, traditions, family roots and heroic determination seen in many other parishes in the diocese. It also reflected an isolation from its milieu.

A former rector of the parish and now a bishop, gave the address, in which he reminisced about his own 'happy' tenure of four years in the early sixties, but he failed to mention the many social and political changes in Quebec since then. Next to me was a woman of about 75 years who had been a member for over 60 years, and whose loyalty brought her each Sunday, via public transportation, past three other Anglican churches, a distance of over 8 kilometers. She talked about the 'old days', expressing concern that their new church did not seem to be very welcoming. It will be almost as long a journey for her, but she allowed that she would "try it until September". Of the more than 400 people attending, about 75% were women, and the average age was over 60 years. Despite its location in the middle of an ethnic minority neighbourhood in downtown Montreal, the church did not seem to have attracted any of the visible minorities, all noticeably absent from the service. Furthermore, despite the high proportion of women in the congregation, it was men who were wardens, men who acted as sidesmen, and men who took up the collection. Finally, the traditional processional hymn was followed by the traditional communion service from the Book of Common Prayer. The beautifully carved woodwork of the interior, and the glowing colours of elaborate stained glass windows will now grace the premises of a municipal library.

In common with churches across North America the church

in Montreal has struggled in the face of declining attendance. Even amongst those who declare themselves to be Anglican, fewer attend regularly. Regardless of one's definition of 'secularization', there is an undeniable trend away from regular attendance at Sunday services everywhere in Canada. However, in Montreal the Anglican Church has experienced a more complex series of changes than simply 'secularization'. Its situation as a church dominated by the English-speaking minority within an increasingly nationalistic francophone province has been a factor critical to many of the struggles and activities of parishioners. The central hypothesis of this research has been that the socio-political context of Quebec, especially since 1971, has had a profound impact upon many aspects of the church in Montreal diocese. As the out-migration of anglophones accelerated in the mid-seventies, church members whose family histories were rooted in Quebec experienced a double threat, from declining church attendance and from the out-migration from the province. Their social groups and communities of meaning were shrinking.

As Taylor has argued, someone's identity usually relates to "not only his stand on moral and spiritual matters but also some reference to the defining community" (1990,p.36). Montreal Anglicans have experienced both quantitative loss in their numbers, and a threat to their qualitative life as former understandings and practices have been radically

altered. At the level of the individual church member, the formerly taken-for-granted world of such daily contacts as English forms, signs, and telephone enquiries has been challenged. When Taylor defined practices as "more or less any stable configuration of shared activity, whose shape is defined by a certain pattern of do's and don'ts" (1990,p.204), he was referring to the ways in which our inner beings, our concepts of self, are developed through "being embedded in practices". As I discussed in Chapter 2, George Mead's theory of symbolic interaction focused on the importance of intra-group relations in defining the role of groups and in the development and maintenance of self. In attempting to understand the ways in which the 'self' and individual identities are related to social practice my research focused on differing interpretations of community and expressions of faith in five churches. As Giddens and Schutz proposed, there is a mutual dependency of structures and agency through which social practices are finally mediated, and through which the outcome is finally determined. While society and the institution provide important structural determinants of action, the social group also forms crucial relationships which modify their impact. The question of the development of an identity, personal and collective, is inextricably tied to social relations and the development of social practice.

As I discussed in the first chapter, Durkheim and Weber

adopted different perspectives in their analyses of the role of religion in society. Durkheim emphasized the importance of the collective society, in which religion was the 'glue' holding society together. By arguing that the church in Quebec has served as a source of personal identity and a means of cultural affirmation, especially in the face of political and social change, I have accepted Durkheim's more functional perspective. However, an important aspect of my research was the illumination of different responses to socio-political change according to differing communities of meaning. Weber's analysis focused on the individual meanings of religion, arguing that religion could be radical and innovative, an initiator of change rooted in the individual. He recognized that social groups are intimately related to their locales, and that their religious commitment may have different political meanings. Insofar as I have shown that individual meanings of church membership have distinctive patterns of relationships which are rooted in different historical experience and shared memories, I have adopted a Weberian viewpoint.

That the past is crucial to how people perceive and respond to the present was discussed in the early chapters of my thesis. In the transformation of Quebec society anglophones have experienced a discontinuity which has had a fundamental impact upon their concept of self, and, I have argued, upon

definable responses in terms of their church commitment. We know that 'tradition' and the past can have opposite effects, in the possibility of both "meaning, freedom, identity or beauty", and "an excuse for inaction" (Kern, 1983, p. 45). Mannheim discussed two religious responses in his ideological and utopian religions. In the responses of Quebec Anglicans the dominant response seems to have been defensive and protective, typified by the resistance to changes in the liturgy and the reluctance to contribute to mission and causes for social justice. One of the most characteristic features of the response of individual church members in Montreal has been the lack of any innovative or utopian initiative. This has acted upon the diocesan level as a significant inhibitor to institutional changes introduced by the church leadership. In Montreal there has been a dominance of what Mannheim called ideological religion, that has been relied upon to legitimate the existing social order, defend the dominant values, and create a sense of security and stability. There are areas in which innovation and energy seem to be providing hopeful signs of potential, particularly at the diocesan level through youth activities organized by "Crosstalks Ministries". However, the longterm impact of such initiatives is still unknown.

It is at the parish level that we look for positive signs of change and growth. Ultimately religious faith rooted in the individual, and the reality of 'community' is a key element in

commitment to faith and the believing community. The extent to which people attribute importance to the concept of 'community', and the ways in which this is manifested in their behaviours, seem to reflect both experienced meanings and perceived threat from the society around them. In some churches the importance of community seems to have evolved through a 'longue duree' in the context of which families share memories of past histories. Community is rooted in traditions, symbols and artifacts which contribute to the meaning and significance of shared relationships, and protecting these has become an integral part of identity maintenance. In suburban areas of young families and high mobility rates, church community is defined by a participatory shared experience which is of 'today', and traditions and shared stories of the past play only a relatively minor role.

While both definitions of community incorporate the ideas of identity and belonging, in the first the church is important as a symbol of continuity and stability; while in the second, the church is a 'place' more focused on the present. That there are these two fundamental meanings of community, is related to different histories in space and time. Another concept which I explored in the changing balance of majority-minority relationships being experienced by anglophones was that of power and status.

Power contributes to collective and personal identity formation in different ways. For anglophones, in addition to the tensions rooted in the change from majority to minority status, there is another level of power relationships which directly affect the individual and which become more important as loss at the higher level is perceived to be significant. The relationships between young and old, male and female, were seen to constitute important interactions which both described and defined roles within the churches. The relative importance of these interactions is dependent to a large degree upon the meanings attached to community.

Those parishes which have incorporated a broad range of ages and stages of family formation seem to have fewer difficulties adapting to more egalitarian gender relations than parishes which are characterized by high average age and few young families. It seems possible that the higher proportion of young members, with values associated with greater acceptance of female leadership, constitutes a significant element supporting change. Where young members represent a small fraction of the active parishioners, there seems to be less inclination to accept change. However, the causal factor may not be 'age' as much as it is the community relationships and sense of cultural security dominant in the congregation. For those social groups, such as at St. Matthias and Grace Church, which have experienced significant loss of



social power and the possibility of control over choices in their lives, there may be greater propensity for defending the status quo at the level of individual activity in the church. Therefore, in these churches the continuation of disparate degrees of power and status between the young and the 'senior' members, and between male and female, may be in the interests of the long term decision-makers in the church. When a senior parishioner defended her position that 'surplus' funds should be kept in the parish because she knew of a parish that had been "overly generous and now has to close", she was representing both the concerns of older members that the past be preserved, and the feeling that 'younger' members do not have the same understandings, and should not have the same power to decide. 'Seniority' confers symbolic and real power in all churches, not only because of proportional representation, but also because of accepted norms and 'practices' which define the 'rules'.

The analysis of Synod Proceedings, including the Bishop's 'charge' and the motions presented at Synod, and the review of the Montreal Churchman through the period of the study have shown a church which, through the sixties, gradually awoke to the changes of the Quiet Revolution. However, there is no evidence until 1970 that the Anglican Church in Montreal expected to be a participant in society, or that it understood the import of the changing balance of power. All of the

documentation until the election of the Parti Quebecois in 1976 shows a church which is essentially unresponsive to the society within which it is located. It took the challenge of a separatist government, the passage of restrictive educational bills, and the actuality of out-migration of anglophones to force the church into a pro-active position. Even so, despite claims for a French ministry, and for increasing numbers of bilingual priests, the concrete actions of the church were cautious. The reasons for this are open to interpretation. Some people have pointed to the leadership, noting that the Bishop continued, throughout his sixteen year tenure, to 'import' clergy from Britain; that despite his announced intent, his actions spoke of continuing links with the English church. Others have said that the Bishop was intentionally, and wisely perhaps, cautious about bilingualism because so many parishes were extremely apprehensive about French in their churches, and that he was responding to the disquiet at the parish level. As mentioned in Chapter 5, as late as 1988 the annual Synod meeting refused to request bilingual signs outside churches in the diocese. There has been an ongoing dialogue between the leadership and the individual members, many of whom regard the church as the only institution in Quebec in which they still retain full control.

In all the churches, interviews suggested that parishioners expressed support for many of the changes in

Quebec, while at the same time refusing to accept French initiatives in their own churches. Their reluctance was expressed as, "there isn't any need for a French ministry", or, "Francophones are not interested in Anglicanism". There has been little concrete action, with the exception of initiatives at the Cathedral, which can support the argument that the Anglican church is actively involved in integrating into Quebec society.

Resistance to change was also apparent in the results of the surveys on the use of the new prayer book. There has been greater reluctance and even hostility in Montreal to the idea of adopting changes proposed by the national church here than in other parts of Canada, with the exception of the Atlantic provinces. I have argued that several factors may explain this resistance, including 'Eastern conservatism', the cautious leadership of the church, and the need for stability in the face of changes in society. But I have suggested that the first is unlikely to be a dominant factor in Montreal where the metropolitan population has had continuous exposure to the many changing elements of urban life. The leadership of the church, on the other hand, seems to have had an influence in two ways: one is that the bishop, while asking parishes to 'try' the BAS, deliberately took a cautious position. Some felt that he seemed to be somewhat equivocal in his support of it, a message which would have been picked up by the clergy

throughout the diocese. However, there were priests who were enthusiastic about the new book, and, in some parishes where members were resistant to change, their role seems to have been crucial to its introduction.

Perhaps more important in Montreal has been a second group of factors which includes the characteristics of the social group and the community which define the congregation of the parish church. The results of my survey suggest the key importance of the degree of threat which is perceived by parishioners, and the importance of historical memory and shared family traditions which can dominate relationships in the church. As David Martin pointed out, "the sacred rite links the local congregation with the wider scope of the church", but there are also local "quirks and quiddities". "People cling to the signs of their identity and their history" (1980,p.85).

Kneelers, lovingly designed and created by members of the congregation; family plaques and memorial windows; regimental and Union Jack flags hanging in the chancel; and even a donated computer system for the office; were all symbols of commitment and belonging, sources of pride in family roots and cultural heritage. The combination of perceived threat and long family tradition seems to have been a particularly potent force inhibiting change. Where this combination is strongest

in Montreal, especially in the centre of the city and in the Eastern townships, the possibility of change seems to have been significantly linked to leadership. Whereas the community-of-meaning and social group is an important predictor of acceptance of change, the relationship which the clergy leadership is able to develop with the congregation can be the key to new forms of worship.

All the churches represented more than a place to worship on Sunday. The churches are a repository of community belonging, a community which is not only religious and cultural, but that also incorporates family traditions and personal, private meanings. In the discussion at Resurrection about the location for baptisms which are now being conducted as part of the Sunday services rather than as separate, private services, there was consideration of the meanings attached to community-sharing and responsibility which revealed new understandings of the baptism ritual. These understandings were not apparent at St. Matthias, for example, where the congregation is not perceived to have a role in the event. At Resurrection there is a strong link between the community and the church, and involvement in the church represents a celebration of the wider community. The church as 'place' is viewed as a dynamic extension of the community, in contrast to St. Matthias where the church represents a 'place' of historical roots, and to St. Paul's where the sense of place

I focuses on spiritual meaning. The ways in which people relate to their churches reflect their life's experiences, the social group to which they belong, and the particular contexts of locale. As David Lowenthal has pointed out, memory is crucial to our sense of identity, and in those churches having strong family traditions there has been a tendency to conservatism more pronounced than in churches characterized by a mobile population. Stories and myths associated with the 'old families' have become part of the baggage and the heritage of the church. In one church the relocation of wall-plaques from the front to the back of the church was tantamount to a 'fall from Grace' of the family who had donated the plaques and some church members expressed their dismay in a letter to the rector.

The spatial patterns delineating the church-residence relationships provide another interesting perspective on differing meaning systems. While propinquity seems to have been a dominant factor in the community-building at Resurrection, there was also evidence at that church that some parishioners had purposefully chosen their church because of liturgy and style. At Resurrection evidence suggested that some parishioners have made a conscious choice in their style of worship in the sense that Bibby referred to 'fragmentary' options, but, significantly the community continued to reflect a homogeneous lifestyle. Community, although it was spatially

concentrated, was also expressed as a form of social cohesion coming out of shared meanings associated with a homogeneous middle class background. In sharp contrast, the spatial pattern of Grace Church members is one of high dispersion because of the high rate of out-migration from Point St.Charles. Despite the lack of spatial concentration, the attachments and long family histories of parishioners have caused members to retain their affiliation with Grace Church. The affinity for the social group, held together by shared memories, has been a potent force there, enabling the church to survive. In the case of La Nativite, the extreme dispersion is related to the dispersion of a small ethnic community. As the community grows, and with the addition of two new congregations in the past year, this spatial pattern will inevitably change. The ambiguity of the meaning of 'community' is exemplified in the differing spatial patterns and degrees of social cohesion which I have described for each of the churches.

Despite the argument that people are increasingly relating to a global rather than a local community (Russo), there is strong evidence in these churches that people value the intimate ties of local churches and are emotionally committed to their local parishes. One of the most common manifestations of this local loyalty was seen in the activities of the women's groups, which concentrate almost

exclusively on events and causes in their own parish. The 'community of meaning' for these women is predominantly their own church, not the wider church in Canada or the world. One woman, in relating her experience of a diocesan meeting, complained that it had no relevance for her in terms of her parish. "They were interested only in Toronto", she said; "They don't seem to care about the local churches". As Giddens said, a sense of place "provides a psychological tie between the biography of the individual and the locales" which are the settings of existential experience. (1989, p.367) This was most strongly evident at Grace Church amongst the women who organized the twice a month bazaars and the dinners, and whose small group continued to come together despite long journeys.

Examination of the particular roles and relationships of women in the churches was not part of the original research design. However the significance of their experiences soon became apparent. The dominance of patriarchal values is an acknowledged characteristic of internal relationships in the church. However, I was startled to encounter strong emotional and articulate resistance to many aspects of changing female roles. The opposition to female clergy at St. Matthias, and the public response of a choir member to prayers for Bishop Harries were two of the more obvious examples which I cited. But throughout my research there are less dramatic but no less significant examples of the ways in which women are excluded



from full participation in the life of the church. The exclusion of women from positions on the Corporation, and as representatives to Synod is still more the rule than the exception in Montreal churches. Despite some evidence of change in the language of the liturgy and the words of hymns, and a letter from the new bishop requesting that parishes consider gender-neutral language, no parish of which I am aware has begun any study of this issue. Change is slow. On the other hand, through the presentation of awards by the church leadership, the contribution of women is being acknowledged. Both nationally and at the diocesan level, in 1990 women received most of the awards for outstanding contributions to the church.

It is in the area of coping strategies that my research illuminated interesting and strong common threads in the churches. All women's groups exhibited a profound sense of identity which seemed to be related to their shared commitment to self-defined goals. Their activities, events, and aims are not defined by the Corporation or by the rector, but are usually linked to traditional roles such as baking and crafts, and to fundraising. The women spend large amounts of time in their churches, and their accumulated knowledge and experience gives them both status and power which is usually informal, and is invariably unacknowledged. They tend to guard their independence from the dictates of the Corporation, and to

insist upon maintaining a separate budget which is not factored into the annual budget of the parish. In my discussion of St.Paul's I noted the conflict between the new rector and the ACW when he attempted to redefine their activities. The nature of activities, the timing of events, and the disbursement of funds raised at bazaars and rummage sales, are decided by the women. Interference by wardens or even by the rector can be 'hazardous to the health' of the church. It is tempting to compare this institutional 'praxis' with that of society and the family in which women are the decision-makers and arbiters of social relationships.

Another important aspect of the way in which women function in the church was revealed in many conversations and relates to their willingness to welcome new members and give up positions of authority to younger women. Young members reported feeling intimidated and unwelcome in the long-established domain of the ACW. Often feeling the weight of a double 'handicap' in being new to both church and community, they bring energy, enthusiasm and new ideas, underpinned by different values, all of which may appear to conflict with those of older members. As I reported, at St.Paul's one longstanding ACW member wondered, "why she (new member) thought we are so awful". As a result, the women's groups in all the churches are experiencing problems of declining membership. It is only in the past two years that they have

begun to examine how to redefine their roles, but without addressing the problem of relationships with new and younger members. Their solutions have been tentative at best. In one church (St. Matthias) the women's group has been disbanded altogether in favour of a 'fellowship group' for both men and women.

Despite their powerful presence, the women's groups are often overlooked in general discussions about "new directions" for the local church, or policy considerations. As I described in the consultations on stewardship at St. Matthias, the contribution of women was virtually ignored in the formulation of a questionnaire. Similarly, at Grace Church where all of the fundraising is under the leadership and initiative of women, rarely has a woman sat at the 'head table' at parish suppers, or been included in the names of church officers in their parish history. The situation is more egalitarian at both St. Paul's and Resurrection where 'community' has a stronger family dimension, and there is greater emphasis on activities which span more ages.

Despite the failure of the church to correct its gender imbalance, it has continued to be a place of significance for women who need to express their talents and leadership in the context of shared community relationships. That there are serious problems facing every women's group with which I had

contact is indicative not only of an increase in the number of working women, but also, I believe, of an institution which has failed to come to terms with the necessity to change its relationship with women. After a difficult debate at Synod in 1988 there was only grudging acceptance of the need to specifically address women's needs by the creation of a new staff position. Even today that position remains only a part-time appointment.

The relationship of community context to the church was another theme explored in my research. At Resurrection the homogeneous middle class neighbourhood has provided a stable milieu as a focus of community sharing, while Grace Church reflects the sense of threat and dislocation of a community dominated by out-migration. The most complex parish was St. Paul's because of the variety of social groups and the profound changes which have occurred in Knowlton over the past ten years. One area of change has been the increasing number of francophone residents. Although none of my interviews indicated any sense of threat to their church on account of the changing linguistic balance, one member did express the feeling that "There's a lot of French. It's quite alarming." Of much greater concern to long-term residents has been the influx of young professionals who spend weekends in Knowlton but who do not seem to have any long range commitment to the town. Even as the community itself has changed, affecting the

meaning of the 'place', so too have the meanings which church members attach to St.Paul's. It has become less a repository for family roots and a symbol of English heritage in the area, and more a youthful centre of shared worship. It is less a 'private' space, and more a public sharing of spiritual commitment. As the symbolic qualities of Knowlton have changed, so too have the symbolic meanings attached to St.Paul's. People within the church who seem to have served as important links in the process of change are those who came to Knowlton twenty or thirty years ago. Many still do not consider themselves 'of' the community, but they have adopted the old myths and meanings which defined Knowlton when they arrived. It is these people who, despite their rejection of many of the changes in the liturgy and their dislike of the informality of the new service and hymns (the 'ditties', as one parishioner called them) continue regular attendance at church. For them the response has been to attend the traditional service at 8:00, thereby creating 'two congregations'. The profound changes in St.Paul's, initiated by the new priest who arrived in 1982, were most enthusiastically adopted by 'new' Knowlton residents and younger church members. Although there are exceptions, for the most part it has been those who have arrived in the past fifteen years who have led the changes towards 'house churches' and the modern liturgy. They have not adopted the old stories and myths of Knowlton as their own; they have

defined new meanings and symbols for their church and their community.

The area in which I was able to show the most direct impact on the church of social and political tensions was in financial support. Throughout the diocese, there was a significant increase in contributions measured on a per capita basis, after the election of the Parti Quebecois in 1976. Despite national surveys which have shown a consistent pattern of low Quebec contributions for altruistic causes, the Anglican Church in Montreal has shown consistently higher donations than anywhere else in Canada after 1976. While the 'threat' was strongest in the years leading up to the referendum in 1980 the contributions continued to grow. After a brief levelling-off in 1981-82 (also a time of recession) the contributions per capita continued to grow until the peak in 1987.

Another important response by the church seems to have been in the withdrawal of support for missions or outreach beyond diocesan boundaries. After 1976, churches gave less than they had previously, and they gave less than churches in other parts of the country. There seems to have been a strong tendency to protect themselves by directing increased proportions of their dollar support to themselves, thereby assuring the continuity of their symbols of family heritage

and community roots. In their resistance to change within the church, the strong financial support for their own parishes, and their withdrawal of financial support of outside missions, the parishes in Montreal have been responding to the threat to their cultural identity; they are protecting an institution which symbolized the historical sense of belonging and family roots. Their churches are significant 'places', not only of worship but also of shared experiences giving meaning to their lives. The loss of their churches would symbolize the end of their existence in Quebec, and the loss of any real community of meaning.

The evidence contained in the membership and attendance data were more difficult to interpret because of the need to compare them to a base population, which is not available. However, the attempt to explore this relationship using the decennial census data suggested that, as a percentage of the total possible, there are approximately the same numbers of people on membership rolls in Quebec as in the rest of Canada. Where there did appear to be a difference was in the relationship between those who attend regularly and those who I have called a 'fringe group' who attend only at the time of festivals, especially Easter. Everywhere in Canada there has been a diminution of the numbers of people who allow their names to stay on church rolls but who do not attend church; and in every other region there is a closer correspondance

between average attendance and the numbers of Easter communicants than in Quebec. This probably indicates that formal affiliation with the church today is a more conscious decision, less affected by the expectations of society. But as the ratio of attendance to Easter communicants has declined, there are fewer people in the 'fringe' group as potential regular attenders. In Montreal these ratios tend to be higher than for other parts of Canada, indicating that there may be a tendency to retain membership even though attendance is minimal, in recognition of the church as a cultural institution, reflecting anglophone values. Lending support to this suggestion are the higher ratios at St. Matthias and Grace Church where the perceived threat is great and family traditions are strong.

The documentary analysis also showed significant evidence of a diocesan church responding to its social and political environment in the Bishop's address and the motions presented at Synod, and in the monthly newspaper. The most ambiguous data were those obtained through interviews. While most of the people expressed openness towards Quebecois culture, their comments seemed to belie the results of the vote at Synod when bilingual signs were rejected. Church members do not seem to be conscious of protective attitudes, despite the frequency with which their committees became engaged in discussions about the future of their churches.



They do not make any connection between their resistance to change and their socio-political environment; and virtually everyone was surprised to learn that their per capita donations are the highest in Canada. Noone had considered that their lack of engagement in the world church was unusual or in any way reflected a predominant concern for their own interests at home. What did emerge from the interviews were understandings of the importance of a community church and a commitment to ensure its survival. The communal church continues to be central to the self-definition of its members. The spatial and behavioural dimensions of participation are directly related to the meanings which individuals in relationship with their social groups attach to their church.

Religion is not neutral. It is implicated in social practice, and has profound political meanings. In Quebec the social and political changes since 1961 have impacted upon the Anglican church in ways which are apparent at both the diocesan and individual levels. The relationship between the two is reflexive, in a constant process of change. 'Community' has provided a significant affirmation for many parishioners which is rooted in the symbols of 'place' and the landscape of tradition. In a reflexive process, the roles of society, institution, and social group mediate the ways in which people behave and the choices they make. The importance of historical memory and shared stories provide significant underpinnings to

the negotiation of how a person will respond to the wider socio-political and institutional environments. My research has sought to illuminate some of the complex relationships between religion and society, and community and the individual.

The socio-political milieu in Quebec, especially since 1971, has had a profound impact upon the Anglican church in Quebec; and the responses have varied in relation to different meaning systems, deriving from different life experiences and social groups.

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2. Vestry Books : records in individual parishes
3. Surveys : 1. unpublished national survey on the use of the Book of Alternative Services, conducted in 1988; 2. author's survey of parishes in Montreal Diocese, letter and questionnaire sent to Regional Deans in March 1989.
4. Montreal Churchman, monthly Anglican newspaper, published with some breaks in continuity from 1963 to present.
5. Special accounts compiled by the national treasurer on request of the author, relating to mission and outreach.
6. Parish bulletins, newsletters, and minutes of meetings
7. Unpublished parish history, Down Through the Years, Grace Church.
8. Unpublished report prepared for university course, by Father Yves Joseph about his parish, La Nativite.



Appendix A

DEFINITIONS OF SOME ANGLICAN TERMS

B.C.P. - Book of Common Prayer; the 'traditional' prayer book used in the Canadian Anglican, American Episcopal, and the Church of England until the introduction of the new 'alternative' prayer book.

B.A.S. - Book of Alternative Services; the new and 'provisional' prayer book, introduced by the National Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada in 1983, and published for distribution in 1985. It was introduced as a 'trial' for ten years, after which time a decision would be made as to the precise form a new prayer book should take.

A.I.M. - Anglicans in Mission; This was an initiative of the national church in 1983, through which it was hoped enough money could be raised to ensure a long term fund for the support of 'assisted' parishes and remote 'missions' in the Canadian Arctic. It was originally intended to be a three-year campaign in which parishes were asked to commit (pledge) an additional amount of money for use beyond parish and diocesan borders. The suggested target was one third of present parish income. If parishes had not met their commitment in the three-year period they were encouraged to continue until it had been realized.

Administrative Structure:

Canada is divided into four ecclesiastical 'provinces' (Canada, Ontario, Rupert's Land, British Columbia) each of which has an Archbishop. They in turn are subdivided into dioceses, of which there are thirty in the country, led by a bishop. Montreal Diocese was led by Bishop Ronald Hollis from 1975 until November 1990, when Bishop Andrew Hutchison was elected by the joint 'houses' of clergy and lay representatives. Montreal Diocese is one of six in the 'Province of Canada'. The Anglican Church of Canada is headed by a primate, Archbishop Michael Peers. There is no formal connection to either the Church of England or the American Episcopal Church.

Synod - This is a meeting of bishops, priests and laity which happens annually at the diocesan level; every three years at the Province and national levels. The purpose of these meetings is to discuss and make policies to guide the church in Canada. Some of the controversial issues in recent years have been the ordination of women; admittance of young children to communion before confirmation; the new prayer book; acceptance of an ecumenical lectionary (the calendar of biblical readings); and involvement in social issues such as the refugee question.

Cursillo - This is a lay movement, not restricted to the Anglican church. It is a Spanish word meaning "short course", and is a two or three day live-in course about Christianity. About 800 Montreal Anglicans have attended. It has been a source of division in some churches because of its evangelistic tendencies.

The Peace - Following reconciliation in the service, this is a greeting exchanged by all members of the congregation. It has been introduced into the Anglican church only with the new prayer book, and it has been the source of a great deal of tension in some congregations. David Martin's Breaking of the Image discusses the implications of these new elements in the church in both cultural and theological terms.

Cell groups/Home church - Introduced in recent years in a few Anglican churches in the diocese, they have been part of the Catholic practice for much longer. People meet in small groups of 10-12 once a week for spiritual, personal and social sharing of their faith. They have been successfully integrated into one of my study parishes, St. Paul's in Knowlton.

Charismatic Renewal - A movement more prominent in the Catholic church, it has also touched the Anglican church. It is viewed with suspicion and even hostility by many Anglicans because it incorporates 'speaking in tongues' as one of the 'gifts of the spirit'; healing; and lively services with non-traditional music.

Corporation - This is the group of three people, clergy and two wardens, who have the legal responsibility for the parish. Their decisions are legally binding, and they are answerable to the congregation and to the bishop. The People's warden is elected at the annual vestry meeting by a quorum of all 'active' members of the congregation. The Rector's warden, usually considered to be the senior position, is appointed by the rector. There are no fixed terms of office.

Treasurer - This person is appointed by the Corporation at the Annual Vestry meeting, held in January each year.

Envelope Secretary - This person is responsible for recording financial commitments, weekly envelope contributions, and issuing all receipts.

Advisory Board/Select Vestry/Parish Council - All these terms refer to a board of the parish which meets from 4 - 12 times a year, and usually includes representatives of each of the organizations in the church such as the ACW (Association of Women), Sunway School chirperson, etc.

SOME MEASURES OF ANGLICAN COMMITMENT

Total Membership - This figure reflects the parish roll, and its reliability varies according to the efficiency/administrative interests of the rector and/or parish secretary. It includes all individuals and families who are regular attenders; identifiable and regular financial contributors; and may include people who have been married or baptized in the church.

Parish Income - All parishes have audited statements recording the sources of annual income, which are sent to the diocese, compiled, and sent on to the national office. Approximately half of the total income is from 'envelopes'; another portion is from 'identifiable givers'; and the balance is from the womens' association, hall rentals, and interest from endowment funds. As discussed in my study, the womens' accounts frequently are not included in the financial statement, and may not be part of the audited records.

Envelope Contributions - Each year parishioners are given a box of envelopes if they request them, one for each week of the year, plus ones for Easter and Christmas. In some churches there are also 'pledge cards' which indicate to the corporation and the treasurer what the financial commitment is for the coming year. In other churches the 'pledge' is taken to be the amount in the first envelope each year. These are important indicators for budget planning.

Identifiable Givers - These include everyone who has received a receipt for contributions to the church. While they may include one-time contributors, most often they are people who habitually donate money once a year. Often these people do not attend regularly, and have long family connections with the church.

A.I.M. - As noted in the definitions, this initiative of the national church sought to ensure the long-term financial support of mission. It was a professionally-run campaign reaching into the individual parishes, extending over a 3-5 year period.

Easter Communicants - This figure, collected at the parish level and recorded in the Vestry books, is regarded as important by Anglicans because attendance at Easter is the most important expression of commitment for the church. For this reason I have used it rather than the Christmas figure. Other considerations were that attendance at Christmas is affected by weather and by the day of the week on which Christmas happens to fall.

Average Sunday Attendance - Available for most of Canada, this figure is not collected for Montreal Diocese after 1977, and therefore my data have been derived directly from Vestry books. While it is generally reliable, there were some adjustments that I made in order to ensure comparability. In the case of St. Matthias, the rector recorded only the numbers attending Eucharist services, excluding morning prayer and evensong. In this case I 'estimated' attendance by multiplying actual figures by 190%, assuming fewer people at the non-communion services. At Grace Church for several years the rector, who was active in the Masonic Order, had well-attended services which did not involve his own congregation. Therefore I excluded these figures from the data. Other minor adjustments had to be made to ensure that weddings were not included; but baptisms were since they are often part of the regular service.

## Appendix C

CONSUMER PRICE INDEX

(Source : Statistics Canada, Cat.62-001)

Based on 1981 = 100

1961	=	31.7	1975	=	58.5
1962		32.0	1976		62.9
1963		32.6	1977		67.9
1964		33.2	1978		73.9
1965		34.0	1979		80.7
1966		35.2	1980		88.9
1967		36.5	1981		100.
1968		38.0	1982		110.8
1969		39.7	1983		117.2
1970		41.0	1984		122.3
1971		42.0	1985		127.2
1972		44.2	1986		132.4
1973		47.6	1987		138.2
1974		52.8	1988		143.8

## Appendix D

THE SURVEYS

The National Parish Questionnaire on the Use of the Book of Alternative Services was an 11-page questionnaire sent out in 1987 to all parishes in the country. Of these, 1,282 were returned, representing 40.5 % of the total. From Montreal Diocese there were 36.5 % returned.

The Questionnaire for Montreal Diocese which I conducted in March 1988 received a 77 % return, and was one-page in length, as shown here.

-----  
 Parish -

Church -

Rector -

Assistant-

Questionnaire : New Initiatives in the Anglican Church

For each congregation in your parish, please record the situation as it presently exists:

A) Book of Alternative Services

Do you own enough copies for your congregation?	yes	no
Do you use the B.A.S.?	yes	no
a. only for Holy Communion?	yes	no
If yes, number of times per month		
b. all regular services?	yes	no
c. other occasions? Mention : _____		
d. Do most members attend BAS service (s)?	yes	no

B) Lectionary

Do you use the ecumenical lectionary?	yes	no
If yes, exclusively?	yes	no
If no, is it being considered?	yes	no

C) Children Admitted to Communion

Do you admit pre-confirmation children to communion as an operating principle?	yes	no
If no, are you considering doing so?	yes	no
Do you expect to do so in 1988?	yes	no