

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

**ProQuest Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600**

UMI[®]

**Training for Service: The Bible School Movement
in Western Canada, 1909-1960**

by

Bruce L. Guenther

June 2001

**Faculty of Religious Studies
McGill University, Montreal**

**A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

©2001 by Bruce L. Guenther



**National Library
of Canada**

**Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services**

**385 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

**Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada**

**Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques**

**385, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

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

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

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

0-612-75638-6

Canada

ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the origins of, and the developments among, the approximately one hundred Bible schools that existed in western Canada prior to 1960. Although these schools influenced thousands of people, they have been almost entirely ignored by scholars, thereby leaving a significant lacuna within Canadian religious historiography. This study demonstrates the vital role played by the Bible schools in the development of evangelical Protestantism in western Canada.

The numerous Bible schools in the region are divided into six clusters based on denominational or theological similarities. A representative school (or schools) is selected from each cluster to serve as the focus of an institutional biography. These biographies explore the circumstances surrounding the origin, and subsequent developments (up to 1960) within, each school. The multiple institutional biographies create a collage that is both comprehensive enough to provide an understanding of the movement as a composite whole, and sufficiently varied to illustrate the movement's dynamic diversity.

This dissertation, therefore, presents a more multi-faceted explanation of the movement than previous characterizations that have generally depicted it as a part of an American fundamentalist reaction to Protestant liberalism. Although fundamentalism was a significant influence within some, particularly the transdenominational, Bible schools, at least as important in understanding the movement in western Canada were the particular ethnic, theological and denominational concerns that were prominent within the denominational clusters. The Bible schools typically offered a Bible-centred, intensely practical, lay-oriented program of post-secondary theological training. They were an innovative and practical response to the many challenges, created by massive immigration, rugged frontier conditions, geographical isolation, economic hardship, ethnicity and cultural assimilation, facing evangelical Protestants during the first half of the twentieth century. The Bible schools represent an institutional embodiment of the ethos and emphases of their respective constituencies. They served the multiple denominational and transdenominational constituencies, which made up the larger evangelical Protestant network, as centres of influence by preparing future generations for church leadership and participation in Canadian society. The Bible school movement offers a unique window into the diversity, complexity, dynamism and flexibility that characterized the development of evangelical Protestantism in western Canada.

ABSTRAIT

Cette dissertation explore les origines ainsi que les développements communs d'approximativement une centaine d'écoles bibliques qui ont existé dans l'Ouest du Canada avant 1960. Quoique ces écoles aient influencé des milliers de personnes, elles ont été presque entièrement ignorées par les érudits, causant ainsi une lacune significative parmi

l'historiographie religieuse canadienne. Cette étude démontre le rôle vital joué par les écoles bibliques dans le développement du Protestantisme évangélique dans l'Ouest du Canada.

Les nombreuses écoles bibliques dans la région ont été divisées en six groupes selon leurs similitudes dénominationnelles ou théologiques. Une école (ou écoles) représentative de chaque groupe a été choisie pour établir plus spécifiquement une biographie d'institution. Ces biographies explorent les circonstances entourant l'origine et les développements internes subséquents (jusqu'à 1960) de chaque école. Les multiples biographies d'institutions créent un collage qui est à la fois suffisamment complet pour pourvoir à une compréhension du mouvement comme un tout composite, et suffisamment varié pour illustrer la dynamique et la diversité du mouvement.

Cette dissertation, par conséquent, présente une explication plus complexe et variée que les travaux de caractérisation antérieurs qui l'ont généralement dépeint comme une partie de la réaction fondamentaliste américaine au libéralisme protestant. Quoique le fondamentalisme avait une influence significative sur quelques écoles bibliques, et en particulier celles non dénominationnelles, ce qui a été au moins aussi important dans la compréhension du mouvement dans l'Ouest du Canada était les préoccupations ethniques, théologiques et dénominationnelles particulières qui étaient proéminentes parmi les groupes dénominationnels. Typiquement, les écoles bibliques offraient un programme d'entraînement biblique post-secondaire centré sur la Bible, intensément pratique et orienté vers les laïcs. Elles ont été une réponse innovatrice et pratique aux nombreux défis créés par l'immigration massive, des conditions aux frontières difficiles, l'isolement géographique, les duretés économiques, l'assimilation ethnique et culturelle, et auxquels les évangéliques protestants ont dû faire face durant la première moitié du vingtième siècle. Les écoles bibliques représentent un corps institutionnel de croyances et priorités et mettent l'emphasis sur leur groupe respectif des membres impliqués. Elles ont servi les multiples groupes dénominationnels et non dénominationnels, lesquels ont formé le réseau plus large des évangéliques protestants, pour être des centres d'influence en préparant les futures générations pour la direction de l'église et l'implication dans la société canadienne. Le mouvement d'écoles bibliques offre une fenêtre unique sur la diversité, la complexité, le dynamisme et la flexibilité qui ont caractérisé le développement du protestantisme évangélique dans l'Ouest du Canada.

to Lois



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The idea for writing a dissertation on the Bible school movement began floating through my mind during the early 1990s. My mental deliberations at the time included weighing both the potential advantages and pitfalls of doing a "macro" versus a "micro" study, and of exploring a subject that was a part of my personal history. The ongoing absence of work in the field, the encouragement of friends, and the recognition of how the insider contacts and sensibilities of a participant observer might assist in such an undertaking, convinced me to proceed. The impetus for such a study was given an enormous boost by the invitation to participate in a conference organized by George A. Rawlyk on evangelicalism in Canada at Queen's University in May 1995. It would be difficult to overestimate the significance of this conference, and the role of Rawlyk more generally, both for encouraging young scholars like myself to explore aspects of the evangelical Protestant experience in Canada as well as for creating a network of scholars for a young, but burgeoning subject area.

Extensive historical research projects such as this are never completed alone or in isolation. I wish to acknowledge and thank those who have helped me along the way. It is not possible for historians to do their work without the help of librarians and archivists. Without exception, the staff at numerous schools, libraries and archives were gracious and open-handed in permitting access to records and archives. For their assistance in finding sources, and for their numerous suggestions, I am grateful. Invaluable also in preserving primary sources and the memory of individual schools is the work of numerous denominational and amateur historians. Their work, often done as a thankless labour of love, too often goes unacknowledged.

Having begun this project under the supervision of Edward J. Furcha, progress was halted by his sudden and unexpected death in July 1997. The loss of both a friend and dissertation advisor was a significant disappointment. In the midst of this unfortunate circumstance, I had the good fortune of being the recipient of a gracious gesture on the part of John G. Stackhouse, Jr., who offered to assume the role of advisor in order to help me complete the project. Not only has his involvement been an indication of his ongoing and passionate interest in Canadian evangelicalism, but it has also been a very tangible expression of his interest and concern for a friend. The dissertation has benefited considerably from his detailed, insightful suggestions and his demands for clarity.

In addition, the dissertation owes its completion to the help and support of many people who have been constant in their encouragement along the way. I am grateful for the leaders of the Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary, particularly Henry Schmidt (President) and James Pankratz (Academic Dean), whose consideration and flexibility made it possible to find time within a full-time teaching schedule to complete the writing of this dissertation. Fellow graduate students at McGill University, particularly Todd Blayone and Donald Stoesz, who listened and helped me hone ideas at an early stage deserve mention. I am especially grateful for the ongoing interest and persistent encouragement (and prodding) of friends such as Bruce Hindmarsh and Bob Burkinshaw who did more through their generous offers to read and critique certain chapters of the dissertation than can be expected from a friendship. Several others too took time to read various chapters and offer their comments

and suggestions. The knowledge of people like David Priestley, David Giesbrecht, Walter Unger and Abe Dueck has enhanced both accuracy and nuance concerning Baptists and Mennonites.

Finally, words cannot express fully my deep appreciation for Lois to whom this dissertation is dedicated. As my best friend and wife, she granted her unfailing love and support in innumerable ways without which this project (and several others) would not have been completed. I must also make amends to my children, Cameron, Karyn and Kyle, who were often denied their father's time and energy so that this research project could be finished.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	iii
Dedication	v
Acknowledgements	vii
Table of Contents	ix
List of Abbreviations	xiii
List of Tables and Charts	xv

Chapter One Introduction

1.1 A Bible School Movement in Canada	1
1.2 Research Parameters	4
1.3 Nomenclature and Definitions	10
1.3.1 Bible School, Institute or College	10
1.3.2 "Non," "Inter" and "Trans" denominational	11
1.3.3 Evangelicalism	12
1.3.4 Fundamentalism	18
1.4 The Central Thesis and Themes	27
1.5 Major Sources	34

Chapter Two Literature Review

2.1 Introduction	37
2.2 General Surveys of Christianity in Canada	38
2.3 An Appraisal of More Specialized Studies in Religious History	45
2.3.1 Studies Completed During the 1940s and 1950s	46
2.3.2 Studies Completed During the 1960s	49
2.3.3 Studies Completed During the 1970s	50
2.3.4 Studies Completed During the 1980s	56
2.3.5 Studies Completed During the 1990s	65
2.4 Literature Featuring the Bible School Movement in the United States	78
2.5 History of Western Canada	90
2.6 Conclusion	95

Chapter Three Mennonite Bible Schools with a Special Focus on Mennonite Brethren Initiatives

3.1 Introduction	97
3.2 Three Characteristics Common to all Mennonite Bible Schools	100

3.3 The Mennonite Brethren in Christ	105
3.4 The Alberta-Saskatchewan Mennonite Conference	106
3.5 The Conference of Mennonites in Canada	107
3.6 The Mennonite Brethren	111
3.6.1 Mennonite Brethren Origins in Russia	111
3.6.2 Mennonite Brethren Origins in Canada	115
3.6.3 Selecting Mennonite Brethren Bible Schools	117
3.6.3.1 Herbert Bible School	121
3.6.3.2 Bethany Bible Institute	125
3.6.3.3 Winkler Bible Institute	133
3.6.3.4 Alberta Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute	142
3.6.3.5 Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute	143
3.6.4 Characteristics, Objectives and Emphases of Mennonite Brethren Bible Schools	146
3.6.5 The Role of Bible Schools within the Mennonite Brethren Denomination .	157
3.6.6 Mennonite Brethren Bible Schools, the Mennonite Brethren, and Relations with Other Evangelical Protestants	168
3.7 Conclusion	177

Chapter Four Baptist Bible Schools with a Special Focus on Christian Training Institute

4.1 Introduction	179
4.2 Variations Among Baptist Bible Schools	179
4.3 Christian Training Institute	182
4.3.1 North American Baptist Origins	184
4.3.2 North American Baptist Winter Bible Schools in Western Canada	191
4.3.3 A Permanent Campus in Edmonton, Alberta	197
4.3.4 Christian Training Institute's Curriculum and Programs	202
4.3.5 Faculty Roles and Influence	210
4.4 Christian Training Institute and its Role within the North American Baptist Conference	212
4.5 Christian Training Institute, the North American Baptists, and Relations with Other Evangelical Protestants	215
4.6 Conclusion	219

Chapter Five Pentecostal and Holiness Movement Bible Schools with a Special Focus on Western Bible College

5.1 Introduction	221
5.2 Variations Among Holiness Movement and Pentecostal Bible Schools	223
5.3 Pentecostal Origins in Canada	226
5.3.1 Apostolic Church of Pentecost Schools	229
5.3.2 Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada Bible Schools	232

5.3.2.1	Origins of Western Bible College	233
5.3.2.2	Internal Opposition to Bible Schools	238
5.3.2.3	Western Bible College's Curriculum and Programs	241
5.3.2.4	Faculty Roles and Influence	244
5.4	The Influence of Western Bible College within the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada	256
5.5	Western Bible College, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada and Relations with Other Evangelical Protestants	261
5.6	Conclusion	267

Chapter Six "Other" Denominational Bible Schools with a Special Focus on Covenant Bible Institute

6.1	Introduction	269
6.2	Covenant Bible Institute	270
6.2.1	Covenant Church Origins	272
6.2.2	Evangelical Covenant Church Origins in Canada	273
6.2.3	The Need for a Bible School	276
6.2.4	A Permanent Campus in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan	280
6.2.5	Covenant Bible Institute's Curriculum and Program	282
6.2.6	Doctrinal Controversy and Crisis	286
6.2.7	Faculty at Covenant Bible Institute	290
6.3	Covenant Bible Institute's Role within the Evangelical Covenant Church	291
6.4	Covenant Bible Institute, the Evangelical Covenant Church and Relations with Other Evangelical Protestants	293
6.5	Conclusion	294

Chapter Seven Transdenominational Bible Schools with a Special Focus on Four Select Schools

7.1	Introduction	297
7.2	Selecting Transdenominational Schools	298
7.2.1	Vancouver Bible Institute	299
7.2.2	Prairie Bible Institute	309
7.2.3	Winnipeg Bible Institute	321
7.2.4	Briercrest Bible Institute	333
7.3	Transdenominational Bible Schools and Fundamentalism	342
7.4	The Character of Fundamentalism Within Transdenominational Bible Schools .	347
7.5	Transdenominational Bible Schools and Evangelical Protestant Denominations	353
7.6	Conclusion	358

Chapter Eight Conclusion

8.1 Summative Observations and Conclusions	361
8.2 New Ways Forward	364

Appendix One

Early History of the Bible School Movement in Canada	369
--	-----

Appendix Two

Bible Schools in Western Canada (1909-1960)	373
---	-----

Select Bibliography

The Bible School Movement in Canada	379
---	-----

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AABCA	Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges Archives (Orlando, FL)
BBCA	Briercrest Bible College Archives (Caronport, SK)
BBIA	Bethany Bible Institute Archives (Hepburn, SK)
BGCA	Baptist General Conference Archives (Edmonton, AB)
BLGCA	Billy Graham Center Archives (Wheaton, IL)
CBCA	Covenant Bible College Archives (Strathmore, AB)
CLBIA	Canadian Lutheran Bible Institute Archives (Camrose, AB)
CMBSLA	Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies Historical Library and Archives (Fresno, CA)
CMBSA	Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies Archives (Winnipeg, MB)
CPCA	Central Pentecostal College Archives (Saskatoon, SK)
LTSA	Lutheran Theological Seminary Archives (Saskatoon, SK)
MAO	Mennonite Archives of Ontario (Waterloo, ON)
MHCA	Mennonite Heritage Centre Archives (Winnipeg, MB)
MHSBCA	Mennonite Historical Society of British Columbia Archives (Abbotsford, BC)
MHSSA	Mennonite Historical Society of Saskatchewan Archives (Saskatoon, SK)
NABCA	North American Baptist College Archives (Edmonton, AB)
PAOCA	Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada Archives (Mississauga, ON)
PCA	Providence College Archives (Otterburne, MB)
SA	Saskatchewan Archives (Saskatoon and Regina, SK)
WPBCA	Western Pentecostal Bible College Archives (Abbotsford, BC)



LIST OF TABLES AND CHARTS

TABLES

- 1.1 Bible Schools in Western Canada By Decade (1909-1960)
- 1.2 Location of Bible Schools in Western Canada (1909-1960)
- 3.1 Comparative Bible School Student Enrolment (1920-1960)
- 3.2 Mennonite Bible Schools in Western Canada (1909-1960)
- 3.3 Mennonite Bible School Student Enrolment (1925-1960)
- 3.4 Mennonite Brethren Membership in Canada (1920-1990)
- 3.5 Student Enrolment in Select Mennonite Brethren Schools (1925-1960)
- 4.1 North American Baptist Winter Bible Schools
- 6.1 Evangelical Covenant Church Winter Bible Schools
- 7.1 Student Enrolment in Transdenominational Bible Schools (1925-1960)

CHARTS

- 1.1 Overview of Bible Schools in Western Canada (1909-1960)
- 1.2 Taxonomy of Contemporary Usages of Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism
- 1.3 Comparative University and Bible School Enrolments in Western Canada

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.1 A Bible School Movement in Canada

Since the establishment of the first Bible school in Canada in 1885, evangelical Protestant groups have initiated approximately 240 such institutions throughout the country.¹ These schools have prepared thousands of Protestant men and women as church workers, pastors and missionaries who have gone to every corner of Canada and the world. A conservative estimate indicates that during the twentieth century approximately 200,000 women and men spent at least one academic term at one of the myriad of Bible schools and colleges in Canada.² This number does not include the many who frequently attended week-end teaching conferences sponsored by these schools, or those who were influenced by reading the literature published by these schools, or those who regularly listened to radio broadcasts aired by these schools, or those who were significantly influenced by alumni from these schools. The Bible school movement embodied many of the characteristic features of a

¹See Appendix One for a brief description of the origins of the Bible school movement in Canada.

²Complete student data for all Bible schools that have existed in Canada is now impossible to obtain. This estimate is therefore based on calculations derived from available enrolment, alumni and graduation patterns in a wide range of schools that did preserve records. Helpful as a start is a guide to evangelical higher education published by the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada in 1985 that listed seventy-six Bible institutes and colleges with a combined enrollment (full-time equivalent) of 8,300. The total number of graduates from these schools was calculated to be 60,000. This number did not, however, include alumni who had never graduated nor did it include those who attended schools no longer in existence in 1985 or not listed in the Guide (see "101 Reasons to Prepare for Life and Ministry in Canada: Annual College Guide," *Faith Alive* [November 1985]: 31-54). A subsequent article published in 1992 updated the earlier figures slightly: seventy-four schools with a combined enrolment of just over 7,000 students ("Christian Higher Education Guide," *Faith Today* [May-June 1992]: 39-54). Both articles included in their count only those schools in existence at the time. Yet another estimate can be found in "Evangelical Countdown in Canada," *Christianity Today*, 14 April 1972, 37) which claims that in 1972 approximately 5,000 students were enrolled in Canadian Bible schools and colleges. In arriving at reasonable estimates the aggregate number of alumni is generally about 48% of the cumulative total of all annual student enrolment numbers. If a school offered a three-year program and the total number of graduates can be determined, one can generally assume that it is about 40% of the aggregate number of alumni.

dynamic, flexible evangelical Protestantism,³ as well as being a significant factor in the remarkable growth experienced by evangelical Protestant groups in Canada during the twentieth century. The Bible schools were by far the most important institutions founded by evangelical Protestants in Canada during the first half of the twentieth century.⁴ George Rawlyk's observation that "there is a very important symbiotic relationship between Protestant theological education and Protestant religious culture"⁵ suggests that a study of the Bible school movement could serve as an important prism through which to observe the development of evangelicalism within the Protestant religious culture during the twentieth century in Canada.⁶ This dissertation explores the origin of, and early developments within, the Bible school movement in western Canada between 1909 and 1960.

Despite the sheer size and influence of the Bible school movement on twentieth-century Protestantism, the Canadian movement is still, as Ben Harder noted in 1980, largely

³It has become commonplace to talk about evangelical "resurgence" in both the United States and Canada. The growth of new evangelical Protestant denominations in Canada during the twentieth century has become more evident particularly since the 1960s when the historic "mainline" Protestant denominations began experiencing a rapid decline in member participation. One of the first scholars to draw attention to the changing Protestant demographics in Canada was Dennis Oliver (see "The New Canadian Religious Pluralism," Paper delivered to the Canadian Society of Church History, June 1979, Saskatoon, SK). Although his attendance figures were estimates based on his personal contact with many of the denominations, they are remarkably accurate when compared to the more precise and thorough compilation coordinated by Arnell Motz in 1988 (*Reclaiming a Nation: The Challenge of Re-evangelizing Canada by the Year 2000* [Richmond, BC: Church Leadership Library, 1990]). These statistical compilations verified that evangelicalism had become well integrated into the Canadian cultural mosaic in addition to being, by the late 1970s, the largest and most robust force within Canadian Protestantism (see also John G. Stackhouse, Jr., *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to Its Character* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993], 3-6, 199).

⁴See Robert K. Burkinshaw, "Evangelical Bible Colleges in Twentieth-Century Canada," in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 369-384. Several prominent American scholars have noted the centrality of the Bible school movement in the development of evangelical Protestantism in the United States (see Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970]: 183, 241-243; Joel Carpenter, *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1997], 16; and Virginia Brereton, *Training God's Army: The American Bible School, 1880-1940* [Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990]).

⁵George A. Rawlyk, *Is Jesus Your Personal Saviour? In Search of Canadian Evangelicalism in the 1990s* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 8.

⁶By culture I mean the collection of beliefs, values, assumptions, commitments and ideals expressed in society through a variety of popular artistic forms and embodied in its political, educational and other institutions.

unknown. It has been ignored to a great extent by Canadian historians “or else played down as the relatively minor activity of some rather small, fundamentalist sectarian groups.”⁷ Nine years later, in an historical survey of Protestant theological education, N. Keith Clifford similarly lamented that “on the basis of the currently available Canadian literature it is not possible to answer even the most elementary questions about the Canadian Protestant theological college.”⁸ As certain schools began offering a broader range of liberal arts programs during the 1980s, as accreditation permitted students to transfer courses between Bible colleges and universities thereby integrating the Bible colleges with other post-secondary institutions, and as various publications associated the Bible school/college movement with the resurgence of evangelical Protestantism during the latter part of the twentieth century in both the United States and Canada, the general awareness of the significance of the Bible school/college movement has gradually increased. Detailed and comprehensive scholarly historical analyses featuring the movement nevertheless remain an important lacuna within Canadian religious historiography.

The absence of scholarly historical material is at least partly the fault of those involved within the Bible school/college movement. Larry McKinney observes that Bible college educators “have been too preoccupied with the mission and responsibilities of their own institutions to give much attention to the description and analysis of their practices.”⁹ This is illustrated by Henry Hildebrand, founder of Briercrest Bible College, who asserted that evangelicals should be “more interested in making history than recording it! Driving with one’s eye on the rear-view mirror is not safe.”¹⁰ Such disregard was accepted by Hildebrand’s protege H.H. Budd, who explained that true evangelicals are “much busier in

⁷Ben Harder, “The Bible Institute-College Movement in Canada,” *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 22 (April 1980): 29.

⁸“The History of Protestant Theological Education in Canada,” *SCHEC Sessions d’étude* 56 (1989): 94.

⁹*Equipping for Service: A History of the Bible College Movement in North America* (Fayetteville, AR: Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges, 1997), 15. The same point was made earlier by Safara A. Witmer, *The Bible College Story: Education with Dimension* (Manhasset, NY: Channel Press, 1962), 16-19.

¹⁰*In His Loving Service: Memoirs by Henry Hildebrand* (Caronport, SK: Briercrest Bible College, 1985), 9.

making history than in writing it.”¹¹ In 1990, George Rawlyk expressed his bewilderment at the general indifference among evangelicals towards the historical analysis of their own tradition. He attributed this to the lack of scholarly skills that are necessary to scrape into the deep recesses of past events and personalities, to the prevalence of a simple, providentialist approach to history and to the priority given to conservative biblical scholarship as more valuable in defending the pristine evangelical faith than writing about mere tradition.¹² To these I would add the impact of an essentially a-historical biblical hermeneutic, which suggests that God’s revealed truth within the Bible transcends all cultural contexts making historical contextualization and the skills of critical historical analysis superfluous. This is slowly changing as the passing of key leaders and commemorative events such as major anniversaries often inspire the creation of institutional archives and the production of history books. (Although such volumes usually contain valuable factual information, they are invariably celebratory and seldom critical.) As these institutions age, there is at least a growing intuitive sense among many within the movement that historical analysis and the preservation of historical memory are integral parts of the task of facilitating the ongoing mission of an institution.

1.2 Research Parameters

While not yet a comprehensive study of the entire history of the Bible school movement in Canada, this is the first full-length study to explore in some detail a sizeable portion of the history of the movement in Canada. Practical concerns about the sheer size of such a Herculean research task—for example, the number of schools (well over 200), their widespread geographical distribution and the problem of finding information on schools closed decades ago—prompted the application of several important limitations.¹³

¹¹Letter from H.H. Budd to Robert Wright, April 1986; cited in George A. Rawlyk, *Champions of the Truth: Fundamentalism, Modernism and the Maritime Baptists* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1990), 5.

¹²Rawlyk, *Champions of the Truth*, 4.

¹³The research for this dissertation included the design of a database that facilitated the organization of material and sources for the entire Bible school movement in Canada throughout the twentieth century. This database along with detailed bibliographies will serve as a basis for additional research in the area of evangelical theological education in Canada.

The study will first of all be limited to developments within the Bible school movement prior to 1960. Such a division can be justified on statistical grounds: well over 60% of all the Bible schools ever started in Canada began during this period. More important, however, is the fact that the late 1950s marked a significant watershed in the history of the movement and also within the larger evangelical Protestant movement in Canada. Very few new Bible schools were started during the decade leading up to 1960--in fact, the number of schools that closed during the 1950s vastly outnumbered any new initiatives. A fresh explosion of interest in Bible schools did not appear again until the 1980s. During the first decades of the twentieth century, western Canada was a dynamic region as the infrastructure for a modern society was gradually being built. Times were rapidly changing for western Canadians again during the 1950s as technological advances in transportation and communication, which accompanied the post-World War Two economic boom, made the vastness of the prairies less formidable for its inhabitants. These factors, among other matters more specific to each school and its constituency, prompted denominations to consolidate their efforts in order to avoid an unnecessary duplication of services. Many smaller Bible schools thus were compelled either to close their doors or merge with other schools. About 75% of the Bible schools started in Canada prior to 1960 ceased operation before 1960.

Furthermore, after 1960 many leaders in the Bible school movement became increasingly interested in improving the academic status of their schools.¹⁴ As a result, some of the Bible schools moved closer to the post-secondary educational mainstream and gave up (or at least exchanged) their Bible school distinctives for a related, but somewhat different, set of educational priorities. Students, and especially parents, began demanding more recognition in the form of degrees and transferable credit for the time and money spent at Bible schools and colleges. Although not all Bible schools experienced an institutional "identity crisis" during the 1960s--some schools such as Prairie Bible Institute resisted the push towards accreditation as a step on the road towards worldliness--eventually all Bible schools had to decide whether to pursue accreditation and become degree-granting "colleges," or whether their mandate (or resources) dictated remaining a Bible school. This study

¹⁴This trend within the Bible schools in Canada follows a similar transition in the United States that began during the late 1940s (see William C. Ringenberg, *The Christian College: A History of Protestant Higher Education in America* [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984], 169).

therefore looks at the movement before accreditation significantly changed the complexion of the movement.¹⁵

Finally, there is an important historiographical reason for restricting the study to the period preceding 1960. While I plan to extend this study to the present eventually, to do so in this dissertation would have severely restricted the space one could allocate to examining the dynamics of the movement during its formative decades. Furthermore, while there is considerable value in longitudinal studies that span a long period of time and provide a framework for seeing the larger picture, I did not want the historical investigation of the initial stages of the Bible school movement to be unduly shaped by issues and questions that were more pertinent to later developments within the movement. An inherent tendency in longitudinal studies is to feature those aspects (or institutions) of an earlier period that survived and served as antecedents or influences on more recent developments. A fuller exploration of the initial stages of the movement will serve as a solid foundation for subsequent studies.

One important longitudinal study of evangelical Protestant institutions in Canada, including several Bible schools, is John G. Stackhouse, Jr.'s path-breaking introduction of twentieth-century evangelicalism in Canada. In this study, Stackhouse outlines the general contours of the transitions that took place within transdenominational evangelical Protestantism during the twentieth century. For example, he asserts that the decade of the 1960s was a significant time of transition for evangelical Protestants in Canada during which evangelical institutions that had previously been differentiated by "sectish" and "churchish" *mentalités* began to discover and to trust one another thereby creating a network of interlocking institutions comprised of a mutually supportive fellowship of organizations and individuals.¹⁶ The institutional vignettes offered in this dissertation generally substantiate the transitional contours outlined by Stackhouse, as well as build upon and test some of the observations concerning the character of Canadian evangelicalism during the first half of the twentieth

¹⁵The early 1960s were also an important time of transition for the larger academic community in Canada as higher education became increasingly linked to the technological and economic growth of the country (see Paul Axelrod, *Scholars and Dollars: Politics, Economics and the Universities of Ontario, 1945-1980* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982], 36-37).

¹⁶*Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 177-204; and "The Emergence of a Fellowship: Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century," *Church History* 60, No. 2 (June 1991): 248.

century.¹⁷ Although more will be said about Stackhouse's work in subsequent chapters, the first parameter to limit this study offers an opportunity to expand the pre-1960 picture of evangelicalism in Canada offered by Stackhouse by providing both a broader selection of evangelical institutions and a more detailed treatment of the period prior to some of the major transitions within Canadian evangelicalism outlined by Stackhouse and those within the Bible school movement identified above.

A second parameter to limit the scope of this study is geographical: the study will be restricted to western Canada. The vast geographical expanse of Canada created a practical problem for obtaining the necessary access to sources had the study included all Bible schools across the entire country. More significant, however, is the fact that the area is well recognized as a unique region within Canada by political, social and cultural historians.¹⁸ The region underwent a series of massive changes during the first half of the twentieth century. For example, during the first thirty years of the twentieth century, the population of the region increased five-fold from 419,512 to 2,353,529. It is within this maelstrom that the Bible school movement begins and flourishes.

Moreover, the region contained a significantly disproportionate number of the Bible schools in the country. Despite having less than 20% of the country's population, more than 70% of all Bible schools founded in Canada prior to 1960 were located in western Canada.¹⁹

¹⁷Stackhouse calls his study "an initial character sketch" of Canadian evangelicalism and challenges others to do further research that will "fill in and modify" its contours and observations (*Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 12). The subtitle of the book (*An Introduction to Its Character*) is yet another indication that there was no intention on the part of Stackhouse to offer the definitive analysis.

¹⁸See Richard Allen, ed., *A Region of the Mind: Interpreting the Western Canadian Plains* (Regina, SK: Canadian Plains Study Centre, 1973); Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1987); George Melnyk, ed., *Riel to Reform: A History of Protest in Western Canada* (Saskatoon, SK: Fifth House Publishers, 1992); A.W. Rasporich, ed., *The Making of the Modern West: Western Canada Since 1945* (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press, 1994); R. Douglas Frances and Howard Palmer, eds., *The Prairie West: Historical Readings*, 2nd ed. (Edmonton, AB: University of Edmonton Press, 1992); and especially Gerald Friesen and Royden Loewen, "The Prairies as Region: The Contemporary Meaning of an Old Idea," in *River Road: Essays on Manitoba and Prairie History* (Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press, 1996).

¹⁹The disproportionate number of schools in western Canada has been noted by observers such as Witmer, one of the first individuals to write about the Bible school movement in North America (*The Bible College Story*, 55); and Ian S. Rennie, "The Western Prairie Revival in Canada: During the Depression and World War Two," Paper presented at the Oxford Conference on Revival, Oxford, 1978.

The first Bible school in western Canada was started in 1909. Since that time, more than one hundred Bible schools were initiated in Canada's four western provinces prior to 1960. As Table 1.1 indicates, four of these schools came into being during the first two decades of the twentieth century; twenty-three were established during the 1920s; more than forty were initiated during the 1930s when the region suffered one of its worst economic depressions; the 1940s witnessed the start of another twenty-eight, but only five new schools made their debut during the 1950s. During both the 1940s and 1950s the number of closures

Table 1.1 Bible Schools in Western Canada By Decade (1909-1960)

	1909-1920		1921-1930		1931-1940		1941-1950		1951-1960		Total	
	Open	Close	Open	Close	Open	Close	Open	Close	Open	Close	Open	Close
Pentecostal	0	0	5	3	5	1	10	5	2	4	22	13
Holiness Movement	1	0	2	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	6	2
Mennonite	2	1	6	0	27	3	7	18	0	8	42	30
Baptist	0	0	6	1	3	1	3	6	1	1	13	9
Other Denominations	0	0	1	1	6	1	4	2	0	1	11	5
Transdenominational	1	0	3	0	4	0	2	0	2	3	12	3
TOTAL	4	1	23	6	46	6	28	31	5	18	106	62

outnumbered the total number of schools initiated. Shortly before his untimely death in 1995, George Rawlyk wrote: "It is my conviction that one cannot understand Canada's past or present without coming to grips with the richly textured nature of Canadian religion in general, and Canadian evangelicalism in particular."²⁰ A comprehensive understanding of evangelicalism in Canada will necessarily be built upon the studies of evangelicalism within particular regions. The influence of evangelicalism in shaping the ethos of western Canada has not always been acknowledged and has certainly yet to be the subject of full scholarly investigation.²¹ This study, therefore, explores the relationship between the remarkable

²⁰"Introduction," in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, xix.

²¹One very notable exception is Robert K. Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land: Conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, 1917-1981* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

proliferation of Bible schools in the first half of the twentieth century and the unique cultural and religious configuration of western Canada.

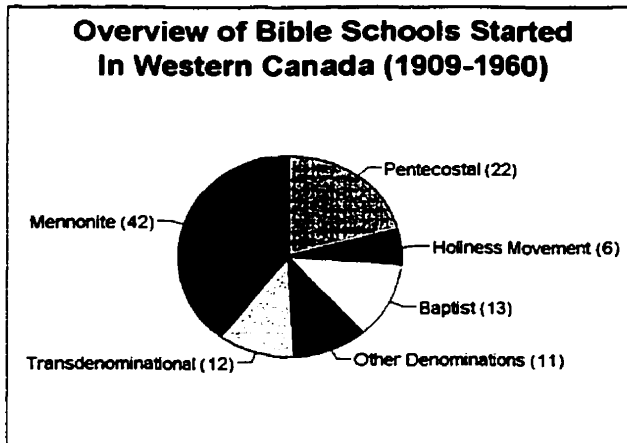


Chart 1.1

The sheer number of schools involved makes it impossible to conduct an exhaustive and detailed examination of every school started in western Canada prior to 1960. The approximately 106 schools identified made it necessary to divide the total number into six more workable categories or clusters (see Appendix Two for a list of schools), with a representative school or schools from

each cluster chosen to serve as the focus of an institutional biography (see the different clusters identified in Chart 1.1). Although this study is not comprehensive in the sense that every school will be the subject of an institutional biography and the schools selected as examples from each cluster will not be representative of all other schools within the cluster in every respect, the collage of institutional biographies is nevertheless comprehensive enough to offer a sense of the composite whole and sufficiently varied to illustrate the diversity within the movement while leaving room for more specialized studies.

The use of institutions as “windows” through which to observe the development of evangelical Protestantism in western Canada is intentional. Observers of Canadian culture have often noted the ongoing importance of institutions in the development of the nation. Moreover, the use of institutions is consistent with Stackhouse’s conclusion that “the best symbols for the evangelical mainstream were not individuals, but the *institutions* [my emphasis] that evangelicals together founded, incarnations of their concerns.”²² Concentrating on institutions that embodied the ethos and emphases of specific groups of individuals and denominations presents a more authentic picture of evangelicalism--a picture of diversity, complexity, dynamism and flexibility--than is possible by featuring only a series of

²²*Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 45. Other scholars have noted the importance of institutions in the shaping of a more “group-oriented” Canadian culture and national identity (for example, Seymour Martin Lipset, *North American Cultures: Values and Institutions in Canada and the United States* [Orono, MA: Borderlands, 1990]).

written texts or specific individuals.²³ Stackhouse's methodological precedent of utilizing institutional biographies is therefore extended in this study to enlarge our understanding of the character of evangelicalism in western Canada during the first half of the twentieth century.

Within each institutional biography, an attempt is made to contextualize the origin and subsequent developments (up to 1960) within the larger story of evangelicalism in Canada (and the United States where necessary), within the social and cultural context of western Canada and within the context of theological education in Canada. A series of questions serves as a pattern for each institutional biography: in addition to explaining why a particular school (or schools) is a good representative for the other schools within a particular cluster, the study seeks answers to questions such as, when, where and why did this school start? What motivated people to inaugurate, and to maintain, the institution? Who were the key people? What were the curriculum priorities? What precipitated major institutional developments? And what does this school's objectives, historical developments and constituency reveal about its influence within denominational life and the nature of evangelicalism on the prairies?

1.3 Nomenclature and Definitions

1.3.1 Bible School, Institute and College

It is important to distinguish at the outset between what is meant by the terms "Bible school," "Bible institute" and "Bible college." During the first few decades of the movement, Bible schools were commonly called "training schools," "Bible academies" or simply, "Bible schools." Common parlance gradually changed from "Bible school" to "Bible institute." All of these will be considered synonymous with the label "Bible school" in this study. Bible

²³The limitations of an exclusive focus on individuals as representative of evangelicalism in Canada is evident in David Elliott, "Studies of Eight Canadian Fundamentalists" (Ph.D. Diss., University of British Columbia, 1989). Note John Stackhouse's objection to the use of individuals such as William Aberhart and T.T. Shields as representative of Canadian evangelicalism (*Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 44-45). Michael Hamilton makes a related point about the study of American fundamentalism, namely, that "scholars have failed to account for fundamentalism's vitality mainly because they have studied ideas rather than institutions" ("The Fundamentalist Harvard: Wheaton College and the Continuing Vitality of American Evangelicalism, 1919-1965" [Ph.D. Diss., University of Notre Dame, 1994], 25). He notes that by concentrating on the analysis of specific texts, for example, *The Fundamentals*, scholars created the picture of a static, relatively homogenous movement.

schools, however, need to be differentiated from Bible colleges, which are accredited, confer degrees and whose curricula include significantly more liberal arts or general education courses alongside course offerings in religious studies.²⁴ Bible colleges had more rigorous entrance requirements and higher academic standards. In Canada, very few Bible colleges appeared prior to 1960, hence this study's focus on Bible schools.²⁵

1.3.2 "Non," "Inter" and "Trans"denominational

Also problematic is categorizing schools that did not have a formal denominational affiliation. No single term captures all the possible nuances and variations associated with Bible schools. For the sake of clarity within this study, the term "nondenominational" is used to refer to institutions that deliberately rejected and eroded denominational differences. The adjective "interdenominational" is applied to institutions officially sponsored by multiple denominations, or operated by individuals and churches from several denominations even if not officially endorsed by the entire denomination. The word "transdenominational" best describes most schools that were not affiliated with any denomination. These schools emphasized a common understanding of doctrine and mission without necessarily discouraging participation in denominations.²⁶ The tension between those who utilized Bible schools to promote particular denominational interests and those who used Bible schools to establish a transdenominational evangelical constituency is a recurring theme in this study.

²⁴Witmer, *The Bible College Story*, 37; and Brereton, *Training God's Army*, vii. Bible colleges need to be differentiated from church colleges. During the nineteenth and early twentieth century, church colleges were schools supported by mainline Protestant denominations. They generally embraced the liberal arts, and sometimes even the natural sciences, as an essential foundation for theological studies. They were often seen as hotbeds of theological liberalism and modernism by twentieth-century evangelical Protestants.

²⁵There are now many Bible schools that have adopted the nomenclature "college" (despite earlier assertions that this would inevitably compromise their intended objective of teaching the Bible), and some have even obtained a provincial charter to grant degrees. In my work I reserve the designation "college" for those schools that have full-member status with the Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges, or schools from which courses are fully transferable to local universities or other accredited Bible colleges.

²⁶See Stackhouse for a similar discussion of nomenclature (*Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 8-10).

1.3.3 Evangelicalism

Several additional words that are notoriously difficult to define with precision and that are used frequently throughout this study are the monikers “evangelical” and “fundamentalist,” together with “evangelicalism” and “fundamentalism,” which respectively refer to the collective whole. Historians agree that there are movements that can and should be called evangelicalism and fundamentalism, but the search for a precise definition is complicated by the fact that neither evangelicalism nor fundamentalism is a clearly defined religious organization with a membership list. As a result, variations emerge as historians attempt (1) to identify the characteristics that might constitute a “pure” typological example of each, (2) to determine which individual, denomination or institution belongs or does not belong in each category, and (3) to determine the relationship between these two movements.

The word “evangelical” has several layers of meaning each of which is tied to a different context in the history of Protestantism. The sixteenth-century Protestant reformers first used it to refer generally to their key doctrinal themes of *sola fide*, *sola gratia*, *solus Christus* and *sola Scriptura*. In some regions, particularly in reference to Lutherans in Germany, the term therefore became virtually synonymous with Protestantism. Later, after the eighteenth-century religious revivals in America and Britain, both of which were influenced by the earlier Puritans and Pietists, the label was adopted by some Protestants to distinguish themselves from other Protestants who did not share the same emphasis on spiritual vitality as evidenced by a conversion experience, participation in evangelism and a rigorous approach towards personal holiness.²⁷ During this period it was also used to refer to a particular party within the Church of England that was sympathetic with the emphases of the Methodist revival.

The third historical connotation to the term evangelical follows closely on the second, but is rooted almost exclusively in the North American context. Up until the Civil War, evangelicalism was the prevailing Protestant theology and ethos in the United States. In Canada, an evangelical hegemony led by, but not limited to, the Baptists in the Maritimes and the Methodists in Upper Canada had a deep impact on Anglophone regions prompting at

²⁷See Donald Dayton, “Karl Barth and Evangelicalism: The Varieties of a Sibling Rivalry,” *TSF Bulletin* 8, No. 5 (May-June 1985): 18-23; and A. Skevington Wood, “Evangelicalism: A Historical Perspective,” *TSF Bulletin* 60 (Summer 1971): 11-20.

least one Canadian historian to identify the period as “the evangelical century.”²⁸ Common evangelical concerns served as the foundation for cooperative evangelistic and social initiatives throughout the nineteenth century. By the end of the nineteenth century a growing split appeared within Protestantism in North America that eventually culminated in a “two-party Protestantism.” This division served as the crucible in which fundamentalism was born. The evangelical Protestants of the nineteenth and twentieth century continued to emphasize the earlier revivalistic concerns, but added a more rigorous stress on the authority of the Bible and the imminent return of Christ. In addition, they distinguished themselves from what they perceived as dangerous compromises among more accommodating Protestants. During the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century, an influx of new immigrants and the emergence of new movements (such as the Pentecostals) added still more diversity to the collection of groups identified as evangelical Protestants in North America.²⁹

In keeping with the different Protestant movements that have informed an historical understanding of the term evangelical, this study will use the general descriptive definition outlined by the British historian David Bebbington, which has been widely accepted by scholars.³⁰ According to Bebbington, evangelicals are characterized by at least four qualities

²⁸Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991). Goldwin French had previously described an “evangelical creed” that gave meaning to a whole complex of attitudes concerning the individual and the relationship of people to their society (“The Evangelical Creed in Canada,” in *The Shield of Achilles: Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age*, ed. W.L. Morton (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968), 15-35).

²⁹See Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 6-10.

³⁰See David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London, England: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 1-19. Other scholars have compiled similar lists with only minor variations: see, for example, Timothy Smith's description (“A Shared Evangelical Heritage,” *TSF Bulletin* 10 [November-December 1986], 10); George Marsden's list of five evangelical essentials (*Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1991], 4-5); Alister McGrath's discussion of evangelicalism's six controlling convictions (*Evangelicalism and the Future of Christianity* [Downer's Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1995], 55ff); Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land*; George Rawlyk, ed., *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), xiii-xiv; and John Stackhouse, “‘Who Whom?’ Evangelicalism and Canadian Society,” in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, 55-70.

These foregoing attempts to define evangelicalism have not been without their critics: see D.W. Dayton and R.K. Johnston, eds. *The Variety of American Evangelicalism* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1991); Lyman Kellstedt, “Simple Questions, Complex Answers: What do we mean by

or marks that create a kind of conceptual unity even if not always an actual unity. Bebbington is careful to note that these four characteristics are not unique to evangelicalism, but rather it is the emphasis placed on these characteristics that sets evangelicals apart from other Christians. Evangelicals are first of all *biblicist*, that is, they have a particularly high regard for the Bible. While there are differences in the way this is expressed--some insist on the word "inerrancy," others use "infallible" and still others are satisfied with "trustworthy"--they all agree that the Bible is inspired by God and that it is, therefore, the authoritative source of all truth about God. For evangelicals, the Bible is, literally, nothing less than "God's word," and is one of God's greatest gifts--to be studied, listened to and, above all, obeyed. Second, they are *crucicentric*, that is, at the centre of their theological scheme is the doctrine of the cross. They believe that atonement was made to God for the penalty of human sin by the death of Jesus Christ on the cross. While some argue that this death was substitutionary and others argue it was representative, all evangelicals agree that Jesus' death on cross, and coming alive again, was the central event of history because of the way it rescued humanity from sin. Closely linked is the third characteristic, namely, that evangelicals are *conversionists*, meaning that no person is naturally a Christian. A conversion experience is the result of personally experiencing what the Protestant reformers called "justification by grace through faith." Despite some differences of opinion on whether conversion could be gradual or sudden, and the relationship between the Holy Spirit and an individual's ability to choose, evangelicals unanimously insisted that only through a personal conversion experience does a person become a Christian. Fourth, evangelicals are known as *activists*. They believe that genuine conversion will be accompanied by actions that confirm what has taken place spiritually. This explains the time and energy evangelicals devote to personal piety, to efforts in spreading the gospel to others and to philanthropic projects of all kinds. While this definition is primarily descriptive, many evangelicals use this quadrilateral of priorities in a creedal sense also, either as a minimalist set of criteria for membership or even to distinguish between Christians and non-Christians; it is for them a permanent deposit of faith which has been (and still needs to be) preserved.

'evangelicalism.' What difference does it make?" *Evangelical Studies Bulletin* 12, No. 2 (Fall 1995): 1-4; and Lyman Kellstedt and John C. Green, "The Mismeasure of Evangelicalism," *Books and Culture* (January / February 1996): 14-15.

Pollsters in particular like creating generic definitions that include a list of characteristics like the one developed by Bebbington. Although generic typological templates are useful for such purposes, they can too easily be applied anachronistically or indiscriminately to groups not connected in any way to the historical contexts that gave meaning to the word "evangelical." To avoid using the term as merely an abstract concept, I intentionally maintain a link between Bebbington's descriptive quadrilateral of priorities and an actual, identifiable Protestant phenomenon. The word evangelical, therefore, integrates both a broad conceptual unity that can be used to designate a group of Christians with similar concerns and the organic movement described above that has "some common traditions and experiences, despite wide diversity and only meager institutional interconnections."³¹ The collective body of evangelicals is not confined to one, or even several, nations or denominations. Because of the diverse range of denominational and transdenominational clusters featured in this study, all of which fit easily within the general descriptive outline of evangelicalism offered by Bebbington even though the exact Protestant lineage varies from cluster to cluster, I have opted to use the term evangelical in a broad sense throughout the dissertation.³²

Evangelical groups have sometimes arranged the four qualities identified by Bebbington in a different order of priority, but together they have served as organizing principles that have formed a foundation for drawing an extraordinarily complex cluster of Protestant movements and traditions into a cooperative fellowship.³³ These common beliefs and

³¹George Marsden, "The Evangelical Denomination," in *Evangelicalism and Modern America*, ed. George Marsden (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984), ix. One of the more creative suggestions for addressing the complexity of the problems involved in deriving a definition of evangelicalism is Mark Chapman's idea of designing a polythetic definition (see "Identifying Evangelical Organizations: A New Look at an Old Problem," *Studies in Religion* 28, No. 3 [1999]: 307-321). Aspects of William E. Shepard's taxonomy, which categorizes variations within Islam, might also be applied to the problem of incorporating a greater range of diversity within a definition of evangelicalism ("Islam and Ideology: Towards a Typology," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19 [1987]: 307-336).

³²I have opted not to use "conservative" as a synonym for "evangelical" Protestantism. Although the movement known as evangelical Protestantism has manifested a consistent concern for preserving intact essential theological emphases (in this sense it can rightly be called conservative), it has also shown itself to be quickly responsive and pragmatically adaptable towards cultural changes, creating a dynamic, not static, movement that should not be labelled conservative (for a similar discussion see Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotusland*, 10-11, 15-17).

³³In order to describe the diversity within evangelicalism scholars have used various metaphors--umbrella, mosaic and even a kaleidoscope (see Timothy Smith, "The Evangelical Kaleidoscope and the Call to Christian Unity," *Christian Scholar's Review* 15, No. 2 [1986]: 125-140). Evangelicalism has also

priorities among evangelicals sometimes fostered a kind of ecumenism that was quite different and ultimately more successful in creating cooperative relationships among Protestants than the drive to achieve organic union which preoccupied some Protestants during the twentieth century. This has prompted historians such as Marsden and Stackhouse to use the word evangelical in yet another, narrower, sense. Within the broader evangelical Protestant world identified above, these historians detect a more specific, self-consciously “evangelical,” transdenominational community with complicated infrastructures of institutions and persons who identify with “evangelicalism.” According to Marsden, evangelicalism in this more specific sense, “is essentially a transdenominational assemblage of independent agencies and their supporters, plus some denominationally sponsored seminaries and colleges which support such parachurch institutions.”³⁴ Although many of the individuals involved in these institutions and organizations continued to participate within a denomination, they were, according to Stackhouse, committed to “the belief that the evangelical ‘basics’ are most important in Christianity and that transdenominational cooperation should be undertaken on this basis.”³⁵ This narrow approach is especially helpful when looking at one particular slice of the larger evangelical Protestant world, but not all the evangelical groups (in the broad sense) featured in this dissertation were willing to participate in such transdenominational endeavours despite sharing in common basic evangelical doctrines and concerns.³⁶ During the

been referred to as a kind of loose religious “denomination,” that is, “a dynamic movement with common heritages, common tendencies, an identity and an organic character” (Marsden, “The Evangelical Denomination,” x).

³⁴“The Evangelical Denomination,” ix-xii.

³⁵*Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 9. In wrestling with these distinctions, Stackhouse distinguishes between “mere evangelicality” (evangelicals in the broad sense) and “evangelicalists” (evangelical in the narrow sense) who were committed to the *idea* or even “*ideology* of ‘evangelicalism’” (10).

³⁶Stackhouse too recognizes that not all evangelicals (in the broad sense) supported transdenominational institutions or even the notion of transdenominationalism (10, 16). Adding transdenominationalism as yet another defining characteristic of evangelicalism (even in the broad sense), as Stackhouse recently suggested, might be appropriate for describing evangelicalism during the latter half of the twentieth century, but not in the first half (“Evangelical Theology Should Be Evangelical,” in *Evangelical Futures: A Conversation on Theological Method*, ed. John G. Stackhouse, Jr. [Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House and Regent College Publishing, 2000], 41-42). It would be difficult to apply transdenominationalism as a defining feature to the entire sweep of evangelicalism (in the broad sense) in a meaningful way. The only way this might be possible would be to include, as a qualification, a continuum of responses describing the transdenominationalism of all evangelicals. Such a continuum

time period featured in this study, evangelical Protestantism in western Canada was significantly more denominational in its orientation than transdenominational, although there were, by the 1950s, definite transitions towards transdenominationalism taking place. In order to indicate the use of this more narrow meaning of the word evangelical, the adjective transdenominational will be included.

Chart 2: Taxonomy of Contemporary Usages of Evangelicalism & Fundamentalism

	Evangelical/Evangelicalism	Fundamentalist/Fundamentalism
Typological Definition	Christians who match a particular list of essential characteristics and beliefs (see for example, the list popularized by David Bebbington).	Any strident or rigorously traditionalist (militant) religious expression.
Broad Historical Definition	Protestant groups associated with the 18 th and 19 th -century revivals in the English-speaking world. Despite considerable denominational diversity, they shared a commitment to Protestant reformation theological convictions concerning the authority of the Bible, Christ's saving work on the cross and the necessity of spiritual rebirth. During the 19 th century, these groups exercised considerable influence in North America. Disputes over theological liberalism divided many denominations. This factor, together with an influx of a rather vast and varied aggregation of other Protestant groups, created a different denominational and transdenominational evangelical configuration in the 20 th century. Throughout the centuries, a common concern for orthodox doctrine, personal spirituality and evangelism served as the basis for numerous cooperative initiatives.	An historical phenomenon that emerged out of evangelical Protestantism during the early twentieth century in North America. The distinct ethos and identity of fundamentalism was shaped by the legacy of nineteenth-century revivalism, and by dispensational premillennialism, Keswick holiness teaching and doctrinal concerns such as inerrancy. It eventually established a broad network of special-purpose organizations and institutions promoting missions, evangelism and personal holiness. Beginning in the 1940s, the movement gradually divided into two streams: the more inclusive "neo-evangelicals," who reappropriated the name "evangelical," and the more separatist fundamentalists.
Narrow Historical Definition	Evangelical Protestants who self-consciously assume an identity as evangelicals and are transdenominational in orientation.	Evangelical Protestants who are militantly anti-modernist and separatist in both style and theology.

might range from those who offered only a grudging recognition that other evangelicals existing outside their particular denominational box might in fact be Christians, which is still a long way from participation in cooperative ventures, to those who rejected denominationalism outright and made a virtue out of working independently from denominations. Using the term transdenominational to encompass such wide variations among evangelicals would effectively rob it of usefulness. It works, however, to define the word more specifically as Stackhouse has done and apply it only to evangelicalism in the narrow sense.

1.3.4 Fundamentalism

Defining the word fundamentalism is as much a quagmire of semantics as is the word evangelicalism and, therefore, important to examine in some detail. The difficulties are compounded by the widespread contemporary use of the term as a generic label for any strident or rigorously traditionalist religion. At its worst, it is used tendentiously to caricature and marginalize certain religious groups.³⁷ Because of the bitter cultural conflicts in North America in which religious groups have played a part (for example, the Scopes “monkey” trial in Dayton, Tennessee in 1925 or the more recent debates about abortion), the word has gathered considerable symbolic power to evoke negative images. Although the generic use of the term as a typological label for militant religious conservatism may indeed have value,³⁸ it also obscures the fact that the word referred first to a specific historical phenomenon that emerged out of evangelical Protestantism during the early twentieth century in North America.³⁹ It is in this latter, more historical, sense that the word fundamentalism is used throughout this study.

The two historians who have offered by far the most extensive descriptions and analyses of fundamentalism in the United States are George Marsden and Joel Carpenter. The two agree that fundamentalism must be seen as a subset of the larger world of evangelical Protestantism and are also in substantial agreement concerning a general chronology of the development of fundamentalism in the United States. During the early twentieth century, fundamentalism emerged in both the United States and Canada as a coalition of Protestants

³⁷Far from being the only person to observe this unfortunate phenomenon, the Canadian theologian Clark Pinnock notes how the term is often one of opprobrium and abuse. He states that “fundamentalists must be one of the few remaining minorities in our otherwise permissive society that one can safely ridicule without fear of rebuke” (see “Defining American Fundamentalism: A Response,” in *The Fundamentalist Phenomenon: A View From Within, A Response From Without*, ed. Norman J. Cohen [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990], 42; Richard Quebedeaux, *The Young Evangelicals: Revolution in Orthodoxy* [San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1974]; and Michael Gauvreau, “Protestantism Transformed: Personal Piety and the Evangelical Social Vision, 1815-1867,” in *The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1760-1990*, ed. George A. Rawlyk [Burlington, ON: Welch, 1990], 51).

³⁸See for example, the Fundamentalism Project sponsored by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and directed by Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby at the University of Chicago.

³⁹Joel Carpenter notes how labelling as fundamentalist (in a generic way) religious movements and traditions that have some traits in common with historical fundamentalists (for example, Seventh-Day Adventists, Jehovah’s Witnesses, Missouri Synod Lutherans, et al.) “belittles their great diversity and violates their unique identities” (*Revive Us Again*, 4).

who maintained many of the same commitments and priorities, albeit through a somewhat different (often transdenominational) institutional network, as the earlier eighteenth-century revivalists and nineteenth-century Protestants who called themselves evangelicals. Fundamentalism came together as an amalgamation in the heat of controversy. The first few decades of the twentieth century were times of serious conflict and realignment for Protestants in North America.

The movement received its name from a Baptist magazine editor, Curtis Lee Laws, in 1920 after the publication and wide-spread distribution of a twelve-volume series entitled *The Fundamentals*.⁴⁰ These booklets were intended to defend the essential “fundamentals of faith” against the incursion of liberal or modernistic theology within Protestant denominations. The word came to be associated with a network of evangelical Protestants who were willing to affirm certain “Fundamental” doctrines, and to oppose the spread of modernist theology in major denominations as well as the teaching of Darwinian evolution in public schools. These affirmations came about in the face of divisive internal denominational disputes (many of which were lost by the fundamentalists), and concern about the general demise of evangelical Protestant influence in America. Fundamentalism was, at the outset, a defensive movement characterized by both a theological and cultural conservatism.

During the first half of the twentieth century fundamentalism gradually established a network across North America of hundreds of popular agencies promoting evangelism, foreign missions, Bible knowledge, publishing, youth work, radio broadcasting, summer conferences and other activities. Such special-purpose organizations were often considered by fundamentalists to be more responsive than the more bureaucratic denominational organizational structures. As a result, fundamentalism became a religious movement with a distinct ethos and identity that was different from the various denominational heritages of its

⁴⁰Financed by Lyman Stewart, an oil millionaire, the series was published between 1910-1915 and distributed free to every pastor, missionary, theological professor, theological student, Sunday school superintendent, YMCA or YWCA secretary and religious editor in the English-speaking world. Although many historians have associated fundamentalism with a five-point creed, others have more recently observed that fundamentalism was a broader movement that cannot be narrowed to one confessional statement. The closest one can come to a theological definition is a fourteen-point statement initially produced in 1878 by the Niagara Group (see Ernest R. Sandeen, “Towards a Historical Interpretation of the Origins of Fundamentalism,” *Church History* 36 [March 1967]: 80; and Jaroslav Pelikan, “Fundamentalism and/or Orthodoxy? Toward an Understanding of the Fundamentalist Phenomenon,” in *The Fundamentalist Phenomenon*, 4).

members. According to Marsden, the infrastructure of these transdenominational organizations and the elaborate network of personal connections of fundamentalism functioned almost like a denomination.⁴¹ The trajectory of influence of this fundamentalist network and its emphases was clearly evident in western Canada particularly within the transdenominational Bible schools.

During the 1930s and 1940s, those directly associated with, or influenced by, the fundamentalist network often identified themselves interchangeably as either fundamentalists or evangelicals. But gradually the terminology changed. Tensions created by the movement's two opposing impulses--to withdraw into sheltered communities and to reach outside such communities to propagate the faith--divided fundamentalism and two distinct streams began to form. The formation of the National Association of Evangelicals in 1942 marked the beginning of "neo-evangelicalism" (or the "new evangelicalism," a term popularized by Harold Ockenga in the early 1950s).⁴² Gradually the word "evangelical" was reappropriated by this stream.⁴³ Strengthened by the popularity of Billy Graham, the new evangelicalism formed the centre of a wider coalition of more ecumenically-minded and cooperative transdenominational and denominationalist evangelicals.⁴³ This network of evangelicals gradually expanded during the latter half of the twentieth century to include other groups that did not share a direct fundamentalist ancestry but who shared similar emphases on supernaturalism, evangelism, biblical literalism and personal spirituality (for example, the Pentecostals and Mennonites among others).

The second stream was comprised of smaller, more exclusive and generally more militant groups that intentionally (and proudly) retained the label "fundamentalist" (for example, William B. Riley's World Christian Fundamentals Association and Carl McIntire's American Council of Churches). Convinced that they were alone in preserving the Christian fundamentals of faith, they made separation from less conservative denominations a test of

⁴¹Marsden, "The Evangelical Denomination," xi; and George M. Marsden, "Fundamentalism," in *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience: Studies of Traditions and Movements*, 3 vols, ed. Charles H. Lippy and Peter Williams (New York: Scribner's, 1988), 2:948.

⁴²George M. Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 3, 10. Marsden notes the reluctance with which the founders of the National Association of Evangelicals initially appropriated the term "evangelical."

⁴³*Reforming Fundamentalism*, 8-9.

faith and looked with considerable suspicion on the more openly cooperative neo-evangelicals.

Fundamentalists have fared better in history than within historiography. The first attempts to define fundamentalism came from H. Richard Niebuhr, Stewart Cole and Norman Furniss.⁴⁴ Niebuhr set the tone by mistakenly characterizing fundamentalism as a largely rural (meaning backward, anti-intellectual and obscurantist) reaction against cultural change. An important step forward came from Ernest Sandeen who took fundamentalism more seriously, but defined it too narrowly as a theological movement rooted in premillennialism and biblical inerrancy.⁴⁵ The second work, George Marsden's magisterial *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, brought the scholarly understanding of fundamentalism yet another step forward. In it he defined fundamentalism as

a tendency or development in Christian thought that gradually took on its own identity as a patchwork coalition of representatives of other movements. Although it developed a distinct life, identity and eventually a subculture of its own, it never existed wholly independently of the older movements from which it grew. Fundamentalism was a loose, diverse and changing federation of co-belligerents united by their fierce opposition to modernist attempts to bring Christianity into line with modern thought.⁴⁶

In short, according to Marsden, fundamentalism was a militantly anti-modernist expression of Protestant evangelicalism.⁴⁷ He later refined his definition somewhat by adding that fundamentalists, because of a strong Calvinist heritage, tended to gravitate towards cognitive and ideological battles in their desire to defend right doctrine and that they felt a strong "trusteeship" for American culture. They therefore tended to act more like wounded lovers

⁴⁴H. Richard Niebuhr, "Fundamentalism," in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1931), 6:526-527; Stewart Cole, *The History of Fundamentalism* (New York: Harper & Row, 1931); and Norman Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1954).

⁴⁵*The Roots of Fundamentalism; and The Origins of Fundamentalism: Toward an Historical Interpretation* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1968). See the critique of Sandeen by Leroy Moore, "Another Look at Fundamentalism: A Response to Ernest R. Sandeen," *Church History* 37 (June 1968): 195-202.

⁴⁶*Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 4.

⁴⁷Elsewhere Marsden simply describes a fundamentalist as "an evangelical who is angry about something" (*Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*, 1).

than cultural outsiders in their efforts to bring revival to America.⁴⁸ Marsden's narrow historical definition of fundamentalism is helpful for understanding the origins of the movement, for tracking a specific stream within the broader fundamentalist network between 1930 and 1950, and for identifying the groups who subsequently emerged from the broader fundamentalist network and retained the label of fundamentalist. However, historians who use this narrow historical definition face several awkward difficulties, not the least of which is what to do with individuals who identified themselves as fundamentalists, but did not manifest any significant degree of militance.⁴⁹

The most recent contributions to the historiography of fundamentalism come from Michael Hamilton and Joel Carpenter who both try to explain the post-1930 vigour and longevity of the broad network of American fundamentalism.⁵⁰ Hamilton suggests that early attempts to define fundamentalism have focussed disproportionate attention on conflicts caused by the crusading spirit manifested in events such as the aforementioned Scopes "monkey trial," or the often acrimonious battles within denominations precipitated by individuals such as T.T. Shields in Canada. He picks up a point obscured within Marsden's own endnotes to suggest that while militancy against modernism may have been the key distinguishing factor that initially drew fundamentalists together, "militancy was not necessarily the central trait of the movement known as fundamentalism between 1930-1950."⁵¹

⁴⁸"Fundamentalism," in *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience*, 2:947-962.

⁴⁹There is significant overlap between those who are included by Marsden in the narrow historical definition of evangelicalism, which is transdenominational in orientation, and those who are included in the broad historical definition of fundamentalism. Marsden admits his narrow definition of fundamentalism "does require some adjustment to account for those who still call themselves 'fundamentalists'" ("The Evangelical Denomination, xii-xiv). His suggested solution, which is seldom used, is to refer to such individuals (for example, Carl F. Henry) as "fundamentalist-evangelical" (*Reforming Fundamentalism*, 10).

⁵⁰Hamilton, "The Fundamentalist Harvard"; and Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*. Helpful also is an historiographical Appendix and Bibliographic Essay in Brereton, *Training God's Army*; 165-170, 197-208. A somewhat different critique of Marsden comes from Donald Dayton who, for more than twenty years, has repeatedly put forward more of a "Pentecostal paradigm" for interpreting evangelicalism and fundamentalism (see "The Search for the Historical Evangelicalism: George Marsden's History of Fuller Seminary as a Case Study," *Christian Scholar's Review* 23 [September 1993]: 12-33. The same issue contains responses from Marsden, Douglas Sweeney and Carpenter).

⁵¹See *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 231. Marsden finds it difficult to apply the characteristic of militance to all facets of fundamentalism during these decades. In reference to these decades, he notes that "one must put aside the distinctions of later days and realize that 'evangelical' and 'fundamentalist'

Missions, evangelism, prayer, personal holiness, or a variety of doctrinal concerns” were usually the primary features.⁵²

Hamilton further explains that the fundamentalist-modernist battles did not define the movement intellectually; that is, militant anti-modernism was not the essence of fundamentalism. Rather, the controversies shaped the movement culturally, at least at the outset, in that “the controversies of the 1920s brought together revivalism, dispensational premillennialism, Keswick holiness and belief in inerrancy into a discrete popular movement with its own ideology and organizational network based outside of the major denominations.”⁵³ Once created, this largely transdenominational fundamentalist movement took on a life and character of its own.⁵⁴

Joel Carpenter similarly argues that militant protests against modernism were but one of many fundamentalist concerns. In fact, it rapidly declined in importance in all but a few places by the 1930s. The alienation and sense of cultural peril felt by fundamentalists during the early-twentieth century precipitated conflicts during the 1920s, but did not lead to a sustained rearguard action against modernism; it resulted instead in two simultaneous and multifaceted impulses, one towards separation and the other towards a cooperative ecumenism, which created a vast network of institutions and relationships.⁵⁵

Efforts to characterize fundamentalism primarily as a reaction to change, or its institutions as nostalgic subcultures of seclusion are misguided. Instead of persisting along the lines of conflict established in the 1920s, by the 1930s and 1940s, the movement was an energetic, innovative movement that tried, in a myriad of entrepreneurial ways, to adapt

were not then separate entities. . . . From the 1920s to the 1940s, to be a fundamentalist meant only to be theologically traditional, a believer in the fundamentals of evangelical Christianity” (*Reforming Fundamentalism*, 3, 10).

⁵²Hamilton, “The Hidden Years of Fundamentalism Revealed,” *Evangelical Studies Bulletin* 14, No. 4 (Winter 1997): 2. Hamilton’s dissertation begins with an excellent taxonomy of historiographical definitions of fundamentalism (“The Fundamentalist Harvard,” 1-28). He is right in noting that it has now become impossible to assume that fundamentalism is more militant than evangelicalism without adding “a bushel basket of qualifications” (“The Hidden Years,” 5).

⁵³Hamilton, “The Fundamentalist Harvard,” 21.

⁵⁴Hamilton, “The Fundamentalist Harvard,” 24.

⁵⁵Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 12; and Hamilton, “The Fundamentalist Harvard,” 3.

evangelical Protestant supernaturalism to the modern era and “to spread its version of Christian faith in America and abroad.”⁵⁶ By using modern advances in technology to communicate a message with extensive populist appeal, fundamentalism had become, by the second third of the twentieth century, the most broadly influential American evangelical movement and had penetrated virtually all other Protestant movements. As both a product of, and an agent in, North American culture, fundamentalism was, in short, “an adaptive way of living with modernity.”⁵⁷ Its genius, Hamilton notes, has been “its ability to adapt itself to the forms of popular culture and utilize them to propagate its supernaturalist form of Christianity.”⁵⁸

Although both Hamilton and Carpenter rely heavily on Marsden’s work, which provides an excellent sense of where the antecedents and originators of fundamentalism fit within the North American social and religious landscape, both argue that a final definition of fundamentalism must take into account the movement’s longer career and more abiding concerns, namely evangelism and personal spiritual vitality. Marsden’s definition is “provisionally” applied by John Stackhouse within Canadian evangelicalism. He too sees fundamentalism as being a constituent part of evangelicalism that is characterized by a “militant opposition to modernity--especially modern ideas--and separation from all who are not wholly pure in their convictions and association.”⁵⁹

Although a comprehensive study of fundamentalism in Canada remains to be done, observations brought forward by Canadians such as Robert Burkinshaw, James W. Opp and D. Bruce Hindmarsh substantiate some of the observations made by Hamilton and Carpenter. Burkinshaw recognizes that fundamentalists are characterized more by their interests in evangelism and efforts to defend the faith than by their militant opposition to modernism and

⁵⁶Hamilton, “The Fundamentalist Harvard,” 22. Hamilton explains that historians “have regarded fundamentalists as separatists in part because fundamentalists so often employed the rhetoric of outsiderhood, in part because there is a substantial body of literature written by disaffected former fundamentalists who criticize the movement for its insularity, and in part because historians have, for their own reasons, preferred to think of them as a fringe group” (23).

⁵⁷Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 9.

⁵⁸Hamilton, “The Fundamentalist Harvard,” 24.

⁵⁹Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 11-12.

suggests that fundamentalists could also be synonymous with some of those whom he designates as "conservative Protestants."⁶⁰

James Opp argues that restricting the use of the term fundamentalist only to those who are characterized by a degree of "militance" obfuscates the nature of the fundamentalist movement in Canada. In their attempt to redefine their role within society, fundamentalists worked at establishing their own informal network of organizations and institutions. Although their methodology and argument is quite different, Opp nevertheless sees a parallel between Stackhouse's relegation of fundamentalism to the hinterland of Canadian evangelism and David Elliott's description of fundamentalism as a movement permeated by medieval heresies. He instead defines fundamentalism as "a broad popular movement encompassing a variety of groups who established a religious sub-culture outside of the mainline churches in the inter-war period."⁶¹ But just as the narrowness of Marsden's definition of fundamentalism is problematic, so too is the breadth of Opp's definition. The broad expanse of Opp's definition does not show clearly enough the links between the different groups that make up this popular religious subculture with the particular historical phenomenon described by Sandeen, Marsden and Carpenter. Despite the quibble over definition, Opp's characterization of fundamentalism as a loosely-knit coalition of informal contacts and connections has much in common with Stackhouse's description of transdenominational evangelical networks during the twentieth century.

Also helpful is Opp's observation that fundamentalist groups in western Canada were not so much reacting in a negative way to aspects of liberalism or modernism within mainline denominations as they were responding positively or pro-actively to what they perceived as an inability on the part of the mainline Protestant churches to address the challenges precipitated by cultural changes in the early part of the twentieth century. To meet these challenges fundamentalists were united by a common emphasis on a subjective religious experience and their desire to see a revival of Great Awakening proportions break out in Canada. Like Carpenter, Opp highlights the ambivalence towards culture among fundamentalists who simultaneously tried to maintain a separate and distinct sub-culture and yet sought

⁶⁰*Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, 13.

⁶¹"'Culture of the Soul': Fundamentalism and Evangelism in Canada, 1921-1940" (M.A. Thesis, University of Calgary, 1994), 10-16.

to engage society in order to revitalize it.

D. Bruce Hindmarsh's research on Winnipeg fundamentalists confirms the inadequacy of uniformly applying the labels "sectarian" and "rural" to early fundamentalists in western Canada. He observes that fundamentalists saw society in dualistic terms: they divided people into the unregenerate and the regenerate, the worldly and unworldly. Despite this religious dualism, Hindmarsh notes that they did not see themselves as "particularly alienated" within society. Although he only deals briefly with the nature of fundamentalism in western Canada his essay represents a shift away from Marsden's definition. He retains the word because this network did have links to the larger fundamentalist network in the United States and elsewhere. Moreover, restricting the definition of fundamentalism to those who manifested a militant opposition to modernity keeps scholars from identifying people such as the leaders of Prairie Bible Institute as fundamentalists despite the fact that this is precisely how they identified themselves. Instead of being distinguished for its militance, Hindmarsh shows that the fundamentalist network in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, which was comprised of overlapping individuals and institutions, was "defined less by militancy than by its focus on evangelization, world missions and personal holiness." Like Opp, he too argues that the Canadian fundamentalist mentality "is better described as one of frontier entrepreneurship than of dissent from a religious establishment."⁶²

Although I follow Hamilton and Carpenter in my preference for a broader historical definition of fundamentalism in this study, I nevertheless concur with Stackhouse's observation that even though examples of a belligerently militant and separatist fundamentalism can be found in Canada,⁶³ such strident expressions were never central to twentieth-century Canadian evangelicalism. The relatively recent settlement of western Canada meant that most of the immigrant groups in the region were not involved in the fundamentalist origins and did not share the same sense of cultural loss. As a result, they generally did not manifest the

⁶²"The Winnipeg Fundamentalist Network, 1910-1940: The Roots of Transdenominational Evangelicalism in Manitoba and Saskatchewan," in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, 304, 316.

⁶³In order to differentiate among non-militant evangelical Protestants Stackhouse prefers instead to talk about different "dispositions" or "*mentalités*" rather than use the term fundamentalist. This prompted at least one reviewer to wonder if Stackhouse's "sectish" *mentalité* might not really be another word for "fundamentalist" (Richard Vaudry, Review of *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, *Canadian Evangelical Review* 8 [Spring 1994]: 1-3).

militant, crusading spirit of fundamentalism in the United States. The list of abiding concerns identified by Marsden, and then featured more prominently by Hamilton and Carpenter, describe more accurately those in western Canada who were connected to the broader fundamentalist network in the United States and who often identified themselves as fundamentalist.

In summary, the term fundamentalism will be used in this dissertation to refer to an historical phenomenon that emerged out of evangelical Protestantism during the early twentieth century in North America. Fundamentalism emerged as a movement with a distinct ethos and identity that was shaped by nineteenth-century revivalism, dispensational premillennialism, Keswick holiness and doctrinal concerns such as inerrancy. It eventually established a broad network of special-purpose organizations and institutions promoting missions, evangelism and personal holiness. Beginning in the 1940s, the movement gradually divided into two streams: the more inclusive “neo-evangelicals,” who reappropriated the name “evangelical;” and the more separatist fundamentalists.

1.4 The Central Thesis and Themes

Like their American counterparts, the Bible schools in western Canada typically offered a Bible-centred, intensely practical, lay-oriented program of post-secondary theological training. As an educational institution, a Bible school operated in a zone between the upper years of secondary education and the undergraduate years of post-secondary education. Beyond this, it is difficult to generalize about the variations among Bible schools. Bible school programs and their strategies for the delivery of these programs varied enormously, reflecting both their flexibility and multiple objectives. Some had itinerant programs, which were usually conducted for several weeks at a time during the winter months at different churches. These were occasionally as short as two weeks, but most programs lasted between two to six months in duration. Schools differed as to when they delivered their courses during the day. Particularly those schools located in urban centres (approximately 50% of all Bible schools in western Canada) offered a combination of half-day, full-day and evening courses.

All Bible schools were generally interested in the spiritual formation of youth. This was done through a blended emphasis on teaching the Bible as truth rather than an academic subject and on practical experience in Christian living and ministry. The particular objectives

Table 1.2 Location of Bible Schools in Western Canada (1909-1961)

	Manitoba			Saskatchewan			Alberta			British Columbia		
	Urban	Town	Rural	Urban	Town	Rural	Urban	Town	Rural	Urban	Town	Rural
Pentecostal	0	1	1	6	2	3	1	1	2	2	1	1
Holiness Movement	0	0	0	2	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0
Mennonite	4	3	1	0	2	11	1	0	13	0	0	7
Baptist	0	0	1	1	0	1	4	2	1	3	0	0
Other Denominations	0	0	1	1	2	2	1	3	0	1	0	0
Transdenominational	1	0	1	1	1	4	1	0	2	1	0	0
TOTAL	5	4	5	11	7	22	10	7	18	7	1	8

Note: I am using the definition of urban that is used by the 1951 and 1961 Census, which includes all population centres of 1,000 people and over, regardless of whether they are officially incorporated as cities.

varied somewhat from school to school. Some schools were little more than winter instructional classes in basic Bible content for adolescents in a particular region--some of these regularly directed evangelistic services towards their students; some were designed for the training of church leaders, pastors, evangelists and missionaries; and others emphasized the training of lay people through increased Biblical literacy, personal piety, interest in missions, zeal for service and the development of skills that could enhance local church involvement (for example, Sunday School teaching, youth work, directing choirs and personal evangelism).

The prerequisite levels of education for entrance varied. At first, very few Bible schools required a high-school diploma for entrance, but by the 1950s both entrance requirements and educational standards began to increase. As secondary education became more readily available, most Bible schools offered either two-year certificate program or three-year post-high school diploma. Generally tuition fees were kept to a minimum--in some cases no fees were charged--with almost all schools expecting students to contribute a certain number of hours of labour each week to minimize expenses. Many of the faculty in Bible schools were local pastors. Those few who were considered resident faculty were invariably involved in various ministry projects during the summer months (for example, directing or speaking at children's camps, organizing daily vacation Bible school programs, or conducting itinerant

teaching and evangelism tours). The number of faculty at each school with at least a baccalaureate degree or a seminary degree varied from none to virtually all faculty, depending on the school (and depending on the decade).

Facilities also varied, with some schools able to obtain the necessary finances for campus development, while others shared facilities with a local church. Although most schools were identified easily enough as belonging to a particular denomination, governance structures varied considerably depending in part on the organizational structure of the denomination and the official status of the school within the denomination. Some were organized under the auspices of a local church; some were the united project of several churches in a region; others were the result of cooperation among several different denominations in a particular region; others were the project of a regional or national denominational structure; and still others, particularly the transdenominational schools, were “society” schools, that is, independent schools with self-perpetuating boards answerable to a society of interested individuals. As denominations consolidated their educational efforts during the 1940s and 1950s, governance arrangements often changed. The Bible schools had considerable populist appeal to a biblicist and activist evangelical constituency and displayed a far greater flexibility than that enjoyed by more traditional liberal arts or theological church-related colleges.⁶⁴

The argument of this study does not proceed in a linear fashion with each chapter extending the conclusion of the previous one. Rather, the architecture of this dissertation presents a diverse series of institutional biographies with each new chapter providing yet another overlay on the canvas, thereby intentionally creating a collage of dynamic and interrelated diversity. The organizational structure of the dissertation is an embodiment of the central argument. The central thesis of this study, therefore, is that the Bible school movement in western Canada was a diverse, complex, dynamic and flexible collection of schools comprised of multiple denominational, theological and ethnic clusters that nevertheless shared numerous emphases, interests and objectives that were common within the larger evangelical Protestant world.

Chapter Two confirms the general scarcity of both comprehensive information and

⁶⁴Burkinshaw, “Evangelical Bible Colleges in Twentieth-Century Canada,” 373.

analysis of the Bible school movement in Canada. The chapter tours various fields of literature in search of nuances and insights that might be employed as well as conclusions that need to be challenged. This is followed by Chapter Three, which introduces a plethora of Mennonite Bible schools started by four different Mennonite denominations before focussing more specifically on five Mennonite Brethren schools that played an influential role within the internal life of the denomination. The Mennonites were among the first to start Bible schools in western Canada and they devoted considerable energy and resources to the establishment of their schools. Chapter Four looks at the Baptist cluster of schools and highlights the story of Christian Training Institute, a school operated by the North American Baptists. Like the various Mennonite groups, the North American Baptists were part of the ethnic immigrant *mélange* in western Canada, many of whom relied on Bible schools to meet some of the educational needs of their young people and to train indigenous leaders for widely dispersed churches. Chapter Five enters still another denominational world, one that was usually isolated from other Protestants. The chapter examines Western Bible College, one of the earliest schools started by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, which was the largest and most prominent denomination to emerge from among the host of new Holiness movement and Pentecostal denominations in Canada during the early part of the twentieth century. Chapter Six features the nondescript category of “Other Denominations” from which Covenant Bible Institute has been chosen, in part, to illustrate the tensions that were sometimes created within denominational schools by transdenominational fundamentalist influences. The next chapter, Chapter Seven, looks at four--one from each province in western Canada--of the most influential transdenominational schools. Some of these transdenominational schools became major centres of fundamentalist influence. Because of the eventual size and longevity of several of these transdenominational schools, they have often been selected as representative of the entire movement. The Bible schools in western Canada served the multiple (approximately thirty) denominations and transdenominational constituencies, which made up the larger evangelical Protestant world, as centres that both embodied the ethos and distinctives of their respective constituencies and helped to guide and shape their future direction. The Bible school movement, therefore, both reflected, and helped to shape, the development of evangelical Protestantism in western Canada prior to 1960.

Alongside the central argument of this study are several themes that appear repeatedly. First, the relationship of fundamentalism to the Bible school movement is an important issue throughout. This dissertation lays the foundation for filling a significant lacuna within the study of Canadian religion in general and Canadian evangelicalism in particular.⁶⁵ Furthermore, by offering a more multi-faceted explanation of the Bible school movement's origins and development, it represents a historiographical challenge to earlier monocausal interpretations of the Bible school movement as a reactionary fundamentalist response to Protestant liberalism and the secularization of the academy. Fundamentalism was, to be sure, a significant influence within many Bible schools, particularly within the transdenominational clusters of schools, but it was less of a factor in other clusters. It is worth noting that the cumulative student population within denominational Bible schools, many of which were part of denominations that were not direct descendants of fundamentalism, greatly exceeded--by a count of almost two to one--the combined enrolment of all transdenominational schools, which included both the well-known Prairie Bible Institute (Three Hills, Alberta) and Briercrest Bible Institute (Caronport, Saskatchewan), and which were more directly shaped by their involvement within a broader fundamentalist network (see Table 3.1 in Chapter Three). The fundamentalist influence within the Bible school movement was characterized less by a militant and strident opposition to modernism and more by a varying constellation of concerns and priorities that, depending on the particular school or denomination, included evangelism and world missions, personal holiness, separation from the world and dispensational premillennialism.

Without minimizing the importance of the influence of fundamentalism in the overall Bible school movement in western Canada, at least as important in understanding the movement were the particular ethnic and denominational concerns of the Mennonites, the German Baptists and various Scandinavian groups, which had been shaped more by evangelical influences in Europe. It is not coincidental that the proliferation of Bible schools in western Canada coincided with the settlement in the region by different ethnic immigrant groups, many of whom fit comfortably within a broad definition of evangelicalism. This unique facet of western Canadian evangelicalism offers a significant explanation for why

⁶⁵Brereton's full-length study is a response to a similar lack of attention to Bible schools in the United States (*Training God's Army*, vii).

large sections of the Bible school movement cannot be seen as direct extensions of fundamentalism. Many of the groups that were part of the Bible school movement in western Canada only arrived in North America after the more divisive fundamentalist-modernist controversies of the 1920s were over (and some who had arrived earlier were insulated by ethnic and linguistic distinctives). They simply did not share the same intense sense of cultural loss and crisis with modernism that led to an evangelical withdrawal from public life, social concerns and politics in the first few decades of the twentieth century in the United States. They did not share the memory of an evangelical hegemony--many had only experienced life as religious minorities--and, therefore, did not feel a sense of commitment towards the more rancorous divisions caused by fundamentalists in the United States. Fundamentalism attracted many newly-arrived evangelical immigrants because of compatible priorities, namely, the aggressive promotion of evangelism, world missions, premillennialism and personal holiness. Many immigrant groups found the separationist impulse within fundamentalism to be a strong affirmation of their own sense of cultural isolation in Canada as new immigrants in general, and their place as misfits on the periphery of Canadian Protestantism in particular.

Moreover, a look at Bible schools in western Canada that were significantly influenced by fundamentalism does not reveal a movement that has as its primary characteristic a "militant opposition to modernism"--although a few examples of militant, or strident, expressions of fundamentalism can be found within the Bible school movement in Canada. The general pattern in the movement, however, was less reactive and more proactive as denominational leaders sought an indigenous solution to their need for the theological education and training of lay people and church leaders. Bible schools served as important centres of influence within various evangelical Protestant denominations in western Canada by helping preserve and promote a particular theological and denominational ethos. The Bible schools were often an important part of innovative strategies for simultaneously keeping second and third-generation immigrant children within a particular denomination by offering an environment within which Canadianization could take place at a more controlled pace. Regardless of the cluster, the Bible schools were generally proactive expressions of the theological and sometimes ethnic priorities of the particular groups involved. The Bible schools were deeply connected both to the internal dynamics of the groups that started them

and the changes within the rapidly developing social and economic crucible of western Canada.⁶⁶

A second theme evident throughout this dissertation is a search for clues concerning

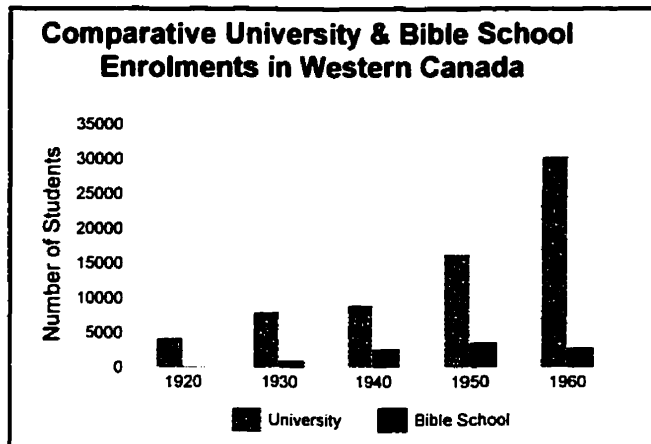


Chart 1.3

the relationships among the many different kinds of evangelical Protestants in western Canada. The composite drawn in this study intentionally offers a broad selection of institutions thereby highlighting the variegated nature of evangelicalism in western Canada.⁶⁷

This survey of schools selected from various denominational clusters, which in some instances represented large student enrolments, offers important in-

sight into the proportional demographics of evangelicalism in western Canada prior to 1960.

Furthermore, the inclusion of a broader range of institutions from the pre-1960 period is an opportunity to examine more closely the relationship between transdenominational evangelicalism and various denominational constituencies during this formative period. Noticeable throughout the study is an underlying tension within evangelicalism in western

⁶⁶Comparative enrolment statistics between the fledgling universities in western Canada and the Bible schools reveal how significant the Bible schools were as a secondary and post-secondary educational option during a formative period in the development of higher education in western Canada. Although the cumulative enrolment of the Bible schools never exceeded the full-time enrolment at universities in western Canada, the proportion of students in Bible schools in comparison to universities is surprisingly high. In 1940, for every 3.5 full-time students enrolled in a university in western Canada, there was one student enrolled in a Bible school. Both university enrolments and Bible school enrolments increased dramatically during the next decade particularly as war veterans returned to Canada after the end of World War Two. Although university enrolments increased more rapidly than did Bible school enrolments, by 1950 the proportion of university students to Bible schools students in western Canada was still only 4.5 to one (see Chart 1.3). Declining enrolments in Bible school and escalating enrolments in universities stretched this proportion to 10.5 to one by 1960 (Series W486-503, Section W: Education, in *Historical Statistics of Canada*: Statistics Canada's Internet Site <http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/11-516-XIE/sectionw/sectionw.htm>, 23 March 2001).

⁶⁷Friesen and Loewen observe how Canadian historians have generally failed to consider seriously the religious diversity that is characteristic of western Canada, never mind recognize the differences among evangelical Protestants within the region ("The Prairies as Region," 184).

Canada between denominationalism and transdenominationalism. On one level, the tensions between denominational and transdenominational institutions can be seen simply as competition for students. There were, however, some important theological differences. Evangelicalism in western Canada, particularly prior to 1960, was significantly more denominational in its orientation than it was transdenominational. More than thirty denominations were involved in the Bible school movement prior to 1960. However, after World War Two the transdenominational cluster of schools experienced dramatic and rapid growth eventually, which dwarfed the influence of many denominational institutions during the latter half of the twentieth century. Identifying the reasons for this shift is important for understanding the character of evangelicalism in the region.

The broader institutional composite created in this study forms a foundation from which to test more thoroughly some of Stackhouse's observations about Canadian evangelicalism that were based exclusively upon an examination of transdenominational institutions. It substantiates, for example, that the Bible school movement, despite the fact that the various clusters were largely disconnected from one another, contributed collectively towards what Stackhouse calls the "sectish mind-set," that is, a tendency towards cultural separatism, which characterized aspects of evangelical Protestantism in Canada during the first half of the twentieth century. The dissertation furthers our understanding of the internal dynamics of this "sectish" ethos and of the formative influence of religion in the lives of many who were involved in peopling and building western Canada during the first half of the twentieth century.

1.5 Major Sources

Data from a wide range of sources located across western Canada has been used to reconstruct the Bible school story. Extant records and materials in the archives of the institutions that are still in operation, as well as numerous denominational archives, have been examined. Without exception, school personnel and denominational leaders were gracious and open-handed in permitting access to records and archives. These materials typically included the following: board, faculty and other committee minutes; school publicity publications; annual reports; student handbooks; personal papers of important

leaders and faculty members; course materials; and student records.⁶⁸ As opportunity arose, I interviewed important leaders, former faculty members and alumni. In addition, some useful factual information was available within selected chapters of several unpublished theses. A number of schools and denominations have commissioned histories to commemorate important anniversaries, especially those institutions that have celebrated their fiftieth or even seventy-fifth anniversaries. Particularly labourious was the compilation of student enrolment data. Not all schools kept enrolment statistics, so in some instances estimates based on interviews with former students and teachers are used. Both database and spreadsheet software were used to manage the detailed data. Without such information and data management tools it would not have been possible to obtain a clear sense of the size and internal proportions of the movement. Included as part of this study is a Select Bibliography identifying much of the primary and relevant secondary literature that might be useful as a starting point for subsequent studies.

⁶⁸The organizational state of archival materials in different schools varied considerably: from boxes tucked beneath a stairwell to well-organized, climate-controlled environments. There is a growing recognition among leaders within the movement that historical records need to be preserved.



CHAPTER TWO

A Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to conduct a thorough review of the relevant background literature. This survey will encompass four fields of research most directly related to this dissertation. In each instance the treatment of the Bible school movement in Canada is highlighted and discussed and, on occasion, explanations for either omissions or limitations are offered.

The chapter begins with a section that looks at general surveys of Christianity in Canada. The long shadow of influence cast by S.D. Clark on Canadian religious historiography is noted, as is the minimal treatment given to twentieth-century evangelicalism in general and the Bible school movement in particular.

A second, more lengthy, section interacts with a wide range of specialized studies. These studies, which include a mixture of scholarly and popular works, are dealt with in chronological order. Most fit within the larger field of Canadian religious history, although a few works in the history of fundamentalism and evangelicalism, and the history of higher education in Canada, are also included. Evident is the enduring influence across several disciplines of a sociological study completed by William E. Mann in the early 1950s. This study, together with Clark's earlier work, laid the foundation for the notable persistence of the application of a church/sect typology to twentieth-century evangelical Protestants. The late 1970s and the 1980s marked the beginning of a new academic interest in evangelical Protestantism in Canada and witnessed the debut of attention to the Bible school movement. These preliminary studies assumed the sectarian nature of evangelical Protestantism and portrayed the Bible school movement as a fundamentalist reaction against theological liberalism. The decade of the 1990s witnessed a remarkable increase in scholarly interest and activity in the history of twentieth-century evangelical Protestantism in Canada. The publication of an important work by John G. Stackhouse, Jr., a major conference organized

by the late George A. Rawlyk during the early 1990s and a series of shorter studies have brought a new maturity to the understanding and interpretation of evangelical Protestantism in Canada in general and have suggested some new nuances to the place of the Bible schools and colleges within evangelicalism.

The third section looks at the scholarly treatment of the Bible school movement in the United States. Evangelical historiography has become a veritable cottage industry south of the border. Many of these studies offer helpful insights and useful counterpoints to the application of similar questions in Canada. The momentum of this scholarly activity is at least partially responsible for the explosion of interest in evangelicalism in Canada that began during the 1980s.

The final section examines the historiography of western Canada and notes the marginal place of religion in the historical studies of the region. The section points towards both the contribution of a study of religious groups and institutions such as this dissertation for furthering an understanding of the variegated cultural landscape of the region, as well as the role of Bible schools in the development of post-secondary education during a formative era in the region.

This chapter, then, confirms the paucity of scholarly material on the history of the Bible school movement in Canada. Furthermore, it locates a unique niche for this dissertation by offering indications of how a study of the Bible school movement in western Canada contributes to historiographical discussions in such areas as the history of higher education and theological education in Canada, the history of fundamentalism in Canada, and the history of religion in Canada in general and in western Canada in particular.

2.1 General Surveys of Christianity in Canada

A prominent pioneer in both the discipline of sociology and religious history in Canada was Samuel Delbert Clark. His most important work for our purposes was his path-breaking study of Protestant revivalism in Canada between 1760 and 1900, *Church and Sect in Canada*, published in 1948. Aside from the fact that this work was the first serious sociological analysis of religion in Canadian society, it served for many years as a standard

text for the study of Christianity in Canada.¹

The pre-eminent focus of Clark's work was the study of progressive social change. To investigate the role Christianity had played in precipitating or resisting such change, Clark employed the church-sect thesis.² First developed by Max Weber (1864-1920) and Ernst Troeltsch (1865-1923), it was Richard Niebuhr who, in 1929, applied a more dynamic version of the church-sect typology to American Protestantism. Ernst Troeltsch maintained that there were two basic types of religious groupings: the first, called the "church," conforms and accommodates itself to the surrounding culture and society. Aligned with the majority of the population, churches accept a certain responsibility for the general welfare of their society. In contrast, the second group, called the "sect," tends to reject aspects of the prevailing culture by emphasizing the exclusivity of its own alternative religious organization. Their response to the other groups is often hostile and uncompromising because of the way they tend to characterize the dominant culture as evil. The two groups are dichotomous with the latter characterized by spontaneous adaptability and the former by a more formal institutionalization.³ In his attempt to apply these models to America, H.R. Niebuhr made several important modifications based on his observation that, in America, churches tended to act more like sects and sects more like churches. The churches that arrived from Europe were forced to abandon their claim to a religious monopoly and often assumed a minority status (for example, the Episcopalians), whereas the sects that came from Europe eventually became the large, successful and established churches (for example, the Methodists). As a result, Niebuhr suggested that the word "denomination" might better describe how religious groups in America often became a hybrid between sect and church.⁴ Although Clark was

¹In addition to this volume, Clark published six articles dealing with religion in Canada. Most of these have been republished in *The Developing Canadian Community*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968).

²Debates about the church-sect theory have become, in the words of Roger O'Toole, "a veritable sub-disciplinary cottage industry" (in *Religion: Classic Sociological Approaches* [Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1984], 204; see page 220 for an extensive bibliography on the subject).

³*The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (New York: Macmillan, 1931). Weber and Troeltsch differed somewhat in their approach: Weber emphasized organizational aspects whereas Troeltsch's comparison highlights cultural variations.

⁴H.R. Niebuhr, *Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Holt, 1929).

influenced by these different thinkers, he engineered his own modifications by applying their insights to the Canadian context along with the famous "frontier thesis."⁵

Clark argued that the social development of Canada has been characterized by a succession of frontier movements. On the basis of detailed historical studies of Henry Alline's Newlight Awakening in Nova Scotia and the rapid growth of Methodism in Upper Canada, he concluded that church forms of organization were frequently unable to adapt to the needs and interests of settlers in frontier communities. In these areas, sectarian movements continually challenged and threatened the efforts of the more established denominations to secure undisputed control over the ministrations of religious services. This confrontation between established political and religious authorities and those who refused to recognize these authorities was identified by Clark as the conflict between church and sect. Clark observed that sects develop on the frontier because it is a place of social dislocation and instability. Moreover, the religious sphere was often the only context within which sectarians could give expression to their social and political dissent. As the frontier disappeared and a more mature, urban culture took over, sects gradually accommodated themselves to the new situation by becoming churches.⁶ By redefining the meaning of frontier in

⁵The frontier thesis was developed by F.J. Turner, an American historian (see *The Frontier in American History* [New York: Holt, 1920]). It was used in Canada by H.A. Innis (*Problems of Staple Production in Canada* [Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1933]) who was Clark's doctoral supervisor; by E.H. Oliver (*The Winning of the Frontier* [Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1930]); and also by Walter N. Sage ("Some Aspects of the Frontier in Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Association Report* [1928]). Ted Regehr explains that early "historians of the Canadian plains generally viewed their history in terms of culture, civilization, and parliamentary government moving to, not emanating from, the frontier" ("Historiography of the Canadian Plains After 1870," in *A Region of the Mind: Interpreting the Western Canadian Plains*, ed. Richard Allen [Regina, SK: Canadian Plains Study Centre, 1973], 90). However, in an attempt to understand better the rise of agrarian political parties and the formation of cooperative societies in western Canada, historians in the mid-twentieth century began to look at environmental factors more closely. It is worth noting that Clark's use of the frontier thesis has been explicitly challenged by R. James Sacouman ("Social Origins of Antigonish Movement Cooperative Associations in Eastern Nova Scotia" [Ph.D. Diss., University of Toronto, 1976]); and Daniel William MacInnes ("Clerics, Fishermen, Farmers and Workers: The Antigonish Movement and Identity in Eastern Nova Scotia, 1928-1939" [Ph.D. Diss., McMaster University, 1978]).

⁶This process is also one of the themes in William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).

socio-economic terms,⁷ Clark avoided the geographical limitations usually associated with the frontier thesis thereby allowing him to apply the typology to twentieth-century urban settings. New sects will always, according to Clark, arise on the periphery of urban society particularly among economically marginalized groups (he uses the emergence of the Salvation Army, a group that flourished in urban settings during the late-nineteenth century, as his primary example). The socio-economic dynamism inherent within society will insure an ongoing cycle of conflict between more settled church-type socio-religious groups and younger, sectarian groups.

Although Clark does not mention the Bible school movement specifically, the historiographical framework he established cast a long shadow over Canadian religious historiography.⁸ Aside from the lingering influence of the frontier thesis, which was repeatedly used to link various environmental idiosyncrasies of western Canada with the disproportionate presence of "sects," and the relative longevity of the church-sect thesis in Canada, aspects of Clark's framework continue to influence the interpretations of fundamentalism and evangelical Protestantism.

The first person to make an effort at producing a comprehensive survey of the history of Christianity in Canada was H.H. Walsh. Published in 1956, Walsh's book, *The Christian Church in Canada*, could not possibly offer a thorough treatment of developments in the twentieth century. He nevertheless notes in passing that "none of the traditional church theological colleges can begin to match the achievement of the sectarian colleges either in enthusiasm or in the number of their students."⁹ Although he recognized the potential significance of the Bible school movement, he offered no additional description or explanation for this remarkable phenomenon appearing with the twentieth century, aside from seeing

⁷By "frontier" Clark did not necessarily mean the time period of early settlement; rather, to show how religious organization is affected by socio-economic factors, he defined the term as "new areas of economic exploitation" (*Social Development of Canada* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1942], 1-2).

⁸The enduring quality of Clark's work in more than one discipline provides an indication of the compelling force of his interpretative model (see Harry H. Hiller, *Society and Change: S.D. Clark and the Development of Canadian Sociology* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982]; and Deborah Harrison, *The Limits of Liberalism: The Making of Canadian Sociology* [Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1981]).

⁹*The Christian Church in Canada* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1956), 322.

it as an expression of sectarianism and fundamentalism. Clues regarding Walsh's failure to probe the movement more thoroughly can be found elsewhere. Unlike Clark, Walsh is rather contemptuous of those he considers to be either fundamentalists or sectarians and, as a result, tends to downplay their contribution to Christianity in Canada. He writes, for example, that

[Fundamentalism] was particularly strong in western Canada where it offered--and still does--greater security to disturbed people than the cultic movements that also were attempting to convey "peace of mind." . . . Common interest in an inerrant Bible [enabled] William Aberhart, with his slogan "Back to the Bible," to organize a political party and become premier of Alberta. . . . [Sects] are far to the right politically and offer little hope for social reform.¹⁰

Walsh's failure is typical of many who marginalized the study of twentieth-century evangelical Protestant groups and institutions by a pejorative misappropriation of the sociological term "sect." This stands in contrast to Clark's earlier assertion that the religious groups that have had the greatest impact on the growth of liberal political principles in Canada were not the mainline Protestant churches, but the Baptists in Nova Scotia, the early Methodists in Upper Canada and certain twentieth-century evangelical (fundamentalist) groups in western Canada. The failure on the part of Walsh to acknowledge this insight and to probe it further is a good example of the scornful treatment that has sometimes been given to twentieth-century evangelical Protestantism in Canada.¹¹

John W. Grant's contribution in 1972 to a three-volume trilogy, which replaced Walsh's volume, is significantly less derisive, but not much more helpful concerning the Bible school movement. The two Bible schools he mentions (L.E. Maxwell's Prairie Bible

¹⁰"Canada: Religion. Protestant Churches," *Encyclopaedia Americana International Edition* (Danbury, CT: Grolier Incorporated, 1991), 5:415-422.

¹¹Other examples include two brief, popular accounts of Christianity in Canada published during the 1960s. Commissioned by the Canadian Council of Churches, Douglas J. Wilson completed a short survey in 1966. The author relies heavily on Walsh; it is, therefore, not surprising that the discussion of twentieth-century evangelical Protestantism is limited to a brief mention of the growth experienced by Pentecostal groups and the Christian and Missionary Alliance (*The Church Grows in Canada* [Toronto: Committee on Missionary Education, Canadian Council of Churches, 1966], 183-188). Somewhat broader in its perspective is the richly illustrated sketch of religion in Canada compiled by William Kilbourn, A.C. Forrest and Patrick Watson. Growth of twentieth-century evangelical "sects" is attributed to tithing, a sensational emphasis on hell, enthusiastic worship, missionary activity and their "natural" appeal to the economically, socially and culturally dispossessed (*Religion in Canada: The Spiritual Development of a Nation* [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968], 66, 78-79). No mention of the Bible school movement is made in either volume.

Institute in Three Hills, Alberta and William Aberhart's Prophetic Bible Institute in Calgary, Alberta) are both connected to the emergence of fundamentalism and sectarianism in Alberta, movements that he argues reflected a growing lack of confidence in clerical leadership and reversed an earlier ecumenical tendency in western Canada.¹² Strongly influenced by both Clark and W.E. Mann, Grant asserts that the abandonment of traditional evangelistic techniques by the Methodists and later by the United Church of Canada left a residue of unmet religious needs especially in rural areas. According to Grant, participants in these new "sects" were social outsiders, living either in rural areas or on the margins of urban life, who "gravitated to charismatic denominations where they could find in ecstasy the fulfilment that was denied them in daily life."¹³ The rise of fundamentalism and sectarianism is seen by Grant as facets of hostility towards official or unofficial establishments and as a response to the process of secularization after World War One. Western Canada is transformed by these new groups from being a "hotbed of unionist sentiment" to a "breeding ground of sectarian movements."¹⁴

Hans Mol's sociological study published in 1985 claims to provide "a systematic, social scientific overview of religion in Canada."¹⁵ He applies a general "identity theory" of religion to diverse range of manifestations of religion in Canada. While Mol may have successfully verified the applicability of his identity theory to a multitude of manifestations of religion in Canada, his broad inclusivity relegated the analysis of those groups with the greatest degree of popularity and influence on Canadian culture to the periphery.¹⁶ Moreover,

¹²*The Church in the Canadian Era: The First Century of Confederation*, rev. ed. (Burlington, ON: Welch, 1988), 128-130. Grant unfortunately did not recognize that the cooperation among the newer evangelical Protestant groups in western Canada represented a different kind of ecumenism, one that was more interested in collaboration than organic union.

¹³*The Church in the Canadian Era*, 129.

¹⁴*The Church in the Canadian Era*, 128.

¹⁵Back cover, *Faith and Fragility: Religion and Identity in Canada* (Burlington, ON: Trinity Press, 1985).

¹⁶See comments by Stewart Crysedale, "Review of *Faith and Fragility*, by Hans Mol," in *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 25 (1986): 384. The limited value of the book as an overview of religion in Canada is largely due to Mol's exclusive dependence on a theoretical model that isolates only one function of religion. Restricting the usefulness still further is Mol's exclusive (and rather selective) dependence on secondary sources. As a result he sometimes uncritically accepts conclusions that have been contested by

any treatment of evangelical Protestantism is cast into the rather confined categories of either sectarianism or Pentecostalism. Although he mentions several Bible schools (for example, William Aberhart's Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute), no reference is made to the larger movement.

There have been two attempts to place the similarities and differences in the development of Christianity in both the United States and Canada side by side in one volume. The first such comparative survey was published in 1977 by Robert Handy.¹⁷ Handy devotes considerable attention to the growth and conflict within American evangelical Protestantism during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. According to Handy, the emergence of evangelical Bible colleges and seminaries during the latter part of the nineteenth century was an integral aspect of a resurgent conservatism within Protestantism. These institutions disseminated the doctrines and distinctives precious to evangelicals: the reliability of the biblical text, the virgin birth and deity of Christ, the substitutionary atonement and Christ's physical resurrection and bodily return. In addition, Handy also features the pervasive influence of dispensationalism and the doctrine of inerrancy, which was used to shore up a defence for an infallible Bible against historical criticism, as integral aspects of American fundamentalism.¹⁸ Handy's treatment of fundamentalism in Canada is limited to a short discussion of T.T. Shields and William Aberhart. Mention of the Bible school movement in Canada extends only to Aberhart's Prophetic Bible Institute in Calgary.

The second comparative survey was published more recently by Mark Noll in 1992.¹⁹ Despite the comprehensive survey implied by the title, the primary storyline centres on evangelical Protestantism in the United States. One is surprised then to discover no mention of the Bible school movement with the exception of a solitary reference to Moody Bible

other scholars.

¹⁷*A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

¹⁸Handy does not differentiate between "conservative evangelical" and "fundamentalist." Throughout he relies heavily on Ernest Sandeen's *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

¹⁹*The History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1992).

Institute (MBI).²⁰ Considering the literature available on the Bible school movement in the United States and the author's own massive contribution to evangelical historiography, one finds such an omission perplexing.

In 1996, Terrence Murphy and Brian Clarke brought five scholars together to write a one-volume *Concise History of Christianity in Canada*. Clarke's chapter on "English-speaking Canada from 1854" displays his familiarity with a broad range of secondary literature. His even-handed treatment of fundamentalism and evangelicalism is a refreshing change from the intolerant dismissal seen in earlier surveys. In addition to mentioning the way fundamentalism touched nearly all Protestant denominations in Canada, Clarke points out that "fundamentalism was nowhere near as strong an influence among Canadian Protestants as it was among their American counterparts."²¹ More importantly for the purpose of this dissertation, Clarke uses recent contributions in scholarship to differentiate between fundamentalism and the Bible school movement and credits the latter with being a significant factor in the growth of conservative Protestantism during the twentieth century. In a large-scale survey it is impossible to give extensive treatment to specific topics. Clarke therefore notes the disproportionate presence of Bible schools in western Canada, but does not offer an explanation for why this came to be. Furthermore, he does not attempt to explain the nature of the relationship between the Bible school movement and fundamentalism.

In summary, it is reasonable to say that the general surveys of the history of Christianity in Canada, at best, offer only a brief superficial acknowledgement of the Bible school movement. At worst, the Bible school movement is characterized as part of a rural, sectarian fundamentalism.

2.3 An Appraisal of More Specialized Studies in Religious History

The tapestries woven by general overviews invariably use the fabric of short articles, specialized monographs and unpublished theses and dissertations. This section examines more carefully in an approximately chronological order those specialized studies in the field of Canadian religious history that do feature the Bible school movement; those studies of

²⁰Noll does allocate considerable space to a discussion of the Bible as an American icon (*The History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*, 400-408).

²¹*A Concise History of Christianity in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996), 345.

fundamentalism and evangelicalism in Canada that mention the Bible school movement; and works in the areas of the history of higher education and theological education in Canada. Intentionally excluded from this survey are works featuring only one denomination, institution or individual.

2.3.1 Studies Completed During the 1940s and 1950s

The first attempt to produce a comprehensive survey of the Bible school movement in Canada was completed in 1949 by Leonard F. O'Neil.²² His study is laudable for its intent, for correctly identifying a significant historiographical void and for collecting an impressive amount of primary source material. In a preliminary fashion, O'Neil lays out some of the demographics of the movement that show that the movement was both rural and urban; that it involved a multiplicity of Protestant denominations as well as those who preferred to maintain "non-denominational" institutions; that a disproportionate number of schools were located in western Canada; and that the movement had trained thousands of individuals for missionary and pastoral service. His essentially descriptive study is limited by the fact that it includes only about half of the Bible schools in existence at the time.

Previously I highlighted the important shadow of influence cast by the work of S.D. Clark. A significant part of this shadow, at least in the interpretation of fundamentalism and evangelicalism in western Canadian, continues to be a study by W.E. Mann published in 1955, which applied Clark's church-sect theory to the province of Alberta (Mann was one of Clark's doctoral students).²³ It was a response to several earlier studies by C.A. Dawson that largely ignored the plethora of Protestant groups on the prairies.²⁴ Alberta was selected because of the variety of religious groups and because of the influential role "sectarian" religion has played in political and social developments. Mann argued that a combination of geographic isolation, ethnic diversity, educational deficiencies and economic instability between 1910-1946 led to social upheaval, community disintegration and religious change.

²²"A Survey of the Bible Schools of Canada" (B.D. Thesis, McMaster University, 1949).

²³*Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955).

²⁴See *Group Settlement: Ethnic Groups in Western Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1936); and *Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces: The Social Side of the Settlement Process* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1940).

These frontier needs were met by more adaptable Protestant “sects,” which provided social integration, and “cults” that satisfied the intellectually curious and psychosomatically ill.²⁵ The aggressive use of new techniques, most notably radio, enthusiastic worship, a greater degree of organizational sophistication and their aggressive, indigenous leadership broadened their appeal. Vital components of this vigorous sectarianism were the “sectarian educational institutions, commonly called Bible schools,” which came into being “primarily to produce pastors for the fundamentalist movement.”²⁶

There is much to commend in Mann’s description and interpretation of “sectarianism” in Alberta and western Canada, not the least of which is his sensitivity to the ethnic diversity among the “sectarian” groups. His documentation of the religious diversity in Alberta during the early decades of the twentieth century is impressive even if not always historically precise. Commendable is Mann’s attention to the specifics of the Canadian context while recognizing that many “sectarian” groups were connected to movements in the United States. His observation that Bible schools were proactive centres established to facilitate leadership training (“sectarian seminaries”) has most often been overlooked in subsequent studies that preferred a more American interpretation of the Bible school movement as a defensive reaction against liberalism within the more established mainline Protestant groups. In fact, Mann’s work shows that the difficulties with which the mainline Protestants struggled in western Canada meant that they were seldom considered a threat by most newer groups identified as “sectarian.”²⁷ Despite taking care to define his sociological use of the terms “sect” and “cult,” Mann carelessly interchanges “fundamentalist,” “evangelical” and “sectarian” without attention to sociological or theological nuances. At times this includes

²⁵Mann defines sect as “a social institution distinguished from the church type structure by certain basic social characteristics” including an ascetic morality, vigorous protest against formality and convention in religious procedures, an attempt to recover the original and unadulterated essence of religion, a high degree of equality and fraternity, an unusual degree of lay participation, respect for leaders with charismatic powers and a casual indifference to the professionalization and hierarchization of the clergy and an emphasis on individual religious experience. His definition of cult is more theological: cults are similar to sects except for the way they look for a “peculiar authority outside the Christian tradition” and the way they “blend alien religious or psychological notions with Christian doctrine (*Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, 5-6).

²⁶*Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, 82.

²⁷*Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, 31, 82-85.

both an anachronistic use of the term “fundamentalist,” a term that was not coined until 1920, and an inconsistent use of the term “sectarian” (for example, he refers to Prairie Bible Institute as “non-denominational” and as “non-sectarian” despite its enormous influence among those groups that Mann elsewhere features as “sectarian”). Unfortunate also are Mann’s occasional attempts to stretch data to fit his sociological theory. He characterizes “fundamentalism” in general and the Bible schools in particular, as part of the “prairie rural social structure” despite his own evidence that shows that at least 40% of “sectarian” adherents lived in urban areas, that “fundamentalism” had considerable support within all Protestant denominations,²⁸ and that a good number of Bible schools were located in urban centres (see Table 1.2 in Chapter One).

Although the application of Mann’s sociological categories does help explain the experience of some evangelical Protestants and some Bible schools in Alberta--Mann’s study includes only about 50% of the schools in existence--such categories offer only a narrow understanding of a multi-faceted and complex story. Mann’s description of the loosely integrated character of Alberta’s community structure is compelling at many points. In fact, it rather ironically mitigates against an interpretation that uses sociological categories to pit the evangelical Protestant “sects” against the presumably stronger mainline Protestant “church” groups. The fact that the older mainline Protestant groups never did exercise the same socially integrating influence in western Canada as in central Canada made western Canada much more of a religious free-for-all than a conflict between two disparate social groups. Mann’s categories tend also to obscure the theological nuances and denominational diversity of evangelical Protestants, as well as the broad range of economic and social classes involved in the movement. Furthermore, his work legitimized a persistent use of Alberta’s experience as typical of all of western Canada--the prominence of William Aberhart made the choice of Alberta difficult to resist--and it made a considerable contribution to the ongoing use of the church-sect thesis in Canada particularly for the perpetual stereotyping of evangelical Protestants as ignorant, rural (and usually belligerent) fundamentalists.

Towards the middle of the century, scholars began to explore the history of higher

²⁸Mann cites a Dr. Powell, United Church Superintendent of Missions for Alberta, who estimated that 80% of the United Church membership in Alberta was inclined to fundamentalism (*Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, 29). Why Mann persisted in using sectarian and fundamentalist as synonymous terms in so many instances remains a puzzle.

education in Canada. Much of the literature in this field is preoccupied with the development of a national infrastructure for public education, questions of jurisdiction and issues related to funding. Although seminaries and church colleges occasionally receive mention, the Bible school movement is ignored entirely. One might have expected some mention in C.B. Sissons's historical survey of the relationship between church and state in Canadian education.²⁹ While strongly Protestant in outlook, and despite the fact that at least one scholar in western Canada hailed it as an "indispensable introduction to religious and educational history on the prairies," there is no mention of the Bible school movement.³⁰

2.3.2 Studies Completed During the 1960s

Several works exploring the history of theological education were published during the 1960s, none of which significantly enhanced the understanding of the history of the Bible school movement. In 1966, Charles Feilding produced a study of twenty-three mostly "Mainline Protestant" theological schools in Canada.³¹ The narrow focus of his article excludes any careful look at the Bible school/college movement, although he does note in passing that

by eliminating the [Roman Catholic seminaries and Bible colleges], we are left with what historians (with some theological abandon) usually call the "Mainline Protestant" schools. They represent the older white Anglo-Saxon Protestant supremacy whose declining power and proportional strength and whose past myopia now compel us to exercise some restraint in assessing its present influence. Whatever their place in Canada's life--and it is certainly a sizable one--we are only dealing in this article with twenty-three particular schools which are far from embracing all Canadian theological education. In some sense, perhaps, they constitute a middle group flanked by two other systems. One system, the Roman Catholic, is larger and provides more clergy for a larger proportion of the population. The influence of the various Bible schools (which do not generally train ministers) and of the other types of ministerial training is often overlooked because it is beyond the haze within the academic pale, and statistics are difficult to come by. A survey of all the

²⁹*Church and State in Canadian Education: An Historical Study* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1959).

³⁰Donald Swainson, "Select Bibliography on the History of the Prairie Provinces," in *Historical Essays on the Prairie Provinces* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1978), 303.

³¹"Twenty-three Theological Schools: Aspects of Canadian Theological Education," *Canadian Journal of Theology* 12, No. 4 (1966): 229-237.

ministers in any sizeable community will quickly reveal a great many whose training stems from this group.³²

Feilding's impression concerning the comparative influence of the Bible college movement is correct, although his assertion that they did not generally train ministers is inaccurate (as even the final sentence of the above quotation indicates).

The broad title of D.C. Masters's *Protestant Church Colleges in Canada: A History*, also published in 1966, sounds considerably more promising. It is, however, limited largely to nineteen institutions established by the Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists that included a liberal arts college.³³ The study concentrates on developments during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries and, as such, remains a useful history of Protestant theological education in Canada, but it makes no mention of the Bible school movement at all.

In a little-known series of three articles published for the Christian Reformed community in 1968, J.D. Tangelder outlines a general history of the Bible school movement in Canada. He claims that the movement arose as a reaction to "troubled Christianity" and that the Bible schools have become "the backbone of sectarianism, fundamentalism and evangelicalism."³⁴ The series does highlight the diversity within the movement with a good number of specific examples. It is, however, more journalistic than scholarly, concluding with an appeal for all Christian Reformed young people to attend their own denominational college located in Grand Rapids, Michigan.

2.3.3 Studies Completed During the 1970s

Tangelder's series was a harbinger of things to come. Beginning in the 1970s, evangelical Protestantism in Canada starts to become the object of more sustained scholarly study. A well-known observer and influential participant in evangelical Protestantism in

³²"Twenty-three Theological Schools," 231. Feilding's article was part of a larger study prepared for the American Association of Theological Schools

³³Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966.

³⁴"The Bible School Movement in Canada," *Calvinist Contact* (14 June 1968): 9-10; "The Bible School Movement in Canada," *Calvinist Contact* (21 June 1968): 9; and "The Bible School Movement in Canada," *Calvinist Contact* (12 July 1968): 2.

Canada, and a person who has encouraged many others to explore the history of evangelical Protestantism in Canada, is Ian S. Rennie. A number of special lectures delivered by Rennie during the 1970s that have circulated among historians in Canada are of significance in this survey. Rennie offers a two-fold explanation for the Bible school movement. First, it represented the beginning of an era in which a wider range of choices for theological education became available in Canada. Rennie is quick to point out, however, that while Bible schools may have served as alternatives to more liberal mainline Protestant institutions, most Bible schools did not begin as reactions against other theological schools and, therefore, did not assume for themselves a self-conscious role as "alternative" institutions. Rennie points in particular to the influence of several Wycliffe College (Toronto) graduates in the early development of the Bible school movement, notably Walter Ellis in Vancouver and J. Eustace Purdie, a Pentecostal in Winnipeg.

Second, Rennie declares the frontier thesis to be an inadequate framework for making sense of the disproportionate number of schools in western Canada. Instead, he attributes this to a western prairie revival that began about 1935, reached its peak in 1938, and continued as a strong movement until the end of World War Two.³⁵ The region affected included most of Alberta and western Saskatchewan. It was radio that became the method of choice for disseminating this revival across the prairies, but it was the Bible schools that marked its primary institutional expression. Rennie writes,

The surge of evangelism that covered much of Alberta and Saskatchewan in the mid-thirties, at the height of the drought and depression, and that threw up the remarkable phenomena of the Prairie Bible schools, best exemplified by those at Three Hills and Briarcrest [sic], sent hundreds and even thousands of young people to the mission field. These missionaries naturally carried the torch of evangelism with them. The prairie movement may yet be seen as one of the most significant Canadian contributions to the world church.³⁶

Rennie too links the revival and therefore the Bible school movement with American funda-

³⁵"Theological Education in Canada: Past and Present," Paper presented at Conference of Canadian Evangelical Theologians, Ontario Bible College, Toronto, January 1974; and "The Western Prairie Revival in Canada: During the Depression and World War Two," Paper presented at the Oxford Conference on Revival, Oxford, England, 1978.

³⁶Ian Rennie, "The Changing Church: New Voices and New Tendencies," *Christianity Today* (31 March 1967), 10.

mentalism, which he calls a “declining form of Protestantism.” As a result, the movement shared many of the weaknesses of fundamentalism: anti-intellectualism, a parochial and unreal concept of the Body of Christ, a world-renouncing spirit and an eschatological pessimism.

While not an extensive study, Rennie’s explanation for the remarkable growth of the Bible school movement and its disproportionate presence in western Canada was one of the more nuanced offered to date. Absent, however, was any discussion of the numerous denominational Bible schools. The degree to which his interpretation applied to the numerous denominational Bible schools and the degree to which the movement was an extension of American fundamentalism, both remained unexamined.

Donald Goertz uses some of Rennie’s ideas as a springboard for exploring the relationship between social and religious developments in Alberta between 1925-1938.³⁷ He shows how rapid immigration created a population without strong religious and political roots in Alberta that was therefore highly susceptible to new ideas and how the depression served as a catalyst for radical change. In his examination of fundamentalism in Alberta, he concludes that the radio ministry of Oscar Lowry was a major catalyst that helped tip the scales in favour of a Prairie Bible Institute type of fundamentalism. William Aberhart achieved political prominence, but not, as is commonly held, as the head of a coalition of fundamentalists. At the time of his entry into politics he was rapidly losing support among evangelical Protestants because of his increasingly bizarre and unorthodox theological views, his strident authoritarianism in his church and his growing egocentricity. He was, for example, unable to obtain the endorsement of the influential Prairie Bible Institute in his political campaign.³⁸ As a result, Goertz claims that L.E. Maxwell became the arbiter of Alberta fundamentalism and it was left to him to develop the theology and lifestyle, which

³⁷“The Development of a Bible Belt: The Socio-Religious Interaction in Alberta between 1925 and 1938” (M.C.S. Thesis, Regent College, 1980). Goertz’s supervisor for this thesis was Ian Rennie.

³⁸Clark was the first to attribute Aberhart’s political success in Alberta to his popularity as a Baptist Bible (dispensationalist) teacher (see “Religious Sect in Canadian Politics,” *American Journal of Sociology* 51 [1945]: 207-216). Aberhart’s success in politics did *not* come about as a result of a unified effort on the part of rural “fundamentalism” or “sectarian” groups (see David Elliott and Iris Miller, *Bible Bill: A Biography of William Aberhart* [Edmonton, AB: Reidmore Books, 1987]). Evidence reveals that the proportion of evangelicals who supported his political campaign was no greater than that of any other Protestant group.

characterized fundamentalism in Alberta. Commendable are both the extensiveness of Goertz's research and the detailed, even-handed treatment of his subjects. Problematic, however, is the undefined use of the terms "sectarian" and "fundamentalist." It remained for others to verify the legitimacy of characterizing Alberta, and even prairie, fundamentalism through the lens of L.E. Maxwell.³⁹

Influential in somewhat different circles is the work of Canadian sociologist Harry H. Hiller. Hiller challenges Mann's assertion that Alberta, in comparison to other provinces, has a disproportionate number of "sects" and "cults."⁴⁰ The national attention given to the success of Aberhart and the rapid growth and size of Prairie Bible Institute has created an impression that such views and actions are typical of many persons in that region. Using census data he concludes that the demographic data does not support the notion that Alberta is exceptionally "sectarian" in terms of over-representation of fundamentalist denominations.

In a second article, Hiller recognizes the inadequacy of former church-sect distinctions to describe some evangelical or Pentecostal groups. He proposed the term "third force" as a means to analyse simultaneously the impact of the many small religious groups that are "sectarian" in nature, but not Catholic or mainline Protestant.⁴¹ In order to accommodate the

³⁹For example, Maxwell was a premillennialist, but unlike many fundamentalists he was not a dispensationalist.

⁴⁰"Alberta and the Bible Belt Stereotype," in *Religion in Canadian Society*, eds. Stewart Crysdale and Les Wheatcroft, 372-383 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1976).

⁴¹"Continentalism and the Third Force in Religion," *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 3, No. 2 (1978): 183-207. The term "third force" was used earlier by others to refer to the twentieth-century resurgence of evangelical Protestantism (Henry P. Dusen, "The Third Force's Lesson for Others," *Life* [9 June 1958]: 122, 125; and William McLoughlin, "Is There a Third Force in Christendom?" *Daedalus* 96 [Winter 1967]: 153-176).

The church-sect categories were challenged earlier by Goldwin French ("The Evangelical Creed in Canada," in *The Shield of Achilles: Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age*, ed. W.L. Morton, 15-35 [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968]). It is worth noting that vestiges of the church-sect thesis have lingered in Canadian religious historiography long after the typology fell into disuse in the United States. John Moir, for example, considers this yet another example of Canada's "counter-revolutionary tradition." When Canadians feel threatened, he argues, they instinctively tend to utilize a defensive strategy that highlights their conservative, anti-revolutionary roots. In the religious sphere this tendency manifests itself through a strong disapproval of "sectarian" groups. Sects are described by Moir as "fundamentalist, evangelistic, Bible-centred and traditionally anti-traditionalist. . . . The sect is totalitarian . . . anticlerical, anti-intellectual in its reliance on a God-ordained ministry, anti-scientific" ("Sectarian Tradition in Canada," in *The Churches and the Canadian Experience*, ed. John W. Grant [Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1963], 120). Moir's observation concerning the reluctance among Canadian historians, particularly church historians, to abandon the designations of "church" and "sect" is related to the fact that the leading church

obvious diversity, he modified his definition of "sectarian" to refer to those groups with "high in-group commitments to a distinctly demanding religious ideology and organization."⁴² He concluded that there are significant differences in the nature and extent of third force activity in Canada and the United States that are due to cultural differences between the two countries: for example, Canadian society has been characterized more by religious conservatism, congregational ecumenism and cooperation, and less by fundamentalism and individualism. It has always been easier for third force groups to find a following in America and, according to Hiller, many sectarian groups in Canada look south for direction, sustenance and support. Canada often tried to strengthen established institutions (including the churches) in order to resist religious and social innovations.⁴³ The socio-political climate in Canada was never as conducive to "sectarianism" as in the United States. This distinction is exemplified by the different developments in the Bible school/college in the two countries. Bible colleges, many of which became liberal arts colleges, were more easily integrated into the larger educational enterprise in the United States as parallel institutions to the secular state colleges. But in Canada the efforts on the part of Bible colleges to obtain recognition were often limited by provincial statutes. Canadian Bible colleges were thereby forced to create an alternative institutionalism. This explains for Hiller the relative shortage of Christian liberal arts colleges and the disproportionately high number of Bible schools in Canada. Hiller notes too that fundamentalism never did take root as expansively in Canada as in the United States. His generalizations are valuable particularly for demonstrating the inadequacy of applying church-sect categories to fundamentalist and evangelical Protestant

historians in Canada (at least until the 1980s) who have used the term "sectarian" as virtually synonymous with "fundamentalist" and "evangelical" have been associated in some way with mainline Protestant denominations. The designation "sect" became a convenient way to marginalize the younger, smaller evangelical Protestant groups, thereby retaining the higher ground for the more "respectable" (or establishment) churches. The more recent work of Canadian scholars such as the late George A. Rawlyk, John G. Stackhouse, Jr. and Robert K. Burkinshaw has contributed enormously both to refining Clark's interpretation of Canadian evangelicalism and to alleviating the simplistic misappropriation of the church-sect typology.

⁴²"Continentalism and the Third Force in Religion," 185. His definition includes such diverse groups as the Mormons, Nazarenes, Seventh-Day Adventists, International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, Salvation Army and Jehovah's Witnesses.

⁴³Seymour Lipset refers to this as Canada's "counter-revolutionary tradition" (*Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada* [New York: Chapman and Hall, Inc., 1990]).

groups. Nevertheless, the considerable diversity that exists among the groups Hiller categorized together as the third force limits the usefulness of his analysis.

As has already been noted, mention of the Bible school movement in the literature on the history of higher education in Canada is almost non-existent. Many studies of the history of higher education during the twentieth century exclude church colleges on the assumption that they "indoctrinate" and therefore do not "educate."⁴⁴ One, and perhaps the only, exception is Robin S. Harris's comprehensive history of higher education in Canada.⁴⁵ His work is commendable for the way in which it places theological colleges within the framework of professional education. His treatment of the twentieth century is divided into twenty-year increments. In his discussion of theology during the 1920s, Harris lists all the mainline Protestant colleges, noting that essentially all theological colleges operating in 1890 were still active in 1920. An additional eleven colleges were established later, all but one of them in the western provinces. He notes that there "are a very large number of small colleges."⁴⁶ Within this context, he offers a striking contrast with Toronto Bible College, an institution of a very different type, which in 1920-21 had an enrolment of 477, including 330 women! In his discussion of the 1940s, Harris notes the declining significance of the importance of the theological faculty or departments in Canadian universities and the merger of several Protestant church colleges on account of the 1925 consolidation that created the United Church of Canada. No mention is made of the proliferation of Bible colleges during this same period; as a result, Harris fails to see that the number of students enrolled in the Bible school movement in any given year during the late 1940s (approximately 3,400 in western Canada alone) greatly exceeded the total number of full-time students in theology (approximately 2,400) in Canadian universities. Bible schools are mentioned in passing in his final section on the 1960s as having contributed to the stable enrolment numbers of Protestant students studying theology. The limited information Harris does include about Bible schools is

⁴⁴For a fuller discussion of this issue, see Elmer J. Thiessen, *Teaching for Commitment: Liberal Education, Indoctrination and Christian Nurture* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).

⁴⁵*A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976).

⁴⁶*A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663-1960*, 262.

obtained largely from an older American dissertation written by H.W. Boon.⁴⁷

2.3.4 Studies Completed During the 1980s

In comparison to previous decades, the amount of material dealing with aspects of the Bible school/college movement produced during the 1980s seems like a veritable explosion. In part, this reflects the gathering momentum taking place in American religious historiography. The quality of this material varies considerably, and some helpful insights concerning twentieth-century evangelical Protestantism and the Bible school/college movement do emerge despite the absence of comprehensive historical analyses that focus specifically on the Bible school movement.

The characterization of the Canadian Bible school movement as an expression of Protestant fundamentalism and rural sectarianism is directly attributable to Mann. During the 1980s, two other scholars offered additional nuances to this interpretation. In 1980, Ben Harder suggested, in what was the first article specifically devoted to the Canadian Bible school movement to appear in an academic journal, that the Canadian Bible institute/college movement originated in opposition to the established church colleges, which had been vitiated by theological liberalism. Harder draws particular attention to several distinctions between the two types of institutions. Where church colleges prepared clerics for ordained ministry, Bible schools were lay-oriented institutions that trained laypeople for involvement in the activities of their local church and often provided personnel for various evangelical mission organizations. Church colleges were more tolerant of state involvement in higher education and integrated liberal arts with theological studies. According to Harder, Bible schools were characterized by a general distrust for higher education, focussing instead on a "proper" education that emphasized what was most important in life, namely, the individual's relationship to God and to other people; as a result, many "saw themselves as important 'bastions' for the preservation of evangelical faith."⁴⁸ Despite Harder's unequivocal claim that the Bible school movement represents a reaction against theological liberalism, ecume-

⁴⁷"The Development of the Bible College and Institute in the United States and Canada Since 1880 and its Relationship to the Field of Theological Education" (Ph.D. Diss., New York University, 1950).

⁴⁸"The Bible Institute-College Movement in Canada," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 22 (April 1980): 30-31.

nism and the social gospel, some ambivalence is evident in that at least as much space is given to a discussion of the movement's historical links with nineteenth-century revivalism and missionary expansionism.

Closely following Harder is Ronald Sawatsky, who similarly contends that "the Bible schools were founded in reaction to the apparent drift from evangelicalism to rationalism to secularism that characterized mainline Canadian and American Protestant higher education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century."⁴⁹ Sawatsky notes that these Bible schools, which originated primarily as lay-oriented training institutions, nevertheless supplied a wide range of evangelical Protestant groups with ministers and missionaries.

These two studies are both far from comprehensive. Harder's analysis included only those schools still in existence in 1980; his article, therefore, does not consider the impact of the numerous schools that had ceased to exist by this date. Moreover, both articles offer little in the way of new historical information: Harder relies extensively on Clark, Walsh and Grant, while Sawatsky relies on S.A. Witmer. Harder in particular relies heavily on the experience of several transdenominational schools in western Canada. The limited scope and the methodological limitations of these studies suggest the need for a more careful analysis of their conclusions. Aside from the question of whether a drift towards liberalism and secularism was in fact taking place within mainline church colleges and seminaries in Canada,⁵⁰ the interpretation offered in these articles does not adequately characterize many of the schools that existed in western Canada. Both articles have contributed to the general perception of the Bible school movement as an integral part of fundamentalism that continues to abound not only in scholarly academic studies, but also in more popular literature.⁵¹

⁴⁹Ronald G. Sawatsky, "The Bible School/College Movement in Canada: Fundamental Christian Training," *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1986): 3. Elsewhere he similarly claims that "most [Bible schools] were founded by evangelicals reacting against the 'liberalism' of established theological colleges" ("Bible schools/Bible colleges," *Canadian Encyclopaedia* [Edmonton, AB: Hurtig Publishing, 1985], 1:212).

⁵⁰See the historiographical debate between David Marshall (*Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992]); and Michael Gauvreau and Nancy Christie (*A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940* [Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996]).

⁵¹For example, a survey commissioned as part of Saskatchewan's Diamond Jubilee celebration in 1980 recognized the presence of the Bible school movement and attributed it to a religious impulse derived from American fundamentalism (see Grace Lane, *Saskatchewan's Sturdy Strands of Faith* [Regina, SK:

Published in 1982 was a lengthy article by Robert Handy comparing trends in Canadian and American theological education. The article deals only with those degree-granting institutions that primarily prepare college-educated candidates for ordained ministries in the churches.⁵² Handy acknowledges the importance of Bible schools and colleges in the overall story of theological education, but they remain beyond the parameters outlined for his article.

In 1983 Wilfrid Laurier University Press began a series featuring the study of religion in Canada. Five volumes have appeared to date, each conducting a "state-of-the-art review" of religious studies in a particular geographical region. From the outset, controversy existed over whether theological colleges and Bible colleges should be included in a survey of "religious" education.⁵³ While the approaches and analyses vary considerably between volumes, in each the Bible school/college movement is included.

Notable in this series is *Religious Studies in Ontario: A State of the Art Review*, which includes a chapter on Bible schools/colleges written by Harold Remus. He is the only one who at least attempts a brief historical survey of the Bible school/college movement. The origin of the movement in Canada is seen as part of an American pattern that began with the work of A.B. Simpson, a Presbyterian pastor in New York who did not limit his activities to his congregation, and D.L. Moody. Although Remus does make some general observations about the movement in Canada, the majority of his article is limited to what happened in Ontario. While still largely dependent on S.A. Witmer, Remus borrows an idea from John G. Stackhouse, Jr. to divide schools between those that are more "churchly" (for example, the transdenominational Ontario Bible College), and those that are "sectarian" in the way they stand apart from the social, cultural and educational mainstream (for example, Eastern

Saskatchewan Diamond Jubilee Corporation, 1980], 17-18). The only Bible school mentioned by Lane is Briercrest Bible College. It is interesting to note that Harder never uses the word "fundamentalist" in his article. Sawatsky too is careful in his use of the terms evangelical and fundamentalist.

⁵²"Trends in Canadian and American Theological Education, 1880-1980," *Theological Education* 18, No. 2 (Spring 1982): 176.

⁵³See the discussion in Ronald W. Neufeldt, *Religious Studies in Alberta: A State-of-the-Art Review* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1983), xiv. If Bible schools and colleges warrant only cursory treatment in a survey of religious studies, one would think they would receive fuller treatment in a survey of biblical studies. There is, however, no mention of Bible schools and colleges in John S. Moir, *A History of Biblical Studies in Canada: A Sense of Proportion* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982).

Pentecostal Bible College and London Baptist Bible College). Remus concludes, "Bible colleges--some more than others--represent a protest against what many founders saw as an erosion of institutional Christianity, of traditional Christian beliefs, and of Christian values and morals in the society and culture around them."⁵⁴

Despite the general absence of historical information, the series is, on the one hand, laudable for the way it does acknowledge the ongoing presence of Bible schools and colleges, and does advance genuine respect for the achievements of these independent, self-financing post-secondary institutions. Roland Miller, for example, correctly concludes:

Any analysis of the Bible school movement must be made in terms of the stated purpose. . . . They are schools committed to the effective teaching of a specific syllabus and the development of lifestyles exemplifying their understanding of life and truth. . . . Within these self-imposed limits the Bible school system in Saskatchewan represents an impressive edifice dedicated to the learning and practice of religion, defined as the Christian faith, which has had a significant impact on the general community.⁵⁵

On the other hand, the scant treatment remains a remarkable omission especially when one compares Bible school/college enrollments with the number of students involved in religious studies in other post-secondary institutions.⁵⁶

At the outset of this study I cited Keith Clifford's comment concerning the paucity of material on the history of theological education in Canada. In an article published in 1989, Clifford identified three questions that have to be addressed by anyone trying to sketch such a history:

The first of these is the transition from an apprenticeship system of ministerial training to the establishment of theological colleges. The second is the development of the theological colleges as professional schools. And the third is the emergence of the Bible Colleges as an alternative to the theological colleges in Canada. These may strike some as a curious trio, but all three questions have been ignored because of the narrow institutional focus of the existing histories

⁵⁴*Religious Studies in Ontario: A State of the Art Review* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1992), 272.

⁵⁵*Religious Studies in Manitoba and Saskatchewan: A State of the Art Review* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1993), 140-141.

⁵⁶Another example of such an omission is Edward Sheffield, et al., *Systems of Higher Education: Canada*, 2nd ed. (New York: International Council for Educational Development, 1982), which mentions in passing only those theological colleges that are directly connected to the university network in Canada.

of Canadian theological colleges and all three must be answered in order to place Canadian Protestant theological education in an adequate historical context.⁵⁷

Within the short scope of his article Clifford tries to build a context for each question. Although his discussion of the origins of the Bible school movement are rather preliminary, both his insistence that the Bible school movement be included as an integral part of theological education in Canada and his recognition that the primary thrust of many Bible schools was to train laypeople are noteworthy.

A spate of theses and dissertations featuring very specific facets of the Bible school/college movement in Canada were completed between 1970 and 2000. The majority are descriptive profiles of problems encountered in administration and curriculum development; most are based on quantitative questionnaire research and are, as a result, exceedingly narrow in scope.⁵⁸ References to the history of the Bible school/college movement in general,

⁵⁷"The History of Protestant Theological Education in Canada," 86.

⁵⁸They include: Edward Lawrence Oke, "A Philosophy of Bible College Education" (M.Ed. Thesis, University of Calgary, 1972); Carlin E. Weinbauer, "Church-related College Environmental Relations" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Alberta, 1979); Linda Jane Wiebe, "A Study of the Current Status of Christian Education in the Church of God in Canada" (M.R.E. Thesis, School of Theology, Anderson College, 1979); Henry Harold Budd, "The Financial Future of Canadian Bible Colleges" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Oregon, 1980); Peter Robin Gazard, "A Needs Assessment of Transfer Credit Procedures in Canadian Bible Colleges" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Calgary, 1980); Robert A. Rose, "The Evolution of the Role of the Board of Trustees in the Governance of a Canadian Bible College" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Alberta, 1981); Rod Wilson, "Predicting Dispositional Guilt in Evangelical Bible College Students" (Ph.D. Diss., York University, 1983); Donald J. Moore, "Experiential Characteristics of Deans and Faculty in US and Canadian Colleges" (Ph.D. Diss., Michigan State University, 1985); Paul E. Magnus, "A Planning Model for Faculty Development Programs in Bible Colleges of Western Canada" (Ed.D. Thesis, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1985); Edward Lawrence Oke, "A Descriptive Analysis of Evangelical Seminaries in Canada Based on and Comparing the Views of their Presidents and Deans and of the Canadian Leaders of Evangelical Denominations" (Ph.D. Diss., Andrews University, 1985); Stanley A. Sharkey, "Designing a Development Program for Western Pentecostal Bible College" (M.A. Thesis, Southern California College, 1985); Don Thiessen, "Assessment of Music Objectives in Canadian Bible Colleges Affiliated with AABC" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Minnesota, 1985); Joan Eileen Mayers, "Counselling Education in American and Canadian Bible Colleges" (D.Ed. Thesis, University of Western Michigan, 1986); Duane David Emch, "A Music Curriculum for Canadian Bible College" (Ed.D. Thesis, Arizona State University, 1986); Jacob P. Klassen, "Curriculum Evaluation and Revision for Canadian Bible College and Canadian Theological Seminary" (D.Miss. Thesis, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1986); Ray Ryan Easley, "Assessment of Student Outcomes in the Bible College: Identification of Important Outcomes and Current Practices" (Ed.D. Thesis, University of Arkansas, 1987); and Charlotte Anne Kinvig, "Relating Experiential and Classroom Learning: A Study in Bible College Curriculum" (Ph.D. Diss., Michigan State University, 1987). Most of these studies were completed by individuals who were themselves involved within the movement at the time (and in some instances still are).

Several more studies completed during the 1990s explored aspects of the Bible college experi-

or even to the history of specific institutions, are rare, and in almost all cases such references rely on American sources such as S.A. Witmer and John Mostert.

Notable examples of those who do integrate at least a short general historical survey include Edward L. Oke, Henry Budd and Peter Gazard. Although Edward L. Oke's thesis sets out to examine the philosophy of education used by Bible colleges, he begins with an historical overview of the context that gave rise to the movement. Following Clark, Walsh and Mann, Oke sees the Bible school movement as an integral part of the rise of religious sects in western Canada. Although he notes some connections to both Europe and the United States, helpful is his recognition that this was, in Canada, largely an indigenous initiative to provide training for personnel. Although he rather uncritically borrows church-sect language to describe this Protestant phenomenon (he does not use the word "fundamentalist"), and bases his understanding of the origins of the movement on those institutions still in existence during the 1970s, he is one of the few who recognized their contribution to the development of higher education in western Canada and who looked to the institutions themselves and to the context of western Canada for clues concerning the reasons for their origins.

Henry H. Budd, a former president of Briercrest Bible College, produced a technical study of financial aspects of Bible College administration. His historical survey of the Bible school movement relies extensively on S.A. Witmer. He sees the Canadian Bible school movement as an extension of the same influences that precipitated the movement in the United States. As a result, the rise of the movement is attributed to the increased secularization of private denominational colleges, the advance of liberal theology and methods of Bible study that created a distrust among evangelicals for denominational seminaries, and the impact of nineteenth-century evangelism and missions through the influence of people such

ence, but none included any historical analysis: Jim D. Schneider, "Autonomy in Moral Judgment among Bible College Students" (M.Ed. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1991); Ludwig Paul Sawchenko, "The Status of Institutional Research in Canadian Bible Colleges" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Alberta, 1991); Gary J. Bredfeldt, "The Values and Attitudes of Incoming Bible College Students Compared with Expectations of Faculty" (D.Ed. Diss., Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 1991); Dennis Hiebert, "Schools of Faith: The Effect of Liberal Arts, Professional and Religious Education on Faith Development" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Manitoba, 1993); Kenneth L. Penner, "The Role of the Bible College President in Canada" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Alberta, 1993); Lynn H. Wallace, "Learning Strategies of Bible College Freshmen: A Case Study of Prairie Bible College" (Ed.D. Diss., Montana State University, 1994); and Ellery Pullman, "The Concept of Faculty Vitality in the Canadian Bible College" (Ed.D. Diss., Biola University, 1997); and Daryl F. Busby, "The Activities, Beliefs and Aspirations of Students Entering Religious Colleges in Western Canada" (Ph.D. Diss., Trinity International University, 2000).

as R.A. Torrey, David Livingstone and Hudson Taylor.⁵⁹ In addition to training lay-people, the movement soon began training ministers for the many fundamentalist denominations, which appeared in the early twentieth century. In short, Bible colleges are, according to Budd, "solidly rooted in fundamentalism." His own involvement in Canada does help him observe and ponder some of the unique features of the Canadian movement. He notes that "the greatest concentration of Bible Colleges and Bible college students in proportion to the population is certainly found on the Canadian prairies," but does not explain why this happened.⁶⁰

Peter Gazard's study of transfer credit procedures in Canadian Bible colleges contains a surprisingly lengthy section devoted to the historical development of the movement. Although direct historical links are sometimes vague, Gazard, like Oke, argues that the Canadian Bible colleges represent a synthesis between a European heritage brought to Canada by a culturally diverse immigrant population and an American pattern of post-secondary educational institutions. Canadian immigrants looked for "an alternative educational institution to perpetuate their religious identity and/or fulfill the demand for adequately trained Christian workers."⁶¹ This is a theme that will be developed at length in this dissertation. Unfortunately, Gazard, like Budd, concludes that "Bible colleges grew out of the fundamentalist sectarian traditions of the rural prairie communities" without explaining the

⁵⁹It is intriguing to note how this historiographical characterization of the movement is often perpetuated not only by those who wish to marginalize or discredit the movement, but also, rather ironically, by people who are currently a part of the movement itself. Over the years, it has become a deeply-rooted part of a transdenominational Bible school "mythology." Questions were raised about it as early as 1948: R.F. Watts, a minister in the Baptist Union of Western Canada, discussed how certain schools "exaggerate the modernist-fundamentalist controversy out of all proportions and apply the label 'modernist' to all those who do not agree with them" (cited in O'Neil, "A Survey of the Bible Schools of Canada," 47). In a publication sent to the Millar College of the Bible (formerly Millar Memorial Bible Institute) constituency in 1996, Former president Brian Atmore makes a rather broad generalization by declaring, "The Bible college movement started because of a departure from the Word of God by the leading denominations" (*The Millar Link* 21, No. 1 [February-March 1996]: 5). Such statements do little to encourage mutual understanding among different Christian groups and much to fortify certain Bible schools' perception of themselves as the exclusive guardians of "truth."

⁶⁰"The Financial Future of Canadian Bible College," 12-17.

⁶¹"A Needs Assessment of Transfer Credit Procedures in Canadian Bible Colleges," 27.

relationship between the diverse immigrants and fundamentalism.⁶² His eclectic and uncritical (and sometimes even contradictory) collection of ideas is garnered from the same pool of secondary sources as Oke's and Budd's work, namely, Hiller, Mann and Witmer.

There are several other theses, which are more thoroughly historical in purpose, that have contributed significantly to our understanding of the history of fundamentalism in Canada in general and, in a few instances, to the Bible school movement in particular. In 1982, Walter Unger wrote a well-researched dissertation highlighting the role played by the Niagara Bible Conference in the emergence of American fundamentalism. The 1878 and 1886 Prophetic Conferences in Niagara laid the theological foundation for twentieth-century fundamentalism, although the prevailing emphases shifted by 1918 from prophecy and the cause of foreign missions to a vigorous defence of the fundamentals of the faith. Moreover, the conference provided a model of organization, leadership and literature that twentieth-century followers utilized to preserve and expand the movement.⁶³ Although Unger's work is primarily an analysis of the ideas undergirding fundamentalism, of interest for the Canadian scene is the link Unger makes between the people involved in the Niagara Conference (Elmore Harris and William Stewart) and those involved in the origins of Toronto Bible Training School (later known as Toronto Bible College and now as Tyndale College). According to Unger, Bible schools represent one of several institutionalized expressions of fundamentalism.

Examining some of the same material is Ronald Sawatsky's dissertation completed in 1985. Sawatsky argues that the essential underlying impulse driving Protestant evangelicalism in Canada during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries was a preoccupation with the imminent second return of Jesus Christ. This "Blessed Hope" took its most visible

⁶²"The View from Mount Nebo: Autonomy or Interdependence for Canadian and American Bible Colleges," *Christian Librarian* (February 1983): 44.

⁶³"'Earnestly Contending for the Faith': The Role of the Niagara Bible Conference in the Emergence of American Fundamentalism, 1875-1900" (Ph.D Diss., Simon Fraser University, 1982), 289. Unger's work accepts the general definitions and contours of fundamentalism outlined previously by Ernest Sandeen and George Marsden.

form in the ascendancy of a new variety of premillennialism known as dispensationalism.⁶⁴ Among other things, the participants “inaugurated a number of conservative evangelical enterprises such as the Bible and prophecy conferences, denominational and faith missions, Bible schools, publishing companies and a variety of philanthropic, social service activities.”⁶⁵ According to Sawatsky, “proto-fundamentalism”⁶⁶ in central Canada was characterized by an almost endless network of social and business relationships (not the least of which emanated from the offices of W.H. Howland, mayor of Toronto, and S.H. Blake, Chancellor of Ontario), as well as by a remarkable denominational diversity, extensive links with leaders in the American movement and a unique level of lay and clerical cooperation. Sawatsky’s work does much to challenge earlier stereotypes of fundamentalists as intransigent, anti-intellectual, rural bumpkins. It is unfortunate that developments in the Toronto area are taken as representative or typical of “proto-fundamentalism” for Canada as a whole.

Yet another dissertation was completed during the mid-1980s featuring fundamentalism in central Canada during the first half of the twentieth century. Brian A. McKenzie conducted a biographical study of Rowland Victor Bingham, founder and director of Sudan Interior Mission, long-time editor of the widely distributed *The Evangelical Christian* and a key player in the Canadian Keswick Conference.⁶⁷ The organizations with which Bingham was associated exercised considerable influence within the fundamentalist network across North America by promoting cooperative involvement in foreign missions and the Keswick

⁶⁴Excellent explanations of dispensational premillennialism can be found in Timothy Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875-1982* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987); and C. Norman Kraus, *Dispensationalism in America: Its Rise and Development* (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1958).

⁶⁵“Looking for that Blessed Hope’: The Roots of Fundamentalism in Canada, 1878-1914” (Ph.D. Diss., Centre for Religious Studies, University of Toronto, 1985), 4-5.

⁶⁶Sawatsky uses the term “proto-fundamentalism” to refer to a religious movement that existed before, during and after the conflictual 1920s. According to Sawatsky, many of the laypeople involved were “newly-moneyed, educated and upwardly mobile businessmen and professionals” who also became involved in civic and business leadership.

⁶⁷“Fundamentalism, Christian Unity, and Premillennialism in the Thought of Rowland Victor Bingham (1872-1942): A Study of Anti-Modernism in Canada” (Ph.D. Diss., University of Toronto, 1985). He acknowledges some reluctance in using Marsden’s definition of fundamentalism because of his observation that some of the people involved in the fundamentalist network were “anti-modernist” in their theology, but were not particularly “militant.”

emphasis on a victorious Christian life. McKenzie discovered a fundamentalism that was very different from that of T.T. Shields in polemics, eschatology and Christian unity. He notes, for example, the controversies generated by Bingham's emphasis on transdenominational cooperation and his minimization of denominational differences. Bingham's ambivalence towards dispensationalism prompts McKenzie to conclude that fundamentalism in Ontario was significantly less dispensational than in other parts of North America. Many of the observations made by Unger, Sawatsky and McKenzie about fundamentalism in central Canada need to be tested in other regions.

One final dissertation completed during the 1980s offers a significantly different way of looking at fundamentalism in Canada.⁶⁸ David Elliott packages eight detailed biographical vignettes that feature representative individuals such as A.B. Simpson, L.E. Maxwell, Oswald J. Smith, T.T. Shields, William Aberhart and P.W. Philpott to argue that fundamentalism was more than a conservative reaction against modernism. It was a different religion from mainline Christianity. He finds the roots of fundamentalism in various eighteenth and nineteenth-century schismatic movements that had structural, intellectual and behavioural similarities to various medieval and early church heresies. Lacking ties with the religious establishment, Elliott claims fundamentalists developed a popular theology rooted in a kind of "intellectual underworld." Although the detailed biographies contain a considerable amount of interesting information, the dissertation suffers from a confusing and often poorly integrated historiographical framework. Finding similarities, or even evidence of direct influence, between certain fundamentalists (as in the case of L.E. Maxwell) and medieval "heretics" does not make them part of identical movements. The study often isolates bizarre beliefs and behaviours from the totality of an individual's life and beliefs, which are then extrapolated into generalizations about fundamentalism. Helpful, however, is Elliott's observation that even though fundamentalists often had a self-perception of being conservatives they were far more radical than nineteenth-century conservatives.

2.3.5 Studies Completed During the 1990s

The decade of the 1990s witnessed a remarkable increase in scholarly interest and

⁶⁸"Studies of Eight Canadian Fundamentalists" (Ph.D. Diss., University of British Columbia, 1989).

activity in the history of twentieth-century evangelical Protestantism in Canada. With this increase, thankfully, came a new level of interpretive maturity. In part, this new momentum was a spill-over effect from the extensive work done in the field of evangelical historiography in the United States, a field that has become a veritable cottage industry following the publication in 1980 of George Marsden's magisterial study of American fundamentalism.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, despite the growing body of scholarly literature available on the history of evangelical Protestantism, examples of irresponsible treatments of Bible schools and fundamentalism that promote ongoing ignorance and even prejudice, continued to appear in Canada.

A scholar such as H.H. Walsh did not have access to the vast body of literature on evangelical historiography that now exists; this is not the case, however, for someone such as Benjamin Smillie who presents an analysis of the political and theological culture of the prairies. Even though his book features "Hinterland theology" that arises out of a certain aspect of the social gospel movement, evangelical Protestantism on the prairies is scarcely mentioned despite its demographic strength in the region and despite the way some evangelical Protestants have been prominently involved in various protest movements on the prairies. In his only reference to the Bible school movement, Smillie mentions W.B. Riley (an American fundamentalist) and William Aberhart who promoted "Dispensational Theology and the Scofield Bible interpretation of history." According to Smillie,

It was this brand of theology that held out the greatest promise for the poor. Baptists had an impact on theological education on the Prairies by establishing small Bible Schools in which they taught farmers' children. These "non-denominational" fundamentalist Bible schools provided an opportunity for the children of the poor who could not afford formal education, to obtain basic training for public speaking and local leadership.⁷⁰

⁶⁹George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980). See the bibliographies compiled by Norris Magnuson and William G. Travis, *American Evangelicalism: An Annotated Bibliography* (West Cornwall, CT: Locust Hill Press, 1990); Norris Magnuson and William G. Travis, *American Evangelicalism II: First Bibliographical Supplement* (West Cornwall, CT: Locust Hill Press, 1997); Edith L. Blumhofer and Joel A. Carpenter, *Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism: A Guide to the Sources* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990); and Glenn H. Utter and John W. Storey, *The Religious Right: A Reference Handbook* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1995).

⁷⁰*Beyond the Social Gospel: Church Protest on the Prairies* (Saskatoon, SK: Fifth House Publishers, 1991), 131.

It is difficult to take such a careless description seriously. One suspects that adherence to such unsubstantiated characterizations, even stereotypes, is necessary in order for Smillie to dismiss a movement that does not fit his desired model of theological "protest."⁷¹ While his treatment of Bible schools and evangelical Protestantism in general leaves much to be desired, his book illustrates well the way in which the history of Christianity on the prairies in general and evangelical Protestantism in particular, remains, in the words of Roland Miller, "a relatively virgin field waiting to be ploughed."⁷²

During the early 1990s George Rawlyk published two articles in which he applied a secularization thesis to Protestant theological education. The first features a case study of McMaster University from which Rawlyk makes some sweeping generalizations about trends in Protestant theological education during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. The secularization of Protestant higher education was accompanied, notes Rawlyk, by "the extraordinary growth of the Bible school movement." In passing, he suggests that Bible schools in Canada have served, and continue to serve, as the new institutions of higher learning for "besieged fundamentalists and evangelicals."⁷³ The second article, entitled "Canadian Protestant Theological Education," continues the application of the secularization thesis to Protestant theological education in Canada by offering a brief survey of the rise, the fall and the more recent rise of evangelical seminary education.⁷⁴ While it is true that the origin of the Bible school movement in Canada coincides with the declining influence of

⁷¹Other, more vicious, treatments of evangelical Protestantism in Canada include Rodney M. Booth, *The Winds of God: The Canadian Church faces the 1980s* (Winfield, BC: Wood Lake Books, 1982), 111-113; and Judith Haiven, *Faith, Hope, No Charity: An Inside Look at the Born Again Movement in Canada and the United States* (Vancouver, BC: New Star Books, 1984).

⁷²See John M. Badertscher, Gordon Harland and Roland E. Miller, *Religious Studies in Manitoba and Saskatchewan: A State of the Art Review* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1993).

⁷³"Protestant Church Colleges: Past and Future," in *The Secularization of the Academy*, eds. George M. Marsden and Bradley J. Longfield (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 298.

⁷⁴The article exists in a number of different forms: see "Canadian Protestant Theological Education in Canada: From Evangelical to Liberal to Evangelical?" Chapter Two in *Is Jesus Your Personal Saviour?* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996); "Canadian Protestant Theological Education," in *Theological Education in the Evangelical Tradition*, eds., D.G. Hart and R. Albert Mohler, Jr., 255-271 (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1996); and "Canadian Protestant Theological Education," in *Studies in Canadian Evangelical Renewal*, eds. Kevin Quast and John Vissers, 10-33 (Markham, ON: Faith Today Publications, 1997).

evangelical Protestants within Protestant church colleges, what remains unclear in Rawlyk's article is whether there is in fact a relationship between these two events. The major growth in the Bible school movement takes place during the 1930s and 1940s, long after a liberal hegemony is solidly in place in Protestant seminaries. Moreover, the generalizations that may have been accurate about Protestant seminary education were not necessarily relevant to those interested in Bible schools. The vast majority of students who attended Bible schools had no interest whatsoever in attending a mainline Protestant seminary.

By far the most extensive study of twentieth-century evangelical Protestantism in Canada is a monograph by John G. Stackhouse, Jr., which was introduced in Chapter One. It began as a dissertation and was subsequently revised and published. It complements several studies of Canadian evangelicalism in earlier periods as well as the burgeoning number of studies of evangelicalism being published in the United States.⁷⁵ Stackhouse sees "evangelicalism" as an important category for describing the patterns of allegiance and activities within Canadian Protestantism. It is "an important organizing principle" that drew a variety of Protestants together into a cooperative fellowship by their common commitment to three central priorities: orthodox doctrine, personal spirituality and evangelism at home and abroad. This encouraged a kind of ecumenism that was quite different, and ultimately more successful, than the drive to achieve organic union that preoccupied many other Protestants at the turn of the century. During the past twenty-five years transdenominational evangelicalism in Canada has become a vast "network of interlocking institutions, a mutually supportive fellowship of organizations and individuals."⁷⁶

Stackhouse demonstrates that Canadian evangelicals are neither a British residue nor some bizarre American import, and that, despite some common concerns, there is substantially less evidence within transdenominational evangelicalism in Canada of the militant type

⁷⁵"Proclaiming the Word: Canadian Evangelicalism Since the First World War" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Chicago, 1987); revised as *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to Its Character* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1993). Among other things, the book represents a direct challenge to the careless application of the church-sect thesis to Canadian evangelicalism, an approach that Stackhouse rightly claims has dominated scholarly treatments of evangelicalism in Canada and has obscured its diversity and complexity (13-17).

⁷⁶"The Emergence of a Fellowship: Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century," *Church History* 60, No. 2 (June 1991): 248.

of fundamentalism that had such a divisive impact in the United States.⁷⁷ He uses seven detailed institutional biographies to argue that two distinct patterns, two kinds of evangelical disposition or *mentalités*, characterize evangelicals in Canada. "Churchish" institutions represented by Toronto Bible College and Regent College are contrasted with the more "sectish" institutions such as Prairie Bible Institute and Trinity Western University. The

⁷⁷Aside from the questions concerning the applicability of Marsden's definition of fundamentalism, many scholars have noted the more irenic quality of Canadian evangelicalism and have offered explanations: (1) George Rawlyk's research on Maritime Baptists suggests that the combative and confrontational style of American fundamentalism was foreign to the religious and cultural ethos of the Maritimes. Maritime revivalism engendered a pragmatic state of mind, more concerned with personal religious experience than with doctrine, which was open to theological diversity and coexistence. As a result, J. Daggett's and J. Sidey's well-orchestrated campaign against the Maritime United Baptist Convention in 1934 failed to result in schism. Their confrontational style was perceived as an alien intrusion (*Champions of the Truth*). (2) Michael Gauvreau suggests that Canadian Presbyterians and Methodists (and later the United Church of Canada) avoided the public fundamentalist controversies because: first, in these Canadian churches the matter of church union overshadowed the issue of the authority of the Bible and of evolution; second, the Presbyterians had no "fundamentalist" leaders comparable to their American counterparts; and third, the dominance of the British--more specifically Scottish--intellectual influences provided a framework that blended evangelical theology and evolutionary higher criticism. The first generation of leaders in the United Church of Canada (for example, George Pidgeon) in particular insisted on retaining their evangelical traditions, but approached new ideas with a tone of moderation and reconciliation (*The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* [Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991], 268ff). (3) Gauvreau's argument is augmented by Ian Rennie who suggests that the strong British influence among Canadian evangelicals tended to moderate American fundamentalist influences ("Fundamentalism and the Varieties of North Atlantic Evangelicalism," in *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond*, eds. Mark Noll, David Bebbington and George Rawlyk [New York: Oxford University Press, 1994], 333-350). (4) John Moir argues that the militance of fundamentalist Presbyterians was tempered somewhat by their need to join in common cause with other anti-unionists in the 1920s in the fight against church union (*Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* [Toronto: Bryant Press, 1974]). (5) Harry H. Hiller offers several observations: first, there was a much greater proportion of Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians in the United States; second, Canadian society did not experience the same large-scale industrialization and ensuing social change as did the United States; and third, Canadian Protestant churches seldom identified the social gospel with the modernist controversy ("Continentalism and the Third Force in Religion," *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 3, No. 2 [1978]: 194). (6) My earlier research suggested (and it is substantiated in this study) that, at least in western Canada, the influence of American fundamentalism was diffused by the ethnic preoccupations of certain religious groups such as the Mennonites during the early twentieth century ("The Origin of the Bible School Movement in Western Canada: Towards an Ethnic Interpretation," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* [1993]: 135-174). (7) John Stackhouse observes that the absence of wealthy businesspersons and large foundations forced transdenominational evangelical organizations to appeal to "a broad middle," rather than to the narrower, and potentially more divisive, interests of a particular sector within evangelicalism (*Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 202). (8) Jim Opp observes that the pragmatic fundamentalists soon learned that using a technological tool such as radio to evangelize required a more moderate tone in order to reach a broad audience ("Culture of the Soul": Fundamentalism and Evangelism in Canada, 1921-1940" [M.A. Thesis, University of Calgary, 1994], 142).

former drew its support from evangelicals among practically all Protestant denominations manifesting thereby a significant continuity with nineteenth-century groups, whereas the latter was supported almost exclusively by smaller, more recently-formed evangelical Protestant denominations. The former was strongest in urban areas of long-standing British immigration (Toronto and Vancouver); the latter was strongest in rural areas of more recent American and East European immigration. The former actively engaged contemporary culture and scholarship, while the latter was more cautious and even suspicious or hostile, towards “modern” ideas. According to Stackhouse, the former readily affirmed its fundamental belief in the unique authority and inspiration of Scripture, while the latter insisted on the word “inerrancy” or a verbal equivalent. The former believed in the practice of personal holiness, but gave more discretion to the individual, while the latter tended to prescribe acceptable and proscribe unacceptable behaviour. Cumulatively, these new institutions served as alternatives to those of mainline churches or of society-at-large and, despite their differences, they all shared a common concern to maintain orthodox doctrine, develop personal spirituality and evangelize at home and abroad. Stackhouse argues that since the 1960s the “mainstream” of Canadian evangelicalism welcomed a wider variety of traditions into its network as more Mennonites, Christian Reformed and Pentecostals emerged from their enclaves. In addition, the two dispositions have gradually come together during the last two decades with common concerns in higher education, in developing a self-conscious identity and in exerting political influence.

Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century placed the scholarly study of twentieth-century Canadian evangelicalism on the menu of Canadian religious history. Although only two of the institutions selected by Stackhouse were Bible schools, the book nevertheless marks a contribution to an understanding of the Bible school movement in Canada by suggesting an important modification of Harder’s earlier assessment of the movement as a fundamentalist reaction in light of the broad range of denominations involved throughout the history of one of the oldest Bible colleges in Canada, Toronto Bible College.⁷⁸ While the institutional biographies of Prairie Bible Institute and Toronto Bible College are detailed and insightful, they do not on their own constitute an analysis of the Bible

⁷⁸*Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 79.

school/college movement.

Stackhouse's exclusive use of transdenominational institutions illustrates well his observations concerning the two dispositions within transdenominational evangelicalism. Although the book offers glimpses into the changing nature of the relationship between transdenominational and denominational institutions, one does not obtain a proportionate picture of the relative size of the constituencies served by transdenominational evangelical institutions in comparison to the plethora of evangelical denominational institutions in existence prior to 1960. During the first half of the twentieth century, schools with so-called "denominational peculiarities" were by far the majority and not the exception. A study such as this dissertation is, therefore, designed both to enlarge the view of the Canadian evangelicalism prior to 1960 and an understanding of the dynamics within, and the relationships among, various evangelical groups. In addition, this study provides an opportunity to examine how well the sectish-churchish typology works when applied to more evangelical institutions within a particular region during the first half of the twentieth century.

Helpful, although somewhat cursory, are two essays by Robert A. Wright and John G. Stackhouse, Jr. Wright's essays features the period from 1914 to 1945. Largely centred around developments that effected mainline Protestant groups, Wright nevertheless recognizes the widespread influence of fundamentalism. According to Wright, fundamentalists distinguished themselves by stressing the wrath of God, by employing premillennial and often dispensationalist constructs and, above all, by their militant refusal to compromise with modernism.⁷⁹ Although Wright is quick to distance himself from stereotypes of fundamentalists as the exclusive domain of the rural and urban poor, he does state that fundamentalism tended to appeal to those who felt socially or culturally marginalized.

The interwar period saw a veritable explosion of new fundamentalist groups. It was fundamentalism that gave many new predominately ethnic groups a new theological orientation. It is unfortunate that Wright's discussion of "sectarianism" in western Canada relies so heavily on Mann's older study. Wright's article suffers also from an equivocal use of the term "fundamentalist" and "sectarian" from his unsubstantiated claim that all the ethnic groups that settled on the prairies were "self-consciously fundamentalist."

⁷⁹"The Canadian Protestant Tradition, 1914-1945," in *The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1760-1990* (Burlington, ON: Welch, 1990), 158.

Wright claims that a host of Bible schools founded during the interwar period became the institutional bedrock for evangelical Protestantism in Canada. These schools were formed to train fundamentalist pastors, lay workers and missionaries, and tended to be revivalistic in temperament, stressing personal religion, evangelism and missions. The article includes an incomplete list of Bible schools in western Canada borrowed from Mann.

Stackhouse's more carefully nuanced article on developments within evangelical Protestantism since 1945 is based on his previously mentioned work. He too maintains that the Bible school movement played a key role in the current resurgence of evangelical Protestantism in Canada. It demonstrated the willingness of evangelicals to work together in a common cause, that is, to train young people for domestic church service and foreign missionary work.⁸⁰

Offering a somewhat different revision than did Stackhouse to the general characterization of the Bible school movement as solely the result of a fundamentalist reaction against Protestant liberalism is my own article published in 1993.⁸¹ Using the proliferation of Mennonite Bible schools in western Canada as a case study, I argued that these Mennonite schools did not originate as a reaction against existing ecclesiastical or theological traditions; rather they represented a major effort on the part of several Mennonite denominations to protect their homogeneity as Mennonites by passing on their religious and ethnic distinctives to successive generations. The article concluded with a call for a more multi-faceted explanation of the origin and development of the Bible school movement in Canada. Any re-assessment of one part of the Bible school movement inevitably requires a new view of the whole movement.

The recent thesis in which James Opp put forward an historiographical challenge concerning the various interpretations of fundamentalism in Canada was noted in Chapter One.⁸² The same thesis includes a short chapter on the Bible school movement, which Opp

⁸⁰Stackhouse designates Prairie Bible Institute as the "most important" Bible school in Canada ("The Protestant Experience in Canada Since 1945," in *The Canadian Protestant Experience*, 204-205).

⁸¹"The Origin of the Bible School Movement in Western Canada," 135-174.

⁸²"'Culture of the Soul': Fundamentalism and Evangelism in Canada, 1921-1940" (M.A. Thesis, University of Calgary, 1994); see also James Opp, "The New Age of Evangelism: Fundamentalism and Radio on the Canadian Prairies, 1925-1945," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1994): 99-119.

believes formed the clearest expression of the fundamentalist subculture. While rejecting allegations that these closed communities were essentially totalitarian regimes, Opp argues that these unique self-contained communities were "an idealistic microcosm for how fundamentalists encouraged an internal spirituality while engaging the outside world in a variety of evangelistic activities."⁸³ Students were trained in an atmosphere of discipline and spirituality within these closed and, sometimes isolated, communities, but at the same time were involved in evangelistic efforts in surrounding communities. Helpful too is his consideration of the north-south connections, as well as the many informal interdenominational contacts within Canadian evangelicalism. Although Opp's work focuses specifically on the internal dynamics within fundamentalist schools, he readily acknowledges that fundamentalist institutions were not alone in constituting the broader Bible school movement.

May 1995 at Queen's University marked a landmark occasion for the discipline of religious history in Canada. Organized by the late George Rawlyk and funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts, the "Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience" conference was the largest, best-funded conference dealing with any aspect of the history of religion in Canada held to date.⁸⁴ At least two of the presentations at this conference have implications for this study. While not directly dealing with the Bible school movement, D. Bruce Hindmarsh's presentation featuring an indigenous network of Winnipeg fundamentalists is important in

⁸³Opp, "'Culture of the Soul': Fundamentalism and Evangelism in Canada, 1921-1940," 88. This was partly a response to David Elliott who described Prairie Bible Institute as manifesting the characteristics of "a military camp, a Hutterite colony and a monastery" with a "neo-Manichaean mystical spirituality" ("Studies of Eight Canadian Fundamentalists," 258). Opp's observations are derived largely from transdenominational Bible schools; absent is any discussion of the environment within denominational schools.

⁸⁴Essays from this conference were subsequently published as *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997). The conference itself was modelled after the numerous events organized by the Institute for the Study of American Evangelicalism (ISAE) in Wheaton, Illinois. Two notable collections of ISAE conference papers include George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll, eds., *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada and the United States* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994); and Noll, Bebbington and Rawlyk, eds., *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1770-1990*.

The significance of this conference is discussed by both Robert K. Burkinshaw, "Aspects of an Evangelical Historiography," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1995): 181-195; reprinted in *Studies in Religion* 25, No. 1 (1996): 7-20; and John G. Stackhouse, Jr., "The Historiography of Canadian Evangelicalism: A Time to Reflect," *Church History* (December 1995): 627-634.

several ways.⁸⁵ His complaints about the careless use of the terms “sectarian” and “fundamentalism” were noted in Chapter One. He directs attention away from the personalities and institutions in Alberta prominently featured in other studies as characteristic or representative of fundamentalism and evangelicalism in western Canada. He points instead towards the significance of a largely indigenous fundamentalist network surrounding Elim Chapel in Winnipeg and emanating outwards to various transdenominational Bible schools (for example, Winnipeg Bible Institute, Millar Memorial Bible Institute, Bricrest Bible Institute, et al.) and evangelistic ministries in Manitoba and Saskatchewan (for example, Canadian Sunday School Mission). The short article leaves considerable room for exploring more fully the precise place of various Bible schools within this fundamentalist network, and for examining more closely the influence of the Winnipeg fundamentalist network within some of the denominational networks in western Canada created by various ethnic immigrant groups, as well as the Holiness movement and Pentecostal constituencies who were often kept at a distance from fundamentalism because of an implacable opposition to Pentecostal theological beliefs.

At this same conference Robert K. Burkinshaw presented a paper in which he outlined the contours of the evangelical Bible college movement. In it, he tried to determine the magnitude of the influence of the Bible school movement on twentieth-century evangelicalism, to explain this influence and to explain the significance of the changes, beginning in the 1950s and continuing into the 1990s, that took place within the movement. After highlighting the profound impact of Bible schools on denominations such as the Evangelical Free Church, the Mennonite Brethren and the Baptist Union of Western Canada, Burkinshaw explains:

The twin purposes of the Bible schools--teaching the Bible as truth rather than as an academic subject, and training for practical Christian living and ministry--are key to understanding their growth. The two emphases provided Bible schools with both considerable populist appeal--to a biblicist and activist evangelical constituency--and a far greater flexibility than that enjoyed by more traditional liberal arts or theological church-related colleges.⁸⁶

⁸⁵“The Winnipeg Fundamentalist Network, 1910-1940: The Roots of Transdenominational Evangelicalism in Manitoba and Saskatchewan,” in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, 303-319.

⁸⁶“Evangelical Bible Colleges in Twentieth-Century Canada,” in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, 373.

Accessibility was enhanced by flexible admission policies, low tuition fees and the general freedom from denominational boards and bureaucracies. During the 1960s many schools moved towards accreditation, which meant upgrading library holdings, admission requirements, faculty qualifications, course offerings and other areas of college operations. Burkinshaw suggests that this transition reflected the new status of many evangelical denominations, which had moved from their accustomed place on the margins of society. The concern for upgrading educational qualifications led eventually to the establishment of a number of evangelical seminaries and an increasing popularity of liberal arts colleges. In order to compete, many colleges began integrating a new range of vocational studies to attract students. Burkinshaw's recognition of the diversity within the movement results in a considerably more nuanced interpretation than in previous efforts to explain the movement. The impossibility of addressing the wide range of questions that emerge from a study of the Bible school movement within the confines of a short article confirm the need for more comprehensive investigations.⁸⁷

A comprehensive understanding of any movement requires a foundation of more detailed studies. Although not the first thesis to feature a single Canadian Bible school, James Enns's recent thesis examining the historical development of Prairie Bible Institute is the first full-length institutional study that tries to locate the school within the historiographical literature on evangelicalism and fundamentalism.⁸⁸ He complains that Mann's attempt to impose a uniform sociological model on all "sectarian" institutions in Alberta does not account adequately for the diverse nature of fundamentalism. Like Goertz, Opp and Hindmarsh, Enns takes exception to Stackhouse's reluctance to identify the school as fundamentalist. Taking particular aim at Stackhouse, Enns argues that the selection of Prairie Bible

⁸⁷While not directly related to the Bible school movement, numerous other papers featured aspects of Protestantism during the first half of the twentieth century, thereby offering a better understanding of the religious context in which the movement emerged and developed.

⁸⁸James Enns, "Every Christian a Missionary: Fundamental Education at Prairie Bible Institute, 1922-1947" (M.A. Thesis, University of Calgary, 2000), 8. Two other theses featuring a single Bible school in Canada include Edward Hildebrandt, "A History of the Winnipeg Bible Institute and College of Theology from 1925-1960" (M.Th. Thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1965); and Ruth Mildred Martin, "The Canadian Bible College—History from 1941-1962" (M.A. Thesis, Winona Lake School of Theology, 1962). Both are primarily descriptive and lack the interpretative framework present in the work of Enns.

Institute as representative of “sectish” transdenominational evangelicalism, reduced its identity to “a ‘sectish’ voice in a broader, more irenic, evangelical tapestry.”⁸⁹ In addition, he argues that the frequent use of Prairie Bible Institute as the only example of a Bible school in western Canada minimizes the variegated nature of fundamentalism on the prairies. Enns argues that “preparing students for foreign missionary service became the central organizing principle behind Prairie Bible Institute’s growth and development. The impetus for such a mandate came out of a particular stream of fundamentalism that stressed personal holiness and sacrificial discipline. The study is a helpful model for the kind of focussed study that some other Bible schools in Canada deserve.

Two works in the area of the history of higher education in Canada completed near the end of the 1990s deserve mention. The first is an excellent example of how scholarship from a wide range of fields can be integrated in order to produce a thorough analysis of a selected theme; at least in its treatment of Bible schools and colleges, the second is an example of the persistent reliance on outdated scholarship that merely perpetuates stereotypes. The first study, a dissertation by Peter S. Rae completed in 1998 in the area of educational administration, features the results of an extensive survey of Bible schools and Christian colleges that then serves as the foundation for more detailed case studies of three Christian colleges. One of the schools selected for scrutiny started as a transdenominational Bible school (Winnipeg Bible Institute), became an accredited Bible college during the 1970s, and now is well on its way towards becoming a Christian liberal arts college.⁹⁰ The study begins with a superb, thought-provoking critique of the way in which church-related post-secondary education has been treated, that is, neglected, in a wide range of literature. Although the study includes a short introduction to the Bible school movement that relies heavily on Harder, Guenther and Stackhouse, its primary purpose is to explore the implications of affiliation and accreditation, a subject of contemporary concern for many Bible college leaders. Each of the three case studies is carefully situated within its historical context. The study makes a compelling case for the inclusion of church-related higher education as a viable constituent part of Canadian higher education.

⁸⁹Enns, “Every Christian a Missionary,” 7.

⁹⁰“Unholy Alliance? The Church and Higher Education in Canada” (Ph.D. Diss., University of Manitoba, 1998).

The second study, a multi-authored volume entitled *Higher Education in Canada: Different Systems, Different Perspectives*, represents a recent, collaborative attempt to produce a more comprehensive and integrated history of higher education in Canada since 1945. It was intended to counter earlier studies that focussed on specific aspects of higher education in relative isolation from the other parts. The authors recognize the diversity within higher education in Canada and utilize a series of regional analyses to present a comprehensive picture. It is commendable that one essay at least includes the Bible college movement as part of the comprehensive picture and even notes that the curricular options within such schools go well beyond theology. The brief discussion, however, is marred by numerous historical inaccuracies and a rather banal application of Mann's outdated work to suggest that Bible colleges continue to "offer some of the same attractions to a lower-income rural population that liberal arts colleges offer a more affluent, urban population."⁹¹ The volume indicates that the growing wealth of scholarship in the area of evangelical historiography in Canada has yet to be included by many scholars writing about the history of higher education. The failure to consult more of the available literature on the movement is rather ironic in view of the volume's objective of offering a more authentic description of the different constituent parts that together comprise higher education in Canada.

In summary, this section notes the ongoing influence of the sociological studies done by S.D. Clark and W.E. Mann within several more specialized fields of study. While passing reference can be found to Bible schools and colleges in the literature on history of higher education in Canada, an awareness of relevant developments in evangelical historiography in this field is still rare and, as a result, the contribution of Bible schools and colleges to the development of higher education in Canada continues to be overlooked. Attention was given to the remarkable increase of scholarly interest beginning in the 1980s in the history of fundamentalism and evangelical Protestantism among historians of religion in Canada. Emerging from within these studies was the characterization of the Bible school movement as a fundamentalist reaction to the pervasive influence of theological liberalism within Protestant seminaries. Numerous studies conducted in this field, particularly within the past decade, have suggested the need for more nuanced historiographical interpretations that serve

⁹¹William R. Muir, "Saskatchewan," in *Higher Education in Canada: Different Systems, Different Perspectives*, ed. Glen A. Jones (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1997), 96, 104-106, 328-329.

as a helpful foundation from which both to build and on which to add. Despite the increase in the number of specialized studies that include the Bible school/college movement in some way, considerable room remains for a series of more comprehensive investigations. Attention turns now to two, more narrowly defined, fields of study.

2.4 Literature Featuring the Bible School Movement in the United States

Developments in the United States in the specialized field of evangelical historiography have always preceded those in Canada by several decades. It is not surprising then to discover that extended studies highlighting the Bible school movement have already been done in the United States. As has already been noted, some of these American studies have influenced considerably the interpretation of both fundamentalism in Canada in general and the Bible school movement in particular. More recently, a comparative approach has been encouraged in the study of evangelicalism.⁹² Examining parallel events in more than one historical context often illuminates unexpected congruencies as well as draws attention to the particulars of specific region. Although the present dissertation is not a comparative look between the historical development of the Bible school movement in the United States and Canada, it borrows aspects from various American models of analysis and tests their pertinence within the western Canadian context. Although the Bible school movement in the United States and Canada started at approximately the same time and there are clear links and similarities between the two movements, this study demonstrates that the Bible school movement in western Canada was not simply a carbon copy of the American movement.

The first efforts to trace the historical contours of the Bible school movement in North America are contained in two rather obscure theses by Lenice F. Reed in 1947 and William S. McBirnie, Jr. in 1953.⁹³ It is interesting to observe that Reed's early lament concerning the absence of information is later echoed by those looking at Canadian Bible

⁹²In a recent historiographical survey of comparative approaches to the study of evangelicalism, Mark A. Noll strongly encourages more scholars to look at the post-1920 period (see "Comparative Evangelical History," *Evangelical Studies Bulletin* 9, No. 2 [Fall 1992]: 5-9).

⁹³"The Bible Institute Movement in America" (M.A. Thesis, Wheaton College, 1947); and "A Study of the Bible Institute Movement" (D.R.E. Diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1952). Another more unabashedly celebratory work is John G. Best, "The Bible College on the March" (M.A. Thesis, Pacific College of Azusa, 1955).

schools.⁹⁴ Largely uncritical, the two studies are nevertheless useful for the factual information they provide.

More extensive is the previously-mentioned dissertation by H.W. Boon, which explores the relationship of the Bible school movement to the general field of theological education.⁹⁵ According to Boon, the origins of the movement are rooted in the evangelical zeal activated by nineteenth-century revivalism. A series of revivals inspired a new generation of young people to devote themselves to evangelistic and missionary service. The lack of universal public secondary education made the longer and more demanding college and seminary training impossible for many. Bible schools were intended to expedite the training of laypeople for Christian service both as foreign missionaries and as workers in local church Sunday schools. Boon attributes the rapid expansion of the movement to the theological differences that became more pronounced after the turn of the century. The shortage of evangelical theological seminaries provided the Bible school/college movement, at least for a time, with a unique niche as an alternative to existing seminaries. Although the title promises some Canadian content, information about Canadian schools is limited to basic statistical data on eleven schools for the year 1946.⁹⁶

Some of the early material on the Bible school movement explores its place within the development of American higher education.⁹⁷ (As noted earlier, the Bible school movement is almost entirely absent in the Canadian literature on higher education.) A report

⁹⁴Reed begins, "In spite of the fact that so many Bible institutes dot the country from shore to shore, no mention of the movement can be found in an encyclopaedia. Even the founders such as D.L. Moody are afforded little space or notice. Though the mission fields are manned by hundreds of Bible school graduates, and though a sizeable proportion of Christian work in the homeland is carried on by those who received their training in Bible institutes, yet authentic information seems to be very scant. Many libraries are unable to furnish even a magazine article on the subject" ("The Bible Institute Movement in America," 1-2).

⁹⁵"The Development of the Bible College and Institute in the United States and Canada Since 1880." Another early thesis used extensively by Boon, which deals largely with curricula, is Hubert Reynhout, Jr., "A Comparative Study of Bible Institute Curriculums" (M.A. Thesis, University of Michigan, 1947).

⁹⁶While the statistical picture created by Boon is useful, many Canadian schools are overlooked including Prairie Bible Institute, which had the largest enrolment of any theological school in North America at the time.

⁹⁷For a brief survey of early pioneers of this interpretative approach, see John Mostert, "Bible College Movement: Past Present, and Future," Paper given at the Fifth Conference of Christian Educators, 26-27 May 1964, MCHA, Vol. 2234.

published in 1951 by the National Association of Evangelicals recognized Bible schools as a distinct educational genre. The evangelical revivals of the nineteenth century created a thirst for Bible knowledge and a demand for trained laypeople and missionary recruits. In this volume, S.A. Witmer situated the Bible school movement within broader educational trends during the latter part of the nineteenth century that

saw the tremendous growth of secondary schools and college education, the multiplication of vocational schools, the growth of adult education, and the new opportunities in education for women. . . . It is not a coincidence that the Bible institute movement grew up during the very period when the philosophy of naturalism became prevalent in American education.⁹⁸

Although the movement is scarcely acknowledged in Richard Niebuhr's survey of theological education, what he does say is especially insightful in view of subsequent studies by scholars such as Virginia Brereton and Joel Carpenter. Niebuhr observes that

the growth of the Bible school movement in the twentieth century is not always to be regarded as a phenomenon of the opposition of "conservatives" to "liberals"; it is an indication of the increased participation of certain groups in the United States and Canada in the general movement toward education. The conservative schools seem to have their origin less in antagonism to the "liberal" schools than in the desire of conservative groups to provide higher education of a Christian type for their young people and particularly for their ministers.⁹⁹

The most influential and, as has already been noted, widely-used general study of the Bible school movement was completed during the early 1960s by S.A. Witmer, a former Bible school president who was dubbed "Mr. Bible School." Witmer worked actively as the first full-time executive secretary of the American Association of Bible Institutes and Colleges, which was founded in 1947 to be an accrediting agency for Bible schools. According to Witmer, the first Bible schools were established to train men and women for church vocations or Christian ministries through a program of Biblical and practical training. His work is essentially a descriptive apologia in which he maintains that the Bible institutes represented "a pietistic reaction to secularism, a theistic reaction to humanism and agnosti-

⁹⁸"A New Form of American Education," in *Christian Education in a Democracy: The Report of the N.A.E. Committee*, ed. Frank E. Gaebelin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), 167-168.

⁹⁹H. Richard Niebuhr, Daniel Day Williams and James M. Gustafson, *The Advancement of Theological Education* (New York: Harper, 1957), 5.

cism, a resurgence of spiritual dynamic in Protestantism, a restoration of Biblical authority and direction in education, and a return to the central concern of Christian education--the implementation of Christ's Great Commission: 'Go ye into all the world.'¹⁰⁰

While not a critical analysis, Witmer's volume contains a wealth of information about general patterns within the movement concerning dates of origin, enrollments, denominational status, curricula, accreditation, along with institutional biographies of "leading" schools. Although he sees the movement in Canada as an essential part of the American movement, he does note some basic differences--for example, the disproportionate number of schools in western Canada that he attributes to the "less conservative conditions of the Canadian west."¹⁰¹ Although Witmer tries hard to be as comprehensive, his analysis is marred by a failure to include the numerous schools that were no longer in existence in 1962.¹⁰²

As noted in Chapter One, the trend within American religious historiography to subject fundamentalism and evangelicalism to more critical scrutiny began during the 1960s and 1970s. This trend took almost two decades to spread north of the border. The initial impetus for the study of evangelical Protestantism in the United States came largely from the impact of works by Timothy L. Smith, Ernest R. Sandeen and especially George M. Marsden.¹⁰³ It was Ernest Sandeen who in 1970 declared,

No analysis of the structure of the Fundamentalist movement can proceed very far if the role of the Bible institute is ignored. A great deal of confusion which has existed over the nature of the Fundamentalist movement could have been resolved by devoting more attention to this aspect of the problem. Fundamen-

¹⁰⁰*The Bible College Story: Education with Dimension* (Manhasset, NY: Channel Press, 1962), 30. Similar in approach, but with a more limited focus on only one school, is Gene A. Getz, *MBI: The Story of Moody Bible Institute* (Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1969). See also C.B. Eavey, *History of Christian Education* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1964); and Donald A. Wells, "D.L. Moody and His Schools: An Historical Analysis of an Educational Ministry" (Ph.D. Diss., Boston University, 1972).

¹⁰¹Witmer, *The Bible College Story*, 52.

¹⁰²The American Association of Bible Colleges sponsored several subsequent publications all of which rely heavily on Witmer (see, for example, John L. Eagen, *The Bible College in American Higher Education* [Fayetteville, AR: American Association of Bible Colleges, 1981]). See also John Mostert, *The AABC Story: Forty Years with the American Association of Bible Colleges* (Fayetteville, AR: AABC, 1986).

¹⁰³See Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century America*, rev. ed. (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1965); Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism*; and especially Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*.

talism was a part of both the intellectual and social history of the United States. . . . By assuming that the faith of Fundamentalism simply reflected traditional Protestantism, scholars have lost one key to understanding; and by failing to examine the manner in which the Bible institutes provided a form of social structure for Fundamentalism, they have lost another.¹⁰⁴

Although Sandeen's claim remains unsubstantiated throughout his book, it did inspire a response from at least three younger scholars.

The first study that set out to test Sandeen's claim concerning Bible schools as denominational surrogates is William Trollinger's revised doctoral dissertation, *God's Empire: William Bell Riley and Midwestern Fundamentalism*.¹⁰⁵ It is a detailed biographical study of a man who became a dominant figure in American fundamentalism during the first half of the twentieth century. William Bell Riley's career as a Baptist minister was an exact bridge between the nineteenth-century revivalism of D.L. Moody and the moderate evangelicalism of Billy Graham. By using Riley's Northwestern Bible and Missionary Training School, which was one of the most aggressive fundamentalist schools, as a case-study, Trollinger concludes that during the first four decades of the twentieth century

fundamentalist churches lacked the resources afforded them by a close relationship with an established denomination. Hence they depended upon a rapidly expanding network of fundamentalist organizations which included publishing houses, mission boards, and radio stations. At the center of this support structure were the approximately seventy Bible schools that dotted the country in the 1930s and 1940s. . . . These schools served as denominational surrogates, providing nearby fundamentalist churches with a host of services.¹⁰⁶

Trollinger comments also about the "decentralized nature" of fundamentalism in the early

¹⁰⁴*The Roots of Fundamentalism*, 183, 241-243. This was echoed by the fundamentalist historian George W. Dollar, *A History of Fundamentalism in America* (Greenville, SC: Bob Jones University Press, 1973), 188. Both were responding to Stuart Cole and Norman Furniss who characterized Bible schools as reactionary and educationally inferior institutions that were doomed to failure (Cole, *The History of Fundamentalism* [Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1931], 42-44; and Furniss, *The Fundamentalist Controversy: 1919-1931* [Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1963], 69-75).

¹⁰⁵ Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990. See also his "One Response to Modernity: Northwestern Bible School and the Fundamentalist Empire of William Bell Riley" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Wisconsin, 1984); and "Riley's Empire: Northwestern Bible School and Fundamentalism in the Upper Midwest," *Church History* 57, No. 2 (June 1988): 197-212.

¹⁰⁶*God's Empire*, 7-8.

years of the twentieth century. The facts that it stretched across traditional denominational boundaries and that it did not at the time have the institutional resources that it amassed later, suggests the necessity of looking at the regional and local roots in order to obtain a better understanding of the movement.

Another such study is Joel Carpenter's superbly researched book, *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism*.¹⁰⁷ Carpenter's work on American fundamentalism between 1930 and 1950 has already been mentioned in Chapter One. He argues that fundamentalism emerged out of American revivalism and took "a defensive posture during the early twentieth century as a response to the growing liberalism of the major denominations and an increasingly secular spirit in American life."¹⁰⁸ However, it did not long remain a withdrawn and combative defeated party in denominational politics, but rapidly became an innovative and irenic popular religious movement during the 1930s that "surged out of the bonds of older denominational structures to create flexible, dynamic institutions, such as independent mission agencies, radio programs and Bible schools."¹⁰⁹

The focal point of this growing network of fundamentalist institutions was the Bible institute, the largest of which was Moody Bible Institute. These teaching centres for lay Christian workers, most of which were located in major cities, became the regional and even national coordinating headquarters of the fundamentalist movement. They became the institutional embodiment of its beliefs and concerns and the base from which to carry out their main purpose. The proclamation of the evangelical gospel was done through radio, publishing, Bible conferences and training of personnel for independent faith missions, itinerant preaching and music teams. According to Carpenter, the fundamentalist tendency "to reduce the church's mission to evangelism along with their premillennial urgency to get the job done predisposed them to favour the pragmatic, trade-school approach of Bible school training for their leaders over the more extensive and cosmopolitan approach of college and

¹⁰⁷ *Revive Us Again* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). The book is a revised and expanded version of "The Renewal of American Fundamentalism, 1930-1945" (Ph.D. Diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1984); and "Fundamentalist Institutions and the Rise of Evangelical Protestantism, 1929-1942," *Church History* 49 (March 1980): 62-75.

¹⁰⁸ "The Renewal of American Fundamentalism," 6.

¹⁰⁹ "Fundamentalist Institutions," 74-75.

seminary education.” “Without a doubt,” continues Carpenter, “the most important terminals in the fundamentalist network were its Bible institutes.”¹¹⁰

Carpenter’s portrayal of fundamentalism as a network of institutions that transcended denominational boundaries and his description of how Bible schools functioned like denominational headquarters for a particular constituency can easily be applied to some Bible schools in Canada. The network described by Carpenter had many direct links to transdenominational schools in Canada. But Carpenter’s description of Bible schools does not apply to the entire movement in Canada—in fact, less than 15% of the Bible schools started in western Canada prior to 1960 were transdenominational schools. Unfortunately, one does not get an overall sense of proportion of fundamentalist involvement in the Bible school movement from Carpenter.¹¹¹ Without minimizing the value of his richly textured study of fundamentalism, the focus on transdenominational fundamentalism obscures our understanding of both the ongoing influence of fundamentalism within denominations and the relationship between evangelical denominations and transdenominational institutions thoroughly shaped by fundamentalism. Laying out the framework of some of these relationships is essential for understanding the historical development of evangelicalism in western Canada.

A third response to Ernest Sandeen is the recent work of Virginia Brereton who argues that the Bible schools played a critical role in the development of twentieth-century evangelicalism.¹¹² Her research substantiates Sandeen’s suggestion that American fundamentalism owes its survival to the Bible school movement. Like Carpenter, Brereton wonders about the legitimacy of interpretations that confine fundamentalism to a colourful, but ultimately inconsequential, chapter in American religious history. Without denying that fundamentalists did indeed fare badly during the public and ecclesiastical battles of the

¹¹⁰*Revive Us Again*, 16-18.

¹¹¹Tucked away in the endnotes of Carpenter’s book is an acknowledgment that the Bible school movement in the United States was not limited to fundamentalism (*Revive Us Again*, 255).

¹¹²*Training God’s Army: The American Bible School, 1880-1940* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990). See also her “The Bible Schools and Conservative Evangelical Higher Education, 1880-1940,” in *Making Higher Education Christian*, eds. J. Carpenter and L. Shipps, 1110-1136 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987); and “Protestant Fundamentalist Bible Schools, 1882-1940” (Ph.D. Diss., Columbia University, 1981).

1920s, Brereton suggests that highlighting only the roots of fundamentalists obscures developments that enabled fundamentalists to lay the foundation for the current political and educational strength of the present heirs of the movement.¹¹³

Brereton's work reveals the considerable difficulty in finding a suitable definition for "fundamentalism." She finds the early definitions of fundamentalism offered by Sandeen and Marsden to be too narrow. According to Brereton, fundamentalists are those twentieth-century Protestants who have considered certain religious experiences to be central and essential (a radical conversion and often a second subsequent spiritual crisis) and whose theological views include believing in an inerrant and divinely inspired Bible, the substitutionary atonement, the virgin birth and the divinity of Christ. In addition, most were premillennialists, strict moralists and were active in foreign and home missionary efforts. Unlike Marsden, Brereton includes not only those with Calvinist backgrounds--Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists and associated groups, but also those with Wesleyan or Methodist backgrounds.¹¹⁴ The breadth of Brereton's definition makes fundamentalism essentially synonymous with evangelicalism (broadly defined). While it does recognize the continuities fundamentalism had with nineteenth-century revivalism, and it does help identify broad social, cultural, political, economic and even psychological patterns that stretch beyond denominational boundaries, it obscures some very real differences among the Protestant groups that she categorizes as fundamentalist.

By concentrating her study on five representative schools she provides a good general understanding of Bible school education in America. The study looks closely at the day-to-day activities of Bible schools highlighting their methods of teaching the English Bible, programs of practical experience for students and the emphasis on the spiritual nurture of students. By placing the movement in the context of the history of higher education in America, she adds several significant nuances to the interpretation of the Bible school movement. First, she demonstrates that Bible schools were vocational and exceedingly

¹¹³*Training God's Army*, xiv.

¹¹⁴A similar point was made earlier by Robert Mapes Anderson (*The Vision of the Disinherited* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1979]). For more on the inclusion of those with Wesleyan and Methodist roots see the debate between George Marsden and Donald Dayton featured in *Christian Scholar's Review* 23, No. 1 (September 1993).

practical institutions. While outsiders "have generally regarded Bible schools as maverick institutions located on the fringes of the American educational scene," the "most cursory review . . . leads quickly to the conclusion that the Bible schools fit neatly into the many of the major themes of American educational history."¹¹⁵ The call for a closer tie between learning and experience, which characterized turn-of-the-century educational reformers, shows that these schools were not bizarre educational oddities. Uninhibited by older educational conventions, early Bible school founders offered a flexible and inexpensive period of training to laypeople, including a large number of women who had not before enjoyed access to formal theological training. This general description fits the Bible schools in western Canada.

Second, Brereton's work challenges the primacy of the historiographical interpretation that exaggerates the importance of anti-modernist campaigns in the history of fundamentalism.¹¹⁶ According to Brereton, many Bible schools existed for decades prior to the contentious decade of the 1920s. These were instigated not primarily by doctrine or evolution or other threats to traditional understandings of the Bible, but rather by discontent with the lukewarm apathy of Protestant churches. Unfortunately, her book makes only passing mention of the numerous denominational Bible schools and the role they played within their respective constituencies and within the Bible school movement as a whole.¹¹⁷ Partly as a response to this omission, the significance of the denominational configuration of the Bible school movement in western Canada is given considerable attention in this study.

The detailed scholarly work done by Trollinger, Carpenter and Brereton are complementary; together they offer innumerable observations that need to be scrutinized more carefully within a Canadian crucible before being applied generally to the Bible school movement in Canada.

Despite the promising sub-title of William C. Ringenberg's survey, *The Christian*

¹¹⁵*Training God's Army*, 155.

¹¹⁶She rejects the sociological church-sect categories as "not very helpful" in understanding fundamentalism and the Bible schools (*Training God's Army*, 201).

¹¹⁷Witmer gives some attention to the denominational configuration of the Bible school movement in the United States (see *The Bible School Story*, 54, 57-70). According to the statistics compiled by Witmer, the denominational configuration of the Bible school movement in the United States is very different than that in western Canada.

College: A History of Protestant Higher Education in America, the book is focussed more specifically on the history of Protestant liberal arts education. He does nevertheless include a short section on the Bible school movement that relies heavily on the previous work of Boon and Witmer. Like others before him, he attributes the origin of the movement to a response to the revivalism of Dwight Moody and others who saw a need for training "full-time Christian workers." The earliest Bible institutes came into existence to serve as an auxiliary means of securing Christian workers. Although the early Bible schools were not founded primarily to counter the growth of liberal theology, many of the Bible schools that followed them were motivated by this purpose.¹¹⁸ Ringenberg's short survey ends with a discussion of the evolution of many Bible schools into Bible colleges and even, in some cases, from Bible colleges to Christian liberal arts colleges. He examines also the role played by the Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges in facilitating such transitions.

During the 1970s and 1980s, a variety of theses and dissertation were written that featured specific schools or particular aspects of the Bible school/college movement in the United States. In 1982 Daniel Brown wrote a dissertation that systematically comparing Bible college education with other kinds of undergraduate education.¹¹⁹ Gary R. Moncher's dissertation explores the character and role of Bible colleges in higher education and in contemporary American moral culture.¹²⁰ He observes that the Bible college curricula, extracurricular activities and campus environments were designed to influence and inspire students to make a lifelong commitment to Christ and practical Christian service. According to Moncher, the movement began as a challenge to individualistic tendencies within American moral culture and it continues to push against a pervasive self-interest (individualism) and relativistic morality.

During the late 1980s, Randall Balmer used a country-wide tour of what he calls the evangelical subculture of America as the foundation for unique and creative history of

¹¹⁸*The Christian College: A History of Protestant Higher Education in America* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984), 158.

¹¹⁹"A Comparative Analysis of Bible College Quality" (Ph.D. Diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1982).

¹²⁰"The Bible College and American Moral Culture" (Ph.D. Diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1988). A list of studies featuring specific Bible colleges can be found in Brereton, *Training God's Army*, 207.

American evangelicalism. A visit to the campus of Multnomah School of the Bible in Portland, Oregon, a fundamentalist school with close ties to Dallas Theological Seminary, serves as the basis for his observations concerning the influence and role of the larger Bible school movement in America—he makes one oblique reference to Prairie Bible College in Alberta. He sees the movement as an integral part of the infrastructure that has created and supported an evangelical Protestant subculture during the twentieth century. Bible schools and colleges served as “fortresses,” as “islands of refuge” from critical scholarship, that offered an alternative environment safe from the corrupting influences of secular colleges and universities.¹²¹ He sees the theological discourse (for example, the defiant defence of biblical inerrancy) that takes place in Bible schools such as Multnomah as anachronistic; they are busy waging battles that no one else cares to fight. Although a well-informed observer of American evangelicalism and a provocative commentator on American religion, Balmer’s description of this one visit hardly serves as a comprehensive historical study.

The most recent volume to feature the Bible school movement was written to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges (formerly known as the American Association of Bible Colleges). Having completed a dissertation that featured the early years of the Bible school movement in the United States,¹²² Larry McKinney broadens the scope of his earlier study in order to update the volume written by S.A. Witmer during the 1960s. The result is a popular introduction that summarizes some of the scholarly literature on the movement produced since Witmer’s volume. As such, McKinney’s book does not offer any new historiographical nuances.¹²³

¹²¹ *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory: A Journey into the Evangelical Subculture in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 132. The book serves as a companion to a PBS television series hosted by Balmer. See also Randall Balmer, “We Do Bible Better,” *Christianity Today* 35, No. 10 (16 September 1991): 22-26.

¹²² “An Historical Analysis of the Bible College Movement during its Formative Years” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Temple University, 1985). See also Larry J. McKinney, “The Fundamentalist Bible School as an Outgrowth of the Changing Patterns of Protestant Revivalism, 1882-1920,” *Religious Education* 84 (Fall 1989): 589-605.

¹²³ Examples abound within *Equipping for Service: A History of the Bible College Movement in North America* (Fayetteville, AR: Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges, 1997), of how McKinney’s eclecticism among various historiographical choices creates confusion. In some sections the impression is created that the author sees identical patterns of theological and cultural change in the United States and Canada (Chapter Four), but elsewhere he vigorously proclaims that Canada is “vastly different” (151). In Chapter Eight McKinney declares Sandeen’s definition of fundamentalism to be “the most important

Like Witmer, McKinney sees the Bible school movement as an institutional reaction on the part of nineteenth-century revivalists against secularizing trends in higher education precipitated by Darwinism, higher criticism and the social gospel movement. Furthermore, they provided a base both for training lay workers, Bible teachers, evangelists and pastors, and for the general activities of the fundamentalist movement. Unlike Witmer, McKinney includes a more specific treatment of the Bible school movement in Canada noting the differences between the two countries as previously featured by Stackhouse, Rawlyk and Guenther. McKinney's concluding observation deserves attention: the absence of evangelical seminaries and liberal arts colleges in Canada before 1960 left the Bible institutes and colleges as the only post-secondary education option for thousands of evangelical Protestant men and women who wanted religious instruction. As a result, it may be that the Bible school/college movement in Canada played a significantly greater role in the development of evangelical Protestantism than did the Bible college movement in the United States.¹²⁴

Finally, mention should be made of a sensitively-written novel written by Shirley Nelson.¹²⁵ Her fictional depiction of Calvary Bible Institute located in Chicago is a thinly-disguised portrait of Moody Bible Institute. By situating her main protagonist within the intense and somewhat cloistered, Bible school environment, Nelson captures the subtle intertwining of religious and psychological dynamics that have become a large and significant aspect of the American (and Canadian) religious experience.

In summary, advances in evangelical historiography in the United States offer a rich source of insights and comparisons. Suggestions that Bible schools served as important centres of influence can be verified in western Canada, as can the observation that Bible schools were more than expressions of fundamentalist reactions. Also applicable to the Bible

definition within the last twenty-five years," but then without explanation he subsequently moves to Marsden's definition. He claims that L.E. Maxwell and Henry Hildebrand, longtime leaders of Prairie Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute, worked "very closely together" (166), thus contradicting Bruce Hindmarsh's suggestion that the two schools constituted "two evangelical solitudes" in western Canada. Considerably more attention is given to those schools that eventually became the larger transdenominational schools, thereby eclipsing treatment of denominational schools, especially those from the Pentecostal and Holiness traditions.

¹²⁴McKinney, *Equipping for Service*, 166. He unfortunately neglects to account for the influence of the longstanding evangelical Anglican seminary, Wycliffe College.

¹²⁵*The Last Year of the War* (Wheaton, IL: Northcote Books, rev. ed., 1989).

schools in western Canada is Brereton's description of the schools as practical and flexible. In addition, Brereton's example of placing the Bible school movement within a broader history of higher education should be applied to the Canadian movement. One of the most important differences in the texture between the American Bible school movement and that of the Bible schools in western Canada is the significant role of denominational schools.

2.5 History of Western Canada

The final section of this chapter examines the literature featuring the history of western Canada. One cannot examine the history of the Canadian prairies without consulting the work of Gerald Friesen.¹²⁶ And yet, despite its magisterial stature in the field, there is hardly a mention of religion in the entire study. This reflects a consistent pattern within prairie historiography in particular and studies of western Canada in general. An historiographical survey conducted by Ted Regehr shows how Canadian plains historiography before 1929 is dominated by a romantic and optimistic view of the growth and development of the west; how historians in the 1930s produced exhaustive studies reflecting a pessimism characteristic of that time; how work produced during the 1950s saw a preoccupation with the political eccentricities of western Canada; and how the historians of the 1970s focussed on social history.¹²⁷ Only a handful of the works surveyed by Regehr include a discussion of religion; with the exception of Mann's *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, these have to do with the rise of Social Credit politics in Alberta, or the unique religious features of certain ethnic groups, or the various people who formed a bridge between the social gospel movement and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.¹²⁸ Regehr's overview verifies Benjamin Smillie's point that much of the historical work on the prairies has tended to explain the motivation for settlement as the search for economic or political freedom. While this is undeniably an important facet, it neglects religious faith as a motivating force and

¹²⁶Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987. See also Gerald Friesen, *River Road: Essays on Manitoba and Prairie History* (Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press, 1996).

¹²⁷"Historiography of the Canadian Plains after 1870," 87-101.

¹²⁸Significant here is Richard Allen's *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971); and Kenneth McNaught's *A Prophet in Politics: A Biography of J.S. Woodsworth* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959).

downplays the inclusion of religious impulses as somehow strange and bizarre, if not entirely irrelevant.¹²⁹ According to Mark Noll, an American observer of Canadian religion, the general neglect of religion by Canadian historians can also be attributed, in part, to an "intellectual climate within Canadian higher education since World War Two which has been heavily influenced by materialist or neo-Marxist assumptions and so overwhelmingly biased against full treatment of religion as a prime mover of human action."¹³⁰ Such early prejudice is unfortunate in view of the experiences of literally hundreds of thousands of people in the prairie provinces who were deeply involved and committed to various churches and religious organizations.¹³¹

Thankfully, this general neglect has begun to change at least in some fields of study. During the 1980s, historians developed a greater sensitivity to the way in which religion is an important factor in understanding historical developments and the way societies are shaped. After noting the relationship between fundamentalism and the agrarian protest movement on the prairies, R. Douglas Francis acknowledged, "a study of the ideas of prairie fundamentalism would greatly assist in our understanding of the intellectual roots of prairie culture and society."¹³²

¹²⁹*Visions of the New Jerusalem: Religious Settlement on the Prairies* (Edmonton, AB: NeWest Press, 1983), x. Regehr concludes his survey with a notable appeal for more interdisciplinary co-operation among scholars interested in the Canadian prairies ("Historiography of the Canadian Plains After 1870," 98). A survey of the publications produced by the Canadian Plains Studies Centre (including the journal *Prairie Forum*) reveals the same general shortage of articles exploring the full range of religious dimensions of prairie history. A noteworthy exception is Barry Ferguson, ed., *The Anglican Church and the World of Western Canada, 1820-1970* (Regina, SK: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1991). Ferguson nevertheless echoes the general observations made by Smillie and Regehr (see his "Secular History and Church History: An Introduction," in *The Anglican Church and the World of Western Canada*, 1-15).

¹³⁰"Christianity in Canada: Good Books at Last," *Fides et Historia* 23, No. 2 (Summer 1991): 84. See Carl Berger's comments about the "relative neglect of religion in history" (*The Writing of Canadian History*, 2nd ed. [Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1986], 293).

¹³¹The importance of religion for the early settlers is evident from the Saskatchewan Archives questionnaire on pioneer churches (see Christine MacDonald, "Pioneer Church Life in Saskatchewan," in *Pages from the Past: Essays on Saskatchewan History*, ed. D.H. Bocking, 120-138 [Saskatoon, SK: Western Producer Books, 1979]).

¹³²"In Search of a Prairie Myth: A Survey of the Intellectual and Cultural Historiography of Prairie Canada," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 24, No. 3 (Fall 1989): 44-69; reprinted in *Riel to Reform: A History of Protest in Western Canada*, ed. George Melnyk (Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1992), 31. Several articles with religious themes are included in *The Prairie West: Historical Readings*, eds. R. Douglas

The first history of prairie settlement to be written from a religious perspective is a previously-mentioned collection of essays edited by Benjamin Smillie entitled *Visions of the New Jerusalem*. It is laudable for being the first attempt to provide a coherent overarching explanation for the religious pluralism that characterized settlement on the prairies. The prairies offered a unique place where different groups could realize their vision of establishing communities that embodied their own traditions and spiritual values. Smillie uses the biblical hope of a New Jerusalem as a common metaphor for the way in which religious faith helped settlers to survive in spite of financial hardship and political manipulation.

One of the editor's stated objectives is to include groups within the "Judeo-Christian" tradition, but conspicuously absent is any treatment of the evangelical Protestants despite the fact that they represent a significantly higher proportion of the religious population on the prairies than the featured Doukhobors, Hutterites or Benedictines at St. Peter's in Muenster, Saskatchewan. The chapter on Protestantism is primarily a theological discussion of the impact of the doctrine of election, the doctrine of moral perfection and the doctrine of two kingdoms on the United Church of Canada and Lutheranism. The chapter includes only a cursory mention of other Protestant "sects," and no mention at all of Bible schools. The multiplicity of authors creates a kind of disparate and fragmented volume instead of a systematic, comprehensive narrative. The volume does, nevertheless, mark an important beginning.

Anthony Rasporich has published several intriguing articles that explore western Canada as the context for a variety of "utopian experiments."¹³³ Although his argument that western Canada "proved notoriously susceptible to ideologies with a chiliastic and millennialist tinge" because of the way it was "providentially dependent on weather and externally subordinate to political and economic institutions outside its pale" may require more nuance,

Francis and Howard Palmer (Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta Press, 1992), but almost entirely absent is any mention of religion in John Herd Thompson, *Forging the Prairie West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

¹³³"Utopian Ideals and Community Settlements in Western Canada, 1880-1914," in *The Prairie West*, 352-377; and "Utopia, Sect and Millennium in Western Canada, 1870-1940," *Prairie Forum* 12, No. 2 (Fall 1987): 217-243; reprinted in *Prophets, Priests and Prodigals: Readings in Canadian Religious History, 1608 to Present*, eds. Mark McGowan and David Marshall (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1992), 213-241.

he is correct in noting the significance of religion for many who settled in the region.¹³⁴ He begins tracking the influence of utopianism and millennialism in western Canada by explaining the Métis uprising of 1885 as a millennialist response to modernization as both technology and the extension of the nation state threatened a tribal, communal structure. After featuring several communities in which an ethnic communitarianism and the millennialist religious impulse converged, the remainder of Rasporich's examination of the twentieth-century looks towards the way in which themes from "progressive" movements such as the Social Gospel movement influenced the political utopianism embodied in the agrarian third-party movements, Co-operative Commonwealth Federation socialism in Saskatchewan and Social Credit in Alberta.

Rasporich's interpretative model provides a valuable and perceptive kind of overlay by which to understand the social development of the prairies. The full potential of this kind of social analysis of religious expression would be enhanced by less obfuscation of the details distinguishing different forms of millennialism and the relationship between millennialism and utopianism.¹³⁵ In addition to the added nuance that comes from greater attention to details, such a study could easily be extended to include the dispensational premillennialism that was popularized by fundamentalist groups across western Canada. Bible schools in particular were major centres for disseminating the premillennial word throughout the region.¹³⁶

The most recent addition to the study of religion in western Canada and the best model to date for additional studies of evangelical Protestantism in other regions, is the

¹³⁴"Utopia, Sect and Millennium in Western Canada, 1870-1940," 215. After surveying the theoretical literature on the subject, Rasporich concludes that in western Canada it is very difficult to draw clear lines of demarcation between utopians, sectarians and millennialists.

¹³⁵How, for example, did the amillennialism of many Mennonites contribute towards the establishment of a "religious-sectarian utopia"? How is it possible to characterize both the two vastly different forms of millennialism found in William Aberhart's premillennialism and T.C. Douglas's postmillennial vision of the Kingdom of God on earth as "great leaps forward into modernity"?

¹³⁶For an intriguing social analysis of dispensational premillennialism in the United States, see Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

thoroughly-researched and thoughtful work by Robert K. Burkinshaw.¹³⁷ His book marks the first book-length study to focus on twentieth-century evangelical Protestantism in western Canada and offers explanations for why evangelical Protestant groups managed to flourish in what is commonly considered Canada's most secular province. Burkinshaw's main thesis is that the symbiotic combination of evangelical conservatism along with its adaptability and flexibility account for the growth of evangelical Protestants in British Columbia. Their activism and pragmatism enabled them to respond to a rapidly growing and far-flung populace. According to Burkinshaw, evangelical Protestants displayed "considerable flexibility in adapting to tremendous geographic and ethnic shifts . . . to changing demands for post-secondary education, to new technologies and techniques, and to new styles of musical and cultural expression." At the same time, their stubborn refusal to relinquish their distinctive beliefs gave evangelicals a clearer sense of identity and mission than some of their more liberal Protestant counterparts.¹³⁸ These same impulses towards the preservation of certain doctrinal essentials activism and pragmatic innovation are also evident within the larger Bible school movement across western Canada. Important also for this dissertation is his careful (and accurate) characterization of both the denominational diversity and the internal dynamics within a broad range of evangelical Protestant denominations. The denominational dynamics of the larger evangelical Protestant picture have not been eclipsed by an exclusive selection of transdenominational examples. Many of the same denominations featured by Burkinshaw were involved in the Bible school movement throughout western Canada. Despite the fact that the book is geographically confined to British Columbia, it does provide an excellent model for the kind of inquiry and analysis that remains to be done on the prairies.¹³⁹

¹³⁷*Pilgrims in Lotus Land: Conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, 1917-1981* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995). Burkinshaw relates a personal story of how his interest in studying the history of evangelical Protestantism was dismissed during the late 1970s as insignificant of an Evangelical Historiography," *Studies in Religion* 25, No. 1 [1996]: 7).

¹³⁸*Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, 16-18.

¹³⁹Burkinshaw offers several explanations for the general absence of studies on twentieth-century evangelical Protestantism prior to the 1980s. One important impediment was the fact that most evangelical Protestants belonged to small church groups that lacked the prestige and dignity often associated with mainline Protestant denominations. Many, but not all, also the lacked the social and economic standing that is often equated with respectability (*Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, 8).

In summary, the rather limited number of studies exploring religion in western Canada in general and of evangelical Protestantism in particular, identifies yet another area to which this dissertation makes a contribution. This study not only draws attention to the religious (and ethnic) impulses and priorities that motivated many of the new immigrants in the region, but also shows how the pioneering conditions of early-twentieth century western Canada and the struggles to develop a societal infrastructure influenced the development of the Bible school movement. Although this study is not a broad-ranging regional survey such as Burkinshaw's study of "conservative Protestantism" in British Columbia, the narrower focus on Bible schools nevertheless offers a lens through which one can observe the dynamics within an emerging evangelical Protestantism in western Canada. It serves, therefore, as yet another contribution to other regional studies of religious movements in Canada that cumulatively are laying the foundation for a fuller understanding of Canadian religious history.¹⁴⁰

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter set out to find a unique niche for this dissertation to occupy within several fields of literature. This extensive overview reveals that, while some excellent work has recently been done on the history of twentieth-century fundamentalism and evangelical Protestantism and some preliminary work has been done on the Bible school movement, considerable room remains for more comprehensive historical studies. In addition, considerable opportunity exists for inserting the history of the Bible school/college movement into regional studies of religion in western Canada and in the general history of higher education in Canada.

This survey of literature traces the development of various historiographical approaches towards fundamentalism and evangelicalism in general and the Bible school/college movement in particular. Subsequent chapters offer considerable support for recent efforts to move evangelical historiography beyond the long shadow cast by the application of outdated

¹⁴⁰Examples of studies featuring religious movements in regions other than the prairies include George A. Rawlyk, *Ravished by the Spirit: Religious Revivals, Baptists, and Henry Alline* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984); John Wester Grant, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988); and William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).

church/sect typologies. In addition, this study offers a substantial revision to the one-dimensional characterization of the Bible school movement as merely a fundamentalist reaction to theological liberalism. Such a revision is built upon a substantial body of new research, but it also verifies some of the unsubstantiated observations made in passing by others. Furthermore, what follows is an attempt to explore more fully the influence of fundamentalism within the Bible school movement, the internal dynamics of denominations struggling to adjust to life in western Canada during the first half of the twentieth century, and the changing relationships among the diverse groups involved in the Bible school movement in western Canada that resulted in a substantial strengthening of transdenominational schools.

CHAPTER THREE

Mennonite Bible Schools with a Special Focus on Mennonite Brethren Initiatives

3.1 Introduction

Named after Menno Simons, a former Roman Catholic priest, the Mennonites comprised one part of the sixteenth-century Anabaptist movement in Switzerland, Germany and Holland. In addition to a denunciation of infant baptism, the group became known for its emphasis on the separation of church and state, non-resistance, freedom of worship and rejection of oaths. The church, they believed, was to be a community of voluntary, professing believers whose lives are fully committed to a life of exemplary discipleship. Adherence to these beliefs resulted in horrible suffering and in the death of thousands of Mennonites during the sixteenth century.

Since the sixteenth century, Mennonites have repeatedly sought refuge in countries that would offer them religious toleration. This search led them, in turn, to Prussia, Russia, colonial America, Canada, Mexico and South America. Mennonites first arrived in Canada in 1786 when a group of Swiss-German Mennonites from the United States settled in the fertile lowlands between the Niagara escarpment and Lake Ontario. Although there were some 5,500 Mennonites scattered throughout Upper Canada by 1841, it was not until about 8,000 Dutch-German Mennonites, who were part of a large migration of about 18,000 Mennonites from Russia (generally known as *Kanadiers*), settled in Manitoba and Saskatchewan between 1873 and 1884 that the group became established as a sizeable component of Canada's ethnic melange.

This was followed by another influx of more than 20,000 Russian Mennonites (identified as *Russlaender*) into western Canada during the 1920s that dramatically altered the character of Mennonitism in Canada.¹ The vast majority of *Kanadier* and *Russlaender*

¹Tensions occasionally erupted as the new immigrants settled into existing Mennonite communities. Although the distinctions between the two groups can easily be over-simplified, cultural differences did exist. Frank Epp outlines an approximate generalization: the *Kanadier* thought "the *Russlaender* were too proud, too aggressive, too enthusiastic about higher education, too anxious to exercise leadership, too

immigrants settled in rural communities across western Canada. The Mennonites added substantially to the number of German-speaking immigrants in western Canada. Of all the non-English settlers to arrive in western Canada, those of German descent formed the largest group. By 1931, almost 13% of the population in western Canada were people with a German heritage.²

Some time around the 1940s many Mennonite groups in Canada began experiencing another transformation that gradually brought them off the farms and into the cities, and out of their ethnic enclaves into the mainstream of Canadian social, cultural, intellectual, religious and artistic life.³ Although the main doctrines of the early Anabaptists continued to provide a common core of faith for many of their descendants, by the mid-twentieth century the Mennonites were a house divided. Far from being one monolithic, homogenous group, the more than twenty Mennonite denominations created a complex mosaic of cultural backgrounds, lifestyles and theological beliefs.

Within this diverse denominational mosaic were four Mennonite groups responsible for the most significant proliferation of Bible schools in western Canada on the part of any denominational cluster. During the four-decade period following the initiation of the first two Mennonite schools in 1913, more than forty Bible schools were started by Mennonites in

ready to compromise with the state, too ready to move to the cities, and too unappreciative of the pioneering done by the *Kanadier*." According to many *Russlaender*, "the *Kanadier* were too withdrawn, too simple-minded, too uncultured, too weak in their High German because of their excessive dependence on Low German, too afraid of schools and education, and too satisfied to follow traditions, social or liturgical, generation after generation without modification and change" (Frank Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival* [Toronto: Macmillan, 1982], 243-244; and E.K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba* [Altona, MB: D.W. Friesen & Sons Ltd., 1955], 212).

²Next to Anglophones and Francophones, German Canadians comprised Canada's third largest ethnic group. The exact size of this group is ambiguous: A. Becker shows that census data concerning the number of German-speaking immigrants in western Canada is not always reliable. Particularly during, and immediately after, the war years many people avoided indicating that they were of German descent, opting instead to indicate the country of origin, for example, many German-speaking immigrants identified themselves as Russian, Austrian or Swiss (see "The Germans in Western Canada, A Vanishing People," *CCHA Study Sessions* 42 [1975]: 29-49); and Howard and Tamara Palmer, *Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity* [Saskatoon, SK: Western Producers Prairie Books, 1985], x, xi).

³This is a central theme in Ted Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970: A People Transformed* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

western Canada alone.⁴ The cumulative enrolment of all Mennonite schools during this period is no less impressive, making up approximately one-third of the enrolment of all Bible schools

Table 3.1 Comparative Bible School Student Enrolment, 1920-1960									
	1920	1925	1930	1935	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960
Pentecostal	0	60	95	65	165	340	390	305	340
Holiness Movement	0	60	30	55	85	275	235	185	200
Mennonite	20	55	350	620	1,105	940	1,090	785	930
Baptist	0	40	215	285	170	245	130	90	145
Other Denominations	10	0	10	160	185	200	200	145	130
Transdenominational	40	120	240	455	840	775	1,375	1,050	1,240
TOTAL	70	335	940	1,640	2,550	2,775	3,420	2,560	2,985

Note: Enrolment numbers are based on a combination of actual and estimated data.

in western Canada. (This does not take into account the fact that, particularly after World War Two, a significant proportion of students attending transdenominational schools came from Mennonite churches, or that a sizeable proportion of the student population at certain transdenominational schools were not Canadians.) The cumulative student enrolment of the schools within the Mennonite cluster exceeded that of any other cluster of schools until the 1950s when the cumulative enrolment of the transdenominational schools began to surpass the cumulative Mennonite enrolment. But also noteworthy in the story of the Mennonite Bible schools in western Canada is that at least thirty of these Mennonite educational

⁴See Appendix Two for a list of Bible schools in western Canada. Lists of Mennonite schools can be found in Ted Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970*, 234-235; Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940*, 468; Walter Unger, "Bible Colleges and Institutes," in *Mennonite Encyclopaedia* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1990), 5:73-77; Harold S. Bender, "Bible Institutes" and "Bible Schools," in *Mennonite Encyclopaedia* (Scottsdale, PA: Mennonite Publishing House, 1955-1959), 1:332; Peter G. Klassen, "A History of Mennonite Education in Canada, 1786-1960" (D.Ed. Diss., University of Toronto, 1970), 272, 280; Isaac I. Friesen, "The Mennonites of Western Canada with Special Reference to Education" (M.Ed. Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1934), 175-178. Regehr warns that the denominational designation in his list requires some latitude: it does not necessarily mean sponsorship. Often interested individuals organized local support associations or societies. These individuals sometimes had specific local or broader conference affiliations, and often sought to persuade the local church, a provincial conference, or a national conference to provide support for their school (*Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970*, 493).

initiatives were closed by 1960 (see Table 1.1 in Chapter One).

Despite their massive efforts in religious education, the Mennonite historian Abe Dueck observes that “the story of Mennonite and Mennonite Brethren schools in Canada has not yet been told. Individual institutional histories or anniversary booklets exist for some Bible schools . . . , however, the story of many may never be told, and the role and impact of the Bible schools as a whole still awaits a definitive analysis.”⁵

This chapter begins with a brief introduction of three Mennonite groups with Bible schools in western Canada--the Mennonite Brethren in Christ, the Alberta-Saskatchewan Mennonite Conference, and the Conference of Mennonites in Canada. The chapter then focuses more specifically on five schools operated by the Mennonite Brethren Church (or *Mennoniten-Brüdergemeinde*). And while this chapter may not yet be the definitive analysis Dueck desires, it is the first attempt to situate the story of Mennonite Bible schools within the framework of the larger Bible school movement in western Canada.

3.2 Three Characteristics Common to all Mennonite Bible Schools

Although the story of each of the four Mennonite groups included in this cluster of schools is unique, they share at least three common features. First, all four groups came to western Canada as pioneering immigrants who initially struggled not only to make a living, but also to build communities and, as a result, their efforts at establishing Bible schools offer glimpses into the internal dynamics of ethnic immigrant communities struggling to adapt to a new environment. Each of the four denominations involved were numerically a minority among Mennonites in western Canada until the 1930s when the Mennonite Brethren and the Conference of Mennonites in Canada became the largest and most influential Mennonite denominations. Instead of withdrawing to Latin America or other, more remote, parts of Canada, these two Mennonite groups were busy organizing institutions and networks designed to accommodate various aspects of Canadian culture while retaining their ethnic and religious distinctiveness. Members of these denominations were often the educators and

⁵“MBBC Antecedents: The Winnipeg German Bible School,” *Mennonite Historian* 18, No. 2 (June 1992): 1. The longstanding interest in education by Mennonites has drawn more attention than Dueck’s lament might suggest. There has been more work done on Mennonite Bible schools, and the archival records are more extensive, than on virtually any other Bible schools in Canada. Little, however, has been done to relate the story of the Mennonite Bible schools to the larger Bible school story in Canada.

entrepreneurs, establishing congregations and businesses (and missions) not only in rural districts, but also in the growing prairie towns. This required a degree of competence in English and more education than basic literacy. As a result, these two groups eventually produced leaders who often served as spokespersons for Mennonites in western Canada.

Second, a central concern of the four Mennonite denominations involved with Bible schools, which was shared with all other Mennonites in Canada, was for the religious education of their children. The Mennonite immigrants who arrived in Canada brought with them a long history of significant involvement in the education of their own children. Mennonite leaders assumed that their own schools were absolutely essential for the preservation of Mennonitism. The *Kanadier* immigrants had come to Canada during the 1870s, in part, because they believed that the government had guaranteed them the right to educate their children within their own parochial schools.⁶ An integral component within Mennonite parochial schools was a strong emphasis on religion.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these same Mennonites were heavily involved in opposing the imposition of a compulsory English-language system of public schools, which they rightly saw as a thinly-veiled strategy for accelerating the assimilation and homogenization of non-Anglo immigrants. The same Anglo-Saxon cultural values that permeated the prohibition campaigns and the early stages of the social gospel movement were also evident in the Protestant support for eliminating foreign language instruction in schools. Many Protestants believed that English-only schools were an essential key to making immigrants, in the words of Rev. Brown, the Presbyterian clergyman featured in G.W. Gordon's novel *The Foreigner*, "good Christians and good Canadians, which is the

⁶Their educational expectations were shaped by Johann Cornies who is credited with initiating major educational reforms among the Mennonites of South Russia during the nineteenth century that more thoroughly integrated religious instruction. According to Cornies, "Religion must come first in the schools. After this has been attended to, all other things necessary may be taught to the children" (cited in Friesen, "The Mennonites of Western Canada," 191).

For more on the Mennonite response to public schools see Adolf Ens, "The Public School Crisis Among Saskatchewan Mennonites, 1916-25," in *Mennonite Images: Historical, Cultural and Literary Essays Dealing with Mennonite Issues*, ed. Harry Loewen, 73-82 (Winnipeg, MB: Hyperion, 1980); Gerhard J. Ens, *Die Schule Muss Sein: A History of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute* (Gretna, MB: Mennonite Collegiate Institute, 1990), 1-127; and the bibliography in Jake Peters, *Mennonite Private Schools In Manitoba and Saskatchewan, 1874-1925* (Steinbach, MB: Mennonite Village Museum, 1985).

same thing.”⁷ Examples abound of Canadian leaders, including church leaders, endorsing such a program of homogenization through the imposition of English-only public schools and the eradication of private schools. For example, J.W. Sparling stated, “either we must educate and elevate the incoming multitudes or they will drag us and our children down. . . . We must see to it that the civilization . . . of Southeastern Europe is not transplanted to our virgin soil.”⁸ Similarly, Edmund H. Oliver, the well-known principal of the Presbyterian Theological College in Saskatoon and Vice-president of the Saskatchewan Public Education League, argued that it was the primary function of the public school to make the child into “an intelligent patriotic citizen,” and “not to make Mennonites, nor Protestants, nor Catholics, but Canadian citizens.”⁹ Such sentiments were easily translated into public policy and provincial laws governing public schools.

With the help of H.H. Ewert, an American Mennonite, some *Kanadier* Mennonites responded with a compromise in 1889 by starting the *Mennonitsche Lehranstalt* (renamed Gretna Normal School and then Mennonite Collegiate Institute), a teacher-training school in Gretna, Manitoba that placed bilingual, Mennonite teachers within the public schools located in areas populated by Mennonites who could supplement the government requirements with

⁷Ralph Connor [G.W. Gordon], *The Foreigner* (Toronto: Westminster, 1909), 253. See also J.T.M. Anderson, *The Education of the New Canadian* (Toronto: J.M. Dent, 1918); and James D. Denny, *The Organization of Public Education in Saskatchewan* (Toronto: University of Toronto, The Ontario College of Education, 1929). With specific reference to the Mennonites, the Methodist S.D. Chown observed that they had “a species of religion,” but that “this would not by itself make them good Canadian citizens” (cited in Phyllis Airhart, “Ordering a New Nation and Reordering Protestantism, 1867-1914,” in *The Canadian Protestant Experience*, ed. George A. Rawlyk [Burlington, ON: Welch Publishing Company Inc., 1990], 130).

⁸Cited in J.S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates, or Coming Canadians* (Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1909), 4. Similar views were expressed by J.T.M. Anderson, who became premier of Saskatchewan: “The children in the public schools of today will be the fathers and mothers of the next generation, and it is essential that the former be given an insight into our Canadian life and ideals. . . . The future of our Canadian citizenship will fail to reach that high level of intelligence which has ever characterized Anglo-Saxon civilization throughout the world” (cited in Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940*, 99).

⁹*The Country School in Non-English Speaking Communities in Saskatchewan* (Regina, SK: Saskatchewan Public Education League, 1915), 3, 9.

the curriculum and language of the church.¹⁰ A similar teacher-training school, the *Deutsche-Englische Fortbildungsschule* (German-English Academy), was started in Rosthern, Saskatchewan by David Toews in 1905. Although the school at Gretna had the support of many Mennonites, there were still some *Kanadier* Mennonites who were less inclined to compromise and who, after a final confrontation with the Manitoba and Saskatchewan governments in 1916 resulting in the loss of “unapproved” private schools, left Canada for Mexico during the 1920s.

Even the *Russlaender* Mennonites, who had accepted the reality of public schools in Russia, were disappointed upon their arrival in Canada by the lack of opportunity for religious instruction within the public schools in western Canada. In Russia, the Mennonites had been able to devote one-third of their school term to the study of German and religion. These subjects were never given comparable space within the curriculum of the public schools in Canada.¹¹ Church leaders apprehensively warned: “Die Schulen unseres Landes sind religionslos. Unsere Kinder bekommen in den Distrikt und Hochschulen gute Unterweisung in vielen nützlichen Fächern, aber die direkte religiös Unterweisung wird vermieden” (Public schools in this country are void of religion. Our children are receiving a good education in the elementary and secondary schools with many useful subjects being taught, but specific religious instruction is being neglected.)¹² Despite other differences that divided Mennonites, most agreed that the “national, god-less” public schools did not fully meet their needs. The Mennonites considered the responsibility to educate their children as part of a sacred trust from God. Moreover, all believed that “their identity as a people depended in large part on how successfully they would transmit their religious and cultural heritage to their children.”¹³ Against this historical backdrop, the Mennonite Bible schools

¹⁰Frank Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1974), 342; Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 186; Ens, *Die Schule Muss Sein*; and Frank Epp, *Education with a Plus: The Story of Rosthern Junior College* (Waterloo, ON: Conrad Press, 1975). Both teacher-training institutes eventually became private Mennonite high schools.

¹¹Friesen, “The Mennonites of Western Canada,” 173.

¹²J.H. Enns, “Mennonitische Bibelschulen in Kanada,” *Warte-Jahrbuch* 1 (1943): 32. Enns concludes with a passionate plea about the importance of Mennonite young people learning their “*Muttersprache*” (mother tongue).

¹³Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970*, 106, 224.

may be seen as one of several educational genres that were adapted by the Mennonites for the Canadian prairies as part of a multifaceted strategy for ethnic and religious self-preservation--the use of Saturday German schools and Sunday schools being other strategies.

Third, the four Mennonite denominations involved with Bible schools in western Canada were those that had been most influenced--some would say infected--by evangelical Protestantism.¹⁴ Often the initial contact came from Mennonites who had spent time in the

Table 32: Mennonite Bible Schools in Western Canada (1909-1960)										
	Manitoba		Saskatchewan		Alberta		British Columbia		Total	
	Open	Close	Open	Close	Open	Close	Open	Close	Open	Close
Mennonite Brethren	3	1	8	7	6	5	5	4	22	17
Conference of Mennonites in Canada	4	2	5	4	5	4	2	1	16	11
Mennonite Brethren in Christ	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	2	1
Alberta-Saskatchewan Mennonite Conference	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
Joint Venture	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
TOTAL	8	3	13	11	14	11	7	5	42	30

United States where Mennonites, in general, were quicker to assume the inevitability, and even the desirability, of acculturation.¹⁵ A significant number of leaders within these four denominations looked to other evangelical Protestants for strategies and resources to help facilitate spiritual revitalization among Mennonites. These Mennonite denominations were at the forefront of advocating the use of Sunday schools, introducing innovations in worship such as four-part harmonies, instrumental accompaniment and gospel hymns, promoting

¹⁴See Bruce Guenther, "Living with the Virus: The Enigma of Evangelicalism among Mennonites in Canada," in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. George Rawlyk (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 223-240 in which I discuss the difficult matter of drawing boundaries between "Mennonite" and "evangelical."

¹⁵See Theron F. Schlabach, *Peace, Faith, Nation: Mennonites and Amish in Nineteenth-Century America* (Waterloo, ON: Herald Press, 1988); James C. Juhnke, *Vision, Doctrine and War: Mennonite Identity and Organization in America, 1890-1930* (Waterloo, ON: Herald Press, 1989); and Paul Toews, *Mennonites in American Society, 1930-1970: Modernity and the Persistence of Religious Community* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1996).

foreign missions, developing an organized approach to works of charity, cooperating with specialized voluntary societies, making better organizational use of centralized conference organizational structures and utilizing Bible schools for inculcating within young people an amalgamated ethnic and theological ethos.¹⁶

3.3 The Mennonite Brethren in Christ

The Mennonite Brethren in Christ were among the first Mennonite denominations involved in establishing Bible schools in western Canada. Strongly influenced by Methodist revivalism during the nineteenth century, the group stressed the necessity of a climactic, emotional personal conversion and personal piety, and demanded strong institutional loyalty as an expression of the Christian life.¹⁷ The group concentrated its energy on winning converts and, as a result, was one of the few (perhaps only) Mennonite groups to welcome and integrate those outside of its ethnic borders during the early twentieth century. By the 1920s, they had become a formidable force among the Swiss Mennonites in Ontario.

In western Canada, Mennonite immigrants from Russia vastly outnumbered any Swiss Mennonites and, as a result, the Mennonite Brethren in Christ were only a small part of the Mennonite presence in the region.¹⁸ Their aggressive emphasis on outreach quickly took them beyond the Mennonite theological and cultural boundaries. In 1906, a small mission was started in Edmonton, Alberta, which eventually became Beulah Home, a hospice for unmarried mothers. Several years later in 1913, efforts were made to start Beulah Mission

¹⁶Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920*, 235-236.

¹⁷The denomination was shaped by a rather eclectic selection of theological emphases and practices. From the Pentecostals they borrowed "a stronger emphasis on the Holy Spirit, though never sufficiently to satisfy those were really Pentecostal at heart; from the Calvinists, elements of predestination; and from the Darbyites, premillennialism" (Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940*, 505). They borrowed most heavily from the Methodists, accepting their ideas regarding a second work of grace, doctrines of holiness and the notion of complete sanctification, new forms of church government and evangelistic techniques. In 1957 the group had approximately eleven churches in Alberta with a total of 540 members; small Sunday schools were operating in another nine communities. Membership in Ontario at the time exceeded 2,500 (see Everek Richard Storms, *History of the United Missionary Church* [Elkart, IN: Bethel Publishing Co., 1958], 290ff).

¹⁸See Henry Paetkau, "Russian Mennonite Immigrants of the 1920s: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 2 (1984): 72-83, for a discussion of how two historical-geographical political-cultural crucibles helped to form very different "sub-ethnic" communities.

Bible Training School.¹⁹ Although this venture was short-lived (the school closed in 1919), a second attempt located more centrally within its constituency in Didsbury, Alberta in 1921 was more successful. The school was started by Alvin Traub, Superintendent of the Canadian Northwest District, who was convinced that a school was necessary for the district to continue existing. Its express purpose was for the training church leaders and by the end of the 1950s almost every pastor in the district was a graduate of the school. From the outset, the faculty at Mountain View Training School for Ministers was interdenominational and the language of instruction was English.²⁰ The group's mission emphasis and readiness to de-emphasize its Mennonite ethnic and theological distinctives not only gave the group a greater freedom in neighborhood evangelism, but also made them one of the Mennonite groups most open to assimilation into Canadian culture.²¹ As part of an effort to improve its missionary efforts, the Mennonite Brethren in Christ became one of the first groups to use English for church services and was the first to suggest that the inclusion of the word "Mennonite" in its name might be obstructing its evangelistic objectives. In 1947, the group became known as the United Missionary Church, and later simply as the Missionary Church. Shortly after, it dropped many distinctive Mennonite and Anabaptist doctrines. It eventually severed all of its links with other Mennonite churches and conferences and eventually became no longer identifiably Mennonite.

3.4 The Alberta-Saskatchewan Mennonite Conference

A second, smaller group of Swiss Mennonites settled in Alberta during the early

¹⁹Reference to this school is made in Klassen, "A History of Mennonite Education in Canada, 1786-1960," 263.

²⁰Storms, *History of the United Missionary Church*, 162-167, 199-201. In 1949, the school became Mountain View Bible College as it expanded its two-year course to a three-year diploma program, and a four-year course for the training of pastors and missionaries. In 1992 it merged with Hillcrest Christian College to form Rocky Mountain College in Calgary, Alberta.

²¹Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920*, 240. Epp's discussion of the Mennonite Brethren in Christ is a good example of the pejorative treatment sometimes given to Mennonite groups that have welcomed the influence of North American evangelicalism. The denomination is, in his view, influenced by the inflated "denominational ego and spiritual arrogance," which are a "characteristic by-product" of the evangelical awakening. He "defends" the implicated Mennonites by arguing that for "timid Mennonite people such expressions of self-confidence helped to wash away an apologetic gospel and inferiority feelings, which generations of persecution, isolation and nonconformity had written deep into their souls" (*Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920*, 237).

twentieth century. Initially part of the larger Mennonite General Conference (more commonly known as the Old Mennonites), in 1907 these Mennonites organized their own Alberta-Saskatchewan Mennonite Conference. Fewer than ten congregations, most of which were scattered throughout central Alberta, were affiliated with the group.²² The Alberta-Saskatchewan Mennonite Conference began an itinerant "Winter Bible School" in 1934, which was modelled after similar initiatives that had been used by the Mennonite Church in the United States since the turn of the century. Started by Clarence J. Ramer, a former student at the Eastern Mennonite School in Harrisonburg, Virginia, the school in western Canada travelled from one congregation to another, staying in each location for approximately three weeks. Students who followed the school from location to location were able to obtain up to fourteen weeks of instruction in one winter. The curriculum, which included the Mennonite Elementary Teacher Training Units, Old Testament, New Testament and practical subjects, was covered in a three-year cycle.²³ The school was designed as an integral part of the Christian education program of the various congregations. Although the school averaged well over a hundred students each year during its first decade of operation, it was closed in 1954, after which students were encouraged to attend the Ontario Mennonite Bible Institute in Kitchener, Ontario.²⁴

3.5 The Conference of Mennonites in Canada

Much more extensively involved in the Bible school movement in western Canada than either the two preceding groups were the Conference of Mennonites in Canada and the Mennonite Brethren. No other denominations in Canada started as many Bible schools as either of these two groups. In contrast to the Mennonite Brethren in Christ, which deliberately reached beyond the Mennonite ethnic and linguistic boundaries, the Conference of

²²Some of the ASMC congregations had links to the Amish Mennonite Church in the United States, and some had links to the Mennonite Conference of Ontario. The group changed its name to the Northwest Conference of the Mennonite Church (see Ezra Stauffer, *History of the Alberta-Saskatchewan Mennonite Conference* [Ryley, AB: Alberta-Saskatchewan Mennonite Conference, 1960]).

²³See Clarence Fretz, "A History of Winter Bible Schools in the Mennonite Church," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 16 (June 1942): 178-195; and Clarence Fretz, "A History of Winter Bible Schools in the Mennonite Church," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 16 (April 1942): 51-81.

²⁴Letter from Paul Voegt to Frank Epp, 23 September 1981, Frank Epp Papers, MOA.

Mennonites in Canada worked instead at consolidating scattered and isolated Mennonite congregations who were “in danger of drifting away because of geographic isolation, cultural differences, congregational practices, or doctrinal variance.”²⁵ The formation of the Conference of Mennonites in Canada in western Canada in 1903 was partly due to the influence of itinerant American *Reiseprediger* (itinerant preachers) who were sent north as “home missionaries” throughout the 1880s and 1890s and who attempted to extend a Mennonite conference network into western Canada. While initially unsuccessful in their attempt to establish formal ties with Mennonite groups in Canada, they did exercise considerable influence on scattered congregations through worship services, Bible studies and home visitations. Eventually the idea of a conference was accepted as a helpful means for retaining a larger sense of Mennonite community. Initially the group was comprised mainly of Manitoba Bergthaler and Saskatchewan Rosenorter congregations, which were both made up exclusively of *Kanadier* immigrants. In 1932, new congregations from British Columbia and Ontario, made up of a mixture of *Kanadier* and *Russlaender* immigrants, joined the conference and the name was changed to the General Conference of Mennonites in Canada. Following a major reorganization in 1959, the name was changed to Conference of Mennonites in Canada (following yet another merger, it is now known as Mennonite Church Canada). The denomination eventually became the largest Mennonite denomination in Canada. To maintain an overall sense of unity and to enable cooperation among such a loosely connected collection of congregations each of which was intent on maintaining its unique practices and traditions, the Conference of Mennonites opted for a denominational polity that was more democratic and that permitted considerable autonomy for local congregations.²⁶ This stood in contrast to other Mennonite groups that used either a centralized superintendency or bishopric to oversee denominational affairs.

The absence of a strong denominational structure offers at least a partial explanation why the Conference of Mennonites in Canada was more than a decade behind the Mennonite Brethren in Christ and the Mennonite Brethren in starting their own Bible schools. Many

²⁵Frank Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940*, 318; and H.J. Gerbrandt, “The Conference of Mennonites in Canada,” in *Call to Faithfulness: Essays in Canadian Mennonite Studies*, eds. Henry Poettcker and Rudy A. Regehr (Winnipeg, MB: Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 1972), 81-91.

²⁶Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970*, 260.

Conference of Mennonites in Canada congregations initially collaborated with local Mennonite Brethren schools and saw little reason to start their own. However, as the importance of theological and denominational differences between the two groups became more pronounced, and as more of their young people began attending Mennonite Brethren schools, the Conference of Mennonites began to start Bible schools as a means to express their own sense of denominational identity and ethos.²⁷ While the schools started by the Conference of Mennonites in Canada did help stimulate a new sense of denominational loyalty, they were often virtual imitations in emphasis and curriculum of the schools run by the Mennonite Brethren.

The first Bible school in Canada by the Conference of Mennonites in Canada, Elim Bible School, began in 1929 as an appendage of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute in Gretna, Manitoba. After ten years, it was moved to a more central location in Altona, Manitoba. Motivating the denomination was the fact that the Mennonite Brethren had already established four Bible schools by 1929 with discussions underway in several other locations. Despite their slow start in comparison to the Mennonite Brethren, the Conference of Mennonites in Canada, like the Mennonite Brethren, witnessed an incredible proliferation of Bible schools during the 1930s.²⁸ More than a dozen schools were begun by individual congregations or provincial conferences during this decade. Although these schools contrib-

²⁷Despite ethnic and linguistic similarities, the two denominations manifested a somewhat different ethos. Conference of Mennonites in Canada congregations maintained more of the traditional Mennonite practices in such matters as membership in the church, baptism by sprinkling and, for a time, the use of elders (also called bishops) vested with special authority to govern the church and to administer the ordinances. The Mennonite Brethren used congregationally-based ministers and deacons; adopted a liturgical style that included more public prayer, gospel songs and revivalistic preaching; insisted on baptism (even re-baptism) by immersion; and required both evidence of "newness of life" and a verbal testimony prior to church membership. The Mennonite Brethren generally considered an emotional conversion as necessary for radical spiritual transformation, whereas many (not all) leaders within the Conference of Mennonites in Canada tended to argue that new birth and personal faith could be nurtured via education and the catechism. In addition, the Mennonite Brethren were both more rigorous in their demands concerning the lifestyle of members (for example, they forbade as sinful the use of alcohol, tobacco, dancing, playing cards, etc.), and more vigorous in their emphasis on evangelism and missions. In some communities these differences resulted in conflict and rivalry between the two groups. In other locales, relations between the two groups were more amiable and cooperative; common interests and hardship often prompted individuals from both denominations to cooperate in a range of educational and economic ventures.

²⁸Rudy A. Regehr, "A Century of Private Schools," in *Call to Faithfulness*, 106; and Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940*, 255-256. Pressure to start their own schools intensified when their young people began to attend non-Mennonite schools.

uted towards the larger task of nurturing a generation of young Mennonites, most proved to be rather short-lived efforts, often lasting less than a decade. At least five, however, enjoyed a longer tenure. Among these schools was the *Mennonitischen Religionsschule* in Winnipeg started by Johann H. Enns in 1931.²⁹ It lasted until the mid-1940s when plans for a “higher

Table 3.3 Mennonite Bible School Student Enrolment (1925-1960)

	1925	1930	1935	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960
Mennonite Brethren	40	275	370	540	540	610	405	430
Conference of Mennonites in Canada	0	30	80	315	225	315	250	295
Mennonite Brethren in Christ	15	45	50	50	50	45	50	50
Alberta-Saskatchewan Mennonite Conference	0	0	120	170	100	100	0	0
Joint Ventures	0	0	0	30	25	20	80	155
TOTAL	55	350	620	1,105	940	1,090	785	930

Note: Enrolment numbers are based on a combination of actual and estimated data.

Bible school” began to take shape in Winnipeg. In Saskatchewan, Bible schools were established at Rosthern in 1932³⁰ and in Swift Current in 1936.³¹ As Mennonites moved further west, more schools were started. In Alberta, Menno Bible Institute in Didsbury became the most prominent Conference of Mennonites in Canada school.³² In time, Swift Current Bible Institute was left as the sole survivor of the educational endeavours on the part of the Conference of Mennonites in Canada in Alberta and Saskatchewan: it absorbed the Rosthern Bible school in 1961 and Menno Bible Institute several years later in 1967. In British Columbia, the Conference of Mennonites in Canada first discussed the possibility of a

²⁹See “Dem Lichte Zu! Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben,” Volume 4103, Johann H. Enns Papers, MHCA; and *Jubilate 60 Years: First Mennonite Church, 1926-1986* (Winnipeg, MB: First Mennonite Church, 1991).

³⁰See Epp, *Education With a Plus*; and Esther Patkau, ed., *The Torch: Ministry of Rosthern Bible School Alumni, 1932-1994* (n.p., 1994).

³¹*SCBI '61-'62: 25th Anniversary Yearbook* (Swift Current, SK: Swift Current Bible Institute, 1962).

³²C.L. Dick, ed., *The Mennonite Conference of Alberta: A History of its Churches and Institution* (Edmonton, AB: The Mennonite Conference of Alberta, 1980), 127-134; and Robert Janzen, “A History of the Menno Bible Institute,” Unpublished paper, 1979.

Bible training centre in 1937 at a conference of ministers. This led to the organization of “*Religionsschule*” in four locations: Sardis, Yarrow, Coghlan and Abbotsford. The influence of a gifted teacher from Russia, Nicolai Banhman, who had studied at a Bible school in Basel, Switzerland, helped the program at Coghlan to expand into a day program in 1938.³³ This program laid the foundation for the inauguration in 1946 of Bethel Bible Institute, the only school started by the Conference of Mennonites in Canada school in British Columbia to survive any length of time. By the 1950s, its influence had touched virtually every congregation belonging to the denomination in the province.³⁴ In 1970, the school merged with Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute, a Mennonite Brethren school, to become Columbia Bible Institute (now located in Abbotsford, British Columbia and known as Columbia Bible College). The fact that the Bible schools operated by the Conference of Mennonites in Canada are not the primary focus of this chapter should not minimize or obscure the significant contribution they made to the overall movement. They were second only to the Mennonite Brethren as the denomination with the most schools.³⁵

3.6 The Mennonite Brethren

3.6.1 Mennonite Brethren Origins in Russia

The Mennonite Brethren trace their origins back to 1860 when eighteen heads of families presented a declaration to the leaders of the Molotschna colony in Russia indicating their desire to secede from the Mennonite Church.³⁶ After a tumultuous five years character

³³David Giesbrecht, “Mennonite Schools in BC,” *Mennonite Historical Society of British Columbia Newsletter* 5, No. 5 (1999): 5-7; and Gerhard I. Peters, *Remember Our Leaders: Conference of Mennonites in Canada, 1902-1977* (Clearbrook, BC: Mennonite Historical Society of British Columbia, 1982).

³⁴Cornelia Lehn, *Frontier Challenge: A Story of the Conference of Mennonites in BC* (Abbotsford, BC: Conference of Mennonites in British Columbia, 1990), 168.

³⁵A detailed comparative study of the Bible schools operated by the two denominations would be a worthy contribution to a fuller understanding of the inter-Mennonite relationships in western Canada and the development of Mennonite theological education.

³⁶The standard denominational histories include: P.M. Friesen, *Die Alt-evangelische Mennonitische Bruderschaft in Russland, 1789-1910: In Rahmen de Mennonitischen Gesamtgeschichte* (Halbstadt, Taurien: Verlagsgesellschaft “Raduga,” 1911); J.H. Lohrenz, *The Mennonite Brethren Church* (Hillsboro: MB Publishing House, 1950); A.H. Unruh, *Die Geschichte der Mennoniten-Brüdergemeinde* (Winnipeg, MB: Christian Press, 1955); John A. Toews, *A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church: Pilgrims and Pioneers* (Fresno, CA: Board of Christian Literature, 1975); and J.B. Toews, *A Pilgrimage of Faith: The*

ized both by efforts to resist suppression at the hands of fellow Mennonites and by internal charismatic and antinomian excesses (known as the *Fröhliche Richtung* or exuberance movement), the movement stabilized and eventually became an important part of the Mennonite melange. The schism occurred during a period of tremendous social, economic and religious turmoil among the Mennonites in Russia. While not the first voice to call for social and religious reform,³⁷ the drastic actions taken by the early Mennonite Brethren to create an alternative ecclesiastical community represented a radical critique of the social and religious conditions within the Mennonite colonies.³⁸

From the outset, debates surrounded the Mennonite Brethren concerning their authenticity as Anabaptists. They were sometimes called "Lutheran Mennonites," or mistaken as Baptists, by Russian authorities. The new movement represented a unique convergence of religious influences that had, for several decades, struggled and agitated for renewal, and that had gradually become a part of the Russian Mennonite experience in the form of Bible study and prayer meetings (*Stunden*), missions festivals and revival meetings. Particularly important in defining the theological ethos of the new movement was the

Mennonite Brethren Church in Russia and North America, 1860-1990 (Winnipeg, MB: Kindred Press, 1993).

³⁷The Mennonite Brethren were preceded by the Kleine Gemeinde Mennonite Church (renamed the Evangelical Mennonite Church in 1952), which began in 1814 in the Molotschna Colony through the influence of Klaas Reimer.

³⁸Debates concerning the primary causative factor of this schism continue among historians: see Peter J. Klassen, "The Historiography of the Birth of the Mennonite Brethren," in *P.M. Friesen and His History: Understanding Mennonite Brethren Beginnings*, ed. Abraham Friesen (Fresno, CA: Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1979), 115-131; Harry Loewen, "Ambivalence in Mennonite Brethren Self-Understanding," *Direction* 23, No. 2 (Fall 1994): 5-17; J.B. Toews, "The Early Mennonite Brethren: Some Outside Views," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 58, No. 2 (1984): 83-124; J.B. Toews, *Perilous Journey: The Mennonite Brethren in Russia, 1860-1910* (Winnipeg, MB: Kindred Press, 1988), 1-54; Paul Toews, "Differing Historical Imaginations and the Changing Identity of the Mennonite Brethren," in *Anabaptism Revisited: Essays on Anabaptist/Mennonite Studies in Honour of C.J. Dyck*, ed. Walter Klaassen (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1992), 156; Abe Dueck, "Mennonite Churches and Religious Developments in Russia, 1850-1914," in *Mennonites in Russia, 1788-1988: Essays in Honour of Gerhard Lohrenz*, ed. John Friesen (Winnipeg, MB: CMBC Publications, 1989): 149-181; and James Urry, *None but Saints: The Transformation of Mennonite Life in Russia, 1789-1889* (Winnipeg, MB: Hyperion Press, 1989), 174-195.

influence of German pietism.³⁹ The personal and experiential aspect of early Mennonite Brethren piety was encouraged by the fact that their services took place in the more intimate and participatory environment of homes. Stressing the importance of a salvation that was to be personally experienced by each individual (*Bekehrung*) contrasted sharply with the routinized religion of the majority of Russian *Kirchliche* Mennonites.⁴⁰

In addition to borrowing from the pietists, early Mennonite Brethren leaders relied heavily on the expertise of several Baptist ministers for guidance concerning matters of church polity and administration. Although believer's baptism upon confession of faith was assumed from the outset, the particular mode was not immediately an issue. Exposure to Baptist leaders who considered baptism by immersion a prerequisite for church membership convinced Mennonite Brethren leaders to prefer immersion. The sometimes strident insistence on this matter was often deeply resented by other Mennonites. Through their association with Baptists, the Mennonite Brethren introduced practices such as Sunday school, and public prayer in worship services. Cooperation with the Baptists continued throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth; a considerable number of early Mennonite

³⁹Pietism made its way into the Russian Mennonite communities through congregations that had belatedly moved from Prussia to Russia, through written literature and sermons, and through the influence of various European Bible Societies and Mission Societies. A significant source of influence was "Pfarrer" Eduard Wüst, a German Lutheran pastor whose dynamic preaching and joyous message of salvation encouraged a more experiential kind of Christianity. In addition, several Mennonite congregations corresponded directly with Zinzendorf's Moravians (see Victor Adrian, "Born of Anabaptism and Pietism," Special insert in *Mennonite Brethren Herald* [26 March 1965]: 2-11; Frank C. Peters, "The Early Mennonite Brethren Church: Baptist or Anabaptist," *Mennonite Life* 25 [1959]: 176-178; and Abraham Friesen, "Anabaptism and Pietism in Mennonite Brethren Origins," Unpublished paper, CMBSA). For an excellent analysis of Mennonite Brethren piety, which includes a discussion of the house group environment, the impact of an itinerant ministry and worship styles, see John B. Toews, "Patterns of Piety Among the Early Mennonite Brethren," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 12 (1994): 137-155.

The evaluation by Mennonite historians concerning the influence of pietism has been ambivalent, even contradictory. Compare, for example, Robert Friedman's generally negative assessment in *Mennonite Piety Through the Centuries: Its Genius and its Literature* (Goshen, IN: Mennonite Historical Society, 1949), to Peter M. Friesen who lists Wüst as the second reformer of the Mennonites, next only to Menno Simons (*The Mennonite Brotherhood in Russia, 1789-1910* [Fresno, CA: General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches, 1978], 225). James Urry's analysis of the influence of pietism in nineteenth-century Russia also stands against Friedman's thesis that pietism weakened Anabaptism ("All that glitters . . .": Delbert Plett and the Place of the Kleine Gemeinde in Russian-Mennonite History," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 4 [1986]: 228-250).

⁴⁰Despite the denunciations on the part of some early Mennonite Brethren leaders, there were many among the so-called *Kirchliche* Mennonites who sympathized with the demands for social and religious reforms advocated by the new group, but who opted to remain a part of the larger Mennonite Church.

Brethren missionaries were trained at Baptist schools. By the time the Mennonite Brethren were able to establish their own missionary program, their theology of missions, missions strategy and methods of church planting were profoundly shaped by their long association with the Baptists.⁴¹

Yet another source of external influence among the Mennonite Brethren in Russia came through participation in the Blankenburg Alliance Conference, established in 1885 as the centre of Plymouth Brethren activity in Europe. The endorsement of Mennonite Brethren leaders such as Jacob Kroeker, one of the few theologically-trained Bible teachers within the denomination during the nineteenth-century, prompted many other their leaders to attend Blankenburg.⁴² A good number of Russian Mennonite Brethren discovered dispensational premillennialism through this Conference prior to arriving in Canada during the 1920s where it was reinforced by other influences.⁴³

The diversity of influences that were part of the Mennonite Brethren heritage in nineteenth-century Russia contributed substantially towards facilitating a renewal of spiritual vitality. Moreover, as numerous historians have noted, the mixed origins in Russia created an openness--others would say susceptibility--to diverse religious and theological influences from without in other places.⁴⁴ This openness laid the foundation for an ongoing ambivalence concerning their identity as an Anabaptist community, and it predisposed the Mennonite Brethren to the influence of evangelicalism in the North American context. The primary centre for the convergence and dissemination of the different strands of influence among

⁴¹See H.F. Braun, "Mennoniten oder Baptisten?" *Friedensstimme*, No. 35 (1910): 3-5; cited in J.B. Toews, "The Early Mennonite Brethren," 90.

⁴²Hans Brandenburg, *Jakob Kroeker, ein bevollmächtigter Bibelausleger* (Stuttgart, Germany: Evang. Missionsverlag, 1957).

⁴³For an excellent description and analysis of dispensationalism see Timothy Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875-1982* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987). See also C. Norman Kraus, *Dispensationalism in America: Its Rise and Development* (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1958).

⁴⁴See for example, Herbert Giesbrecht, "Seeking a Faith to Live By: Modifying Influences Upon the Faith Confessed By Mennonite Brethren," Paper presented at a Symposium Sponsored by the Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies in Canada, November 1980, 1, CMBSA. J.B. Toews notes how the openness to external influences encouraged a recognition of Christian believers irrespective of organizational and confessional affiliation (*Pilgrimage of Faith*, 122-127; and Abe Dueck, "Millennialism and the Mennonite Brethren Church," *MB Herald*, 19 May 1978, 27).

Mennonite Brethren in western Canada were the Bible schools.

3.6.2 Mennonite Brethren Origins in Canada

The first Mennonite Brethren to arrive in North America--approximately 200 families as part of the larger *Kanadier* migration--settled in the United States during the 1870s and were spread throughout Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota and South Dakota. Within a decade, they began designating and commissioning itinerant evangelists (*Reiseprediger*) to conduct meetings among Mennonites living in southern Manitoba. This was a strategy that had been effective in expanding the church in Russia and in keeping a numerically and geographically expanding conference informed and united. As the result of such church extension efforts, a small congregation was organized in 1888 at Burwalde, Manitoba (later moved to Winkler), which in turn was instrumental in starting several satellite congregations in neighboring communities comprised largely of former Sommerfelder and Old Colony Mennonites.⁴⁵ In addition, a small city mission in the city of Winnipeg was started. It was led for eight years by William J. Bestvater.⁴⁶

This nondescript beginning in Canada was augmented by a steady stream of Mennonite Brethren immigrants from the United States during the 1890s and the early decades of the twentieth century. Some settled in Manitoba, but the majority were attracted by the availability of free homesteads and cheaper land in Saskatchewan. They settled in two main areas that became known as the Rosthern Kreis [District] in the north and Herbert Kreis in the south.⁴⁷ By 1923, almost twenty Mennonite Brethren congregations had been formed in western Canada with a membership totalling approximately 1,800 of which 80% were located in Saskatchewan. These American immigrants were more anglicized and familiar with evangelical Protestantism than many of the other Mennonites in Canada and were, therefore, particularly instrumental in introducing various innovations in theology and

⁴⁵See Toews, *A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church*, 152-157. The Mennonite Brethren were often hampered in their efforts to attract disenchanted members from among other Mennonite groups because of their insistence on re-baptism by immersion.

⁴⁶Anna Thiessen, *Die Stadtmission in Winnipeg* (Winnipeg, MB: Regehr's Printing, 1955).

⁴⁷By 1914, the Mennonite Brethren churches in Canada had organized themselves as the Northern District Conference (renamed the Canadian Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches in 1946) to distinguish themselves from their American counterparts.

practice to the Mennonite Brethren church in Canada.

The "crazy twenties" brought a time of rapid expansion for the young denomination in Canada as a wave of more than 20,000 German-speaking *Russlaender* Mennonites, who were fleeing the Bolshevik revolution and its aftermath settled in Canada--mostly on farms throughout western Canada.⁴⁸ Of the total number of *Russlaenders*, between 4,000-5,000 were Mennonite Brethren (only about 50% of this number were baptized members). By 1930, there were almost 4,000 Mennonite Brethren scattered across western Canada in over forty congregations. The bleak economic prospects brought about by the drought and depression of the 1930s prompted some Mennonite Brethren to relocate from the prairies to British Columbia. As a result of this redistribution, Yarrow, British Columbia began to rival Winkler, Manitoba and Hepburn, Saskatchewan as centres of Mennonite Brethren influence. A somewhat smaller wave of immigrants arrived in Canada after World War Two, when approximately 7,700 Mennonites entered the country (sometimes referred to as "late *Russlaender*"). Regional differences are an important dynamic in understanding early Mennonite Brethren developments in Canada.

As noted above, the influx of *Russlaenders* significantly changed the complexion of Mennonitism in western Canada. In fact, the Mennonite denomination most dramatically influenced by the arrival of the *Russlaender* immigrants was the Mennonite Brethren. Cultural differences between the *Kanadier* and *Russlaender* sometimes resulted in tension and conflict in Mennonite communities, but the internal differences within the denomination, were drawn along somewhat different lines. Many of those with *Kanadier* roots had spent time in the United States prior to moving to Canada. These "late *Kanadier*" therefore had somewhat different cultural perspectives than their earlier *Kanadier* counterparts in Canada particularly in their appreciation for education and in their commitment to missions. This made them more compatible with their co-religionists among the newly arrived

⁴⁸Frank Epp, *Mennonite Exodus: The Rescue and Resettlement of the Russian Mennonites Since the Communist Revolution* (Altona, MB: D.W. Friesen & Sons Ltd., 1962); and John B. Toews, *Lost Fatherland*. Many of the incoming *Russlaender* were able to settle in areas already occupied by Mennonites due to a simultaneous exodus of about 8,000 Mennonites from Canada to places such as Mexico (Harry L. Sawatsky, *They Sought a Country: Mennonite Colonization in Mexico* [Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1971]).

Russlaender.⁴⁹ Because of their numbers, experience in education and leadership skills,⁵⁰ the *Russlaenders* soon exercised considerable influence within the denomination through the work of "many gifted and devoted ministers, leaders, teachers, and men qualified in practical affairs."⁵¹

3.6.3 Selecting Mennonite Brethren Schools

Attention now turns towards the central role played by the Mennonite Brethren in the Bible school story in western Canada. Denominational leaders were not entirely unfamiliar with Bible schools, having had previous experience with several of their own schools in Russia and other Bible schools in Europe prior to their arrival in western Canada.⁵² They were among the first to start Bible schools in western Canada, and were by far the most aggressive group involved in the Bible school movement in that they organized more schools than any other denomination. Their cumulative student enrolment significantly outnumbered that of any other denomination, and exceeded that of all other Mennonite denominations combined. The Mennonite Brethren leadership and example was influential in prompting, as well as in shaping, the Bible schools started by the Conference of Mennonites in Canada, the denomination with the second-largest number of Bible schools in western Canada.

The story of the Mennonite Bible schools in general, and the Mennonite Brethren

⁴⁹For a fuller discussion of how these differences impacted the Mennonite Brethren, see Abe J. Dueck, "Kanadier, Amerikaner and Rusländer: Patterns of Fragmentation among North American Mennonite Brethren Churches," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 19 (2001): 180-194.

⁵⁰In 1914, the Mennonites in Russia were operating 450 elementary schools, nineteen high or central schools for boys, four girls schools, two teachers colleges, two four-year trade schools and one eight-year business college (both trade and business schools required three languages), one school for the deaf and dumb, one deaconess institution and one Bible school (three others were started between 1923-1926). About 250 students were attending Russian institutions of higher learning and about fifty were studying in seminaries and universities outside of Russia (Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 21; and Harry Loewen, "Intellectual Developments Among the Mennonites of Russia: 1880-1917," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 8 [1990]: 90-93). This openness was the deciding factor that permitted their entry into Canada during the 1920s.

⁵¹Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940*, 255-265; 417ff.

⁵²J.B. Toews speculates that the Bible schools in Canada may have been modelled after the *Bible-stunden* that had been the lifeline of the early Mennonite Brethren movement in Russia. The intimate village settings in Russia gave way to the more scattered farm life in North America, which required new ways of providing for the spiritual nurture of their young people (*Pilgrimage of Faith*, 190-191).

schools in particular, contributes to a larger understanding of the Bible school movement in several ways. As part of a large ethnic, immigrant community that settled almost exclusively in western Canada, the story of the Mennonite Brethren Bible schools offers an important explanation for the disproportionate number of Bible schools in western Canada. They served a specific denominational constituency spread across western Canada and therefore reflect many of the internal dynamics within the denomination. In addition to being one intentional facet of a larger educational strategy for the spiritual formation and denominational integration of a significant proportion of young people within the denomination, the schools provided, almost as a by-product, a ready supply of ministers and lay leaders for churches in Canada as well as foreign missionary programs. The influence of the schools was extended not only by their students, but also by the cadre of individuals who taught in these schools. Bible school teachers were often included as part of the close-knit relational networks that existed among denominational leaders. Because Mennonite Brethren churches did not use seminary-trained pastors (unlike the North American Baptists featured in Chapter Four), these teachers exercised considerable influence within the denomination. Moreover, the practices and tensions within the Mennonite Brethren Bible schools offer insights into a community struggling to work out the changing relationship between faith and ethnicity. The Bible schools were crucibles within which new approaches towards the matters of language and acculturation were forged that eventually shaped congregational practices. The story of these Bible schools weaves together thematic strands of strong leadership, active lay involvement, supportive local church communities, tensions within an immigrant community, the influence of transdenominational schools and the struggle to maintain an identity as an ethnic, religious community.

Following the formal inauguration of their first school in Herbert, Saskatchewan in 1913, the Mennonite Brethren started more than twenty schools in western Canada alone.⁵³ All began either as an educational extension of a particular congregation, or a consortium of congregations, or the efforts of a group of like-minded individuals who formed a society to organize and promote a Bible school in their region. At the outset, most of the schools served

⁵³ Although some lists mention a Mennonite Brethren Bible school in Swift Current, Saskatchewan, I was unable to find evidence for such an initiative. It is, therefore, not included in this study.

only small, rural constituencies.⁵⁴ Despite some rivalries and competition for students between schools located in close proximity, the schools were an invisible link that bound congregations together in a common cause.⁵⁵ A trend towards consolidation and amalgamation began in the 1940s, and continued for more than a decade as the smaller, more congregationally-based, schools closed and the survivors, particularly those located in close proximity to premier congregations in regions with a large critical mass of Mennonite Brethren, served ever-larger geographical areas. This trend was precipitated by advances in communication and transportation--the growing post-war prosperity among the Mennonites enabled many to afford automobiles--and the growing economic burden created by what were, in many cases, redundant institutions only a few miles apart. The trend solidified as various schools were designated by their respective provincial conferences as "conference schools," that is, schools governed and at least partially funded by the denomination. The move towards larger institutions that could offer residential living made it possible "to improve the quality of education, to expand services, and to operate more economically."⁵⁶ While economic realities played their part, the move was also precipitated by a desire to create educational institutions of higher learning that could attract those students who might otherwise consider attending universities. By 1960, only four Mennonite Brethren Bible schools in western Canada remained--one in each province.

Although the Bible schools operated by the Mennonite Brethren had in common a relatively homogenous ethnic heritage, variations in theological ethos existed from school to school. The Bible schools served as the point of convergence between Anabaptist/Mennonite, European pietistic and North American evangelical influences within the denomination. The unique blends created by this mixture of influences varied: generally, the Mennonite Brethren who had been in the United States prior to their arrival in Canada, that is, those who were part of the *Kanadier* migration, were more aggressive in the promotion of evangelical emphases and methods borrowed from Bible schools in the United States, whereas the

⁵⁴In comparison to the Bible schools started by other clusters featured in this study, a much greater proportion of Mennonite schools were located in rural communities. This reflects the settlement patterns of the Mennonite immigrants.

⁵⁵See comments by H.A.Willems; cited in Margaret Epp, *Proclaim Jubilee* (N.p., n.d. [c. 1977]), 30.

⁵⁶Toews, *A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church*, 264.

Russlaender immigrants from Russia tended to stress certain cultural and Anabaptist themes. The theological blends created by this convergence permeated the denomination through the influence of teachers and students. The long influence of pietism among the Mennonite Brethren in Russia created a natural compatibility with evangelicalism in North America. Although removed from the fundamentalist debates in North America during the 1920s by both distance and ethnicity, the influence of fundamentalism nevertheless created some internal tensions within the denomination and ultimately left a legacy of ambivalence concerning Mennonite Brethren identity that has lasted to the present day. The theological ethos of the Mennonite Brethren schools gradually became more homogenous as the surviving schools became more integrated with, and accountable to, denominational structures.

The difficulty of isolating only one representative school among the plethora of Mennonite Brethren schools is exacerbated, first, by the way in which ongoing waves of *Russlaender* immigrants kept changing denominational demographics within western Canada thereby shifting the geographical centres of Mennonite population and influence; and second, by inter-provincial migration as economic conditions in western Canada changed; and third, by a growing trend towards urbanization during the 1950s. There is no single Mennonite Brethren Bible school that served as *the* centre of influence for the denomination during this period. Therefore, instead of featuring only one representative school as is the case in most (not all) other chapters, what follows are brief institutional biographies of the five most influential Mennonite Brethren Bible schools that will identify some of the central figures and the important developments in the life of each institution. The use of multiple biographies in this chapter is necessary in order to obtain a more fully-orbed sense of the influences within, and role of, the multitude of Bible schools within the life of this denomination. The fact that Mennonite schools and students comprised such a significant proportion of the Bible school movement as a whole warrants a more detailed look at this constituency.

The survey begins by briefly exploring the origins of Herbert Bible School, the first Mennonite Brethren Bible school in the region. Its influence, however, was eclipsed by Bethany Bible Institute in Hepburn, Saskatchewan and Winkler Bible Institute in Winkler, Manitoba. The latter two schools were both started during the 1920s; both were among the first schools started by people within the denomination and both survived the period under

investigation in this study--in fact, Bethany Bible Institute is still in operation, and Winkler

Table 3.4 Mennonite Brethren Membership in Canada (1920-1990)								
	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
British Columbia			1,131	3,343	4,453	5,660	7,861	11,320
Alberta		221	873	1,048	1,199	1,456	1,974	2,294
Saskatchewan	1,425	2,166	2,800	2,130	2,276	2,495	3,034	3,240
Manitoba	365	1,483	2,268	2,664	3,853	4,445	5,240	5,866
Ontario			805	1,525	2,171	2,778	3,457	3,825
Quebec						46	326	691
TOTAL	1,790	3,870	7,877	10,710	13,952	16,880	21,892	27,236

Source: T.D. Regehr, "Economic Transformation of Canadian Mennonite Brethren," in *Bridging Troubled Waters: The Mennonite Brethren at Mid-Twentieth Century*, ed. Paul Toews (Winnipeg, MB: Kindred Productions, 1995), 101.

Bible Institute closed its doors in 1997. The two schools had the largest cumulative enrolments of all Mennonite Bible schools; both supplied teachers and curricular resources to other Mennonite Brethren schools; both, but Bethany Bible Institute in particular, benefited from the closure of other Mennonite Brethren Bible schools during the 1950s and 1960s; and both eventually received the official designation as conference schools. Brief mention will be made of Alberta Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute, which was started in 1929 in Coaldale, Alberta, and Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute, which was started in 1936 in Abbotsford, British Columbia. Following a sketch of the historical contours of these institutions, attention turns towards a more general discussion of characteristics, objectives and emphases that all had in common, and their impact upon the denomination.

3.6.3.1 Herbert Bible School, Herbert, Saskatchewan (1913-1955)

Herbert Bible School has the distinction of being the first Mennonite Brethren Bible school in Canada and is among the very first Bible schools in western Canada. The experience gained from the efforts in Herbert served as a model for numerous other Bible school efforts on the part of both the Mennonite Brethren and the Conference of Mennonites in Canada.

Beginning in 1910, the Mennonite Brethren settlers in Saskatchewan, many of whom had come from the United States, began holding annual conferences. The idea of a Bible

school was initiated at the annual conference held in 1911. A committee was appointed to study the ways and means of establishing a Bible school. It reported back in 1912 with recommendations that (1) members make full use of the opportunities for the study of German and religion within the public school system, and (2) the Northern District establish two Bible schools to provide instruction in the German language and to train workers for the church. The recommendations laid out a basic curriculum of Bible instruction, German grammar, church history, Bible geography and world history.⁵⁷

Despite the two years of work on the part of Northern District, they would not have succeeded in establishing a school in the Herbert District as early as 1913 if it had not been for the proximity of John F. Harms, a prominent Bible teacher among the Mennonites, who had been involved in Bible school work in Kansas prior to settling on a farm at Flowing Well south of Herbert in 1908.⁵⁸ Although Harms only joined the denomination after his arrival in America, he had quickly gained a reputation within the denomination in his role as the editor of both the *Zionsbote (Messenger of Zion)* (1885-1906) and the *Mennonitische Rundschau (Mennonite Observer)* (1880-1886).⁵⁹ After several years of teaching mobile one-month Bible courses (*eine Wanderschule* [itinerant school]), Harms expanded the courses into a two-year program to form the curriculum of Herbert Bible School in 1913. The school term coincided with the winter months during which many of the farm-based young people in the area were not occupied. The stated purpose of the school in Herbert was twofold: "to establish and strengthen youth in the fundamental principles and doctrines of the Scriptures" and "to provide sound Biblical training for definite Christian service in such work as Sunday school

⁵⁷*Verhandlungen der zweiten Nördlichen Distrikt-Konferenz der Mennoniten-Brüdergemeinde von Nord Amerika. Abgehalten in der Gemeinde, Bruderfeld, Sask. 10. und 11. Juli, 1911; and Verhandlungen der dritten Nördlichen Distrikt-Konferenz der Mennoniten-Brüdergemeinde von Nord Amerika. Abgehalten in der Bethel Gemeinde, Herbert, Sask. am 1. und 2. Juli, 1912.*

⁵⁸Harms was educated and had five years of teaching experience in Russia before emigrating to Mountain Lake, Minnesota, in 1878. He did not become a part of the Mennonite Brethren Church until after arriving in America. In 1884 Harms started the first Mennonite Brethren school in North America (Lohrenz, *The Mennonite Brethren Church*, 76, 302]. Located in Canada, Kansas (it was relocated to Lehigh, KS in 1886), the school offered instruction in German, English and Bible. Prior to moving to Canada in 1906 he attended the Evangelical College in Naperville, Illinois. In Canada, he lived in Edmonton until settling on a farm at Flowing Well where he became the first minister in the Gadenau Mennonite Brethren Church (see Anna Redekop, "A Brief History of the Herbert Bible School," n.d., William J. Bestvater Papers, CMBSA).

⁵⁹See Redekop, "A Brief History of the Herbert Bible School."

instruction, Daily Vacation Bible School, Young Peoples and choir work, as well as extended Mission work at home and abroad."⁶⁰ Although there was a concern within the denomination about the retention of the German language--hence it served as the language of instruction--students also became proficient in English. English grammar was included in the curriculum and Harms himself conducted week-night worship services for the *Englaender* (the "English") in the area.

Within two years it became evident that the actual operation of a school was more difficult than had been anticipated. Harms recommended that the school become a "society school" sponsored by a society of benefactors rather than by the Northern District Conference.⁶¹ Although the Mennonite Brethren were and remained the driving force behind the school, the society was open to people of various confessions. The executive actively sought the support of the local Conference of Mennonites in Canada and even the Sommerfelder. The involvement on the part of other Mennonite groups in the area continued until the 1940s when the support of the Conference of Mennonites in Canada began to shift towards Swift Current Bible Institute.⁶²

Despite the attempt to reorganize, the school closed due to financial difficulties in 1918 after Harms moved back to the United States. After a two-year closure, the school was reopened in 1921 by William J. Bestvater, formerly a city missionary in Winnipeg and a popular Bible conference speaker. Bestvater expanded and improved upon the start made by Harms. It is the longstanding influence of Bestvater that gave the school its particular image, an image that greatly influenced other Mennonite Brethren congregations and groups subsequently interested in starting their own schools.⁶³ At the outset, Bestvater was given ownership of the school, but in 1926 he organized the Herbert Bible School Association to oversee the operations of the school. Under Bestvater, facilities were enlarged and improved, and the curriculum was expanded to a three-year program in 1928.

⁶⁰Herbert Bible School Prospectus (1955-1956), 5, Herbert Bible School Fonds, CMBSA.

⁶¹Abe Dueck, "Herbert Bible School--Some Historical Notes," *Mennonite Historian* 23, No. 1 (March 1997): 7.

⁶²Epp, *Proclaim Jubilee*, 2; and SCBI '61-'62: *25th Anniversary Yearbook*.

⁶³Toews, *A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church*, 259.

By writing several German textbooks for use in Mennonite Bible schools⁶⁴ and by editing a modest periodical entitled *Das Zeugnis der Schrift* (*The Biblical Testimony*), Bestvater disseminated the dispensationalist eschatology that he had learned at the Light and Hope Bible Institute (Cleveland, Ohio), a school founded by John H. Sprunger who was a zealous dispensationalist. During his time in Winnipeg, Bestvater had supplemented his theological education with several correspondence courses such as the Scofield Bible Course and others sponsored by Moody Bible Institute. He regularly attended Bible conferences organized by Elim Chapel in Winnipeg at which he heard dispensationalists A.C. Gaebelein, William Evans, A.C. Dixon, William B. Riley, Harris Gregg and others.⁶⁵ Bestvater's example did much to legitimize the utilization of English-language theological resources that were borrowed directly from the larger world of North American evangelicalism. Frank Epp observed that the dependence on such theological influences was "a harbinger of things to come in the Mennonite Bible School movement in the prairies, especially among the Brethren."⁶⁶ The example of Herbert Bible School illustrates several early trends among the *Kanadier* Mennonite Brethren: "While desiring to retain their German heritage, they were also open to the larger world of English evangelicalism and were prepared to use English language in outreach and ministry. . . . This early accommodation to English became a marked tendency among the Mennonite Brethren in Saskatchewan."⁶⁷ The balance between

⁶⁴For example, *Textbuechlein in Glaubenslehre für die Herbert Bibelschule* (Regina, SK: Courier Press, n.d.), which was a compilation of material gathered from C.I. Scofield, William Evans and R.A. Torrey; *Textbuechlein in Bibeldkunde für Deutsche Bibelschulen* (Regina, SK: Courier Press, n.d.), which was a collection of material from James Gray, Scofield and A.C. Gaebelein; and *Betrachtungen über das letzte Buch der Bibel* (Hillsboro, KS: Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1919), which relied heavily on Scofield.

⁶⁵Bestvater was converted in 1897 after reading a collection of sermons by C.H. Spurgeon (see Anna Redekop, "Amazing Grace: The Life Story of William J. Bestvater as written by his daughter Anna Rose Bestvater Redekop," Wilhelm J. Bestvater Papers, CMBSA).

⁶⁶Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940*, 85.

⁶⁷Gerald C. Ediger, "Deutsch und Religion: Ethnicity, Religion and Canadian Mennonite Brethren, 1940-1970" (Th.D Diss., Toronto School of Theology, 1993), 16-17. This excellent study documents the transition among Canadian Mennonite Brethren (particularly in Saskatchewan and Manitoba) from a unilingual German religious community in the early twentieth century into a multi-lingual, multi-ethnic denomination in the 1990s. Although he does not often highlight the connections, there are definite correlations between the process of acculturation experienced by the Mennonite Brethren, the denomination's missionary impulse, the role of the Bible school movement and the influence of North American evangelicalism.

these two, sometimes competing, emphases was arranged differently by the *Kanadier* and the *Russlaender*.

Bestvater left Herbert in 1930 and the school was closed once again. Henry Regehr kept the dream of Herbert Bible School alive by teaching classes in a private home during the next two winters, and the school reopened in 1932. Enrolment peaked in 1938 with close to seventy students, but then declined rapidly as the difficulties of the depression prompted many Mennonites in the area to move elsewhere; as other Bible school options for Mennonite young people began to explode during the 1930s; and as more young people moved to urban areas and opted for other educational venues. By the mid-1940s, Herbert was no longer the centre of Mennonite Brethren activity in Saskatchewan that it had been two decades earlier, making it difficult for the school to survive. Despite a revision of curriculum that re-introduced a two-year general Bible program along with a special program for high school graduates, the inauguration of a radio broadcast, the construction of a spacious new auditorium in 1951 and the takeover of the school by the Saskatchewan Mennonite Brethren Conference, the school continued to decline. It was closed in 1957 and amalgamated with Bethany Bible Institute in Hepburn, Saskatchewan, bringing to an end an institution that had shaped the lives of more than 1,000 students.

3.6.3.2 Bethany Bible Institute, Hepburn, Saskatchewan (1927 - present)

The proximity of the German-English Academy in Rosthern, the early Bible classes initiated by J.F. Harms, and occasional visits from H.W. Lohrenz, the founding principal of Tabor College, which was started in 1908 and located in Hillsboro, Kansas, combined to stimulate interest among the Mennonite Brethren in the northern part of Saskatchewan for their own "Bible-centred school" that could help preserve the use of the German language, teach the Bible to their young people and prepare more leaders for their churches.⁶⁸ At the time, the vast majority of Mennonite Brethren in the Rosthern District were descendants of

⁶⁸Frank Epp speculates that the Mennonite Brethren in Hepburn, Dalmeny and Waldheim were reluctant to support the German-English Academy in Rosthern because of their desire to have their own school and their concern that not enough Bible was being taught (*Education with a Plus*, 40). In 1932, a Bible school was initiated in Rosthern, which shared, at least for a time, both building and faculty with the Academy (Lydia Pankratz, "An Historical Sketch of the Rosthern Bible School," Unpublished paper, 1950, MHCA).

the *Kanadier* immigrants who came to Saskatchewan after having first lived in Minnesota, South Dakota and Nebraska. As early as 1912, a fund was started by local congregations for the purpose of organizing a school for higher education. Between 1912, starting in Brotherfield, and 1925, the Mennonite Brethren churches of the district experimented with itinerant Bible classes in various churches.⁶⁹ Although this *Wanderschule* was helpful, the desire for a more established Bible school continued to be expressed. Finally, in 1926, influenced by the fifteen years of experience on the part of Herbert Bible School in the south, the Mennonite Brethren in the Rosthern District invited George Harms, who had studied at the Bible Institute of Los Angeles and was a graduate of Moody Bible Institute, to teach three months of evening classes in Hepburn.⁷⁰ More than thirty young people attended. Convinced that this was proof of the need for a local Bible school, three ministers, Jacob Lepp of Dalmeny, H.A. Willems of Brotherfield and John Harder of Borden, canvassed the area for support.

Although a consensus had not been reached concerning the location of a Bible school within the district, the sudden availability in 1927 of the public school building in Hepburn prompted local leaders to take action. Hepburn's advantages included its central location within the Rosthern District as well as the proximity of the largest Mennonite Brethren church in the region. In 1927, Bethany Bible Institute came into being under the direction of a local Bible school association with Dietrich P. Esau as teacher and principal.

The stated objectives of the school were clearly outlined (and were commonly shared by other Mennonite Brethren schools). According to the school calender of 1937, its purpose was:

To give our . . . youth foundational Bible instruction in the German and English languages . . . , to wrench our youth away from frivolous pursuits and the contemporary "*Zeitgeist*". . . , to nurture the German language as a special possession handed down from our fathers . . . , to raise believing youth for the battle of the faith . . . [and] to take into account the needs of the congregations in the methodical training of Sunday school teachers and sundry (church) workers.

Early leaders claimed that the school stood "on an interdenominational base" and that it

⁶⁹"Bethany 1927-1957," in *The Ray, 1956-1975* (Hepburn, SK: BBI, 1957), 6-7, BBIA.

⁷⁰The language of instruction was English ("M.B. Bible Schools in Canada," *Konferenz-Jugendblatt* 11, No. 62 [November-Dezember 1955]: 12).

taught “the oneness of the church of Christ.” The characterization of the school as an institution providing “interdenominational, non-sectarian religious education” continued until the late 1940s, when gradually a more intentional Mennonite Brethren identity emerged.⁷¹ Although the school’s “interdenominational” objectives did attract a few Mennonites from other denominations, the majority of students were Mennonite Brethren, and the ethos of the school was always strongly shaped by its Mennonite Brethren teachers and local supporters.

Esau, together with John A. (*Vaeterchen* [Daddy]) Toews, who arrived in 1928, designed the schools curriculum. What began initially was a two-year curriculum was expanded to three years in 1932, to four years in 1934, and then to five years in 1941, a move that coincided with a name change to Bethany Bible School and Bible College.⁷² The fifth year was eventually dropped in 1945. Unlike many of the other Mennonite Brethren Bible schools where a three-year program was adopted as the standard, Bethany Bible Institute maintained a four-year program during most of its early history--although for a time during the 1940s a three-year diploma was in place with the option to proceed to an additional two-year college program (the three-year diploma program could be reduced to two years for high school graduates).⁷³ In 1955, a four-year program with more diversified specializations was re-established. Although a thorough study of the Bible was at the centre of each program innovation, Bethany Bible Institute, like the four other schools featured in this chapter, joined the Evangelical Teacher Training Association in 1935, which prescribed the inclusion of practical courses in Christian education, particularly Sunday school work.⁷⁴ Although

⁷¹*Prospectus of Bethany Bible School and Bible College* (1944-45), 3. The school’s property was deeded to the Saskatchewan Mennonite Brethren Conference in 1948. This helped strengthen the school’s accountability to the denomination.

⁷²The Collegiate Department offered a degree program in Christian education and theology. It was, however, a short-lived effort (for a detailed chronology of events in the history of the school see George Geddert, ed., “‘To God be all the Glory’: 1927-1987 Historical Summary of Events, Buildings, Changes During Bethany’s First Sixty Years,” Program of Bethany’s Sixtieth Anniversary Service, 10 April 1987, BBIA).

⁷³In addition, special courses in Health and Home Nursing were offered to third and fourth-year women as substitutes for Homiletics (Epp, *Proclaim Jubilee*, 39).

⁷⁴This prompted at least some alumni to see “Sunday school methodology” as the major emphasis at Bethany Bible Institute, in contrast to Prairie Bible Institute’s emphasis on “foreign missions” and “certain other ‘English’ Bible schools” [that] turned out preachers” (Epp, *Proclaim Jubilee*, 39).

students as young as fourteen were on occasion admitted, the minimum age was soon set at sixteen with little consideration for previous education--the majority of students came with a grade eight education. The curriculum of the first two years was therefore designed to help young people acquire more Bible knowledge and relate it to life. The third and fourth years offered more advanced courses to older students who showed promise for Christian service, either in the church or in missions.

By the early 1930s, student numbers at Bethany Bible Institute eclipsed those of Herbert Bible School reflecting the larger critical mass of Mennonite Brethren in the Rosthern District. Although enrolments fluctuated from year to year, by the end of the 1930s student numbers exceeded one hundred, necessitating a series of building projects to expand and improve campus facilities. Considerable financial help for such projects came from the congregations in the area. Over time, an active alumni association helped both in promoting the school to prospective students and in assuming the financial sponsorship for numerous on-campus projects. Oddly, student numbers plummeted rather drastically immediately following the end of the depression and only gradually increased during the late 1940s and 1950s. By 1960, enthusiasm in the school ran high as student numbers were once again exceeding 100. This steady increase in students during the 1950s coincided with the numerous closures and amalgamations of other Mennonite Brethren Bible schools, which left Bethany Bible Institute, in 1960, as the sole Mennonite Brethren Bible school in Saskatchewan and the Mennonite Brethren Bible school with the largest enrolment in western Canada. Although at least five other Bible schools were established by the denomination in Saskatchewan--some in relatively close proximity to Hepburn⁷⁵--all, including Herbert Bible

⁷⁵The school in closest proximity was Tabor Bible School, which was located in Dalmeny, Saskatchewan less than twenty miles from Hepburn. Tabor declared itself to be an "interdenominational" school. Although it was operated almost exclusively by the Mennonite Brethren until its closure in 1954, it was supported by several other local Mennonite churches. Also nearby was a small evening Bible school at Hochfeld (near Hague, Saskatchewan), a short-lived educational extension on the part of students and faculty at Bethany Bible Institute (John D. Friesen, *Holding Forth the Word of Life* [Saskatoon, SK: By the Author, 1989]; and Jack Heppner, *Search for Renewal: The Story of the Rudnerweider/Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference, 1937-1987* [Altona, MB: Friesen Printers, 1987], 32, 100).

Although never identified as a Mennonite Brethren school, Meadow Lake Bible Institute in Meadow Lake, Saskatchewan was initiated in 1943 by John A. Dyck, a graduate of Bethany Bible Institute (Margaret Epp, "But God Hath Chosen . . ." *The Story of John and Mary Dyck* [North Newton, KS: Mennonite Press, 1963], 85).

School, were either closed or incorporated as a part of Bethany Bible Institute by 1957.⁷⁶

The most influential persons in shaping the ethos of a school were faculty members--by the end of the 1950s, more than thirty people had worked as full-time teachers at Bethany Bible Institute. Although faculty members were poorly paid and often called upon to make considerable sacrifices for the sake of the institution, they were highly regarded as spiritual leaders and often occupied prominent positions of leadership within the denomination.

The way in which the school's governing association was structured meant that the principal became the chairperson of the Board of Directors, and faculty were automatically included as directors giving them considerable influence in the operation and direction of the school. Other directors consisted of elected representatives from churches active in the

Table 3.5 Student Enrolment in Select Mennonite Brethren Schools (1925-1960)								
	1925	1930	1935	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960
Herbert Bible School	20	15	50	50	40	40	20	0
Bethany Bible Institute	0	55	70	100	55	70	70	110
Winkler Bible Institute	20	50	80	100	105	100	70	65
Alberta Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute	0	55	40	50	80	80	40	20
Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute	0	0	0	20	35	85	60	95
All Other Mennonite Brethren Bible Schools	0	100	130	220	150	125	45	0
Mennonite Brethren Bible College	0	0	0	0	75	110	100	140
TOTAL	40	275	370	540	540	610	405	430

Note: Enrolment numbers are based on a combination of actual and estimated data.

association (one representative per one hundred members). It was not until 1956, after the amalgamation with Herbert Bible School, that this governance structure was redesigned, an event that coincided with a general move towards professionalized models of ministry within the denomination at large. Other changes included the inauguration of salary scales and a group insurance plan for faculty. The integration of the governance of the school with the

⁷⁶Adding to the importance of Bethany Bible Institute as a Mennonite Brethren school was the merger in 1968 with Alberta Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute.

denominational infrastructure led the school to become more intentional about its role within the denomination.

J.B. Toews replaced Esau as the second principal of the school in 1934, in part because he was fully bilingual. Educated in Russia and Tabor College, Toews redesigned the courses in Bible and theology upon the advice of A.H. Unruh.⁷⁷ Both G.W. Peters who succeeded Toews as principal in 1937, and G.D. Huebert who succeeded Peters in 1942, had their early training at Herbert Bible School--Peters also studied at Winkler Bible Institute and completed a semester at Prairie Bible Institute.⁷⁸ Both Peters and Huebert brought a keen interest in missions and premillennialism to Bethany Bible Institute.⁷⁹ The person who still holds the record for the longest tenure as principal of Bethany Bible Institute is Jacob H. Epp, whose stay lasted twenty-eight years (nineteen years as principal). He spent five years as a child in China where his parents served with the China Mennonite Mission Society. As a young man he studied first at Prairie Bible Institute, until G.W. Peters convinced him to come to Bethany Bible Institute. After plans to return to China were foiled first by the depression and then by World War Two, Epp returned as a teacher. He helped expand the facilities and continued to encourage particularly the emphasis on missions.

Despite the numerous commonalities with other Mennonite Brethren schools, Bethany Bible Institute is unique among Mennonite Brethren Bible schools in at least three respects. First, it was the first school to experiment with a move towards offering a "college" program. Although ultimately unsuccessful in sustaining a degree program in theology, it did signal an interest in higher education within the denominational constituency that came to fruition more fully in 1944 with the start of the Mennonite Brethren Bible College in Winnipeg.

Second, the school developed a reputation for the aggressive promotion of missions.

⁷⁷See J.B. Toews, *JB: The Autobiography of a Twentieth-Century Mennonite Pilgrim* (Fresno, CA: Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1995), 88-89, 96-99.

⁷⁸Peters became the first president of Pacific Bible Institute, a Mennonite Brethren Bible school started in Fresno, California in 1944 as a reaction to, among other things, perceived liberalism at the other Mennonite Brethren school in the United States, Tabor College. Later, he went to Dallas Theological Seminary as professor of missions.

⁷⁹According to Margaret Epp, A.C. Gaebelein was Peters's authoritative reference point (*Proclaim Jubilee*, 41).

This is not to suggest that other Mennonite Brethren Bible schools were not interested in missions, but to note that Bethany Bible Institute, more than any other Mennonite Brethren school, inspired its students and graduates for mission work at home and abroad.⁸⁰ The actual application of this emphasis took several forms. Early on, G.W. Peters, who had accompanied Bestvater on his itinerant preaching tours while a student at Herbert Bible School, used a similar pattern of inviting student music groups to accompany him during the summer. In 1933, the Bethany Prayer League was organized. Encouraged by Bible school faculty, its members helped inculcate a strong missionary spirit within the school.⁸¹ Two years later, the Bethany Prayer League Children's Mission was formed as an outreach extension of Bethany Bible Institute (the name was changed in 1937 to the Western Children's Mission and eventually became known as the Mennonite Brethren Mission of Saskatchewan). Although the personnel for the Western Children's Mission overlapped directly with Bethany Bible Institute, the new Mission did have its own charter that characterized it as "interdenominational, international, evangelical and evangelistic."⁸² The Western Children's Mission, led by the previously-mentioned Jake H. Epp, recruited and sent dozens of young people into rural communities across northern Saskatchewan to conduct Vacation Bible Schools for children. One estimate suggests that during the 1930s upwards of 75% of Bethany Bible Institute students spent from two to six weeks in Vacation Bible School work each summer. The organization served, according to Menno Lepp, as the "cradle of Bethany's foreign mission-

⁸⁰This observation is made by Toews, *A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church*, 261.

⁸¹Membership in the Prayer League was both formal and stringent. A written application was necessary containing a convincing account of Christian conversion and a commitment to service. In part, the group was formed as a response to students who had been sent to Bible school for Bible instruction by their parents, but who had never been "converted" (Peter Penner, *No Longer at Arms Length: Mennonite Brethren Church Planting in Canada* [Winnipeg, MB: Kindred Press, 1987], 45).

⁸²Involvement with the work of the Western Children's Mission during their time as Bible school students during the 1930s inspired a group of people from the Abbotsford area in British Columbia to form a similar organization called the Western Children's Mission in British Columbia (later changed to West Coast Children's Mission). Their first worker was John Wiebe, a graduate of Winnipeg Bible Institute who had worked with the Canadian Sunday School Mission in Manitoba. By mid-1950s it was active in more than thirty localities across British Columbia (Peter Penner, *Reaching the Otherwise Unreached: An Historical Account of the West Coast Children's Mission of BC* [Clearbrook, BC: WCCM, 1959]).

ary thrust.”⁸³ The work of Western Children’s Mission and Bethany Bible Institute was augmented in 1951 with a radio ministry initiated by faculty. The short program called “Gospel Echoes” was broadcast from several radio stations in central and northern Saskatchewan.⁸⁴

Closely connected to the vigorous emphasis on missions was the third unique feature of Bethany Bible Institute, namely the comparatively early transition from German to English. At the outset, the language of instruction was predominately German, but it quickly became a mixture of German and English as pressure for a more bilingual curriculum mounted from students. By the end of the school’s first decade, the transition to English language instruction was virtually complete.⁸⁵ However, in response to concerns expressed within the larger denominational constituency about the move towards English, the faculty continued throughout the 1930s to reassure people that “great weight” was being placed on the German language at the school, and that students were displaying an “intense interest” in learning the language.⁸⁶ This has led scholars such as Gerald Ediger to note the “growing gulf

⁸³Epp, *Proclaim Jubilee*, 50-51. In 1937 Western Children’s Mission sent out forty-six workers who travelled more than 8,000 miles to serve in thirty-six locations (Geddert, “To God be all the Glory,” 5).

⁸⁴“Mennonite Brethren Radio Broadcasts Across Canada,” *Konferenz-Jugendblatt* (Maerz-April 1955): 20-27.

⁸⁵Pressure to switch to English increased significantly during the war years as word of incidents of public harassment circulated. Two Mennonite churches were torched in Alberta in 1940, one of which was a Mennonite Brethren church in Vauxhall that also served as a Bible school. A Conference of Mennonites in Canada Bible school in Drake, Saskatchewan was raided by members of the Canadian Corps Association and one teacher was driven out of town (Aron Sawatsky, “The Mennonites of Alberta and Their Assimilation” [M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1964], 176-177; and John J. Bergen, “The World Wars and Education Among Mennonites in Canada,” *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 8 [1990]: 156-172). Yet another Mennonite Brethren Bible school in Vineland, Ontario was closed in 1941 after being visited by the RCMP (Penner, *No Longer at Arms Length*, 37).

⁸⁶See for example, “Schulbestrebungen in unsern Kreisen,” in *Verhandlungen der 29. Nördlichen Distrikt-Konferenz der Mennoniten-Brüdergemeinde von Nord Amerika. Abgehalten zu Winnipeg, Manitoba vom 2. bis zum 6. Juli 1938*, 22; and “Schulbestrebungen in unsern Kreisen,” in *Verhandlungen der 30. Nördlichen Distrikt-Konferenz der Mennoniten-Brüdergemeinde von Nord Amerika. Abgehalten zu Coaldale, Alberta, vom 8. bis zum 12. Juli 1939*, 24-27. Benjamin Redekop notes that the school’s public responses were belied by the internal faculty discussions in which the principal acknowledged that students did not learn as easily when the language of instruction was German (“Minutes of the Bethany Bible School Committee Meeting,” 17 February 1940; cited in Benjamin Redekop, “The German Identity of Mennonite Brethren Immigrants in Canada, 1930-1960” [M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1990], 125). In 1942, the Board officially endorsed the full use of English thereby legitimizing what was already taking place (*Bethany Bible Institute Contact* [Summer 1977--Jubilee Issue], 8, BBIA).

between perceptions and aspirations of Canadian Conference leaders and the linguistic realities among their youth,” and to observe that the Saskatchewan Mennonite Brethren Bible schools--Herbert Bible School and Bethany Bible Institute in particular--were on the leading edge of accommodation to the English language.⁸⁷

At the end of the 1950s, Bethany Bible Institute faced a new dilemma. As the number of Mennonite Brethren within urban centres increased during the 1950s, and as more young people began to attend university, suggestions were made that the school relocate to nearby Saskatoon (by the end of the 1950s the Mennonite Brethren congregation in Saskatoon had become the largest congregation in the province). Although the proposal to relocate to Saskatoon was ultimately rejected in the late 1950s, the idea has resurfaced occasionally and still lingers as a consideration for leaders in the school.

3.6.3.3 *Winkler Bible Institute, Winkler, Manitoba (1925-1996)*

Despite the longstanding interest on the part of the *Kanadier* Mennonite Brethren in the Rosthern District in establishing a Bible school, the second Mennonite Brethren school to be started in Canada was Peniel (meaning “the face of God”) Bible School, which began in 1925 in Winkler, Manitoba. The new Bible school (renamed Winkler Bible School in 1926 and Winkler Bible Institute in 1967) was the first of many Mennonite Bible schools in western Canada initiated after the massive influx of *Russlaender* Mennonites, and was among the first Bible schools to be started in the province of Manitoba.

The sudden presence in 1925 of Abraham H. Unruh, a Russian-certified teacher, German specialist, and a former teacher at a Mennonite Brethren Bible school in Tschongrav, Crimea,⁸⁸ was a propitious moment for those interested in Bible school education in Winkler.

⁸⁷Ediger “Deutsch und Religion,” 26-27.

⁸⁸Mennonites had only just begun Bible schools in Russia when the Soviets brought such initiatives to an abrupt halt (see Harold Bender, “Bible Schools,” *Mennonite Encyclopaedia*, 1:333). The Tschongrav school, officially registered under the name “Mennonite Theological Seminary,” was one of the more successful Mennonite Bible schools in Russia. It was started by Johann G. Wiens, a returned missionary from India and a graduate of the Baptist seminary in Hamburg, Germany. The school was permanently closed by the Red Army in 1924 after only six years of operation. In total, 226 students attended the school. For more information see Margaret Reimer, *The Crimea Bible School, 1918-1924*, trans. Edwin Reimer (Kingsville, ON: By the author, 1972); Gerhard Reimer, “Zum ‘Schicksal der krimier Bibelschule’--oder des ‘Mennonitischen Theologischen Seminars’” in *Mennonitische Märtyrer*, ed. A.A. Toews (Winnipeg, MB: By the author, 1954), 360-366; and A.H. Unruh, *Die Mennonitische Bibelschule zu*

By 1925, the predominately Mennonite community of Winkler had become a major centre in southern Manitoba with a population of approximately 900 people. It was the location of the oldest and at the time also the largest Mennonite Brethren church in the province. Interest in the religious education of children ran deep in the area, heightened considerably as the tensions over compulsory public education between the Mennonites and the government of Manitoba precipitated the exodus of more than 3,000 *Kanadier* Mennonites from southern Manitoba to Mexico between 1922 and 1926. Despite the fact that the *Kanadier* did not always appreciate the more educated and aggressive *Russlaenders*, Unruh's ability to build relationships helped him to generate interest in the area for the development of a Bible teaching ministry.⁸⁹ His idea of a local Bible school was met with enthusiastic support on the part of several well-established businessmen. Concerned that his suggestion for a school might be perceived as a competitive venture with the other Mennonite Brethren Bible school in western Canada, Unruh wrote to Bestvater at Herbert Bible School about his plans for a new school in Manitoba. Bestvater's reply was encouraging as he expressed his desire to see a Mennonite Brethren Bible school in every province.⁹⁰ In the fall of 1925, eleven students began their studies in a private home. Enrolment doubled after Christmas, and with the arrival of Gerhard Reimer, a former colleague of Unruh's from the Tschongrav school, the school offered an impressive list of courses taught entirely in German.⁹¹

Tschongraw, Krim, in Russland (Winkler, MB: Winkler Printery, n.d). Several other Bible schools were started during the early 1920s, but none lasted beyond 1926. Most were society schools, that is, they were supported by groups of individuals from various Mennonite denominations who had organized themselves as a society (see Abe Dueck, "The Quest for a Mennonite Seminary in Russia, 1883-1926: Signs of a Changing Mennonite World," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 74, No. 3 [July 2000]: 457-460; and J.H. Brucks and H. Hooze, *Neu-Samara am Tock*, trans. John Isaac as *Neu-Samara on the Tock River in Russia* [Unpublished manuscript]).

⁸⁹At least two biographies have been written about Unruh: H.P Toews, *A.H. Unruh, D.D., Lebensgeschichte* (Winnipeg, MB: Christian Press, 1961); and David H. Ewert, *Stalwart for the Truth: The Life and Legacy of A.H. Unruh* (Winnipeg, MB: Board of Christian Literature, General Conference of MB Churches of North America, 1975). See also Abraham H. Unruh Papers, CMBSA.

⁹⁰A.H. Unruh, *Die Geschichte der Mennoniten-Brüdergemeinde, 1860-1954* (Hillsboro, KS: The General Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church of North America, 1955), 615.

⁹¹Courses included *Bibelkunde* (Bible knowledge), *Glaubenslehre* (Doctrine), *Seelenlehre* (Psychology), *Sprachlehre* (Language, grammar), *O.T. Exegese* (Old Testament Exegesis), *N.T. Exegese* (New Testament Exegesis), *Stilistic* (Essay writing), *Ethik* (Ethics), *Altertumskunde* (Archaeology), *Kirchengeschichte* (Church History), *Sonntagschularbeit* (Sunday School Methods), *Lehre von der Predigt* (Homiletics), *Naturegeschichte* (Natural History), *Gesang* (Singing). A detailed institutional biography of

As was the case in Herbert, Mennonites from other denominations were actively involved in the project during its first few years. A group of donors (mostly Mennonite Brethren) collaborated in 1926 to raise funds for the school's first building, but it was the Bergthaler (a group that later became part of the larger Conference of Mennonites in Canada) bishop Jakob Hoeppner who donated the land for the school. His successor David Schulz enrolled as a student at the new school and gave serious consideration to cooperation with the Mennonite Brethren, but felt that official support should continue only if some teachers belonging to the Conference of Mennonites in Canada were included on staff. This did not happen, and in 1929 the Bergthalers, together with the Blumenorters, established their own Bible school in Gretna (Elim Bible School), which subsequently moved to Altona in 1940.⁹²

By 1926, a three-year program of study was set in place. The courses offered were patterned after the program used in Tschongrav, which had been patterned after the curriculum of the German Baptist Seminary in Hamburg.⁹³ Winkler Bible Institute essentially became a transplant of the school that the first three faculty members had operated in the Crimean peninsula. The original program was expanded to four years in 1929 to incorporate more courses for the training of Sunday school teachers—in 1932 the school became an

the school was completed by George Pries, *A Place Called Peniel: Winkler Bible Institute, 1925-1975* (Altona, MB: D.W. Friesen & Sons Ltd., 1975).

⁹²Despite the refusal on the part of the Mennonite Brethren to include faculty members from other Mennonite groups, the Bergthaler church in Winkler continued its support and was influenced more by the local Mennonite Brethren school than by its own school in Altona. At least six of its ministers and many of its members attended Winkler Bible Institute (David Friesen, *Journey of Faith: Winkler Bergthaler Mennonite Church, 1895-1995* [Winkler, MB: Winkler Bergthaler Mennonite Church, 1995], 268-269). For more on Elim Bible School see Frank K. Isaac, *Elim: 50th Anniversary, 1929-1979* (Winnipeg, MB: Conference of Mennonites in Manitoba, 1979); Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940*, 255-256; Henry J. Gerbrandt, *Enroute Hinjawājis: The Memoirs of H.J. Gerbrandt* (Winnipeg, MB: CMBC Publications, 1994), 134-146; and Elim Bible School Papers, MHCA.

⁹³Russian Mennonites seeking theological education during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century generally opted for one of two schools: the *Freie Evangelische Predigerschule* in Basel, or the *Predigerseminar der deutschen Baptisten zu Hamburg-Horn*. Harry Loewen notes that Mennonite Brethren students preferred the Baptist seminary in Hamburg, which was "more devotional in nature" than the school in Basel ("Intellectual Developments Among the Mennonites of Russia," 94; and Dueck, "Mennonite Churches and Religious Developments in Russia, 1850-1914," 169-170).

A detailed theological comparison of the textbooks used at Herbert Bible School (many written by Bestvater) and the class outlines used at Winkler Bible Institute during its first decade of operation (for example, A.H. Unruh, "Neu-Testamentliche Exegese," and J.G. Wiens, "Alt-Testamentliche Exegese") that explores the variations between the two schools remains to be done.

official member of Evangelical Teacher Training Association. Except for some minor modifications that came with the addition of program specializations, the four-year program remained intact until 1960. A fifth year was added in 1933 specifically for those preparing for public Christian service (the program never had more than ten students a year). The school emphasized not only the Christian education of young people, but also the preparation of bilingual ministers. Because Winkler Bible Institute was one of the few Mennonite Brethren Bible schools to consider the training of ministers as part of its mandate, it drew more students from across western Canada than did other denominational schools, at least until the inauguration of Mennonite Brethren Bible College in 1944.

Notable at Winkler Bible Institute is the longevity of faculty, which gave the school an unusual degree of stability. Although Unruh was the “heart and soul” of the school, the three other faculty members who joined Unruh to become the first four faculty members all stayed at the school for at least fifteen years. Unruh’s reputation as a popular Bible teacher helped immeasurably in the task of raising funds (modest tuition fees covered only about half the expenses) and recruiting students. He became known as the “undisputed dean of Mennonite Bible Schools in Manitoba.”⁹⁴ By 1960, only twenty-four people (all men except for one) had taught full-time at the school. At the outset, faculty not only taught, but also governed the school; the constitution drafted in 1928 gave the *Lehrerkollegium* (the faculty) the final say in virtually all decisions.⁹⁵ This level of faculty control remained in force until 1944 when ownership of the school was transferred to the Manitoba Mennonite Brethren Conference.

In addition to the first three faculty members from Russia, special mention needs to be made of Abram A. Kroeker, a Canadian-born Mennonite Brethren with *Kanadier* roots who joined the faculty in 1929 to teach Christian education. Kroeker and Unruh represent the two strands of influence that converged within the Mennonite Brethren Bible schools. Although Kroeker was involved in Winkler Bible Institute from the beginning as one of the original donors, his inclusion as part of the faculty brought about, as William Neufeld

⁹⁴Jack Heppner, *Search for Renewal: The Story of the Rudnerweider/Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference, 1937-1987* (Altona, MB: Friesen Printers, 1987), 32.

⁹⁵Pries, *A Place Called Peniel*, 70-75. The Board of Directors consisted of the first three teachers and three non-teaching advisory members. For a complete list of faculty see Pries, *A Place Called Peniel*, 41-46.

tactfully states, a “subtle change of emphasis.”⁹⁶ Long before Unruh’s arrival in Winkler, Kroeker showed an interest in education. After finishing his high school in 1912 at the Mennonite Collegiate Institute in Gretna, Kroeker completed the provincial Normal School program for teachers. Following five years of teaching, he completed two years of studies at the Bible Institute of Los Angeles in 1922. Kroeker’s ability with the English language marked the introduction of English-language instruction at the school. Unlike Bethany Bible Institute, the transition to English-language instruction at Winkler Bible Institute took much longer. By the mid-1930s only a limited number of courses were being taught in English; by the mid-1940s Winkler Bible Institute had become intentionally bilingual with approximately 50% of courses taught in English.⁹⁷ The use of German as a language of instruction gradually waned throughout the 1950s. By 1960, only one course in German language remained. The more gradual process of language transition at the school mirrored a deep conflict over language that was taking place in Mennonite congregations throughout Manitoba during the 1940s and 1950s.⁹⁸ Moreover, Kroeker’s experience in the United States introduced him to both dispensationalism and to evangelical methods of outreach and Christian education. Kroeker spearheaded the school’s decision to join the Evangelical Teacher Training Association in 1932, and it was Kroeker who served as a champion for Christian education at Winkler Bible Institute and a catalyst for several outreach initiatives.⁹⁹

Student numbers at Winkler Bible Institute increased rapidly reaching seventy by the fall of 1927. Many of the students were immigrants who could not speak English and who

⁹⁶*From Faith to Faith: The History of the Manitoba Mennonite Brethren Church* (Winnipeg, MB: Kindred Press, 1989), 177.

⁹⁷At the time, graduation was reserved only for those with proven ability in both languages (see “Der Lehrplan der Bibelschule,” *Auskunft ueber die Winkler Bibelschule “Peniel” 1941-42* [n.p., 1942], 5-9).

⁹⁸Sunday morning worship services in the Winkler Mennonite Brethren Church were not conducted entirely in English until 1967 although English had been in use in youth work, in Sunday school and in various services since the late-1940s (Ediger, “Deutsch und Religion,” 129-186).

⁹⁹Pries, *A Place Called Peniel*, 77; and John H. Goossen, “Winkler Bible School: Its History, Growth and Aims,” *MB Herald*, 9 June 1967, 19-20. It is worth noting that, in 1939, Kroeker became chair of the newly formed Northern District Sunday School Committee (G.W. Peters, principal of Bethany Bible Institute, was also a member). One of the first issues to face this committee was the problem of which language to use for the publication of Sunday school curriculum (see Ediger, “Deutsch und Religion,” 24-26).

were too old to attend public school, but who nevertheless wanted more education.¹⁰⁰ A local revival in 1928 stimulated further interest in attending Bible school. Like other Mennonite Brethren Bible schools, student numbers were divided almost equally between men and women. Despite some fluctuation in enrolment, by the early 1940s numbers were consistently over one hundred. Until the early 1950s, Winkler Bible Institute rivalled Bethany Bible Institute as the Mennonite Brethren school with the largest enrolment. The school's steady enrolment can be attributed, in part, to the fact that Manitoba never saw the same proliferation of denominational schools as did the other three western provinces, which was largely due to Winkler Bible Institute's well-established prestige among the Mennonite Brethren within the region.¹⁰¹

Similar to programs offered in most Bible schools, student participation in practical Christian service was mandatory at Winkler Bible Institute. This took numerous forms including visitations and singing in hospitals and homes, Sunday school and youth work in local churches, tract distribution, deputation on behalf of the school and even occasional preaching.¹⁰² The local Mennonite Brethren church, in particular, benefited from the close proximity of the school--in addition to the work of students more than a few faculty served dual roles in both the local church and the Bible school. Following the arrival of Kroeker on faculty in 1929, a more concerted effort was made to involve students in children's ministries such as Vacation Bible School and camping. At the outset, Winkler Bible Institute worked closely with a newly-organized transdenominational society called the Canadian Sunday School Mission. Contact with this organization began when two students (Nettie and Lena

¹⁰⁰Neufeld, *From Faith to Faith*, 173.

¹⁰¹For a short period during the 1930s the Mennonite Brethren conducted an evening German Bible school in Winnipeg (see "*Die Deutsche Bibelschule zu Winnipeg*," n.d., CMBSA; and Dueck, "MBBC Antecedents: The Winnipeg German Bible School," 1, 5, 7). A second initiative involved the Mennonite Brethren church in Steinbach, which was the catalyst behind the founding of Steinbach Bible School (now known as Steinbach Bible College) in the early 1930s. This school soon became a collaborative effort on the part of individuals from several local Mennonite churches. By 1979, the inter-Mennonite consortium operating the school had expanded to include seven denominations and church groups. At the present time it is comprised of the Evangelical Mennonite Conference, Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference, the Chortizer Mennonite Conference, and a congregation in Steinbach belonging to the Fellowship of Evangelical Bible Churches, formerly known as the Evangelical Mennonite Conference (for an excellent institutional biography see Jerry Hildebrand, *Training Servant Leaders: A History of Steinbach Bible College, 1936-1996* [Steinbach, MB: Steinbach Bible College, 1997], 13-25).

¹⁰²See Pries, *A Place Called Peniel*, 177-184.

Kroeker) attended a conference at Elim Chapel in Winnipeg and met the founder, Lloyd Hunter, a young Baptist evangelist from the United States (see Chapter Seven for more on Elim Chapel and Canadian Sunday School Mission).¹⁰³ Abram Kroeker and Hunter became good friends and each summer a steady stream of Winkler Bible Institute students worked with Canadian Sunday School Mission as Vacation Bible School teachers and camp counselors.¹⁰⁴ In 1933, despite concerns about the efficacy of child conversions, the Bible school began to develop its own *Sommerbibelschulararbeit* (Vacation Bible School) ministry. Canadian Sunday School Mission materials continued to be used until faculty were able to write their own. For the next twenty-five years Winkler Bible Institute played a leading role in Vacation Bible School work in Manitoba.¹⁰⁵

Involvement in Vacation Bible School work led naturally to an interest in summer camps--faculty were paid for only six months of the year, thus involvement in summer ministries was both a natural extension of their teaching ministry and convenient employment. Prompted partly by the observation that a large number of Mennonite Brethren children were attending Canadian Sunday School Mission camps, Winkler Bible Institute faculty began looking for property near Winkler that might be suitable for the development of their own camp. In 1949, George D. Pries and H.H. Redekop were instrumental in starting Winkler Bible Camp. Although it was owned by the Manitoba Mennonite Brethren Conference, it was modelled after the Canadian Sunday School Mission camps. Once camping was underway, it usurped personnel and monies that had once been devoted to Vacation Bible

¹⁰³The story of the Canadian Sunday School Mission is told by John A. Barbour, *They That Be Wise: The Story of the Canadian Sunday School Mission* (Winnipeg, MB: Hull Printing Co., 1952); and Judith P. Funk, *Explosion of the Ordinary: The Ongoing Story of the Canadian Sunday School Mission* (Winnipeg, MB: CSSM Press, 1992).

¹⁰⁴Apparently A.H. Unruh had tried to start a *Missionsverein* at Winkler Bible Institute in 1928, but eventually abandoned the effort in order to concentrate on his own itinerant ministry as a Bible teacher leaving the door of opportunity open for involvement with Canadian Sunday School Mission.

¹⁰⁵Pries, *A Place Called Peniel*, 169-172. Winkler Bible Institute's Vacation Bible School work lasted until 1958. The number of communities to which students were sent varied from year to year: most summers the total number of pupils exceeded 500 and in some instances even 1,000.

School.¹⁰⁶ Involvement in Vacation Bible School and camping greatly benefited the Bible school. There was a symbiotic relationship between the two as the Bible school supplied workers and the children's ministries supplied the Bible school with prospective students.

Closely linked to the emphasis on Christian service as an integral part of Bible school training was the emphasis on missions and outreach. The leadership provided by Bible school faculty (particularly those with *Kanadier* roots) in various outreach initiatives helped the school to become a centre of influence within the region and within the denomination. Early in the life of school, students and faculty organized the Peniel Mission Band to stimulate and promote interest in missionary work. The desire to help Henry and Anna Bartsch, several former students, reach Africa as missionaries led the Band to become more directly involved in fundraising. Similar to the process at Bethany Bible Institute, the group reorganized in 1933 to become the *Afrika Missions Verein* (Africa Mission Society), an independent, interdenominational society. (It was taken over by the Mennonite Brethren Board of Foreign Missions in 1943.)¹⁰⁷ During the 1940s, Winkler Bible Institute occasionally organized week-long Sunday school seminars and short *Predigerkursus* (preaching courses for ministers). After these courses were taken over by the new Bible college in Winnipeg, more attention was given to organizing Bible and Missionary Conferences, which augmented the promotion of missions within the school. Often these were hosted jointly with the Winkler Mennonite Brethren Church.

Efforts to extend the influence of the Bible school were intermittently made through publishing initiatives, most of which proved to be short-lived. The first such venture was the publication of *Die Antwort* (*The Answer*) beginning in 1934 and edited by A.H. Unruh.

¹⁰⁶Penner, *No Longer at Arms Length*, 51. Prior to Winkler Bible Institute faculty involvement in Winkler Bible Camp, Abram Kroeker had, as early as 1939, helped a group of people interested in camping acquire a piece of property at Arnes, on Lake Winnipeg, north of Gimli. For ten years the idea of a camp lay dormant, until a group of Mennonite Brethren from the South End Mennonite Brethren Church in Winnipeg decided to start a camp, which was organized as an independent society named Camp Arnes. By this time, Kroeker was no longer on faculty at Winkler Bible Institute although it may well be that the idea for faculty to be involved in a camping ministry was his (see Penner, *No Longer at Arms Length*, 51-53; and Peter Penner, "The Children's Missionary Movement in Canada," CMBSA).

¹⁰⁷See George W. Peters, *The Growth of Foreign Missions in the Mennonite Brethren Church* (Hillsboro, KS: Board of Foreign Missions, Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church, 1947), 97-99; and Ben Doerksen, "Mennonite Brethren Missions: Historical Development, Philosophy, and Policies" (D.Miss. Diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1986), chapter four.

Discontinued for financial reasons after less than two years, the magazine's objective was to create a forum that might unite "Bible schools and friends of Christian Education and Evangelical Service."¹⁰⁸ This initial attempt was succeeded by *Der Jugendarbeiter* (*The Youth Worker*), a monthly paper prepared by students with Abram H. Redekop as editor. It lasted three years, and was replaced in 1945 by *Der Morgenstern* (*The Morning Star*), which became the official organ of Winkler Bible Institute until 1950.

The year 1944 marked a time of significant crisis for the school. Discussions about the possibility of a new "*hoehere Bibelschule*" (a higher Bible school) that would be sponsored and supported by the Canadian Conference had been taking place for several years.¹⁰⁹ Many believed that a new Bible college that could grant degrees would result in the demise of Winkler Bible Institute particularly if the new school were located in Winnipeg. Many wondered if there were enough students and dollars within the Mennonite Brethren congregations in Manitoba to support two schools. Winkler Bible Institute put forward a proposal to locate both educational ventures on one campus (that is, in Winkler) hoping that the new program of advanced theological education might somehow become an extension of the fifth-year program that was already offered by the school.¹¹⁰ Amidst much tension and controversy, the decision was made in 1944 to locate a new college in Winnipeg with A.H. Unruh appointed as the first president.

With the future of Winkler Bible Institute uncertain, the remaining faculty resigned despite their conviction that there was still a need for Bible instruction at a lower level. But without Unruh's involvement there was no longer sufficient confidence that a privately-

¹⁰⁸Beginning in 1937 A.H. Unruh took on the task of translating graded Scripture Press Sunday school material for use in Mennonite Brethren churches. This was intended to replace the English-language materials that were already in use in many places. The project was plagued by financial difficulties (Ediger, "Deutsch und Religion," 23-24).

¹⁰⁹The need for a higher Bible school was expressed as early as 1939 at the Canadian Mennonite Brethren Conference ("Schulbestrebungen in unsern Kreisen," in *Verhandlungen der 30. Nördlichen Distrikt-Konferenz der Mennoniten-Brüdergemeinde, 1939*, 24-27). In 1942 an Education Committee was elected with a mandate to conduct a feasibility study ("Schulbestrebungen in unsern Kreisen," in *Verhandlungen der 32. Nördlichen Distrikt-Konferenz der Mennoniten-Brüdergemeinde von Nord Amerika. Abgehalten zu Winkler, Manitoba, vom 27. Juni bis zum 1. Juli 1942*, 12-13).

¹¹⁰Abe Dueck, "Winkler Bible School: A Significant Chapter in the History of Mennonites and Mennonite Brethren Education," *Mennonite Historian* 23, No. 2 (June 1997): 5; and Pries, *A Place Called Peniel*, 84-86.

owned school would be able to survive. This prompted the Manitoba Mennonite Brethren Conference to take over the ownership and administration of the school, and faculty resumed their former positions with H.H. Redekop as the new principal. The existence of the new college in Winnipeg was immediately felt by Winkler Bible Institute. Because of the uncertainty surrounding the school, enrolment dropped drastically in 1944, and the school eliminated its fifth-year program. Student numbers, however, recovered the following year and even came close to reaching 140 during the early 1950s before again declining precipitously.¹¹¹ The school tried to adjust by switching to a three-year program in 1961, and then to a two-year program in 1968. It ceased operating in 1997. The crisis precipitated by the start of Mennonite Brethren Bible College in 1944, however, left a long legacy of tension between rural and urban Mennonite Brethren congregations that was complicated further by some of the former prejudices between the *Kanadier* and *Russlaender*.¹¹²

3.6.3.4 Alberta Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute, Coaldale, Alberta (1929-1965)

As the Mennonite Brethren continued to move further west, Bible schools began to appear in Alberta and British Columbia. Despite the fact that the struggling pioneer community of Coaldale only had a small group of Mennonites in 1929, the enterprising David Classen family initiated a small Bible school in their home. The first teacher was Abram J. Schierling, a *Russlaender* who had been a student at the Tschongrav school, and who went on to be involved in at least five Mennonite Brethren Bible schools in western Canada. He named the school *Morgenstern* (Morning Star Bible School). It was later renamed Coaldale Bible School, and in 1961 became known as Alberta Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute.

The following year, the young Coaldale Mennonite Brethren Church took over the cost and guidance of the Bible school. Enrolments increased dramatically coinciding with an influx of new Mennonite settlers. Within two years enrolment in the school had exceeded eighty students. By 1931 the school's program had expanded to three years, and plans were

¹¹¹See Minute Books of Winkler Bibelschule Committee and Faculty Council, 1942-1957, Winkler Bible Institute Fonds, CMBSA.

¹¹²The size of Mennonite Brethren congregations in Winnipeg increased dramatically during the late 1940s. By 1951, the membership of at least three Winnipeg congregations exceeded 300, each eclipsing the Winkler church, which reported a membership of 270. Although the membership at the Winkler church reached 350 by 1961, at least three congregations in Winnipeg now numbered more than 500.

underway to build a separate facility for the school and its students. Enrolment trends in the school followed the wildly fluctuating membership trends within the Coaldale church, which eventually emerged as one of the larger Mennonite Brethren churches in Alberta.¹¹³ By the mid-1930s student numbers had decreased to thirty as numerous Mennonite families in the Coaldale area decided to resettle elsewhere. By the end of the 1930s, enrolment again gradually increased, peaking at 101 in 1948 following World War Two. In total, more than 1,000 students attended the school during its thirty-seven year existence.

The Mennonite Brethren established four additional schools in Alberta during the 1930s, and one more during the 1940s. These included Bethesda Bible School at Gem (1933-1957), a school that served a relatively small local constituency, and La Glace Bible School (1933-1946) in the Peace River area that was founded by Gerhard Harder, a graduate of Aberhart's Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute. The more congregationally-based attempts in Vauxhall, Crowfoot and Grassy Lake were short-lived. All of them were, for various reasons, closed by the end of the 1950s. The only one to survive past 1960 was Alberta Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute, although it was facing a steadily declining enrolment. Despite being designated a provincial school by the Alberta Mennonite Brethren Conference in 1961, competition from a local Mennonite high school and the growing trend towards urbanization among Mennonites made it difficult for the Bible school to attract students.¹¹⁴ The Alberta Mennonite Brethren Conference decided in 1965 to consolidate its educational efforts with the Saskatchewan Mennonite Brethren Conference; as a result, the school was closed and the Albertans shifted their support towards Bethany Bible Institute in Hepburn.

3.6.3.5 Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute, Abbotsford, British Columbia (1936-1970)

The first Mennonite Brethren Bible school in British Columbia was Yarrow Bible School (later renamed Elim Bible School) at Yarrow, which was the fastest growing Mennonite community in British Columbia during the 1930s. Instrumental in making the

¹¹³Coaldale became, for a time, the "heart of Alberta Mennonitism" (Peter F. Bargaen, "The Mennonites of Alberta" [M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1953], 44).

¹¹⁴*The Torchbearer: The Coaldale Bible School Jubilee Yearbook, 1929-1954* (n.p., 1954); "M.B. Bible Schools in Canada," *Konferenz-Jugendblatt* (November-Dezember 1955): 9-18; and Joanna R. Buhr, "Pursuit of a Vision: Persistence and Accommodation Among Coaldale Mennonites from Mid-1920s to World War Two" [M.A. Thesis, University of Calgary, 1986], 132ff.

idea of a local Bible school become reality was J.J. Derksen, whose interest in Bible schools had been kindled at Winkler Bible Institute. Records of the Yarrow Mennonite Brethren Church, the largest Mennonite Brethren church in British Columbia during the 1930s and 1940s (in 1946 its membership reached 750), note that during the summer of 1930 "several brethren expressed the thought, which soon grew into a conviction, that we are actually responsible to provide some form of religious education for our young people."¹¹⁵ As a result, the church organized a Bible School Society in 1930, which in turn hired P.D. Loewen as the first instructor (Loewen had been a student at both Herbert Bible School and Winkler Bible Institute). At first, students attended only on a part-time basis: men on several evenings each week and women during the day. The school soon became a day school and, by 1939, it had expanded to include six faculty and a four-year curriculum.¹¹⁶ By the late 1940s, instruction was almost exclusively in English.

After the debut of a school in Yarrow, a number of other Mennonite Brethren communities in British Columbia (South Abbotsford, Sardis and Black Creek) made attempts at establishing Bible schools. The prominence of Yarrow as a community and the size of the Yarrow church in comparison to other Mennonite Brethren churches in the vicinity, meant that Elim Bible School remained the central school. By 1942, the school had inaugurated an ambitious five-year program of study and enrolment had reached 150 students, making it the largest Bible school in British Columbia.

Misfortune struck the school during the mid-1940s precipitating a decline that resulted in its eventual closure. In 1945, fire destroyed the Bible school building. Although the church replaced the building with an enlarged structure, the community was facing a severe economic decline as a result of a collapsing raspberry industry during the post-war years. The addition of a Mennonite high school added further competition for the Bible school. Enrolment had dropped to less than thirty students by 1948. The school nevertheless

¹¹⁵Giesbrecht, "Mennonite Schools in BC," 6.

¹¹⁶In 1951, a fifth-year postgraduate program was added that was restricted to men who were considering pastoral ministry or missionary service.

continued to limp along until its closure in 1955.¹¹⁷

As the school in Yarrow declined, another school, South Abbotsford Mennonite Brethren Bible School (renamed in 1943 as Bethel Bible School, and then renamed again in 1955 as Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute) gradually became both the more central and more popular Bible school option. Like its sister school in Yarrow, it was started by one congregation (South Abbotsford Mennonite Brethren Church) and began as an evening school in 1936, switching in 1943 to become a regular day school. Under the leadership of J.F. Redekop, it gradually gained the support of an additional five local churches. The two-year program was expanded to three in 1945, and to four in 1947, with a post-graduate year added in 1951. Similar to the practice at Bethany Bible Institute and Winkler Bible Institute, dozens of students were sent to scattered communities in southern British Columbia during the 1940s and 1950s to teach Vacation Bible School under the auspices of the West Coast Children's Mission. During the 1950s, the school inaugurated a weekly radio broadcast and relocated its facility to Clearbrook; by 1959 all other Mennonite Brethren Bible schools in the province had closed, and in 1960 Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute was designated the provincial Bible school.

Although the school's enrolment never reached the highs experienced by Elim Bible School, by 1960 student numbers were approaching one hundred, making it the second-largest Mennonite Brethren Bible school in western Canada (second only to Bethany Bible Institute in Hepburn). During the mid-1950s the school intentionally began positioning itself as a post-high school college with a Bible-centred curriculum. Part of this process included the construction of its first dormitory, and the completion of a self-study review to receive accreditation as a college by the Accrediting Association of Bible Institutes and Bible Colleges during the early 1960s. Plans to pursue accreditation were, however, brought to an abrupt halt by opposition from the Canadian Board of Christian Education, which argued that a second accredited Mennonite Brethren Bible college would result in destructive competi-

¹¹⁷See Agatha E. Klassen, ed., *Yarrow: A Portrait in Mosaic* (Yarrow, BC: By the author, 1980); and the more detailed survey by Harvey Neufeldt, "'You've Changed Too': The Education of the Yarrow Mennonite Community, 1928-1960," *Studies in Education* 7, No.1 (1995): 71-95.

tion with the newly-formed Mennonite Brethren Bible College in Winnipeg.¹¹⁸ In 1970, the school was involved in a unique merger with Bethel Bible Institute, a school belonging to the Conference of Mennonites in Canada. Because Bethel Bible Institute desperately needed to escape from inadequate facilities and Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute was looking for a way to broaden its support base, the two schools joined together to form Columbia Bible Institute (now known as Columbia Bible College).

3.6.4 Characteristics, Objectives and Emphases of Mennonite Brethren Bible Schools

Having surveyed the Mennonite denominations involved in the Bible school movement highlighting general differences in emphasis and approach, and having identified the key Mennonite Brethren Bible schools in each province, I will now examine some of the characteristics, objectives and emphases these schools had in common.

The Bible schools tried to achieve a combination of three objectives. First and foremost, as succinctly summarized by Ted Regehr, was the desire to

impart basic biblical knowledge and understanding, to enrich and guide individuals who would become parents, farmers, housewives, and supportive church members. Second, they prepared or trained future preachers, church leaders, choristers, choir conductors, Sunday school teachers, missionaries, and other church workers. Finally, they helped preserve a distinct Mennonite identity and witness during a time of rapid change.¹¹⁹

All three were important, but there were differences in the relative emphasis given to these responsibilities in various schools, and differences in the degree of success in achieving these objectives.

Despite some variations from school to school, Mennonite Brethren Bible schools

¹¹⁸See "The Bible School Movement in British Columbia," *MBBI Bulletin* (October-December 1963): 2-3; "Report of the Self-Study of the Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute, December 1964," MHSBCA; Irwin Warkentin, "The Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute, Clearbrook, BC," unpublished paper, 1968, MAO; Henry C. Born, "Reflections on the Mennonite Brethren Bible School Movement in British Columbia," *Mennonite Historian* 19, No. 3 (September 1993): 7-8; and Giesbrecht, "Mennonite Schools in BC."

¹¹⁹Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970*, 233. Although each school articulated its primary purpose and aims in a slightly different way, any list of objectives fits easily within Regehr's three-point summary (see for example, a detailed, seven-point statement of purpose and aims from Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute ["Constitution of the MBBI, Clearbrook, BC," n.d., MAC]).

initially admitted students immediately after the completion of elementary school.¹²⁰ By doing so, they filled an important educational void before the development of provincial-wide high school systems particularly in rural regions where the vast majority of Mennonites lived and before a widespread sense emerged among Mennonite Brethren young people that a high school education was essential.¹²¹ Student enrolments were almost always evenly mixed by gender: exceptions included the war years when women often vastly outnumbered men, and the advanced programs at schools such as Winkler Bible Institute designed specifically for those entering pastoral ministry (almost exclusively men). Although interaction between the sexes was strictly regulated, many students nevertheless found a life partner at a Bible school.

Tuition fees were kept low to make Bible school affordable--no small feat during the 1930s when many schools began.¹²² School terms were kept short to accommodate rural students--approximately four to five months in duration and the exceptions to this were the very small, congregationally-based schools that offered only evening classes (for example, Winnipeg German Bible School), or a limited number of classes during the winter for several weeks (for example, Glenbush Bible School). School terms started after harvest, usually in late October, and finished in February or March before seeding season. The flexible winter terms not only made it possible for many Mennonite young people to obtain some further schooling, but it also allowed teachers to find other means during the summer to support themselves, thereby reducing the financial demands on students and supporters.

Whereas the German Saturday schools and Sunday schools were designed for children, Bible schools were intended for adolescents and adults. Many parents felt that the

¹²⁰Admitting such young students sometimes created serious discipline problems for teachers, prompting more than a few teachers to despair (Epp, *Proclaim Jubilee*, 2, 13).

¹²¹There is some legitimacy to W.E. Mann's observation that Bible schools were an attractive option because they offered "rural youth a means of improving their social status. . . . Bible colleges gave individuals with little schooling who were attracted to ministerial or missionary careers a chance to rise socially" (*Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955], 86). It is, however, not an accurate characterization of the entire movement: not all youth who attended Bible schools in western Canada came from rural communities, and relatively few students entered Bible school with aspirations for a career in professional ministry.

¹²²In 1934, fees varied from .25 per month at the *Mennonitischen Religionsschule* in Winnipeg, to \$15 per month at Rosthern Bible School (Friesen, "The Mennonites of Western Canada," 174-175).

children did not receive sufficient biblical instruction. The Bible schools, therefore, supplemented (supplanted even) the place of German Saturday schools in many Mennonite communities. For some students, attending Bible school during the winter months filled a gap between the harvest and seeding seasons. For many young people it also filled the space between the completion of elementary school and marriage or the beginning of more definite vocational pursuits. As Mennonites became more interested in high school education during the 1940s, the educational level of incoming students at Bible school increased; by mid-1950s approximately one-half had completed high school,¹²³ and by 1960, estimates in some schools were up to 75%.¹²⁴

It would be an impossible task to identify every faculty member in Mennonite Brethren Bible schools in the short confines of this study. One cannot help but be impressed by their energy, tenacity and enterprising spirit. Not the least of their difficulties was the limited financial remuneration received for their efforts. Most were paid only for the duration of a teaching term, usually with a combination of food, housing and sometimes a small amount of cash. Teachers, as well as their spouses and families, often made enormous sacrifices for the sake of the school and its students. During the early decades, the survival of a school often depended on the dedication of a few faculty and supporters.

The faculty in each school typically brought varied educational backgrounds--there were no minimum academic qualifications. The faculty embodied the assorted European and North American evangelical influences that converged within the Bible schools. Aside from several teachers who received their education in Europe (Russia and Germany), the vast majority of faculty received their theological education at one or more of the Bible schools in North America in a mixture of Mennonite Brethren and transdenominational schools. The

¹²³Describing Bethany Bible Institute in 1955, one early historian writes, "formerly it was an exception to have a high school graduate in the ranks of the students. Today about half of the students have completed high school" ("MB Bible Schools in Canada," *Konferenz-Jugendblatt* [Nov-Dec 1955]: 14). Most Bible schools modified their curriculum during the 1940s so that students with a high school diploma could receive advanced standing.

¹²⁴The academic standing of incoming students in Conference of Mennonites in Canada Bible schools lagged behind the Mennonite Brethren trends by approximately five years. A comparative study of Conference of Mennonites in Canada schools indicated that in 1958 between 2% and 27% of Bible schools had completed high school. By 1965, the percentage ranged between 53% -78% ("Academic Standing of Students at the Bible Schools," Box 990.5.1, Bethel Bible Institute Papers, MHSBCA).

diversity of influences was mixed further by the fact that many Bible school teachers taught in several schools (for example, Abram Schierling, A.H. Unruh, J.F. Redekop, C.C. Peters, J.A. Toews, J.H. Quiring, F.C. Peters, David Ewert, et al.).¹²⁵

Long-term teachers, particularly those who taught in Bible schools with four-year programs, usually tried to further their own training. After starting in a Bible school, these individuals often completed one or more undergraduate degrees at nearby universities, Tabor College or Mennonite Brethren Bible College in Winnipeg. Some went on to do graduate work, most often in various seminaries (often Baptist) in the United States, and by the 1950s a handful were working on doctorates. These few were often treated with suspicion.¹²⁶ Those with graduate degrees prior to 1960 were in high demand by schools on both sides of the border, and were invariably called upon to teach at the college level.

Partly because of their reputation among students, and partly because of their availability during certain parts of the year, Bible school teachers wielded considerable influence within the denomination. The overwhelming majority of faculty in Mennonite Brethren schools were men. Several women occasionally taught music or Christian education courses, but rarely (if ever) taught any that were central to the curriculum.¹²⁷

Central to the curricula of all Mennonite Brethren Bible schools was the study of the Bible. Typical is an excerpt from the statement of purpose and philosophy of Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute; the Bible schools are

based on the premise that every Christian requires a complete spiritual and Biblical orientation which can be acquired through a vital knowledge of the Word of God. The Bible is the instrument in our salvation (1 Pet. 2:23), the means of our spiritual growth (1 Pet. 2:2), the instrument in our daily sanctification (John 17:14-17), the source of daily guidance (Ps. 119:105), the constant source of joy and peace (Ps. 119:105), and the seed used in soul-

¹²⁵This dynamic is well-illustrated in David Ewert's collection of biographies of Mennonite Brethren Bible teachers (*Honour Such People* [Winnipeg, MB: Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1997]).

¹²⁶Toews, *JB*, 123.

¹²⁷Epp notes that a count done in 1963 of all the faculty members of Mennonite Brethren Bible schools in Saskatchewan totalled ninety men and several women (*Proclaim Jubilee*, 30). The first woman to teach at Bethany Bible Institute was Estella Boettcher who taught Home Nursing in 1934 (*Bethany Bible Institute Contact*, 8, BBIA). In 1938 Nettie Kroeker became the first (and only) woman included as part of the full-time faculty at Winkler Bible Institute between 1925-1960 (Pries, *A Place Called Peniel*, 41).

winning (Ps. 126:5,6).¹²⁸

The task of the Bible school was “to lead men and women into the Holy Scriptures and to assist them in making God’s Word effective in their lives.”¹²⁹ This emphasis reflected the authority given to the Bible by Mennonites as the ultimate guide in matters of faith and life. The emphasis on studying the scriptures systematically and thoroughly (even if not critically) was based on the strong conviction that Bible knowledge was important for nurturing spiritual vitality and involvement within local congregations, and therefore a necessary response to a perceived deficiency within the public school system. According to the “Statement of Purpose and Philosophy” at Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute, the study of Bible content, along with an emphasis on practical application and the development of Christian character, was a necessary inoculant against humanism, modernism and atheism. Just as a high school education came to be recognized “as the basic unit of education in the secular world, so the Bible school truly offers preparation for every vocation.”¹³⁰ Although programs varied somewhat from school to school, generally between 25%-50% of the curriculum was made up of various Bible courses (including Bible introduction, Bible geography, Bible stories, archeology, prayer, and hermeneutics and exegesis for senior students).¹³¹ Practical application of Bible knowledge to everyday life was a much higher priority than critical inquiry.

A second significant emphasis within Bible school curricula was Christian education with course offerings prescribed by the diploma program outlined by Evangelical Teacher Training Association. The remainder of the curriculum was made up of courses in history

¹²⁸ *MBBI Catalogue 1961-1962*, 7-8.

¹²⁹ “Purpose and Aim, 1928,” in Pries, *A Place Called Peniel*, 26.

¹³⁰ “MBBI Statement of Purpose and Philosophy,” cited in John G. Doerksen, “History of Education in the Mennonite Brethren of Canada” (M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1963), 82. Bible school leaders considered their curriculum to be a unique approach to Christian education. They were right in that their more synthetic approach to the Bible and their use of the inductive method did stand in contrast to the approach commonly used in theological seminaries (for a fuller discussion, see Virginia Brereton, *Training God’s Army: The American Bible School, 1880-1940* [Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990], 87-100).

¹³¹ *Prospectus of Bethany Bible School and Bible College, 1944-1945*, 11-15; and Friesen, “The Mennonites of Western Canada,” 179-180.

(Bible history, church history, history of missions and the history of doctrine, but seldom Mennonite history), theology (variously called doctrine, dogmatics, false cults, Christian ethics, Christian evidences), Christian psychology, homiletics, evangelism (or “personal work”) and music. Textbooks came from a variety of sources. During the 1920s and 1930s, mostly German texts, which generally came from Europe, were in use.¹³² As English came to be the language of instruction, textbooks written by various American evangelicals became more widely used.¹³³ Inadequate library resources made it difficult to encourage extensive study of a subject or exposure to a broader range of viewpoints.¹³⁴ Discussions about a uniform curriculum began in the late 1930s, and although plans for implementing a standard curriculum did not materialize until the late 1950s, course offerings gradually became more similar due to faculty mobility and a common educational experience especially after the inauguration of Mennonite Brethren Bible College.

Although pride of place within the curriculum at Mennonite Brethren Bible schools was always given to the Bible, present from the outset was a strong emphasis on the need to preserve intact particular cultural attributes, most notably use of the German language. The

¹³²For example, D. Theodor Haarbeck, *Kurzfassende Biblische Glaubenslehre für Nachdenkende Christen* (Elberfeld, Germany: Evangelischen Gesellschaft für Deutschland, 1922); *Der Dienst am Evangelium in Predigt und Seelsorge* (Elberfeld, Germany: Evangelischen Gesellschaft für Deutschland, n.d.); *Das Christliche Leben nach der Schrift* (Giessen u. Basel: Brunnen Verlag, 1922); and Giesbert Stochmann, *Ringt Recht* (Schwerin, Macklburg: Friedrich Bahn, 1926).

¹³³Widely-used choices included R.A. Torrey, *What the Bible Teaches: A Thorough and Comprehensive Study of What the Bible has to Say Concerning the Great Doctrines of Which it Treats* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1933); James M. Gray, *Synthetic Bible Studies: Containing an Outline Study of Every Book of the Bible with Suggestions for Sermons, Addresses and Bible Expositions* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1923); Leander S. Keyser, *A Handbook of Christian Psychology* (Burlington, ON: Lutheran Literary Board, 1928); William Evans, *The Great Doctrines of the Bible* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1939); J.H. Gauss, *God's Truth Versus Man's Theories: Bible Deliverance from Satan's Deceits* (St. Louis, MO: Faithful Words Publishing Co., 1948); Oscar Lowry, *Scripture Memorizing for Successful Soul-Winning* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1932); Robert H. Glover, *The Progress of World-wide Missions* (New York: Harper & Row, 1960); Harlin J. Roper, *Through the Bible*; Augustus Hopkins Strong, *Systematic Theology* (Dallas, TX: Through the Bible Publishers, 1950); and A.B. Davidson, *The Theology of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1904); D.L. Moody's many devotional books; and Norman B. Harrison's numerous Bible expositions.

¹³⁴When J.B. Toews arrived at Bethany Bible Institute in 1933, he noted that the library contained less than two dozen books (Toews, *JB*, 88-89). The collection at Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute was started in the early 1950s, and numbered less than 500 by 1959. Resources at Winkler Bible Institute were somewhat better, but by 1958 the library still contained less than 1,600 books (Pries, *A Place Called Peniel*, 148).

dual curricular partnership between Christian education and German was ubiquitous in all Mennonite Brethren educational institutions in the first half of the twentieth century. The Bible schools were intended to be, on the one hand, agents of cultural retention by grounding successive generations in the Mennonite faith, language and way of life.¹³⁵ They became, on the other hand, the gateways, particularly for the children of the immigrants, through which to explore new approaches towards cultural accommodation. Central to understanding this dynamic is the issue of language because of its direct connections to broader discussions emerging within the denomination concerning strategies for youth and Christian education, the understanding of mission and outreach, and the prospect of assimilation within Canadian society. Among the first Mennonite Brethren institutions in Canada to make the transition from German to English, the Bible schools were catalysts for similar changes within church life, and were often at the centre of larger, usually controversial, debates.

Although retention of the German language was a matter of concern among *Kanadier* Mennonite Brethren in North America at the beginning of the twentieth century, a gradual transition towards the use of English was already underway. This process was interrupted in Canada by the influx of *Russlaender* during the 1920s whose emphasis on the retention of their *Muttersprache* as the language of church and faith can hardly be overemphasized.¹³⁶ The *Russlaenders* faced difficult adjustments in North America: many had suffered the traumas of severe persecution, massive economic loss and relocation only to be confronted with the difficult pioneering conditions of western Canada. They brought with them expectations that the church should be the centre of community life, and that all other institutions should undergird this centrality. As a result, most *Russlaender* immigrants were not enthusiastic participants in Canadian public education, opting instead to support Bible schools, or

¹³⁵See Frank H. Epp, *Small College Set on a Hill: Reflections on Church College Education in a University Context* (Waterloo, ON: Conrad Grebel College, 1979), 106 for an outline of the Mennonite educational strategy. John A Toews acknowledges, "at certain times and in certain institutions the desire for the preservation of cultural values may have overshadowed the primary objective of Christian education (*A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church*, 254).

¹³⁶See Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970*, 313, who lists seven reasons for this emphasis. Had it not been for the influx of *Russlaender* in Canada, it is likely that the timing of the transition from German to English among Mennonite Brethren would have more closely mirrored the experience of their counterparts in the United States. The resistance to English was somewhat ironic in view of the fact that many had learned to speak Russian prior to coming to Canada.

Religionsschule, as a necessary supplement to a public elementary education and as the means for enhancing and preserving the cultural centrality of the church. The *Russlaender* were more willing to take vigorous action to protect their heritage of "*Deutsch und Religion*" than were those with *Kanadier* roots. Vitally concerned about transferring their culture and faith to successive generations, the new immigrants invested considerable energy in developing strategies and institutions that would achieve these objectives. They recommended that all congregations establish German "Saturday" schools; they encouraged their members to assume district school board positions to further the instruction of German and religion in the time allotted by the government; they provided considerable impetus for Mennonite Brethren Bible schools across western Canada; and they placed enormous pressure on parents to demonstrate their faithfulness by ensuring that their children obtain facility with the German language.¹³⁷ Driving this campaign was the fear that without ethnic solidarity safeguarded by pervasive loyalty to the German language they might not be able to sustain an authentic Mennonite faith in a new environment. And as the use of English became more prevalent the rhetoric on the part of some became more extreme.¹³⁸

In very few schools was English used as a language of instruction from the beginning. Until the late 1930s, German was the primary language of instruction in almost all Mennonite Bible schools. English was taught as a second language in many, but not all, schools with the Bible as the main textbook. The primacy of German as a language of instruction began to change during the 1930s as English gradually came to be used alongside of German, and by the 1940s English replaced German as the primary language of instruction in many, but not all, schools. As noted above, the pace of transition varied somewhat from school to school, depending partly on the availability of bilingual teachers, on the pressure exerted by students, or the views of church leaders within a region.

By the 1940s, it was evident that the many Bible schools started by *Russlaender* immigrants had not been successful in convincing their young people that the Mennonite

¹³⁷Redekop, "The German Identity of Mennonite Brethren Immigrants in Canada, 1930-1960," 115ff.

¹³⁸Regehr notes that only a small minority of Canadian Mennonites believed that true Mennonite Christianity the German language were inextricably linked (*Mennonites in Canada, 1940-1970*, 313). Examples of the rhetoric used by Mennonite Brethren leaders such as B.B. Janz and D.P. Esau to defend the German can be found in Redekop, "The German Identity of Mennonite Brethren Immigrants in Canada, 1930-1960," 64-70, 116-117.

Brethren religion and the German language were a necessary unity.¹³⁹ At best, the Bible schools had merely delayed the transition to English and, at worst, they had accelerated the interest in English. It is ironic that the *Russlaender* Mennonite Brethren, who are often characterized as more “progressive” than their *Kanadier* counterparts, prompted at least some of their own young people to consider English non-Mennonite transdenominational institutions by their obstinate insistence on the retention of the German language.¹⁴⁰ Had the *Russlaender* been more cooperative (and proactive) in developing an intentional policy of bilingualism and institutionalized it through their churches and Bible schools, the population density of Mennonite students at transdenominational Bible schools would certainly have been less and the story of the Bible school movement in western Canada might have been quite different. The advent of numerous Mennonite high schools, which openly legitimized the use of English as essential for accessing higher education, signalled a recognition of the inevitability, and the desirability on the part of the younger generation, of becoming fully competent in the use of the English language.

The variation in the pace of language transition in the Bible schools was also intricately linked to a divergence on the issue of missions and outreach between Mennonite Brethren in Saskatchewan, where the *Kanadier* were more numerous, and those in the rest of Canada. A passion for missions was an integral part of the Mennonite Brethren ethos and identity both in Russia and in North America and was a significant emphasis within the Mennonite Brethren Bible schools. But the word “missions” came to mean different things to different people. All Mennonite Brethren shared in common a general spiritual concern for the Mennonite people, but *Kanadier* Mennonite Brethren had come to understand missions--at least since the early twentieth century--in more universal terms.¹⁴¹ This explains why the

¹³⁹One must not minimize the adjustment difficulties that faced older, first-generation immigrants, who were assailed by massive challenges in a new world, and who, as a result, frequently found themselves unable to guide their young people in their decision for integration into the larger culture with the kind of sophistication that only experience and familiarity permit.

¹⁴⁰See for example, the story of Herbert Brandt who attended Prairie Bible Institute (Redekop, “The German Identity of Mennonite Brethren Immigrants in Canada, 1930-1960,” 147-150).

¹⁴¹The preoccupation on the part of *Russlaender* Mennonite Brethren who were interested in maintaining the German language as a boundary between their own Mennonite communities and Canadian culture resulted in a narrowing of their understanding of mission. Many (not all) denominational leaders conveniently created distinctions between *die innerste Mission* (the innermost mission, meaning a concern

Bible schools in Saskatchewan (including the Conference of Mennonites in Canada schools) consistently led the way in adopting English as the primary language of instruction.¹⁴²

English was the means for reaching out to their Canadian neighbours. Most Mennonite Brethren Bible schools used similar strategies for promoting interest in missionary outreach such as prayer bands, missionary speakers, missionary conferences and summer ministry programs.¹⁴³

The desire on the part of young, enthusiastic students to obtain training in order to minister in non-German, non-Mennonite settings, which demanded an ability to use the English language and mitigated against the use of the Bible schools as a means by which to preserve the German language. The desire to participate in missionary activity was not, of course, the only reason the younger generation of Mennonite Brethren wanted to learn English. Nevertheless, it was more than just a convenient rationalization for moving ahead with language transition. As noted earlier, a significant number of students from Mennonite Brethren Bible schools were in fact regularly involved in summer ministries such as Canadian Sunday School Mission that did work in non-Mennonite communities. The pressure for English-language instruction from students interested in mission opportunities could be unrelenting. For example, an entire class confronted the faculty of Bethany Bible Institute in

for the spiritual life of those already within the Mennonite Brethren stronghold particularly the youth), and *die innere Mission* or *Randmission* (the inner or home mission, meaning a spiritual concern for other, scattered Mennonites or German-speaking people around them). Outreach activity beyond their linguistic boundaries was not readily endorsed or encouraged except for the work of missionaries in foreign countries (*die auessere Mission*) (see Penner, *No Longer at Arms Length*, 4-5, 17-19, for a fuller discussion).

¹⁴²Both Friesen ("The Mennonites of Western Canada," 177-178), and Herbert Peters ("The Rise and Development of Bible Schools in the Canadian Conference, unpublished paper, 1949, 2, Vertical Files, MHCA) provide charts that outline the German/English ratio in Mennonite Bible schools (see additional statistics on Mennonite Brethren schools in "Statistik über die M.B. Bibelschulen in Kanada," in *Verhandlungen der zweiundvierzigsten Kanadischen Konferenz der Mennoniten-Brüdergemeinde von Nord Amerika abgehalten zu Winnipeg, Manitoba vom 5. bis 10 Juli 1952*, 94-95). The language transition within the Bible schools coincided with the changes taking place within Sunday schools. It took another decade (and sometimes longer), however, for the same changes to take place within congregational worship services.

¹⁴³In addition to welcoming missionary speakers to speak at chapel services, Mennonite Bible schools frequently invited travelling evangelists to conduct services. More than a few schools note how such meetings resulted in the conversion of students (see *SCBI '61-'62: 25th Anniversary Yearbook*, 14, 18). This was undoubtedly what many leaders hoped would happen to their young people while at Bible school.

1935 with an ultimatum on the issue despite the fact that English language instruction had been part of the curriculum from the outset. The group "felt they needed more English, to be prepared for service in non-Mennonite communities. If Bethany could supply this need they hoped to return. Otherwise they would plan to go elsewhere for their training."¹⁴⁴ This was no idle threat: according to a report at the 1935 Northern District convention a good number of Mennonite Brethren students were already attending "English Bible Institutes."¹⁴⁵ The pressure from students, and the ongoing losses to "English Bible schools," were persuasive. As noted above, by the end of the 1930s the change-over to English at Bethany Bible Institute was essentially complete and, during the following decade, most of the other denominational Bible schools followed suite. As the Mennonite Brethren became increasingly bilingual, the broader view of missions gradually prevailed throughout the denomination. Moreover, it was the missionary impulse that eventually helped unify *Kanadier* and *Russlaender* Mennonite Brethren and legitimize cooperation with English-speaking evangelical Protestants.¹⁴⁶

By helping to facilitate both the linguistic transition towards English and a broader view of mission, the Bible schools undermined the cultural and religious separatism of the Mennonite Brethren denomination (particularly so for the *Russlaenders*) and accelerated their integration within Canadian society.¹⁴⁷ That religion and ethnicity are intertwined and that the relationship between the two is complex, has long been recognized in Canadian historiography, but the nature of this relationship and how it developed has not always been adequately explored. Most Canadian studies highlight the way in which religion has reinforced ethnic

¹⁴⁴Epp, *Proclaim Jubilee*, 44.

¹⁴⁵"Bericht von den vereinigten Bibelschulen," in *Verhandlungen der 26. Nördlichen Distrikt-Konferenz der Mennoniten-Brüdergemeinde von Nord Amerika. Abgehalten vom 7. bis zum 10. Juli 1935, zu Main Centre, Saskatchewan*, 48; and Enns who complains about the number of "unserer Jünglinge and Jungfrauen in Bibelschulen anderer Denominationen" (our young men and women attending the Bible schools of other denominations) ("Mennonitische Bibelschulen in Kanada," 36).

¹⁴⁶According to J.B. Toews, "missions proved to be the strongest unifying factor" in Mennonite Brethren history (*Pilgrimage of Faith*, 266).

¹⁴⁷The conflict between the *Kanadier* and *Russlaender* manifested itself in a myriad of ways. It is a complex story that needs more careful investigation (see for example, Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940*, 242-251; and Ben Doerksen, "Kanadier and Russländer: Tensions on the Prairies," *Mennonite Historian* 19, No. 2 [June 1993]: 2).

identity, and while such a theme is unquestionably present within the story of the Mennonite Brethren Bible schools, notable is the way in which certain religious emphases propagated within the Bible schools militated against ethno-religious isolation from the larger cultural milieu.¹⁴⁸

3.6.5 *The Role of Bible Schools within the Mennonite Brethren Denomination*

The early literature of the Mennonite Bible schools is preoccupied--almost obsessed--with entreaties designed to convince young people of the utmost importance of attending Bible school. Jacob Thielmann, principal of Alberta Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute in Coaldale, emphatically implored: "Bible School training is a *MUST* for *ALL* Christian young people."¹⁴⁹ Cornelius Braun, principal of Herbert Bible School wrote: "Whereas our public and high schools fail to offer any Christian training, a period of Bible instruction is indispensable. No young person who has such an opportunity can afford to miss out on this training."¹⁵⁰ At least for a time, such pleas were heeded by young people in the denomination. Each year, for almost two decades beginning in 1930, the combined enrolment in all the Mennonite Brethren Bible schools equalled approximately 7-8% of the total membership within Mennonite Brethren churches in western Canada (see Table 3.5: during the 1940s, the annual cumulative enrolment in Mennonite Brethren schools in western Canada ranged

¹⁴⁸An examination of the connection between ethnicity and religion in Mennonite Bible schools offers a modification in some sociological studies of Canadian Mennonites. As Benjamin Redekop has suggested, many of these studies have traced the transition among Canadian Mennonites from their pre-reflective "ethnic" state characterized by their efforts to retain a particular cultural and linguistic identity, to a more reflective "religious" state that has self-consciously shed many of its ethnic distinctives, but is now bound together ideologically by religious doctrines and beliefs. (Such analyses are usually accompanied by descriptions of a concurrent rural-urban shift.) While such accounts are in a general way correct, they tend to discount the integral role played by religion in the early attempts to preserve ethnic distinctives. An historical analysis of the Mennonite Bible schools reveals that these transitions were not as unilinear as certain Mennonite sociologists have surmised (Redekop, "Germanism Among Mennonite Brethren Immigrants in Canada, 1930-1960: A Struggle for Ethno-Religious Integrity," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 24, No. 1 [1992]: 20-42).

¹⁴⁹Jacob H. Epp, principal of Bethany Bible Institute, declares, "never before has there been a greater need for our young people to receive a thorough training [sic] in God's Work both for their own spiritual enrichment and in preparation for true Christian service" (Thielmann and Epp are cited in A.J. Klassen, ed., *The Bible School Story, 1913-1963: Fifty Years of Mennonite Brethren Bible Schools in Canada* [Clearbrook, BC: Canadian Board of Education, 1963], 17-18).

¹⁵⁰*Herbert Bible School Prospectus* (1953-54), 2.

between 540 and 610). The ongoing impact of such attendance prompted G. Thielmann to ask the rhetorical question that summarized how important leaders considered the contribution of the Bible schools to be in the development of the denomination in western Canada: "Unermesslich ist der Segen der Bibelschulen auch durch die Jahre für die Gemeinden gewesen. . . . Wie wäre es heute mit unseren Gemeinden in Kanada bestellt, hätten wir nicht die Bibelschulen gehabt?" (The blessing of the Bible schools for our churches over the years is beyond measure. . . . What would our Canadian churches be like today had we not had Bible schools?)¹⁵¹ Less anecdotal is a statistical study of Mennonite Brethren Bible schools compiled in 1963 by A.J. Klassen, which highlighted the percentage of Bible school alumni involved in various areas of denominational life. The results are nothing short of astounding and confirm the reason for Thielmann's observation: 90% of missionaries working abroad, 86% of missionaries working in North America, 59% of ministers, 67% of Sunday school workers, 100% of the Mennonite Brethren Committee on Evangelism, 90% of the Committee of Reference and Counsel, 87% of the Board of Education, 63% of the Youth Committee and 88% of the Sunday School Committee indicated that they had had some Bible school training. This prompted Klassen to refer to the Bible schools as "monuments to God's faithfulness."¹⁵² Regehr concurs that the Bible schools "were the major training ground for an entire generation of Mennonite church leaders, preachers and lay workers who developed and maintained for many years close and intimate contacts with one another."¹⁵³ The Bible schools, particularly those partnered with larger Mennonite Brethren congregations, and those that survived to become conference schools, served as significant centres of influence for the denomination during a formative time in its development in Canada.

¹⁵¹Cited in Unruh, *Die Geschichte der Mennoniten-Brüdergemeinde*, 616.

¹⁵²Klassen, *The Bible School Story*, 15-16. Klassen's statistics verify Penner observation that the Bible schools played "a profoundly significant role" within the denomination. In his study of Mennonite Brethren "home missions," Penner notes that of the workers involved in this ministry, "94% had attended Bible school of which 72% were Mennonite Brethren schools. These students set the pace for outreach" (Penner, *No Longer at Arms Length*, 24). Adding to the plausibility of Klassen's statistics are the numerous reports issued by Bible schools highlighting alumni involved in full-time Christian service (see Pries, *A Place Called Peniel*, 52; "Bethany 1927-1957," 10-11; *Bulletin of MBBI*, Vol. 3, No. 1 [Summer 1964], 4; and "The Future of our Bible Schools, Unpublished paper, Box 990.8.1, MBBI Papers, MHSBCA).

¹⁵³Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970*, 236.

The impact of the Bible schools was felt most directly within the congregational life of churches. This is not surprising considering that a substantial proportion of Mennonite Brethren young people in western Canada attended Bible school for at least a short period of time between 1930 and 1950. Although percentages vary from one community to the next, the following estimates are indicative of the general success in convincing young people to attend Bible school. Margaret Epp notes that "docilely, eagerly or rebelliously" most of Coaldale's young people spent one to three winters at Bible school, and estimates that approximately 70% of the young people in Gem went to Bible school. Similarly, Katherine Harder, calculated that approximately 75% of the young people baptized in the Greendale Mennonite Brethren Church since the early 1940s had attended Bible schools or colleges.¹⁵⁴ Young people returned to their home congregations from Bible school as a veritable army of trained lay workers for involvement in Sunday schools,¹⁵⁵ youth work, music and church leadership. The Bible schools created a common religious experience, a higher level of biblical literacy and an enthusiasm and predisposition for participation in the life of the church that was an ongoing source of vitality and energy for local congregations, and over time, helped shape the ethos of the entire denomination.

The Bible schools left a distinct mark on the pastoral ministry of the denomination. For almost a century leaders and pastors in Mennonite Brethren churches had been selected from the ranks of the "brethren" after giving evidence of "interest, character, ability and

¹⁵⁴Epp, *Proclaim Jubilee*, 12; and Katherine Harder, *The Greendale Mennonite Brethren Church, 1931-1981* (Sardis, BC: Greendale Mennonite Brethren Church, 1980), 163.

¹⁵⁵Epp describes how the incorporation of the Sunday School within Mennonite churches was an event of "revolutionary significance," for it "involved the non-ordained people in the work of the church." Furthermore, "it helped to hold the young people's interest, increased Bible knowledge, elevated spiritual life, raised moral concerns, especially temperance, created lay-leadership, promoted the missionary movement, and generally enriched church activity and expression" (*Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920*, 244; *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940*, 450-454). In western Canada, Mennonites viewed Sunday schools as one part of an overall strategy to keep Mennonite faith and culture alive, to ward off anglicization, and to keep young people within the church (for a typical example of how Mennonite churches utilized Sunday schools, see Friesen, *Journey of Faith*, 109-120). A symbiotic relationship between the Sunday school movement and the Bible school movement quickly developed. The growing demand for trained Sunday schools teachers (and later Daily Vacation Bible School workers) provided students for the Bible schools; the Bible schools in turn stimulated energy and enthusiasm in the form of trained workers, which helped promote Sunday schools (Pries, *A Place Called Peniel*, 162-164). It is not surprising then to note that the linguistic transition within Sunday school parallels similar changes in the Bible schools (see Ediger, "Deutsch und Religion," 65-66, 89-100).

call.”¹⁵⁶ Leadership was exercised by pastors and deacons who were selected from within a local congregation, but who were not necessarily formally trained. Because local leaders only received minimal remuneration for their expenses, they were of necessity bivocational. (Until about the 1950s, only itinerant ministers and evangelists received financial remuneration from the denomination.) The practical courses and ministry work assignments offered at Bible school provided an ideal environment for the identification of new prospective candidates for ministry. By the beginning of the 1930s, many of the new candidates for ministry within congregations had received prior training in a Bible school along with experience within a church setting. While churches at this time did not recruit pastors from the Bible schools, the early indications of leadership potential were often helpful for local congregations in their selection of leaders. The 1950s witnessed the beginning of a shift within the denomination away from the use of several ordained lay-pastors within a congregation towards a more professionally trained and paid pastorate. This mirrored a trend that had begun more than a decade earlier among American Mennonite Brethren and, as a result, congregations (especially urban congregations) increasingly expected the younger (English-speaking) pastors to have completed some level of theological education: for many, this included Bible school. Although the Bible schools did not set out to precipitate a move towards a more professionalized ministry, they did, at least unwittingly, contribute towards the process.

As noted earlier, almost all Mennonite Brethren missionaries had roots within the Bible school movement. It was at Bible school that students learned about faraway places, about other cultures and about world events. The strong emphasis on missions, heightened by the urgency inherent within dispensationalism, prompted many to volunteer for missionary service. But the Bible schools, particularly Winkler Bible Institute and Bethany Bible Institute, were more than recruiting stations: they were important centres out of which outreach initiatives emerged (for example, Western Children’s Mission, Vacation Bible School programs, radio broadcasts, publications and camps). The emphasis on personal conversion and the sense of responsibility for “the lost world” created a concern that could not be, in the words of J.B. Toews, “contained [or perhaps expressed] within the slow

¹⁵⁶F.C. Peters, “Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth . . . in Pastoral Ministry,” in Klassen, *The Bible School Story*, 10.

moving [German-speaking], corporate functions of a conference."¹⁵⁷ The missionary impulse prompted personnel in Bible schools to forge ahead by starting their own, more flexible and independent mission societies. The missionary impulse transcended both loyalty to denominational structures and the maintenance of the linguistic and cultural status quo, and motivated people to move faster than the denomination was able, or willing, to move at the time.

Despite their achievements and influence within the denomination, not everyone was uncritical about the impact of the Bible schools. Although vocal critics within the denomination were few, one nevertheless catches occasional hints that the Bible school environment was not a positive experience for every student (disgruntled students generally expressed their displeasure more with their feet than with their mouths). One common cluster of complaints centred upon the low academic standards, exacerbated outside the classroom by inadequate library resources and inside the classroom by poorly-educated teachers, by simplistic, dogmatic answers to complex theological questions and by a general environment, which, if not openly anti-intellectual, prized personal piety and proper deportment above critical thinking. Such criticism tended to come from students who, after attending university, compared their university education with their Bible school classes--such students comprised a relatively small proportion of the total number who attended Bible schools. A revealing example is a survey of Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute alumni attending the nearby University of British Columbia compiled during the early 1960s. When asked to evaluate how well their Bible school experience had provided "spiritual preparation for every vocation," a stated objective of the school, more than half the respondents "voiced something less than hearty approval."¹⁵⁸ While the responses were not uniformly negative, the dichotomy between religious and secular knowledge kept many of the respondents from recognizing any connection between the two worlds. This prompted Irwin Warkentin to note that "those students who stay in a 'church career'--that is ministers, missionaries, Bible college professors, Bible institute instructors, private high school teachers, etc.--are the most likely to look back with great appreciation to their MBBI [Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute]

¹⁵⁷ John B. Toews, *The Mennonite Brethren Church in Zaire* (Fresno, CA: Board of Christian Literature and Kindred Press, 1978), 60.

¹⁵⁸ *The Alumni Chronicle*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (n.d.): cited in Warkentin, "The Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute," 15-16.

experience because it gave them a foundational training for their careers in the church."¹⁵⁹ The Bible schools did not purport to be places of higher education like a university, but, as Ted Regehr notes, they did fill a unique educational niche for Mennonite young people and prepared more than a few individuals for more advanced study elsewhere.¹⁶⁰

A second cluster of complaints frequently directed towards the Bible schools, especially by prominent denominational leaders, has to do with the manner in which the schools served as a conduit for theological influences that tended to minimize (even mute) any systematic study of the historical and theological distinctives of the Mennonite Brethren.

Despite the influential role played by the Bible schools during the 1930s and 1940s, by the end of the 1950s many were openly wondering about what the future held for the remaining Bible schools. George Konrad, principal of Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute, writes, "We may not only look to the blessings of the past. What about the future? Will the Bible schools continue to have a part in the program of Christian education of our churches? Or have they become obsolete?"¹⁶¹ Bible school leaders had good reason to ponder the question of survival. Not only had the total number of students enrolling in Mennonite Brethren schools each year declined appreciably (from 610 in 1950 to 430 in 1960: see Table 3.5), but the proportion of young people in comparison to total Mennonite Brethren membership opting for Bible school had dropped to less than half of what it was in 1940.

The decline in Bible school enrolment was due to multiple factors. Many blamed the corrosive impact of secularism and materialism for the loss of interest on the part of young people. Rudy Wiebe, editor of the *MB Herald*, pointed more specifically towards the

¹⁵⁹Warkentin, "The Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute," 16. Similar observations are made by Neufeldt, "The Education of the Yarrow Mennonite Community," 85-86; Bender, "Bible Institutes," in *Mennonite Encyclopaedia*, 1:331; Unger, "Bible Colleges and Institutes," in *Mennonite Encyclopaedia*, 5:75; and Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970*, 236-237, 259.

¹⁶⁰See for example, comments by David H. Neumann who was both a student and teacher at Bethesda Bible School and a student at Winkler Bible Institute (*I Remember* [By the author, c. 1982], 59); and Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970*, 242.

¹⁶¹"MBBI Principal's Report to the MB Conference of BC," in *Protokoll der Halbjahresversammlung der Mennoniten Brudergemeinde von Britisch Columbia abgehalten in der Kirche der M.B. Gemeinde, Vancouver, am 9. und 10. Juni, 1961*, 34-36; "The Nature of Our Bible School and their Future," in *Berichte und Beschlüsse der fünfzigsten Kanadischen Konferenz der Mennoniten-Brudergemeinde von Nord-Amerika abgehalten in Virgil, Ontario vom 2. bis 6. Juli, 1960*, 165; and *Is There a Future for the Bible Institute* (By the author, n.d. [c. 1960]).

ambiguous attitude of parents who verbally encouraged their children to go to Bible school, but whose lives negated such words by the way they prioritized the pursuit of lucrative careers; the lack of appeal of rural locations on the part of the more "sophisticated" urban Mennonite Brethren young people; and provincial attitudes on the part of denominational leaders who protected small, local schools instead of cooperating for a more efficient allocation of denominational resources.¹⁶²

One measurable factor was the increased competition from Mennonite high schools. To continue attracting students, a number of Bible schools began offering high school courses during the mid-1940s (for example, for a period of approximately ten years beginning in 1946, Bethany Bible Institute offered high school courses, making it possible for Bible school students to work towards the completion of their high school diploma). Others designed a special program especially for high school graduates (for example, Herbert Bible School), while still other Bible schools added provincially-approved high school programs that ran parallel to the Bible school curriculum (for example, Steinbach Bible College). As a result, Bible schools became less of an alternative to high school and more of a bridge towards a high school education. These measures were, however, only the proverbial finger in the dike. The Mennonite Brethren were increasingly interested in higher education as the means to gain access to greater economic opportunities, and were therefore interested in developing educational options that would enable access to university and professional education. The post-war economic boom made it possible, in the space of only three years (1944-1947), for Mennonites across Canada to start nine private high schools--five of these were Mennonite Brethren initiatives--bringing the total number of private Mennonite high schools in Canada to thirteen.¹⁶³ Loyalties within communities were sometimes divided between supporting either the Bible school or the high school. High school enrolments skyrocketed, and by the early 1950s the total number of students enrolled in Mennonite

¹⁶²"Our Bible Schools: A Modern Necessity," *MB Herald*, 31 August 1962, 3; and John A. Toews, "Closing Christian Schools: A Matter of Serious Concern to the Brotherhood," *The Voice of the Mennonite Brethren Bible College* 14, No. 5 (September-October 1965): 1-3.

¹⁶³See Klassen, "A History of Mennonite Education in Canada, 1786-1960," 282-298; and Regehr, 246ff. A particularly articulate philosophy of education for private secondary schools was written by Ross T. Bender ("An Apology for the Church-related Secondary School Movement in the Mennonite Church"; cited in Klassen, "A History of Mennonite Education in Canada, 1786-1960," 297-298).

Brethren high schools was more than double the total Bible school enrolment. By 1950, the total number of students attending Mennonite Brethren high schools exceeded 1,000.¹⁶⁴ In 1960, the enrolment at one high school alone, Mennonite Educational Institute in Clearbrook, British Columbia, outnumbered the cumulative total enrolled in Mennonite Brethren Bible schools in western Canada. The religious education offered at each of the high schools was increasingly considered an adequate alternative to Bible school.

Another factor contributing to the decline of popularity and influence of Bible schools within the denomination was the development in 1944 of "*eine hoehere Bibelschule*" in Winnipeg. The preference for high school education on the part of young people coincided with a move towards more advanced theological education on the part of leaders in the denomination. As early as 1939, John A. Toews highlighted the shortage of well-qualified, bilingual teachers for the numerous Bible schools along with the need for a more uniform curriculum. He pronounced, "Advanced theological training and a broad general secular education will be required of our Bible school teachers, if these schools are to survive and progress."¹⁶⁵ Initially, leaders talked of simply adding a more advanced course of study to an existing Bible school program, that is, at Winkler Bible Institute. But when a suitable property in Winnipeg became available, conference leaders instead, as noted above, asked the well-respected A.H. Unruh, then sixty-five years of age, to leave Winkler Bible Institute to head up the new, degree-granting Mennonite Brethren Bible College. The declared purpose of this new school was to train Bible school teachers, missionaries and church workers to fill positions of leadership in Bible schools, churches and mission agencies. Within three years, enrolment in the new college surpassed that of Winkler Bible Institute and it became the largest Mennonite Brethren theological school in Canada, a status it continued to enjoy

¹⁶⁴R.M. Baerg, "M.B. High Schools," in *A Century of Grace and Witness, 1860-1960*, eds. Walter Wiebe, Orlando Harms and Leonard J. Franz (Hillsboro, KS: Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1960), 39. See also a comparative enrolment chart in Klassen, *The Bible School Story*, 6.

¹⁶⁵*Twenty-fifth Anniversary Publication of Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 1944-1969*, 13-14; and "Schulbestrebungen in unseren Kreisen," in *Verhandlungen der 30. Nördlichen Distrikt-Konferenz der Mennoniten-Brüdergemeinde, 1939*, 24-27.

throughout the 1950s.¹⁶⁶ By 1960, the enrolment at Mennonite Brethren Bible College equalled almost 50% of the total enrolment in the four remaining Mennonite Brethren Bible schools (see Table 3.5).

Shortly after starting the "higher Bible school," leaders were aware that the college could become significantly more than a curricular extension of the Bible schools. Within a year, John B. Toews, who was younger, more fluent in English and administratively gifted, took over the presidency. Unruh's ongoing presence continued to give the college visibility and credibility throughout the denomination. Influenced by his experience at Tabor College, a Mennonite Brethren liberal arts college in Kansas, Toews tried to position the school as a theological college with a limited number of liberal arts courses. Some denominational leaders argued that the pastors of the future (particularly in urban churches) would require a more general education than that offered by the Bible schools to keep pace with laypeople in their congregations, and expressed frustration when they saw their best ministerial candidates attend American colleges and then not return to Canada.¹⁶⁷ Mennonite Brethren Bible College, therefore, came to be seen as an extension of the Bible schools in Canada and as a Canadian finishing school for individuals interested in professional ministry. Finally, the desire to include liberal arts courses was not aimed only at broadening the educational horizons of pastoral candidates, but also at positioning the college as a Christian alternative

¹⁶⁶Despite an initial desire to collaborate with the Mennonite Brethren, the Conference of Mennonites in Canada established their own "higher Bible school," Canadian Mennonite Bible College, in Winnipeg three years later. Apparently J.J. Thiessen, a prominent Conference of Mennonites in Canada leader from Saskatoon, had written to Unruh asking him whether the two denominations might not "carry the ark of the Lord" together in the matter of college education. The inimitable Unruh responded by asking "who would drive the oxen which pulled the cart?" (see Ewert, *Stalwart for Truth*, 84; and Bruno Dyck, "Half a Century of Canadian Mennonite Bible College: A Brief Organizational History," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 11 [1993]: 194-223).

The fact that the first two Bible colleges started by the Mennonites were both located in Winnipeg is an indication of the large critical mass of Mennonites that had gathered in Winnipeg by the mid-1940s as the result of a rapid trend towards urbanization that continued to gain momentum during the 1950s and 1960s. Furthermore, leaders recognized the strategic significance of Winnipeg as a "metropolitan area" and as "the very gateway between the great Canadian East and West" (*MBBC Catalogue 1946-1947*, 7).

¹⁶⁷See for example, Letter from Norman Bergen to J.J. Thiessen, 4 October 1954, Vol. 300, David Toews Papers, MHCA. Enhancing further the Canadian support for the Bible college was a growing suspicion of "liberalism" at Tabor College that erupted at a conference in 1943 (see Klassen, "A History of Mennonite Education in Canada, 1786-1960," 299; Penner, *No Longer at Arms Length*, 29; Toews, *JB*, 118; Toews, *Mennonites in American Society, 1930-1970*, 79-82; and Dueck, "'Kanadier, Amerikaner and Rusländer, 187-188).

for Mennonite Brethren young people who were completing high school in unprecedented numbers and who were interested in obtaining a university education.¹⁶⁸ As an alternative to universities, the college was not so successful. By 1965 the number of Mennonite Brethren young people attending universities was almost double that of the enrolment in Mennonite Brethren Bible schools and more than three times the enrolment of Mennonite Brethren Bible College.¹⁶⁹

Early on, means were sought to validate the academic standards and status of the new college. An internal resolution was adopted in 1945 to investigate the possibility of affiliation with the University of Manitoba.¹⁷⁰ When this initiative failed, the college turned towards the newly-formed Accrediting Association of Bible Institutes and Colleges.¹⁷¹ It obtained accreditation from organization in 1950, almost a decade before any other school in Canada

¹⁶⁸The place of liberal arts courses at a theological college remained an ongoing debate for decades ("Report of the Educational Committee," in *Berichte und Beschlüsse der fünfzigsten Kanadischen Konferenz der Mennoniten-Brüdergemeinde von Nord-Amerika abgehalten in Virgil, Ontario vom 2. bis 6. Juli, 1960*, 165-168). For more details see John G. Doerksen, "Mennonite Brethren Bible College and College of Arts: Its History, Philosophy and Development" (Ph.D. Diss., University of North Dakota, 1968), 100ff.

¹⁶⁹John Wall, "The Church and Its Students," *MB Herald*, 7 October 1966, 6.

¹⁷⁰Alvin Klippenstein, "The Mennonite Brethren Bible College and College of Arts: A Critical Analysis of its History and Development with a Comparison of the Religious and Cultural with Respect to Social Change," Unpublished paper, 1977, 7, Box 1, Folder Z, Papers and Essays, CMBSA. Klippenstein notes the "*avant garde* role" played by many Mennonite Brethren educators in helping the conference adjust to changing needs through redesigned educational institutions. However, this "prophetic role" often came into conflict with the "conservatism of the Conference" (32). This is exemplified by the fact that Toews left Mennonite Brethren Bible College within three years over conflict with a Board that wanted to use the college to inhibit the process of anglicization (Toews, *JB*, 136).

¹⁷¹The Accrediting Association of Bible Institutes and Bible Colleges (later renamed the Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges) started during the annual meeting of the National Association of Evangelicals in 1946, and within two years had accredited twelve schools. It was recognized by the United States Office of Education as the official accrediting body in the field of undergraduate theological education. Accreditation gave Bible colleges in the United States equivalent status to state colleges, which enabled the transfer of credits to other institutions (William C. Ringenberg, *The Christian College: A History of Protestant Higher Education in America* [Grand Rapids, MI: Christian College Consortium, 1984], 168-170; and Larry McKinney, *Equipping for Service: A History of the Bible College Movement in North America* [Fayetteville, AR: Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges, 1997], 174-178). The influence of the Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges within Bible colleges in Canada deserves a thorough investigation, but suffice it to say that, despite the high expectations sometimes created by Association personnel, accreditation never facilitated the same degree recognition by Canadian universities. In several Canadian universities, however, accreditation with the Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges did serve as one criterion in the consideration in the transfer of credit for courses taken at a Bible college.

was successful in doing the same. Mennonite Brethren Bible College's initiatives in the area of accreditation and university affiliation foreshadowed a trend that gained momentum within the Bible school movement during the 1960s and beyond.¹⁷²

The new college had a profound impact on the Mennonite Brethren Bible schools that remained in existence during the 1950s. It did help meet the need for Bible school teachers, and the common educational experience on the part of many Bible school teachers did help promote the idea of a more uniform denominational ethos and curriculum within Mennonite Brethren institutions.¹⁷³ But the creation of accredited, degree-granting colleges left the Bible schools with an identity crisis. In addition to facing competition from the high schools, the Bible schools saw their contribution in training church leaders eclipsed by the college. The college became *the* educational model to emulate, but none of the Bible schools had the financial and faculty resources to move towards college status, and none had the advantage of being located near a university campus. It became increasingly difficult for Bible schools to attract young people for a three or four-year period. In response, the few remaining Bible schools implemented a Bible institute curriculum during the 1960s that assumed a high school diploma and that worked towards transfer credit arrangement to Tabor or Mennonite Brethren Bible College.

¹⁷²The Mennonite Brethren Bible College successfully signed its first university affiliation agreement in 1961 with the newly chartered Waterloo Lutheran University. Another affiliation agreement was negotiated with the University of Winnipeg in 1972, at which time the school decided to drop its accreditation with the Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges (see the biography of John A. Toews who was president of the college at the time, Elfrieda Toews Nafziger, *A Man of His Word: A Biography of John A. Toews* [Winnipeg, MB: Kindred Press, 1992]; and Gay Lynn Voth, "Mennonites and Higher Education in the 1960s: The Story of Two Canadian Mennonite Colleges in Winnipeg" [M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1999]). Recently, the school, now known as Concord College, became one of the three partners in the newly-formed Canadian Mennonite University in Winnipeg.

¹⁷³In 1956 the Canadian Conference organized a committee to study all phases of education within the denomination. A permanent Educational Committee was established, which created a "Teachers Registry," organized summer courses, coordinated scheduling of events, designed a consistent record system of credits and helped schools implement a more uniform curriculum in 1960 (see for example, "Educational Committee Report," in *Berichte und Beschlüsse der achtundvierzigsten Kanadischen Konferenz der Mennoniten-Brüdergemeinde von Nord-Amerika abgehalten in North Kildonan, Manitoba vom 5. bis 9. Juli, 1958*, 178-179; "The Standardization of our Mennonite Brethren Bible School Curriculum," Paper presented to a Conference of Bible School Delegates, 2 July 1958, Box 990.8.1, MBBF Papers, MHSBCA; "Educational Committee Report," in *Berichte und Beschlüsse der neunundvierzigsten Kanadischen Konferenz der Mennoniten-Brüdergemeinde von Nord-Amerika abgehalten in Hepburn, Saskatchewan, vom 4. bis 8. Juli, 1959*, 183-184; and Doerksen, "History of Education in the Mennonite Brethren of Canada," 89-91).

3.6.6 Mennonite Brethren Bible Schools, the Mennonite Brethren and Relations with Other Evangelical Protestants

With reference to the mixture of influences that precipitated Mennonite Brethren origins in Russia, Paul Toews argues, "If the birth of the [Mennonite Brethren] church was the result of divergent theological streams working in a complementary fashion, then surely an openness to recurring currents coming from outside the tradition might offer subsequent replenishment for diminished religiosity."¹⁷⁴ The early, and ongoing, influence of pietism among the Mennonite Brethren in Russia with its stress on a personal salvation experience, its thorough biblicism and its emphasis on missions created a natural compatibility with the priorities of evangelical Protestants in North America.¹⁷⁵ Although separated from other evangelical groups by linguistic and cultural differences at the outset, it did not take long before their natural affinity resulted in contact and an appreciative borrowing of resources on the part of the Mennonite Brethren in Canada. From this point onwards, the Mennonite Brethren readily identified themselves as part of the larger evangelical Protestant religious community,¹⁷⁶ although internal conflict within the denomination emerged concerning an appropriate response and relationship to transdenominational organizations and institutions.

Interaction between the Mennonite Brethren and other evangelicals was frequent and varied. Many of the early *Kanadier Reiseprediger* led the way by their admiration of evangelist D.L. Moody, and their early endorsement of fundamentalist institutions such as Moody Bible Institute (Chicago), Northwestern Bible and Missionary Training Institute (Minneapolis) and Bible Institute of Los Angeles.¹⁷⁷ This led a number of the early teachers

¹⁷⁴Toews, "Differing Historical Imaginations," 157. Even A.H. Unruh conceded that Mennonite Brethren doctrine was not just a direct continuation of Menno Simon's thought, but a combination of various doctrines that existed in the Mennonite church (Adrian, "Born of Anabaptism and Pietism," 3).

¹⁷⁵Penner, *No Longer at Arms Length*, 12-15.

¹⁷⁶Examples of this abound within the literature produced by Mennonite Brethren Bible schools. Mennonite Brethren Bible College, for example, described itself as "a Mennonite institution, frankly conservative, holding to those distinctive principles for which real evangelical Mennonites have always stood." The school was open not only to Mennonite Brethren young people, but also to "all fundamental evangelical believers" (*MBBC Catalogue, 1945-1946*, 7).

¹⁷⁷See for example, the experience of Cornelius Hiebert, a colporteur for the British and Foreign Bible Society, and itinerant in Saskatchewan and Manitoba until 1925 (Esther Horch, *C.N. Hiebert was My Father* [Winnipeg, MB: Christian Press, 1979]).

in the Mennonite Brethren Bible schools (for example, Bestvater at Herbert Bible School, Harms at Bethany Bible Institute, Kroeker at Winkler Bible Institute, et al.) to take part of their training at these schools. This initial contact contributed significantly towards helping the Mennonite Brethren Bible schools serve as a redistribution centre for the ideas prevalent within the fundamentalist network in North America.

The Bible schools solidified connections with the larger evangelical Protestant world in a variety of ways. The early contact with fundamentalist schools in the United States led to the integration of Evangelical Teacher Training Association materials and courses in many Mennonite Brethren schools during the 1930s. Official membership in the Association soon followed for all of the larger Mennonite Brethren (and Conference of Mennonites in Canada) schools, and lasted until the 1970s. With the help of Kroeker, Winkler Bible Institute led the way for other schools by joining in 1932, only two years after the organization was started (the only other Canadian school involved with the Association at the time was Toronto Bible College).¹⁷⁸ Involvement with the Evangelical Teacher Training Association brought not only a prescribed curriculum in the area of Christian education, but also a more familial affiliation with other evangelical Protestant schools and educators.¹⁷⁹ As the need for English-language textbooks, library resources and Sunday school materials grew, it was natural to look once again towards the evangelical schools in the United States with which they were familiar. During the 1930s, few Mennonite Brethren leaders had the language skills necessary for writing English textbooks. As noted earlier, the use of textbooks written and published by American evangelicals was extensive throughout the Mennonite Brethren Bible schools, strengthening further the influence of American evangelicalism within these schools.

As more Bible schools became established on the Canadian prairies, and as the number of Mennonites in western Canada interested in Bible school education grew during

¹⁷⁸Evangelical Teacher Training Association (first known as International Bible Institute Council of Christian Education) was organized in 1930 by representatives from five leading Bible schools in Canada and the United States. Their objective was to promote a standardized curricular program for training Sunday School teachers. One of the key founders was Clarence H. Benson, an official at Moody Bible Institute (Ringenberg, *The Christian College*, 168-169). The Association courses in Mennonite Brethren Bible schools were later replaced by a program designed by the Christian Education Board of the Canadian Mennonite Brethren Conference.

¹⁷⁹See for example, the comments in Pries, *A Place Called Peniel*, 39; and Hildebrand, *Training Servant Leaders*, 72.

the 1930s and 1940s, Canadian schools such as Briercrest Bible Institute and Winnipeg Bible Institute (and, to a lesser extent, Prairie Bible Institute and Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute), became the schools of choice for those Mennonite Brethren who opted not to attend a Mennonite Brethren Bible school. During the 1920s and early 1930s the number of Mennonites attending non-Mennonite Bible schools in Canada was minimal, but from the late 1930s onwards, Mennonite students (the majority being Mennonite Brethren) consistently made up 25-35% of the student population at Briercrest Bible Institute. This had a significant impact on enrolment at Mennonite Brethren schools.¹⁸⁰ Once established, it was difficult to stop the flow of Mennonite students into transdenominational Bible schools. Personal loyalties towards these institutions became entrenched and sometimes lasted for several generations. Financial resources and personal energy were allocated away from local churches; satisfied alumni tended to recruit other students.¹⁸¹

Yet another significant source of evangelical influence among the Mennonite Brethren in western Canada during the early twentieth century came through the participation by a number of Mennonite Brethren Bible school teachers and hundreds of Mennonite Brethren young people in the transdenominational ministries emanating from, what Bruce Hindmarsh has described as, "the Winnipeg fundamentalist network."¹⁸² Central to this network was Elim Chapel where various Mennonite Brethren leaders routinely attended their conferences that featured leading American fundamentalists as speakers. The attendance by members of the Kroeker family, who were strong supporters of Winkler Bible Institute, led to significant involvement on the part of the Mennonite Brethren with Canadian Sunday School Mission. Estimates indicate that during the 1930s and 1940s approximately 30% of Canadian Sunday School Mission personnel were Mennonite, with a significant proportion being

¹⁸⁰Harold Bender made a similar observation by citing a 1948-1949 survey that revealed that over 200 Mennonite students (75% were Mennonite Brethren) were attending non-Mennonite schools on the prairies ("Bible Institute," *Mennonite Encyclopaedia* 1:330; Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940*, 470; and John B. Toews, *With Courage to Spare: The Life of B.B. Janz* [Winnipeg, MB: Christian Press, 1978], 104).

¹⁸¹Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940*, 470.

¹⁸²"The Winnipeg Fundamentalist Network, 1910-1940: The Roots of Transdenominational Evangelicalism in Manitoba and Saskatchewan," in *Aspects of the Evangelical Experience*, ed, George A. Rawlyk (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 303-319.

Mennonite Brethren.¹⁸³

Not all Mennonite Brethren leaders were happy about the relationships developing between their young people and transdenominational schools and mission societies. Leaders complimented the “vitality” that these organizations inspired among their people, but complained about the way it drained away personnel and monies from the denomination and, as a result, a concerted effort was made to establish denominational mission agencies. At first, the initiative for these responses took place under the auspices of several Bible schools (as noted earlier both Winkler Bible Institute and Bethany Bible Institute started their own Vacation Bible School ministries during the early 1930s). These were, at least in part, an attempt to stem the flow of young people to organizations such as Canadian Sunday School Mission, although both continued, for a time, to use the material published by Canadian Sunday School Mission.¹⁸⁴

Although expressions of concern were voiced throughout the 1930s, it was not until the 1940s that leaders utilized the strength of denominational structures to orchestrate more than an *ad hoc* response to the impact of transdenominational evangelicalism (including fundamentalism). In 1944, the Mennonite Brethren launched two national projects to reinforce the allegiance of members to the denomination.¹⁸⁵ The first project was the

¹⁸³Penner, *No Longer at Arms Length*, 22, 151; and Geddert, “To God be all the Glory,” 4. The influence of evangelicalism filtered into Mennonite communities through the activities of several itinerant Mennonite evangelists such as the Janz brothers from Herbert who had attended Herbert Bible School and then Prairie Bible Institute, Ben D. Reimer, a leader in the Kleine Gemeinde church and long-time principal of Steinbach Bible Institute, and the American Brunk brothers who toured Canada during the 1950s (see Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970*, 209-210). These evangelists emulated the evangelistic techniques used by D.L. Moody and his successors. In addition, evangelical influence was disseminated through Mennonite Brethren periodicals for youth such as the *Konferenz-Jugendblatt* that occasionally republished articles from *Moody Monthly*. They were forced to do so, in part, because of the dearth of English materials generated from within the denomination.

¹⁸⁴Although the outreach activities on the part of Bible school students in non-Mennonite communities was generally limited to children, this experience gradually turned Mennonite Brethren attention towards “church-planting” possibilities and precipitated a vigorous debate concerning the possibility of integrating converts into a mostly German-speaking denomination. On a few occasions, English-speaking adult converts were directed to nearby Baptist churches (see Neufeldt, “The Education of the Yarrow Mennonite Community,” 86; Ediger, “Deutsch und Religion,” 350-351; and Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970*, 342-345).

¹⁸⁵The inability of many Mennonite Brethren men to offer an adequate theological and historical explanation for their pacifist views during the war increased the desire on the part of denominational leaders for denominational institutions able to inculcate Anabaptist distinctives (Toews, *A History of the*

inauguration of the Canada Inland Mission, an umbrella organization for coordinating the different mission initiatives underway within the denomination, and linking these activities to a new interest in church-planting ministries. Like the various summer ministries to children, which were initiated at Winkler Bible Institute and Bethany Bible Institute to stem the flow of young people to transdenominational organizations such as Canadian Sunday School Mission, Canada Inland Mission was a more comprehensive attempt to preempt the departure of prospective missionary personnel to transdenominational agencies and channel the missionary impulse through Mennonite Brethren denominational structures.¹⁸⁶ Many admired the strong missionary emphasis of a school like Prairie Bible Institute, and tried to emulate it within Mennonite Brethren schools. The missionary emphasis of transdenominational evangelicalism simultaneously helped to expand the missionary vision of the Mennonite Brethren beyond their linguistic and ethnic boundaries, and to justify a linguistic transition to English--the correlation between language transition and missionary involvement within Mennonite Brethren Bible schools has been noted above. The missionary impulse mitigated against the desire on the part of many *Russlaenders* for maintaining a distinct identity as "German" Mennonites, and accelerated the process of acculturation particularly among the young people at Bible school. This process of acculturation was sometimes enhanced further by young people who readily accepted the emphases and style of English-speaking transdenominational fundamentalism and evangelicalism because of their eagerness to shed all of the "embarrassing" remnants of their immigrant past.¹⁸⁷ The natural compatibility between the religious priorities of the Mennonite Brethren and that of English-speaking transdenominational evangelicalism made it all the more appealing as a cultural alternative. In addition, the missionary impulse downplayed the necessity of maintaining an Anabaptist/Mennonite theological identity. By emphasizing the essence or the core of the Christian message, the Anabaptist/Mennonite theological distinctives were marginalized as peripheral

Mennonite Brethren Church, 232-233).

¹⁸⁶A forceful proponent of the new organization, B.B. Jantz, noted with alarm in the early 1940s that thirty-one Mennonite Brethren were working in other churches and "organizations strange to us" where, "in some instances, they become confused" (cited in Penner, *No Longer at Arms Length*, 32).

¹⁸⁷See comments about Mennonite Brethren Bible College students during the 1950s by David Ewert, "Mennonite Brethren Bible College: Discovering its Theological Roots," *Mennonite Historian* 20, No. 4 (December 1994): 5; and Toews, *A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church*, 233.

by missionary personnel.¹⁸⁸ On the basis of the fundamentalist influence within Mennonite Bible schools, along with the impact of the transdenominational schools on Mennonite students, a case could be made that evangelicalism served as a potent force accelerating the “Canadianization” of ethnic immigrant groups such as the Mennonites.

The strengthening of a denominational infrastructure during the 1940s and 1950s was due, at least in part, to a growing ambivalence among Mennonite Brethren leaders about the impact of transdenominational evangelicalism. Concurrent with the inauguration of Canada Inland Mission was a plan to establish a “higher Bible school” in Winnipeg. Its declared purpose was to train Bible school teachers, missionaries and church workers who would, “in our spirit and under our supervision,” fill positions of leadership in Bible schools, churches and mission agencies.¹⁸⁹ In 1939, John A. Toews warned the denomination that “wherever spiritual young men are adequately prepared and show teaching ability, our local Churches should help them to attend higher Bible Colleges and Seminaries. But there exists the danger of choosing the wrong College, and some have returned to us with ideals and interpretations foreign to our Mennonite Brethren conceptions and doctrines in the light of the Scripture.” This led the denomination to issue a plea to local churches asking them to help prospective Christian teachers “to obtain their higher theological education in dependable Colleges and to prevent unsuitable, even though talented, instructors from gaining entrance to our Bible schools.”¹⁹⁰ According to those recommending the need for a new Mennonite Brethren college, the “wrong colleges,” which were producing the “unsuitable” instructors, were not, in this instance, the “liberal” theological schools, but rather the transdenominational schools! Despite lingering suspicions within the denomination concerning the value of higher education, leaders such as J.B. Toews aggressively promoted the potential influence of a school that could reinforce the allegiance of young people to their own denomination.

It became the task of faculty at the new college to define and apply the Anabaptist/Mennonite doctrines within a rapidly changing North American context. Teachers such as

¹⁸⁸See John A. Toews, “The Dangers of Interdenominationalism,” *Konferenz-Jugendblatt* (Juli-Oktober 1954): 3-4; and Regehr, *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970*, 238.

¹⁸⁹Penner, *No Longer At Arms Length*, 32.

¹⁹⁰*Twenty-fifth Anniversary Publication of Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 1944-1969*, 13.

John A. Toews and Frank C. Peters used the Anabaptist research done by Harold S. Bender and his associates to lead the way in introducing a new generation of Mennonite Brethren leaders and Bible school teachers to a more self-conscious, evangelical-Anabaptist theology and identity.¹⁹¹ In addition to standing against dispensational premillennialism and the Calvinistic theology frequently espoused in transdenominational schools, Toews and Peters affirmed more vigorously an emphasis on Christian discipleship, the ethic of love, non-resistance, and a more Anabaptist understanding of the Bible, the church and the state.¹⁹² Those who espoused the new evangelical-Anabaptist identity continued to express appreciation for the biblicism and the emphasis on missions embodied within transdenominational evangelicalism, but increasingly tried to convince others within the denomination that the influence of evangelicalism should be seen as a “transitional theology” between an inherited nineteenth-century theology, which was less doctrinal and precisely formulated, and the new “emergence of a theological biblicism rooted in a rediscovered Anabaptist hermeneutic.”¹⁹³ Even though all Mennonite Brethren Bible College faculty were in agreement about the need for a denominational theological college, not all faculty were immediately prepared to endorse the new approach to Anabaptist theology or denounce dispensationalism.¹⁹⁴

The fact that faculty and constituency relations remained amiable enough during this time reflected the divergence underneath the Mennonite Brethren denominational umbrella, and that the influence of fundamentalism did not always result in bitter schisms.¹⁹⁵ It may be

¹⁹¹Abe Dueck notes that the Canadian Mennonite Brethren were, at the outset, more receptive to Bender’s “Anabaptist Vision” than both their American counterparts and the Conference of Mennonites in Canada (“Canadian Mennonites and the Anabaptist Vision,” *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 13 [1995]: 71-88. See also Paul Toews, *Mennonites in American Society, 1930-1970: Modernity and the Persistence of Religious Community* [Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1996], 84-106, 214-237).

¹⁹²For a fuller discussion, see Toews, *Pilgrimage of Faith*, 190-204.

¹⁹³Paul Toews, “Fundamentalism,” *Mennonite Encyclopaedia*, 5:319.

¹⁹⁴David Ewert, a faculty member at Mennonite Brethren Bible College, talks about the way in which “he had already consigned Clarence Larkin’s [dispensational] charts to the fire” prior to teaching at the college, but this was not the case for all faculty, for example, Henry J. Janzen and Henry Regehr (see Ewert, “Mennonite Brethren Bible College,” 5; and David Ewert, “Theological Autobiography,” in *Bridging Troubled Waters*, 87-94).

¹⁹⁵In addition to the reasons advanced by other scholars explaining why a militant type of fundamentalism never gained the same momentum in Canada that it did south of the border, one might add that the combination of recent immigration and preoccupation with ethnic self-preservation during the 1920s and

that, during the 1940s, concern about fundamentalism had more to do with the way in which the transdenominational institutions and organizations associated with the fundamentalist network were attracting students and deflecting their denominational loyalties than serious objections to the theological perspectives imported into the denomination. This changed as leaders began to articulate a more mature Anabaptist critique of fundamentalism.

By the mid-1950s, two thirds of the teachers in the Mennonite Brethren Bible schools had been students at Mennonite Brethren Bible College, and the more distinctly Anabaptist theological emphases began to appear within Mennonite Brethren Bible school curricula.¹⁹⁶ As a result, in a report written a decade after the inauguration of Mennonite Brethren Bible College, Aaron Schmidt portrayed the college as a “unifying factor” that did for the Mennonite Brethren denomination what a catechism or written church polity had done for other denominations.¹⁹⁷ More recently, Rodney Sawatsky has similarly observed that the Mennonite Bible colleges, more so than the Bible schools, “have been at the centre of Canadian Mennonite self-definition. They have served as the primary repositories of the Anabaptist-Mennonite heritage . . . and have thus been important in shaping the Mennonite identity in

1930s kept Canadian Mennonites from sharing the same sense of cultural loss that led to the strident fundamentalist-modernist debates. It is interesting to note that this is less true of Mennonites in the United States, who did not have the same strong sense of ethnic identity as their Canadian counterparts (see Paul Toews, “Fundamentalist Conflict in Mennonite Colleges: A Response to Cultural Transitions?” *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 57 [July 1983]: 241-256; Rodney J. Sawatsky, “Denominational Sectarianism: Mennonites in the United States and Canada in Comparative Perspective,” *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 3 [1978]: 239-241; and Nathan Emerson Yoder, “Mennonite Fundamentalism: Shaping an Identity for an American Context” [Ph.D. Diss., University of Notre Dame, 1999].

¹⁹⁶“Mennonite Colleges and Bible Schools,” Folder 326, Box 7, John A. Toews Papers, CMBSA. See also the statistical analysis of graduates in *Twenty-fifth Anniversary Publication of Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 1944-1969*, 56-62. The creation of a Bible college, and upgrading of academic standards within the remaining Mennonite Brethren Bible schools, did not stop students from attending other schools. In 1978, Harold Jantz conducted a survey of 800 Mennonite Brethren post-secondary students in which he discovered that 37% had chosen to study in non-Mennonite schools. He concluded, “the choices of students are reflective of the state of our brotherhood theologically and materially. We are becoming an increasingly fragmented people in terms of theological loyalties and we have the economic resources to follow our inclinations” (“The Schools Students Choose [Part I],” *Direction* 8, No. 3 [July 1979]: 39; see also Harold Jantz, “The Schools Students Choose: Why Young People Choose Mennonite Brethren Schools [Part II],” *Direction* 9, No. 3 [July 1980]: 20-23).

¹⁹⁷“The Value of a College Education as a Unifying Influence in our Conference,” *Konferenz-Jugendblatt* (September 1953-February 1954): 53-54.

Canada.¹⁹⁸

The ongoing Mennonite Brethren openness to theological influences from non-Mennonite sources, particularly through transdenominational schools and organizations influenced by fundamentalism, contributed substantially towards what J.B. Toews called “an awakening effect” among young people and “the surge of missionary vision and commitment from 1930-1960,”¹⁹⁹ but it also left the denomination with an ongoing “legacy of ambivalence with regard to their identity as a faith community and their place within the larger Mennonite world.”²⁰⁰ The Mennonite Brethren natural compatibility with evangelical Protestantism, together with the significant degree of contact, borrowing of resources and personal involvement with various transdenominational schools and organizations during the first half of the twentieth century, laid the foundation for a remarkably close association with the larger evangelical community in Canada during the second half of the century.²⁰¹ Examples of this association could be multiplied: for instance, the Mennonite Brethren were formal members in the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada since its inception in 1964.²⁰² Despite the ongoing ambivalence about their own identity as an Anabaptist denomination that continues to be exacerbated by their current association with evangelicalism, and the internal tensions created when the support of such endeavours weakens the development of their own institutions and denominational infrastructure, the associations with the larger

¹⁹⁸Rodney J. Sawatsky, “Canadian Issues in Mennonite Theological Education,” Paper presented at a Consultation on Mennonite and Brethren in Christ Pastoral Training and Graduate Theological Education, Conrad Grebel College, 24-25 May 1985, 2.

¹⁹⁹*Pilgrimage of Faith*, 193.

²⁰⁰Loewen, “Ambivalence in MB Self-Understanding,” 15. Loewen similarly argues that this historical openness is responsible for the current ambivalence among the Mennonite Brethren concerning their identity, and that it has led to the denomination becoming “the most socially and culturally assimilated Mennonite community in North America” (“Ambivalence in Mennonite Brethren Self-Understanding,” 5). See also the discussions by Richard Kyle, “The Mennonite Brethren and American Evangelicalism: An Ambivalent Relationship,” *Direction* 20, No. 1 (Spring 1991): 26-37.

²⁰¹It was the only Mennonite denomination involved at the time (Guenther, “Living with the Virus,” 223-240; and Harold Jantz, “Canadian Mennonites and a Widening World,” in *Religion and Public Life in Canada: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Marguerite Van Die (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 329-345.

²⁰²Their American counterparts had been active in the National Association of Evangelicals since 1945 (Toews, *Mennonites in American Society, 1930-1970*, 222-223).

evangelical Protestant world continues. It is fair to say that the Mennonite Brethren have contributed more than any other Mennonite group in Canada towards the creation and development of a mutually supportive network of interlocking institutions, organizations and individuals that has characterized evangelical Protestantism in Canada since 1960.²⁰³

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has documented the substantial contribution of the Mennonites to the Bible school movement in western Canada, a contribution that, if measured by number of schools and students, easily exceeds that of every other cluster of schools. Reflecting a long history of deep concern for the religious education of their children, the Mennonites were among the first to initiate Bible schools in the region. These schools were one of several educational genres adapted by Mennonite immigrants for the Canadian prairies as part of a multifaceted strategy for ethnic and religious self-preservation. As supplements to a public school education, the schools filled a unique secondary and post-secondary educational niche for Mennonite young people. As such, the more than forty Mennonite Bible schools offer at least one explanation for the disproportionate number of Bible schools in western Canada.

Of the four Mennonite denominations highlighted in this chapter, the most active and influential were the Mennonite Brethren who, despite their relatively small numbers, devoted more energy and resources to Bible schools than did any other denomination in Canada. The schools had a huge impact within their denominational constituency. In addition to being one facet of a larger denominational strategy for the spiritual formation and denominational integration of young people within the denomination, the schools provided, almost as a by-product, a ready supply of ministers and lay leaders for churches in Canada as well as their foreign missionary programs.

²⁰³ John G. Stackhouse, Jr., "The Emergence of a Fellowship: Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century," *Church History* 60, No. 2 (June 1991): 248. Some contemporary observers have gone so far as to suggest that the Mennonite Brethren are virtually indistinguishable from, and are on the verge of being subsumed by, a generic kind of transdenominational evangelicalism. For example, Peter Penner suggests that Mennonite Brethren church memberships have become "virtually exchangeable commodities" with memberships in evangelical denominations such as the Christian and Missionary Alliance, Evangelical Free and Associated Gospel Churches (*No Longer At Arms Length*, 155). For a study that explores the more recent relationship between the Mennonite Brethren and evangelicalism in Canada, see Patricia Janzen Loewen, "Embracing Evangelicalism and Anabaptism: The Mennonite Brethren in Canada in the Late Twentieth Century" (M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 2000).

Because the schools served a very specific denominational constituency, they reflected many of the internal dynamics within the denomination. They were crucibles within which new approaches towards the matters of language, acculturation, education and missions were forged that eventually reshaped congregational and denominational practices. By helping to facilitate both the linguistic transition towards English and a broader view of mission, the Bible schools undermined the cultural and religious separatism of the denomination and accelerated their integration within Canadian society. By so doing they contributed towards their own demise. The dramatic decline of the Mennonite Brethren schools during the 1950s resulted in a transfer of energy and resources into private secondary schools and a new Bible college, thereby foreshadowing trends and developments that eventually took place within the larger Bible school movement. The trends toward higher education and accreditation coincided with a rapid transition within the denomination from being a predominately rural, agrarian community to a more urban, professional constituency.

The Mennonite Brethren Bible schools served as the point of convergence between Anabaptist/Mennonite, European pietistic and North American fundamentalist and evangelical influences within the denomination. The theological blends created by this convergence permeated the denomination through the influence of students in the life of congregations, and through teachers within the larger scope of denominational leadership. Although the Mennonites were removed, by both geographical distance and ethnicity, from the more strident conflicts that created fundamentalism during the 1920s, it did not take long before the natural compatibility on the part of the Mennonite Brethren with evangelicalism in general, and their contact with and involvement in schools and organizations that were part of a fundamentalist network in particular, resulted in contact and an appreciative borrowing of resources. The Bible schools served as conduits of influence, and solidified Mennonite Brethren relationships with the larger world of evangelical Protestantism in North America. By the early 1940s, the Mennonite Brethren readily identified themselves as part of the larger evangelical Protestant religious community, although internal conflict within the denomination remained concerning an appropriate response and relationship to transdenominational organizations and institutions. Contact with the larger evangelical world led to involvement: transdenominational evangelicalism in western Canada would look very different today without the presence and contribution made by the Mennonites during the twentieth century.

CHAPTER FOUR

Baptist Bible Schools with a Special Focus on Christian Training Institute

4.1 Introduction

Baptists are well-known for their emphasis on voluntary church membership, adult baptism, the central authority of the Bible and evangelistic missionary programs. They have played an important role in the development of Protestantism in Canada. While not as numerous in western Canada as in the Maritimes or Ontario, the Baptists in western Canada were characterized by a greater degree of diversity due largely, although not exclusively, to the influx of immigrants in the region during the first half of the twentieth century. The smaller, ethnically based Baptist groups struggled to find their niche both within western Canada and within the larger Baptist community in the country.

4.2 Variations Among Baptist Bible Schools

The Baptist variations in western Canada are represented in this study by a cluster of Bible schools that offer a unique glimpse into both the internal dynamics of Baptist denominations struggling to establish themselves in western Canada and the relationships between the different Baptist groups in that region. During the first half of the twentieth century, the combined total of non-itinerant Bible schools started by Baptists in western Canada numbered only ten, making it the smallest cluster. The cumulative student enrolment of the Baptist Bible schools totalled approximately 7% of the entire Bible school student enrolment in western Canada.

Although distinctly Baptist denominational emphases were mostly absent from it, and its denominational ties were rather tenuous, the first Bible school within the Baptist cluster in western Canada was William Aberhart's Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute. Started in 1923 as a series of evening classes, the school was more formally organized in 1925 and a building

program initiated in 1927.¹ Initially the school was part of Westbourne Baptist Church, which was at the time a member of the Baptist Union of Western Canada. Under Aberhart's autocratic leadership, many members of the Westbourne church eventually formed an independent congregation called the Bible Institute Baptist Church. The Bible school, which Aberhart hailed as "the great prairie monument to the faith," was stridently fundamentalist.² In order to ward off the threat of "modernism," according to Aberhart, students would be placed in empty rural pulpits and would "withstand the menace of the brand new United Church of Canada, the incarnation of modernism."³ Aberhart's radio broadcasts and Radio Sunday School correspondence program, however, proved to be far more popular than his Bible school.

The controversy and conflict that constantly swirled around Aberhart's school resulted in the inauguration of at least two other Bible schools in Alberta. After their separation from Aberhart in the late 1920s, the remaining members of Westbourne Baptist Church aligned themselves with T.T. Shields's Regular Baptists. In 1934, the congregation sponsored their own school, Western Baptist Bible College. The school was less dispensational and more denominational than Aberhart's Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute, but was forced to suspend operations on account of the war.⁴ Shortly after Aberhart's death, an acrimonious dispute between Charles Pearce, superintendent of the Radio Sunday School,

¹See David Elliott and Iris Miller, "Aberhart and the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute," *Prairie Forum* 9, No. 1 (1984): 61-77.

²*The Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute Calender*, n.d. At the outset, Aberhart intentionally pursued relationships with key fundamentalist leaders. For example, William Bell Riley, a prominent American fundamentalist, was the speaker at the official opening of the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute's new building in 1927 (David Elliott and Iris Miller, *Bible Bill: A Biography of William Aberhart* [Edmonton, AB: Reidmore Books, 1987], 82).

³John G. Stackhouse, Jr., "Proclaiming the Word: Canadian Evangelicalism Since the First World War" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Chicago, 1987), 39. The school was started during a period when fundamentalist / modernist debates were raging within the Baptist Union of Western Canada over liberal theology at McMaster University. This dispute coloured Aberhart's rhetoric. It was difficult to determine whether Aberhart's school should be included in the Baptist or the transdenominational cluster of schools. It has been included with the Baptists because it originated in a Baptist church, and despite his departure from the Baptist Union of Western Canada, his movement continued to be loosely identified as Baptist.

⁴John H. Pickford, *What God Hath Wrought: Sixty Years of God's Goodness in the Fellowship of Regular Baptist Churches of British Columbia* (Vancouver, BC: Baptist Foundation of British Columbia, 1987), 92.

and Cyril Hutchinson, the dean of Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute, led to the closure of the school. Hutchinson managed to convince a good number of staff and students to leave Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute; together they formed the transdenominational Berean Bible College in Calgary, Alberta in 1948.⁵

Two other Baptist schools were started during the 1920s. The Swedish Baptists (more formally known as the Swedish General Conference and later as the Baptist General Conference), started the Swedish Baptist Bible Institute (later known as Alberta Baptist Bible Academy) in 1925 in Wetaskiwin, Alberta. It lasted for more than two decades before amalgamating with the Christian Training Institute, which will be featured more fully in this chapter. In 1957, the Swedish Baptists took over the operation of Vancouver Bible Institute, a transdenominational school in Vancouver started by Walter Ellis that had existed since 1918.⁶ Their involvement with this educational endeavour lasted for about two decades.

More small schools came and went quickly. In 1929, the Convention of Regular Baptist Churches of British Columbia initiated the Regular Baptist Bible Institute in Mount Pleasant Baptist Church in Vancouver; it, however, lasted only a year.⁷ In 1945, another effort was made to start a school in British Columbia. After purchasing the facilities of an Apostolic Church of Pentecost Bible school located in Port Coquitlam, Northwest Baptist Bible College was started to train personnel for home and foreign pastoral and missionary service.⁸ Beginning in 1944, another Baptist group with strong ethnic immigrant roots, the Ukrainian Baptist Conference, operated a small Bible school in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. The school lasted for little more than a decade until it was forced to close due to financial

⁵*A Burning Bush in the West: A 30-year Historical Review of Berean Bible College Commemorating the Thirtieth Anniversary, 1948-1978*, n.p., n.d., [c. 1978].

⁶See Chapter Seven for the story of Vancouver Bible Institute.

⁷See *BC Baptist* 4, No. 7 (1929), 5; and John B. Richards, *Baptists in British Columbia: A Struggle to Maintain "Sectarianism"* (Vancouver, BC: Northwest Baptist Theological College and Seminary, 1977), 102-103.

⁸See Pickford, *What God Hath Wrought*, 122-123; and Richards, *Baptists in British Columbia*, 113.

problems and difficulties in finding suitable teachers.⁹

Conspicuous by their almost complete absence from the Bible school movement is the largest Baptist group in western Canada, the Baptist Union of Western Canada, which had close ties to the largest Baptist group in both Ontario and the Maritimes, as well as other “mainline Protestants.” Their rather late involvement in the Bible school movement is due, at least in part, as Keith Churchill has argued, to “the lack of agreement among Western Baptists on the necessity for and meaning of an educated ministry,” and the failure to recognize that the educational models that had served Ontario and the Maritimes well, might not succeed in other parts of the country.¹⁰ In 1949, the Baptist Union of Western Canada started the Baptist Leadership Training School in Calgary, Alberta, in part because of pressure from rural churches in western Canada, which needed leaders, but also because of the proliferation of Bible schools across the prairies that were drawing a considerable number of their young people.¹¹ It never offered more than a one-year program.

4.3 Christian Training Institute, Edmonton, Alberta (1940 - present)

The Baptist school featured in this chapter is the Christian Training Institute (later known as North American Baptist College), which was started in 1940 by the German Baptist General Conference.¹² Of all the schools within the Baptist cluster, Christian Training Institute made the most significant single contribution to the Bible school movement. Even

⁹See Margaret Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 350ff. The Ukrainian Baptists saw themselves more as a missionary society than as a denomination and were, therefore, more open to cooperation with other groups. Several people involved with the school received their education at the transdenominational Winnipeg Bible Institute.

¹⁰See G. Keith Churchill, “The Educational Policy of the Baptist Union of Western Canada From 1873-1975 and Its Implications for the Next Decade,” in *Canadian Baptist History and Polity: The McMaster Conference*, ed. Murray J.S. Ford (Hamilton, ON: McMaster University Divinity College, 1982), 66; and Walter Ellis, “What the Times Demand: Brandon College and Baptist Higher Education in Western Canada,” in *Canadian Baptists and Christian Higher Education*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988), 63-87.

¹¹See Margaret Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 432-433; Harry A. Renfree, *Heritage and Horizon: The Baptist Story in Canada* (Mississauga, ON: Canadian Baptist Federation, 1988), 265-266; and Gerald Ward, *Emergence of a Rather Special School* (n.p., n.d. [c. 1989]), 10.

¹²In 1944, the German Baptist General Conference changed its name to North American Baptist General Conference. In 1975, the word “General” was dropped.

without the addition of student numbers from the itinerant Bible schools that preceded it, the school had the largest cumulative enrolment of any Baptist Bible school in the region. While certain ethnic and linguistic aspects of the North American Baptist Bible school story are similar to the Mennonite Bible school story, it is also different in several important respects. For example, unlike the Mennonites, the North American Baptists had a strong tradition of seminary training for the pastoral leaders of their churches.¹³ This tradition shaped the development of the Christian Training Institute in unique ways and helped it to become vital centre of influence in western Canada.

The story of the school's origin and subsequent development contributes to a larger understanding of the Bible school movement in a number of ways. Like most denominational Bible schools, the origin of Christian Training Institute is directly related to the internal affairs of one particular denomination. The school was established to serve a specific constituency located in a particular geographical locale. The immigrants who made up the North American Baptist population in Canada and many other smaller evangelical denominations, including several other Baptist groups, were located almost exclusively on the prairies. Despite the denomination's rich tradition of seminary-based theological education for their pastors and despite the fear on the part of some that a Bible school might be perceived as an alternative (that is, competitive) program of theological training, the idea of a Bible school prevailed in western Canada as one facet of a larger strategy by a denomination concerned about the spiritual formation and denominational integration of their young people. The fact that the school's origin is an integral part of the story of an immigrant community in western Canada provides at least a partial explanation for the disproportionate number of Bible schools in western Canada. Rather than a story about uneducated, anti-intellectual sectarians, it is a story about innovative leaders in a young ethnic immigrant community struggling to guide and control the process of Canadianization of second- and third-generation youth. The school's efforts to diversify its program options in order to meet the educational needs of its

¹³Fred W. Benke, "Early Beginnings and Progress of Baptist Work in Western Canada" (Thesis written for Western Baptist Theological Seminary, 1938), 32. Another German-speaking immigrant group in Alberta involved in the Bible school movement was the Church of God. They started the German Bible Institute (later renamed Alberta Bible Institute and now known as Gardner Bible College) in 1933, which was initially located in Edmonton and later relocated to Camrose, Alberta (see Walter Froese, *Sounding Forth the Gospel on the Prairies: A History of the Church of God Reformation Movement in Western Canada* [Camrose, AB: Gospel Contact Press, 1982]).

young people eventually led it along the path of accreditation, a trend that became more prominent within the Bible school movement during the 1960s.

The story of Christian Training Institute offers a good example of a Bible school that was not established as a fundamentalist reaction to theological liberalism. In fact, ethnic and linguistic differences and strong ties to Rochester Theological Seminary, a theological school at the centre of the Social Gospel movement, meant that, unlike most other Baptist groups in Canada during the first half of the twentieth century, Christian Training Institute and the North American Baptists were largely untouched by the fundamentalist controversies that were so divisive among other English-speaking Baptist groups. In 1946 the school was joined by the Alberta Baptist Bible Academy. Because of its ethnic roots, the school too was uninvolved in the fundamentalist controversies thereby reinforced a pattern within the Bible school movement created by the significant number of schools with strong denominational and ethnic emphases that were not preoccupied with the agenda set by American (or Canadian) fundamentalists.¹⁴

Finally, Christian Training Institute serves as a window through which to observe some of the relational dynamics between a small missionary extension located on the rapidly expanding frontier of the western prairies and its larger, more established denominational counterpart in the United States as well as the broader evangelical Protestant world of western Canada and beyond. The school quickly became an important centre of influence among the North American Baptist immigrants in western Canada. The school simultaneously reflected the strong north-south ties that existed between American denominations and their Canadian missionary extensions, and the tensions that resulted as Christian Training Institute played an important role in the maturation and independence of a young Canadian German-speaking Baptist denomination.

4.3.1 North American Baptist Origins

Most Baptist groups in North America trace their historical roots back to seventeenth-century Non-conformity in England. The North American Baptists in North America, however, trace their roots back to the origin of the Baptist church on the continent of Europe.

¹⁴For a fuller discussion of the presence and character of fundamentalism in western Canada see Chapter Seven.

The initiative for the first German Baptist church began with the conversion of young German-born J.G. Oncken. Employed by a merchant, Oncken had opportunity to travel throughout France, England and Scotland as well as his own country of Germany. His soul-searching ended with his conversion in a Methodist chapel in London. Upon his return, he became convinced of believer's baptism; he, along with his wife and five others, were baptized at Hamburg by an American Baptist professor on a study leave at Halle University in 1834. The small group quickly became known for its aggressive missionary activity.

Shortly afterward, in 1839, Konrad Anton Fleischmann was sent by separatist Pietists as a missionary to work among the Germans in North America. In 1843, he organized the first German Baptist church in Philadelphia, which for many years served as the centre of German Baptist work in America.¹⁵ With the help of English-speaking Baptists in the United States, Fleischmann, along with seven other pastors, organized a German Baptist Conference in 1851.¹⁶ In addition, he began publication of a monthly denominational called *Der Sendbote des Evangeliums* (*The Good News Broadcaster*) and started negotiating an arrangement for ministerial education with Rochester Theological Seminary that proved to be particularly fortuitous for the German Baptists in Canada.

The seminary offered to find a German professor; the person appointed in 1858 was August Rauschenbusch, father of the famous Walter Rauschenbusch, the great prophet of the Social Gospel movement. The elder Rauschenbusch was an important influence in bringing theological consistency to a group that was made up of a range of Russian, German and American influences. The theological training program designed by him was used by the conference for ninety years.¹⁷ During the first half of the twentieth century, most of the pastors in North American Baptist churches in western Canada were trained at Rochester.

The German Baptist work in Canada began in Ontario (Canada West) when a young Lutheran pastor-colporteur named August Rauschenbusch visited Waterloo County ten years

¹⁵The church was called "The German Church of the Lord that meets on Poplar Street."

¹⁶A comparison of German Baptist doctrinal statements reveals the diverse ecclesiastical strands and theological influences that came together to form the German Baptists in North America. The Hamberg Confession, one of the more thorough doctrinal descriptions, reflects a blend of Methodist revivalism, Lutheran pietism and Continental separatism (see David T. Priestley, "Doctrinal Statements of German Baptists in North America," *Foundations* 22 [January 1979]: 70-71).

¹⁷"The Seminary at Rochester," *Baptist Herald*, November 1924, 10-13.

before he became a professor at Rochester. At the time, Rauschenbusch represented the German Department of the American Tract Society and conducted evangelistic services to large groups of German-speaking immigrants gathered in houses, halls and churches.¹⁸ After becoming a Baptist himself in 1851, he helped organize the first German Baptist church in Canada later that same year.¹⁹ The newly-organized group managed to establish an additional fourteen churches by the early 1870s, but after this short period of growth, the small group struggled simply to survive.²⁰ It was eighty years before they managed to organize another congregation.²¹

Prospects for the German Baptists in Canada would have been dismal had German-speaking immigrants from eastern Europe not begun streaming into western Canada during the 1880s. A small German Sunday school was started in the First Baptist Church in Winnipeg as early as 1885 at the prodding of J.B. Eshelmann, a businessman who had moved from Berlin, Ontario.²² Encouraged by the Manitoba Baptist Convention, he began gathering together a small group of Germans in the Winnipeg area. This interest prompted a request to the German Baptist Conference in the United States for a trained, German-speaking pastor. In 1886 F.A. Petereit, a graduate of Rochester Theological Seminary, arrived in Winnipeg from Minneapolis to establish a missionary work among German-speaking immigrants. Petereit organized the first German Baptist congregation in Edenwald, Saskatchewan (near Regina) later that same year. In 1892, Petereit moved still further west where he was involved with a

¹⁸In 1858, he became the first German professor at Rochester Theological Seminary, a position he held for 32 years. During this time he had a hand in directing literally hundreds of students in home and foreign fields (see Charles F. Zummach, "A Bright Star in God's Firmament," *Baptist Herald* [1 June 1942]: 5-6; and "God's Servant in Pioneer Days," *Baptist Herald* [15 June 1942]: 6-7).

¹⁹Edward B. Link, "North American (German) Baptists," in *Baptists in Canada: Search for Identity Amidst Diversity*, ed. Jarold K. Zeman (Burlington, ON: Welch, 1980), 88-89. This is the same year that the first conference of the German Baptists in North America was held in Philadelphia.

²⁰Many of the German Baptist congregations in Ontario joined the English-speaking Ontario and Quebec Convention of Canada during the early 1920s.

²¹The German Baptists began organizing a denominational structure in 1851. Conferences multiplied regionally as the Germans followed the frontier westward. Developments in the story of the German Baptists in Ontario is significantly different than that of the German Baptists in western Canada (see Woyke, *Heritage and Ministry*, 85-132).

²²Reinhold Johannes Kerstan, "Historical Factors in the Formation of the Ethnically Oriented North American Baptist General Conference" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1971), 146.

German Baptist congregation at Rabbit Hill (near Edmonton, Alberta). By the turn of the century, eleven German Baptist churches and two mission stations spread across the prairie provinces had been organized with a total of nearly 500 members.²³

As German-speaking immigrants continued to arrive in western Canada, the German Baptists steadily increased in number, eventually becoming the second-largest Baptist group in the region. Of the five Baptist groups scattered across the prairies, the German Baptists were the most vigorous in establishing churches among the collection of diverse immigrant groups.²⁴ By 1923, German Baptists numbered over 3,000 with thirty-eight congregations in western Canada, most of them located in rural communities.²⁵ Their identity was deeply connected to a sense of responsibility for evangelism and mission.

The German Baptists in western Canada faced a constant series of challenges, not the least of which were the primitive, frontier conditions that made travel and communication difficult. Committed to outreach, but faced with a constant shortage of personnel, the German Baptists initially used two kinds of full-time salaried ministers to plant churches. A colporteur was a Bible, tract and literature salesperson who travelled from farm to farm, house to house, selling books, but used the opportunities for evangelism and organizing Bible study and prayer groups. The second was a *Reiseprediger*, an itinerant missionary responsible for organizing scattered Christians into congregations, and serving isolated churches without pastors.²⁶ The shortage of leaders forced new churches to rely extensively on lay leaders. The

²³ It took longer to establish a German Baptist congregation in Winnipeg because so few of the immigrants stayed in Winnipeg for any length of time, and many of those that did, joined English-speaking churches (Editorial, *The Northwest Baptist* 8, No. 20 [1893]: 2). With the arrival of F. Hoffman in 1906, the Winnipeg congregation began to grow; a new building and parsonage was erected. A "fine orchestra," along with aggressive outreach campaigns including street meetings in three or four languages, helped the church to grow (Benke, "Early Beginnings and Progress of Baptist Work in Western Canada," 38).

²⁴ C.C. McLaurin, *Pioneering in Western Canada: A Story of the Baptists* (Calgary, AB: By the author, 1939), 350. See also David T. Priestley, "The Effect of Baptist 'Home Mission' among Alberta's German Immigrants," in *Memory and Hope: Strands of Canadian Baptist History*, ed. David T. Priestley (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1996), 55.

²⁵ Benke, "Early Beginnings and Progress of Baptist Work in Western Canada," 39.

²⁶ David T. Priestley, "Planting Churches in Alberta, 1890-1920," *Baptist Herald*, November 1990, 6-7. Priestley outlines the general pattern used by groups to establish a congregation: services usually began in a private home and gradually a more complex organization would emerge often including a choir, Sunday school, women's missionary fellowship and young people's society.

small denomination gradually increased in numbers as German immigrants continued to settle in western Canada exacerbating the need for leadership personnel.

As the number of students in the German department at Rochester increased, churches in western Canada benefited from the presence of student pastors during the summer. As graduates became more numerous, many newly-organized churches began calling their own pastors. After 1910, virtually all the pastors serving in Alberta were alumni of the German Department of Rochester Theological Seminary.²⁷ It was almost the singular source of pastoral candidates among the North American Baptists during the first half of the twentieth century, which accounts for the considerable degree of uniformity and cohesiveness within the denomination.

As the number of churches grew, choices about organization and affiliation had to be made. These were particularly difficult because the North American Baptist churches had fraternal relations with both the nearby English-speaking Baptist Union of Western Canada²⁸ and with the more geographically distant German Baptist Conference in the United States, which had its own ties with English-speaking Baptists in America. Financial support came from both bodies with it came pressure for more formal, organic ties. The English-speaking Baptists in western Canada openly anticipated the day when the German-speaking Baptists would be fully assimilated, despite the express desire on the part of the group to retain the use of their *Muttersprache* (mother tongue).²⁹ The question of affiliation lingered for several

²⁷The need for personnel prompted Dr. McDiarmid, president of Brandon College, to extend an invitation in 1909 to the Northern Conference to place a German professor on the Brandon faculty (only two years earlier Brandon had established a Swedish department with the appointment of Emil Lindquist). The negative response on the part of the Germans helped solidify their eventual alignment with the American body in 1919. The divide between English and German-speaking Baptists in Canada prompted H.H. Walsh to speculate erroneously that the German-speaking Baptists were part of a fundamentalist reaction against modernist tendencies at Brandon College (see *The Christian Church in Canada* [Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1956], 62). As Edward Link argues, the differences had more to do with polity and language than with doctrine (see "North American [German] Baptists," 95-96).

²⁸The influence of people such as Alexander Grant, pastor of Winnipeg's First Baptist Church in the late 1890s, and C.C. McLaurin, missionary-at-large and superintendent of the bodies that preceded the formation of the Baptist Union of Western Canada from 1901-1926, prompted English-speaking Canadian Baptists to support the work of the German, Swedish and Ukrainian Baptists despite the absence of an organic union.

²⁹The English-speaking Baptist movement in Canada had its roots in the Great Awakening in Nova Scotia during the late-eighteenth century. The first Baptist missionary initiatives among German-speaking immigrants shared the common assumption among anglophone nineteenth-century evangelical

decades, but the pattern set by both Rauschenbusch and Petereit helped the German Baptists in western Canada prefer closer ties to their ethnic and linguistic counterparts in the United States than to their fellow English-speaking Baptists in Canada.³⁰ Led by congregations in Alberta,³¹ the German Baptist churches in western Canada formed their own association in 1900 within the larger Northwestern Conference of the German Baptist Conference that included the Dakotas, Montana, Minnesota and Wisconsin; two years later the Canadians created their own Northern Conference.³² Again in 1918, the German Baptists declined another invitation to join the Baptist Union of Western Canada. Although fraternal relations continued, leaders in the Northern Conference believed that the American German Baptist Conference was better equipped (and financed) than the Baptist Union of Western Canada to help them both with financial support and in the provision of pastoral leaders.³³

Difficulties for the German Baptists were heightened by the hostilities of a world war involving as the major enemy the country speaking their language. Not only did World War

Protestants that the missionary task included an expectation of assimilation. The English-speaking Baptist Union of Western Canada was thankful to have the German-speaking Baptists present in the region. It was taken for granted that non-Anglo immigrants would readily assimilate, especially as they became part of North American churches. At the outset, no one thought that support for a separate ministry to German-speaking immigrants would lead to a new Baptist denomination. The support for the German Baptists was a temporary, pragmatic necessity in order to reach first-generation immigrants, after which they expected all to become part of the larger anglophone Baptist Union of Western Canada. In 1897, Rev. G.B. Davies reported to the English Mission Society: "They are coming. . . . In a generation or two there will be no German spoken in the West. The one system of national schools and the all devouring English tongue will make all Canadians speak the English language. Our German work is full of denominational promise" (*Baptist Year Book* [1896-1897], 167; cited in Link, "North American [German] Baptists," 92; see also Frank H. Woyke, *Heritage and Ministry of the North American Baptist Conference* [Oakbrook Terrace, IL: North American Baptist Conference, 1976], 293-294).

³⁰Despite its ambitious aspirations, Harris observes that the Baptist Union of Western Canada was too young and too limited in resources to help the German Baptists in the way the American German Baptists were able to (*The Baptist Union of Western Canada: A Centennial History, 1873-1973* [St. John, NB: Lingley Printing Co., Ltd., 1976], 177).

³¹A critical mass of German Baptists settled in an arc forty to sixty kilometres west to southwest of Edmonton. By the mid-1940s the North American Baptists had become one of the largest evangelical Protestant groups in Alberta (*Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955], 30-31).

³²Woyke, *Heritage and Ministry*, 263-264.

³³See Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 321-322. A similar decision was made by the Canadian Swedish Baptist churches who also opted to join the American Swedish Baptists instead of the Baptist Union of Western Canada (Harris, *The Baptist Union of Western Canada*, 184).

One bring the influx of German-speaking immigrants to an abrupt halt for a time, but the suspicion and even hysteria that accompanied the war also increased the pressure on the German-speaking immigrants to assimilate. This process was well underway among the young people who had attended English public schools and within those churches that had begun to emulate their Canadian Baptist counterparts in the use of Sunday schools and young people's societies. Many young people in North American Baptist congregations began demanding an English language program of their own; in fact, the young people of the denomination created their own organization as well as their own periodical, called the *Baptist Herald*, in 1923. Leaders, whose task had been made worse by a major drought and economic depression during the 1930s, faced the dilemma of remaining German and looking forward to the gradual disintegration of the Conference or else turning to the use of the English language.

However, after World War One and again after World War Two, immigration resumed and successive waves of new German-speaking immigrants began to arrive, thereby repeatedly reinforcing the ethnic and linguistic distinctives of the North American Baptists.³⁴ Baptist leaders such as F.A. Bloedow and E.P. Wahl worked together with the railways in coordinating colonization schemes that would help German settlers land in the vicinity of their churches.³⁵ As a result of such schemes and the intentional seeking out of German-speaking settlers, the North American Baptists earned a reputation as one of the more aggressive and successful groups in establishing churches on the prairies. The group's numbers in the west expanded from 2,000 to 5,000 in the six years after 1926. By 1939, the group had started forty-eight churches in western Canada and had baptized more than 4,500 people.³⁶ Following World War Two, they started another twenty-three largely as a result of

³⁴The immigrants were seen by many North American Baptists as a new audience. At least twenty-three new churches were started by the denomination as a result of the immigration that took place after World War Two (William J.H. Sturhahn, *They Came From the East and West: A History of Immigration to Canada* [Winnipeg, MB: North American Baptist Immigration and Colonization Society, 1976], 289-298). This number does not indicate the impact on those small congregations that grew to substantial size, or take into consideration the congregations lost to the English-speaking Canadian Baptists.

³⁵McLaurin, *Pioneering in Western Canada*, 347.

³⁶McLaurin, *Pioneering in Western Canada*, 350.

immigration.³⁷

The infusion of German culture and language brought by the newly-arrived German-speaking immigrants resulted in tensions between the immigrants and the second- and third-generation young people who had begun to lose the language of their parents and wanted at least some services in English. It became a challenge to keep the young people, many of whom had been born and raised in Canada and preferred the use of English, within the church.³⁸ This exacerbated the dilemma of leaders who were forced to choose between their American counterparts and the English-speaking Baptists in western Canada. The decision to stay with the American Baptists did not please everyone. Many individuals did join the English-speaking congregations attended by their English-speaking neighbours, and some North American Baptist congregations joined the English-speaking Baptist Union of Western Canada.³⁹ The story of Christian Training Institute's origins is largely about concerns for the spiritual well-being of their young people and leaders in churches during this time of transition.

4.3.2 North American Baptist Winter Bible Schools in Western Canada

As was the case for many denominational Bible schools, the permanent establishment of Christian Training Institute in Edmonton was preceded by several decades of discussions and short, church-based courses. The bulk of these itinerant schools took place during the decade of the 1930s, coinciding with Bible school initiatives on the part of many other groups across the prairies. The cumulative effort that these schools represented reflects the growing concern for their young people--approximately 1,800 attended one of these schools. These varied efforts spread across western Canada, led eventually to the construction of a permanent campus in Edmonton in 1939.

³⁷Sturhahn, *They Came from East and West*, 219.

³⁸Woyke, *Heritage and Ministry*, 281. Although some who preferred the English language were advised to seek fellowship in other conventions, many were encouraged to stay in order to serve as a bridge in the assimilation of new immigrants (Woyke, *Heritage and Ministry*, 293).

³⁹The North American Baptists also faced competition from the Seventh Day Adventists and Pentecostals who occasionally "raided" their members. Internal disagreements between people from different national and differing theological emphases who tried to work together were sometimes a contributing factor in losses (Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 314).

The idea of a Bible school for the North American Baptist churches of western Canada first appears in the minutes of the Northern Conference in 1908.⁴⁰ The idea emerges as part of a discussion about how to train new leaders who would be prepared to take over leadership from the pioneer generation. The only tangible outcome at the time, however, was an admonition to youth organizations to include leadership training as part of their program. Nevertheless a seed was planted in the minds of many.⁴¹

The concern for their young people intensified as the number of German-speaking immigrants diminished prior to World War One, and as the second- and third-generation became increasingly bilingual. As early as 1913, William Kuhn was elected to devote his time primarily to youth and Sunday school work. After only three years, he became the general missionary secretary in 1916 with no one to succeed him in youth work.

The idea of a small-scale Bible school surfaced again in 1918 at the meetings of the southern Alberta and southwestern Saskatchewan association. An enthusiastic student-pastor proposed the concept of Christian training institutes that might benefit young people who could not attend public high schools. By offering courses during the winter months when many young people had time, these classes could serve as a religious supplement to the education received in public schools.⁴² From his vantage point as general missionary secretary, Kuhn reported in 1922: "For years it has been clear that we must win, keep and train our young people if we are to have strong churches in the future."⁴³ In response to Kuhn's plea for help, the denomination organized the Young People's and Sunday School Worker's Union in 1922. Frank Woyke observes that "it would be difficult to estimate the importance of this organization in conserving the young people for the denomination and in

⁴⁰Eventually four regional units known as associations were organized within the Northern Conference. The tentative plan for a German "*Missionsschule*" grew out a promise made by Baron von Uxkull (see Link, "North American [German] Baptists," 93ff).

⁴¹Priestley, "For God and Truth: Historical Sketch of CTI/NABC/EBS (Jubilee History)," Unpublished paper, 1990, 1.

⁴²Priestley, "For God and Truth: Historical Sketch of CTI/NABC/EBS (Jubilee History)," 1.

⁴³Cited in Woyke, *Heritage and Ministry*, 298.

assisting in the transition from the German to the English language."⁴⁴ The Bible school emerged as one initiative within a larger strategy of ministry to the young people of the church by which the church tried both to guide the process of Canadianization and to prepare young people for leadership within an increasingly bilingual, even anglophone, church.

Although the initial proposal for a *Missionsschule* did not come to fruition, in 1923 the persistent E.P. Wahl led three Northern Conference churches in organizing a series of short courses at Leduc, Alberta, the location of the largest churches in the conference, for the German-speaking youth in the region. Additional English language institutes were conducted in subsequent years in a number of other North American Baptist churches. These were well received and, together with the growing sense of urgent concern for their young people, led to a more organized and intentional plan that was designed to contribute to "the mental and spiritual culture" of the young people of the Northern Conference.⁴⁵ Wahl's program resembled the more formal institutes organized occasionally by young people's societies in the United States during the early decades of the twentieth century.⁴⁶ In addition to being opportunities for young people to socialize, these short (often one-week or less) conferences were designed to encourage the spiritual growth of young people and to train them for service within church Sunday school programs.⁴⁷

Plans for a permanent institution took a step forward in 1929 as the Northern Conference adopted a plan to hold four-week Bible schools in each of its four regional associations (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Central Alberta-Saskatchewan and Alberta) to supplement the occasional provincial youth rallies that had begun during the 1920s.⁴⁸ Based

⁴⁴Woyke, *Heritage and Ministry*, 299. Another initiative directed towards the emerging generation was the *Baptist Herald*, which started as a youth paper in 1923. It quickly became a rival to *Der Sendbote* as the denominational paper.

⁴⁵Cited in Ernest K. Pasiciel, "The Sociocultural Transformation of the North American Baptist Conference," in *Memory and Hope: Strands of Canadian Baptist History*, ed. David T. Priestley (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1996), 70.

⁴⁶See "The Story of Our Institute," *Baptist Herald*, October 1923.

⁴⁷See the description of an early Institute held in Winnipeg with a number of Rochester faculty members present (*Baptist Herald* [15 July 1926]: 15).

⁴⁸The first North American Baptist *Jugendbunds* or Young People's Societies in western Canada were organized during the 1920s.

on the experience of the earlier “institutes,” these winter Bible schools were closely tied to the activities of the newly organized *Jugendbunds* or young people’s societies.⁴⁹ Every year a church within each association was expected to host a Bible school for all the other North American Baptist churches in the area. Although they took some time to get organized, winter schools were operating regularly in each of the prairie provinces by the mid-1930s. This strategy, which took theological education to the people, was particularly well-suited for the economic conditions in western Canada at the time.

Although the obligations of hosting a school were sometimes considerable, the congregations in which the schools were held frequently experienced a spirit of revival.⁵⁰ Despite the harsh winter conditions that sometimes made attendance difficult, the schools were scheduled during the winter months because of the availability of the young people during this season. During the day, courses in Bible, Baptist history, Sunday school teaching, public speaking, instrumental and vocal music, conducting and devotional life were taught by pastors from participating churches and guest lecturers; occasionally a professor from Rochester would teach a short course. Evenings were devoted to evangelistic meetings in surrounding churches at which instructors preached and the young people sang, played and testified.⁵¹ The total number of students at these local church institutes often reached fifty to sixty, with classes lasting anywhere from three to fourteen weeks in duration (see Table 4.1).⁵² Early on, A.P. Mihm, General Secretary of the Young People’s and Sunday School Workers Union and editor of the *Baptist Herald*, reported:

Our Canadian churches are wise in arranging these Bible schools. They are capable of expansion from their encouraging beginnings. Who can measure the results of a trained corps of devoted young people in our churches in the days to come? Pastors are testifying to good results which have already come.

⁴⁹Note for example, that the first Bible school in Leduc in 1929 was sponsored by the Young People’s and Sunday School Workers Union (*Baptist Herald* [15 January 1929]).

⁵⁰The desire to host a Bible school occasionally resulted in conflict between churches (see comments in “Our Bible Schools in Alberta,” *Baptist Herald* [01 March 1931]: 12).

⁵¹Priestley, “The Effect of Baptist ‘Home Mission’ among Alberta’s German Immigrants,” 63. Evangelistic efforts were directed not only towards guests attending the special evening services, but also at the students themselves. It is not uncommon to read reports of students becoming Christians at such services.

⁵²McLaurin, *Pioneering in Western Canada*, 351.

It is noteworthy that young men have been in the majority in all these schools. That is also a good sign. We need leaders. These schools can be feeders to our Seminary and other schools of training. This has been the case in a marked degree with the Swedish Baptists of Alberta in the past years.⁵³

The wisdom of this decision was echoed repeatedly by Arthur A. Schade who travelled from Pittsburgh in the dead of winter several times during the early 1930s to participate in these schools. The economic depression made the prospect of finding the financial resources for a permanent school impossible. The multiple local church schools were a strategy by which training was made accessible to young people.⁵⁴ Even the nominal cost of two dollars per week in 1931 was a factor prohibiting some from attending. Schade nevertheless urged to the denomination to see these schools as "ripe opportunities" if only the means could be found to realize them: "If the means were provided to conduct the schools . . . what a wonderful difference it would make in the quality of their church work in years to come."⁵⁵

The language used for instruction in the winter Bible schools was primarily English. This helped facilitate linguistic transitions within bilingual churches and legitimize the use of the English language within the denomination. Although these winter Bible schools were primarily designed to train laypeople--both men and women--the ongoing presence of seminary faculty and denominational leaders who challenged many of the men to enter pastoral ministry accelerated the emergence of Canadian-born leaders within the denomination. For several years during the 1930s there were more students at Rochester Seminary from the Northern Conference than from any other conference. By 1939 more than eighty North American Baptist men from western Canada had attended Rochester Seminary--this from a group that only had 5500 members at the time. Sixty of these men went into pastoral

⁵³*Baptist Herald*, 1 March 1930, 12.

⁵⁴The school held at Hilda, Alberta in 1931 cut the fees from \$2 to \$1, which resulted in thirteen additional students (*Baptist Herald*, 15 April 1931).

⁵⁵"The Bible School in Wetaskiwin," *Baptist Herald*, 1 March 1932, 6. By the late 1930s, additional reasons were being offered to promote the church Bible schools. In a public lecture on "The Influence of the Bible Schools," Rev. A. Reeh "stressed the necessity of Bible schools because the public schools do not offer any compulsory courses in religion, and the Sunday School teaching is not sufficient to give our youth a fair understanding of the most important science, the science of God" (*Baptist Herald*, 15 August 1937, 254). In addition, a growing number of North American Baptist young people began attending the more established transdenominational schools (*Baptist Herald*, 15 May 1937, 157).

ministry.⁵⁶

The North American Baptists in Alberta often led other associations by example in the way they organized their winter schools. They were the first to expand the program to six weeks and then eventually to ten weeks; they introduced more formal examinations for students; they designed a multi-year curriculum for returning students; they generally managed to collect a larger group of faculty; on several occasions the North American

<i>Year</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Key Personnel</i>	<i>Students</i>	<i>Sources</i>
1929 - Jan/Feb	Leduc, AB	Mihm, Appel, Wahl, Benke, Potzner, Thole	29	BH Jan 15/29; Apr 15/29
1929 - Nov/Dec	Morris, MB	Mihm, Schroeder	23	BH Mar 1/30
1930 - Jan	Wetaskiwin, AB	Mihm, Schade, Benke, Kraemer, Potzner, Ittermann	43	BH Mar 1/30
1930 - Feb	Nokomis, SK	Mihm, Schade, Kepl, Fuxa, Luebeck	23	BH Mar 1/30
1930 - Feb	Hilda, AB	Schade, Palfenier, Schatz	30	BH Mar 1/30; May 1/30
1931 - Jan	Freudental, AB ⁵⁷	Mihm, Wahl, Ittermann	77	BH Mar 1/31
1931 - Jan/Feb	Wiesental, AB	Mihm, Thole, Benke	32	BH Mar 1/31
1931 - Feb	Hilda, AB	Schade, local pastor	43	BH Apr 15/31
1931 - Jan	Nokomis, SK			BH Mar 15/32
1932 - Jan	Wetaskiwin, AB	Wahl, Benke, Ittermann, Schade	65	BH Mar 1/32
1932 - Jan/Feb	Rosenfeld, SK	Mihm, Weinbender, Schatz	45	BH Mar 15/32
1932 - Jan/Feb	Nokomis, SK	Mihm, Felberg	16	BH Mar 15/32
1932 - Feb/Mar	Freudental, AB	Ittermann, Bertsch	68	BH May 1/32
1932 - Oct/Nov	Yorkton, SK	Schroeder	14	BH Mar 1/33
1933 - Jan/Feb	Trochu, AB	Wahl, Koester, McLaurin, Kujath, Klatt, Roberts, et al.	45	BH Feb 15/33; Apr 1/33
1933 - Jan	Hilda, AB	Bloedow, Weinbender, Schatz	38	BH Feb 15/33
1933 - Jan	Ebenezer, SK	Jessop, Muth, Schroeder	28	BH Feb 15/33
1933 - Mar	Southey, SK	Kayser, Felberg, Kepl	18	BH May 15/33
1934 - Nov/Jan	Freudental, AB	Ittermann	49	BH Jan 15/34
1934 - Feb	Nokomis, SK ⁵⁸	Schroeder, Bloedow, Kepl, Felberg	16	BH Apr 01/34
1934 - Jan/Mar	Wetaskiwin, AB ⁵⁹	Benke, Mihm, Ittermann, Daum, Kujath, Kraemer, et al.	53	BH Feb 15/34; Apr 15/34
1934 - Nov	Serath, SK	Schroeder, Bibelheimer	20	BH Jan 15/35
1934 - Nov	Nokomis, SK	Schoeder, Bibelheimer		BH Jan 15/35
1935 - Jan	Southey, SK	Bibelheimer	14	BH Mar 1/35
1935 - Feb	Hilda, AB	Bloedow, Fiesel, Weinbender, Mentz	40+	BH Apr 15/35
1935 - Winter	Winnipeg, MB ⁶⁰		35	BH Mar 15/36
1935 - Jan/Mar	Wetaskiwin, AB	Heinrichs, Benke, Schatz, Jacksteit, Klatt		BH Apr 1/35; May 1/35
1935 - Nov	Forestburg, AB	Schatz	14	BH Jan 15/36

⁵⁶McLaurin, *Pioneering in Western Canada*, 351; see also Link, "North America (German) Baptists, 99.

⁵⁷Sponsored by the Young People's and Sunday School Worker's Union of the Northern Conference.

⁵⁸Sometimes called the Saskatchewan Tri-Union Bible School.

⁵⁹Variously called the German Baptist Bible School of Alberta or the Alberta Bible School.

⁶⁰This is the first German Baptist Bible school in Manitoba.

1936 - Jan/Feb	Nokomis, SK	Bibelheimer, Rosner, Leuschner, Schroeder	17	BH March 15/36
1936 - Feb	Whitemouth, MB	Leuschner, Bloedow, Mittelstedt, Bonikowsky	22	BH March 15/36
1936 - Jan/Feb	Camrose, AB	Schatz, Jacksteit,	23	BH Apr 15/36
1936 - Feb	Olds, AB	Jacksteit, Thole	21	BH Apr 1/36
1936 - Oct	Bethel, AB	Beutler, Schatz, Kujath, Thole	27	BH Jan 15/37
1936 - Nov	Morris, MB	Leuschner, Mittelstedt	21	BH Jan 1/37
1936 - Nov/Dec	Rabbit Hill, AB	Schatz	12	BH Mar 1/37
1937 - Jan/Feb	Leduc, AB ⁶¹	Leuschner, Kraemer, Rutsch, Benke, Beutler, Schatz	45	BH Mar 1/37: BH Mar 15/37
1937 - Feb	Ebenezer, SK	Schatz, Reeh, Katzberg, Rosner, Leuschner	45	BH Apr 1/37
1937 - Feb/Mar	Southey, SK	Weinbender, Reeh, Leuschner	25	BH Apr 1/37
1937 - Mar	Winnipeg, MB	Felberg, Leuschner	21	BH Apr 1/37: BH May 1/37
1937 - Mar	Olds, AB	Beutler, Thole, Unger	42	BH May 1/37
1937 - July	Craigmoyle, AB	Kujath, Kujath		BH Sep 15/37
1937 - Nov	Morris, MB	Wahl, Mittelstedt	36	BH Nov 15/37: BH Dec 15/37
1937 - Nov/Dec	Olds, AB	Wahl, Fiesel, Beutler, Thole, Unger	18	BH Jan 15/38
1938 - Feb	Yorkton, SK	Wahl, Kuehn, Rosner, Rempel, Katzberg	32	BH Apr 15/38
1938 - Jan	Leduc, AB	Wahl, Gutsche, Kraemer, Benke, Schatz	50	BH Mar 15/38
1938 - Nov	Morris, MB	Wahl, Leuschner	81	BH Jan 01/39
1939 - Jan/Mar	Leduc, AB	Wahl, Meyer, Benke, Schatz, McLaurin, Kraemer, et al.		BH Dec 01/38
1941 - Mar	Southey, SK	Kujath, Leuschner, Wegner, Weisser	19	BH May 01/41
1941 - Mar	Ebenezer, SK	Stein, Wiens, Schilke, Daum, Leuschner, Neufeld	40	BH May 01/41
1941 - Nov	Minitonas, MB	Husmann, Patzia, Neufeld, Schilke	42	BH Jan 15/42
1941 - Dec	Morris, MB	Husmann, Schatz		BH Feb 15/42: Feb 15/43
1942 - Mar	Ebenezer, SK	Husmann		BH May 01/42
1943 - Jan	Freudenthal, AB	Rempel, Neufeld, Fenske,	38	BH Mar 01/43
1944 - Feb	Ebenezer, SK	Wegner	25	BH Apr 01/44
1945 - Jan/Feb	Ebenezer, SK	Gunst, Beutler, Neufeld,	32	BH Apr 01/45
1946 - Jan	Carbon, AB	Leuschner, Wegner	28	BH Mar 01/46
1947 - Feb	Minitonas, MB	Kornalewski, Dymmel, Kannwischer	35	BH Apr 15/47
1948 - Jan	Minitonas, MB	Kornalewski, Fuchs, Kraemer, Sturhahn	70	BH Apr 01/48
1949 - Jan	Minitonas, MB	Kornalewski, Kannwischer, Milbrandt, Marak	51	BH Apr 15/49

Table 4.1 North American Baptist Winter Bible Schools

Baptists in Alberta received permission to use a building in Wetaskiwin, which the Swedish Baptists had purchased for similar purposes during the 1920s. (This cooperation helped pave the way for a more formal merger in 1946.) Notable also was their integration of “outreach” as an integral part of the Bible school experience. In 1935, student groups accompanied faculty members to neighbouring churches and even a nearby Indian reserve.⁶² To a large extent, these innovations were due to the appointment in 1933 of F.W. Benke, a pastor in Wetaskiwin, as the principal organizer and “dean” of Bible schools in Alberta.

4.3.3 A Permanent Campus in Edmonton, Alberta

It is not surprising, then, to see the impetus for a permanent school coming from the

⁶¹Sometimes called the Alberta Tri-Union Bible School.

⁶²“Missionary Incidents in Connection with the Alberta Bible School in Canada,” *Baptist Herald*, 1 April 1935, 106.

North American Baptists in Alberta. The success of the winter schools scattered throughout the prairies resulted in the full-time appointment of E.P. Wahl as the director of Northern Conference Bible schools in 1937. Discussions about a more formal course of study and a permanent location for a Bible school as part of an overall strategy for ministering to young people resulted from his appointment. Wahl's energy and vision led to the purchase of land in the southern part of Edmonton, Alberta. The choice of Edmonton as the location for a permanent school reflected both the critical mass of North American Baptists in this part of the province and their interest in Bible schools, as well as the gradual transition of Baptist activity from smaller rural communities to the ever-growing cities in western Canada. Edmonton's reputation was growing as an industrial and political hub and as the "gateway to the north." During the 1940s, Edmonton was one of the most rapidly expanding cities in western Canada, doubling its population within a decade.⁶³

Despite the lingering effects of the depression that left many with little extra cash, construction of a permanent residential campus began in earnest in the spring of 1939 after more than \$13,000 in cash was raised to purchase materials. Most of the construction work was done by volunteers. By the end of the year, the campus facilities of the Christian Training Institute had become a reality. With the construction of a permanent school, the course of study was extended in length and attention was given to the development of permanent faculty and library facilities. The school's stated purpose was the "increasing in Bible knowledge, training kingdom workers, developing Christian character and promoting evangelistic and missionary interest" among North American Baptist young people.⁶⁴ Classes began in January 1940 with a near capacity thirty-seven students in attendance, representing twenty churches.⁶⁵ E.P. Wahl, the first president, and F.W. Benke, both of whom had been

⁶³The population of Edmonton almost doubled in the ten years between 1941 to 1951, increasing from 94,000 to 177,000, making it the second largest city on the prairies. By 1961, Edmonton numbered 338,000. The leaders of the Christian Training Institute were well aware of the strategic significance of their location (see "Further Development of our Denominational Educational Program Through the Reorganization of the CTI Educational Ministry," c. 1955, NABCA).

⁶⁴"Constitution of the Christian Training Institute," in *Northern Conference Minutes, 1933-1955*, 136, NABCA.

⁶⁵Not all churches in the Northern Conference immediately sent their young people to Edmonton for training; some of the more distant churches continued to organize their own institutes for their young people throughout the 1940s (see Table 4.1). The planning of these depended partly on the initiative of the

involved in the winter Bible schools from the outset, were the only salaried instructors.⁶⁶ Looking back at this moment, E.B. Link, the first chairman of the board, notes that “much of the wisdom, spirit, and lessons learned from the local Bible schools was brought over to guide and set the tone for the new school.”⁶⁷ In keeping with the general perception among the North American Baptists that the Northern Conference was a missionary extension of the larger, more established, American conference, the school was initially sponsored by, and then in 1943 officially placed under, the auspices of the General Missionary Society of the denomination. Christian Training Institute emerges on the denominational scene at about the same time as negotiations were taking place to move the denominational seminary program from Rochester, New York to Sioux Falls, South Dakota, a transition that did eventually take place in 1949. Because of the suspicion that the new Canadian school might become competitive with the North American Baptist Seminary in Sioux Falls, Christian Training Institute was not initially adopted as a denominational school, but rather remained a missions project of the Northern Conference.

In addition to the many internal needs which prompted Wahl, Benke and others to forge ahead with a Bible school project, there was in the background an external reality that added pressure to denominational leaders for finding ways of keeping their youth within the denomination. The perceived need among the North American Baptists for their own, permanent residential school was prompted in part by the shadow of influence cast by the attraction of other Bible schools in Alberta. Those who were involved in the deliberations about establishing a permanent Bible school as part of the Allgemeine Missionskomitee of the Northern Conference pointed both towards the impossibility of expecting one person (E.P. Wahl) to direct all of the winter Bible schools run by the North American Baptists across western Canada and, more importantly, to the fact that many denominations in Alberta

local pastor and the availability of seminary or denominational personnel.

⁶⁶Also making a considerable contribution behind the scene was Mrs. E.P. Wahl, who helped as “matron,” as cook in the kitchen and as the teacher of an occasional course (for example, gymnastics); later their daughter worked as the school secretary for years.

⁶⁷E.B. Link, “CTI’s First Quarter Century,” *Baptist Herald*, 22 April 1965, 5.

were much further advanced in establishing schools of their own.⁶⁸ Well-known throughout Alberta was Prairie Bible Institute in Three Hills and Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute in Calgary. The radio broadcasts by both L.E. Maxwell and William Aberhart helped establish a public persona for both leaders and publicized the work of their respective institutions.⁶⁹

Some years later, A.S. Felberg, the school's second president, repeated a refrain commonly used by denominational leaders articulating their frustration at the influence of these schools: "Through the years many of our young people have gone to nondenominational, interdenominational schools to receive their training. By and large these young people have been lost to our own work or come back indifferent to the Cause that is so near and dear to our hearts. . . . We covet our own fine young people for our own denominational work and ministry."⁷⁰

Many reasons converged to convince denominational leaders that a Bible school would be a useful strategy not only for training their young people for work in the church as laypeople, but also for conserving their own institutional and denominational identity.

The year 1947 was significant for Christian Training Institute for at least two reasons. First, the school was joined by the Alberta Baptist Bible Academy, a Bible school started in 1925 by the Swedish Baptists in Wetaskiwin.⁷¹ The Swedish Baptists never numbered more

⁶⁸"Die Ursache und den Zweck einer Bibelschule." c.1938, NABCA. The committee identified nine denominations that had their own schools in Alberta and two transdenominational schools.

⁶⁹Aberhart's experimentation with radio led him to become one of Canada's most prominent pioneers in religious broadcasting. The audience of his regular broadcast on CFCN, a powerful radio station that identified itself as the "Voice of the Prairies," was estimated at 350,000 listeners.

⁷⁰A.S. Felberg to pastors and members of the North American Baptist Fellowship, 30 May 1960, NABCA. The North American Baptists were not alone in their concern. In his initial report, the first principal of Baptist Leadership Training School noted that more than eighty Baptist Union of Western Canada young people had attended non-Baptist schools in the previous three years with most of them in full-time service for other groups as a result (Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 437). The Regular Baptists similarly complained about the "insufficient" teaching of those who had attended "undenominational institutions" (see G.R. Dawe, "A Challenge to Young People," *The Western Regular Baptist* 13 [October 1951]: 4).

⁷¹Initially the school offered only a six-week course of instruction in Bible, Missions, Sunday School work and evangelism. In 1933, the school lengthened its term to nine weeks. In 1937, it opened a high school and a dormitory was constructed. Offering residential services was relatively rare during the 1930s. During the early 1940s, the Baptist Union of Western Canada offered a degree of support to the school prior to the inauguration of their own school in Calgary in 1949. In addition to the factors mentioned above, the decision to merge was precipitated by the decision of the recently appointed principal, Dr. A.T. Pearson, to accept a job at Bethel Seminary (Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 433-434).

than 2,000 in Alberta, and therefore did not have the critical mass of members necessary to support a school, partly because they had not benefited to the same degree from immigration as had the North American Baptists. The merger brought an increase to Christian Training Institute's library collection, an addition of several faculty members, along with a number of students. The Swedish Baptists were also permitted to place several people on the governing board.⁷² While this merger changed the ethnic demographics of the school for a time, it did not change the overall North American Baptist ethos. The two Baptist groups had much in common and the relationship between the two groups had always been amiable. This was exemplified on numerous occasions during the 1930s when the North American Baptists used the facilities of the Swedish Baptist school to run their own winter Bible schools. The Swedish Baptists remained a part of the school for about a decade.

The merger with Alberta Baptist Bible Academy, the return of men from World War Two whose educational plans had been interrupted by war and a new influx of immigrants resulted in a succession of years with record enrolments during the late 1940s. The demand for larger, more suitable facilities, was a regular challenge throughout Wahl's eighteen-year presidency as he initiated a series of campaigns to help finance the ongoing series of capital projects.⁷³

Second, in 1947 Christian Training Institute was officially adopted as a denominational school. This heightened status enhanced its credibility throughout the denomination and students began to arrive from the United States. The new status brought a measure of stability to the financial picture of the school, which was fortuitous in view of the financial struggles that prompted the closure of more than forty-five Bible schools in western Canada during the 1940s and 1950s. But more importantly, leaders at the school were now required to think more internationally; this paved the way for many of the curricular adjustments during the 1950s. The changing needs of the denomination prompted a variety of different

⁷²According to E.P. Wahl, the Swedish Baptists were never very active on the board (E.P. Wahl to Board of Trustees, 6 December 1950, NABCA). In reading Wahl's correspondence one gets the sense that the union of the two schools was more of a takeover than a merger. Wahl continued to see Christian Training Institute as a North American Baptist school, albeit one that must now make some special arrangements for Swedish Baptist students.

⁷³See for example, Wahl's appeal "Expanding in the Name of the Lord," *Christian Training Institute Promoter* (1952-1953), 8-9.

programs and institutional relationships.

4.3.4 Christian Training Institute's Curriculum and Programs

The curriculum offered by Christian Training Institute was in a constant state of refinement during its first two decades. This reflects the school's intense interest in serving first the regional, and then later the national, educational needs of the denomination, and the struggle on the part of the denominational leaders to adjust to transitions taking place both within the denomination as well in the surrounding culture. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that within a decade the Bible-centred emphasis on training laypeople as church workers gave way to a more diversified and more academic range of educational options. The school felt the symbiotic tension between finding innovative ways to meet more of the continuing educational needs of its constituency and attracting sufficient numbers of students in order to remain financially viable.

The first catalogue promised students a program that would combine a thorough knowledge of the Bible with "practical training" that would then "send forth better equipt [sic] workers in our Sunday Schools, Young People's Societies, daily vacation Bible Schools, and in church activities in general." The new school was to be an environment that would be "evangelistic in spirit, missionary in motive, practical in training, living for Jesus, and serving fellow-man."⁷⁴ The early curriculum, which could be completed in four years, included a comprehensive study of the Bible supplemented by various courses in missions, church history, music, etiquette, science (physiology, astronomy, geology, biology) and languages (English and German).⁷⁵ No tuition was charged for the Bible school program and the nominal fee of \$2.50 per week for "Board, lodging and laundry" made it possible for students to attend.⁷⁶

⁷⁴*Christian Training Institute Catalogue* (1940). The first constitution stated the school's purpose as "increasing in Bible knowledge, training Kingdom workers, developing Christian character and promoting evangelistic and missionary interest" ("Constitution of the Christian Training Institute," 1943, NABCA).

⁷⁵Bible courses consistently made up between forty and fifty percent of the curriculum.

⁷⁶Although high school students were charged tuition almost from the outset, Bible school students were not charged tuition until 1960. By that time, however, "board, room and laundry" costs had increased to \$10 per week. In addition, students were expected to contribute by participating, without pay,

In addition to the regular twenty-four week (October to April) Bible school program, special evening courses were offered for those employed during the day. Over the years, well over a hundred students attended. For several years during the early 1940s, the school offered a "combined Bible and commercial" program. Students benefited from the Christian environment of the Bible school and had access both to some Bible classes at Christian Training Institute and the accounting and secretarial programs offered by the neighbouring Alberta College. Even though the program extended into the early 1950s, only about twenty students participated in this arrangement.

An integral part of the Bible school program for all students was "practical service," which took many different forms including hospital visitation, services in jails, participation as volunteers at rescue missions and programs on Indian reservations. Local churches, too, gave opportunities for students to serve as Sunday school teachers, to participate in child evangelism classes (known as "Happy Hour Clubs"), to use their musical skills in worship services, to assist in youth work and to preach.⁷⁷ The school's urban location as part of the rapidly expanding city of Edmonton helped students gain access to a diverse range of service opportunities. Students assisted with a half-hour Sunday radio broadcast that had been started in 1941 by E.P. Wahl.⁷⁸ The programs featured music and testimonies by groups of students along with a short sermon by Wahl. The program lasted for about seventeen years and was financed almost entirely by donations from listeners (it occasionally generated surpluses that were turned over to the school). The program gave the school more public exposure, which in turn helped attract students as well as create a demand for its graduates.

As noted above, within a decade the primary curricular emphasis had shifted. Instead of emphasizing only the Bible "training" of young people for church work, which did remain part of the mandate of the school, increasingly the school became concerned with providing

in janitorial and other duties.

⁷⁷See Cecilia Priebe, "The Missionary Outreach of the School," *Annual* (1949), 46; and Lyla (Bresch) Reimer, "The Musical Ministry of CTI," *Annual* (1949), 46, 55. By the late 1950s, there were seven North American Baptist churches plus several mission stations in Edmonton alone.

⁷⁸See Erna Schwanke, "The Radio Ministry," *The Christian Training Institute Promoter* (1952-1953), 6. It was initially called "Light of the World" and was aired on Sunday evening. Several years later, the time slot was moved to Sunday morning and the program was renamed the "Sunday Morning Devotional Hour."

other kinds of Christian education. In 1949, a high school program was introduced.⁷⁹ At first, the "Adult Accelerated High School Course" offered only the final year of high school and was specially designed to help older students who felt called to pastoral ministry obtain a more thorough education foundation in order to meet the entrance requirements of university and seminary.⁸⁰ Gradually, younger students who were not necessarily as motivated or interested in the Bible school program were admitted and earlier high school grades were added. However, the presence of a large number of adolescent high school students inevitably changed the atmosphere of the school.⁸¹

Other changes followed shortly after the start of the high school program. By the late 1940s, E.P. Wahl received instructions from the board to investigate the possibility of accreditation with the Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges.⁸² Christian Training Institute was the first Bible school in Alberta to pursue discussions with the Association. What precipitated this early interest in accreditation is not clear, although one suspects that the strong American connections within the denomination, along with the interests and abilities of the faculty, many of whom had been trained at the Rochester seminary, were significant factors. The concern for raising the standard of academic quality, the desire to offer a greater diversity of programs and an openness towards accreditation gave the school a somewhat different ethos during the 1950s than was common in most other Bible schools.⁸³ The process of accreditation took two decades to complete; it was not until 1963 that the school was granted associate membership, and not until 1969 that it was granted full

⁷⁹See E. Kaiser, "The High School: Historically Speaking," *The Christian Training Institute Promoter* (1950), 8. From the outset, care was taken to insure that the curriculum and program would be approved by the Alberta Department of Education.

⁸⁰Letter from E.P. Wahl to Governing Board of Christian Training Institute, 21 September 1949, NABCA.

⁸¹Note the frank discussion by O.R. Schmidt concerning "discipline" ("CTI Report to the Board of Trustees of the Christian Training Institute," 7-8 April 1959, NABCA). Every school that tried to combine a high school and Bible school or college program struggled with this issue.

⁸²Minutes of the Meeting of the Governing Board of the Christian Training Institute, 4 March 1948; and Minutes of the Governing Board, 9 November 1948, NABCA.

⁸³Christian Training Institute's openness towards accreditation stands in stark contrast to L.E. Maxwell's vigorous refusal to become involved with Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges (see Chapter Seven).

membership with Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges.⁸⁴ The early interest on the part of Christian Training Institute foreshadowed an important transition that was to take place within the larger Bible school movement as those schools that managed to survive the 1950s began to think about offering more academically rigorous degree programs.⁸⁵

In 1951, a two-year Christian worker's course was inaugurated designed to prepare the student "for a more effective and efficient church work."⁸⁶ It was a shortened version of the four-year Bible program, which remained for those anticipating full-time involvement in professional ministry and more advanced studies. By 1953, the four-year program itself had been substantially modified, so that third/fourth year students could choose one of four different specializations (for example, Bible, music, missions or religious education).

A major review of all programs, which took place during the 1950s as part of a larger, intensive three-year investigation into the educational needs and opportunities within the denomination, precipitated still more change. The review was prompted, in part, by some disturbing enrolment patterns in the school's Bible programs. Bible school enrolment gradually declined from 112 students in 1947 to forty-four in 1954. Making the impact of this trend worse was the fact that very few students--only three in 1955--were choosing to graduate from the four-year Bible program. The appeal of transdenominational schools was sometimes blamed, but a large proportion of North American Baptist students were simply opting not to attend a Bible school at all.⁸⁷ During the mid-1950s, the student enrolments of

⁸⁴Inadequate facilities were a major obstacle to accreditation. The school therefore moved to its current location in 1968. At the time it was one mile south of the city borders (see Priestley, "For God and Truth," 7).

⁸⁵The school was only the fifth Bible school in Canada to obtain accreditation from Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges as a Bible college (see "Summary of Report by Sub-Committee of the Special Committee on CTI," 6-9 December 1954; and "Report of the Committee on CTI to the General Council," 1955, NABCA). Other accredited schools in Canada at the time included Mennonite Brethren Bible College (Winnipeg, Manitoba), London College of Bible and Missions (London, Ontario), Canadian Bible College (Regina, Saskatchewan) and Toronto Bible College (Toronto, Ontario).

⁸⁶*The Christian Training Institute Catalogue* (c. 1952), 11. Graduates from the two-year program received the Evangelical Teacher Training Association certificate.

⁸⁷Both Wahl, and later A.S. Felberg, spoke about the impact of the transdenominational schools and the serious "threat" they represented not only to the well being of Christian Training Institute, but also to the long-term health of the denomination. Felberg observed that once students decide to go elsewhere, not only has a student been absent from Christian Training Institute for a year, but often a lifetime of involvement and loyalty on the part of a family has been irretrievably lost (A.S. Felberg to G.K. Zimmer-

the high school and Bible school departments were approximately equal. It is unlikely that the school could have survived at this time without high school program.⁸⁸ In addition, operational costs had escalated from \$66,000 between 1946-49 to \$129,000 between 1953-54. A significant part of this was made up of faculty salaries. It was obviously a moment for some serious decisions.

One proposal that did not come to fruition was the suggestion to establish a junior college at Christian Training Institute, which would offer one year of university-level courses that would be directly transferable to the University of Alberta. The arguments put forward offer helpful insights into the transition taking place within the school. Faculty recognized that western Canada was rapidly developing its economic and educational infrastructure and that this had created both new opportunities “in every field of activity” and a “need for education.” They recognized that students from North American Baptist churches were looking for a broader range of educational options, and that if the denominational Bible school could not meet these needs, their young people would look either to other denominational colleges or to “secular institutions of higher learning.” In the case of the former, Christian Training Institute faculty feared “we may not get them back . . . [and] if we do get them back, it takes years to reestablish their interest and loyalty.” In the case of the latter, “they are subjected to influences which, if not hostile to religion, are indifferent to it.”⁸⁹ Although the proposal coincided with the announcement on the part of the University of

man, 13 June 1968; see also letter to Joe Sonnenberg, 20 January 1967, NABCA). A five-year statistical study of educational patterns among the denomination’s young people completed in 1954 indicated that 125 (33%) college-age students from North American Baptist churches had attended Christian Training Institute. Revealing, however, was the fact that forty-three (11.5%) students had attended other Bible schools and 143 (38%) had decided not to attend Bible school and go directly to university or some other institution of learning (“Summary of Report by Sub-Committee of the Special Committee on CTI,” 6-9 December 1954, 12, NABCA).

⁸⁸In some years, the hours of instruction in the high school exceeded the hours of instruction in the Bible school, leaving some wondering whether Christian Training Institute had in fact become a high school. In addition, the school began supplementing its income by offering board and room to students attending the University of Alberta. These students were included in certain aspects of Bible school life. This helped the school connect with students who would otherwise have bypassed entirely the educational programs of Christian Training Institute. Almost one hundred university students used Christian Training Institute as a residence during the mid-1950s to early 1960s.

⁸⁹“Further Development of our Denominational Educational Program Through the Reorganization of the CTI Educational Ministry,” c. 1955, NABCA). The school did eventually negotiate a transfer credit arrangement with the University of Alberta in 1975.

Alberta to decentralize the delivery of university arts education through a series of junior colleges within the province, the idea of a junior college was deemed premature by the denomination both because of inadequate institutional resources and the absence of broad-based constituency support.⁹⁰

The decision that set the school back on a path towards solvency came in 1958 as the denomination granted the school permission to offer a Bachelor of Religious Education (B.R.E) degree and to proceed with the formal training of prospective pastors by adding a theological department that would grant a Bachelor of Theology (B.Th.) degree. Although the two-year Bible certificate program and the high school department were to remain intact, the new suggestions marked a combination of radical changes in that it officially put the school on the path towards becoming a "college;"⁹¹ even more dramatic was the new mandate to prepare pastors despite the fact that it had always emphasized that "the school is not training preachers. It is an institution in which young people are trained for Christian living in whatever that vocation may be. It imparts Bible knowledge for more efficient service in church and Sunday school work."⁹² Although a good number of Christian Training Institute students who were interested in pastoral ministry did continue their theological studies first at Rochester and then later at North American Baptist Seminary in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, as well as at other seminaries, some graduates had been moving directly into pastoral ministry.

In part, this reflected the difficulty that North American Baptist churches in Canada were experiencing in recruiting pastoral candidates from Sioux Falls. E.P. Wahl outlined the Canadian situation in 1955: eleven churches within the Northern Conference did not have pastors; in Alberta alone there were nine churches that were pastored by men with only Bible

⁹⁰Christian Training Institute faculty intuitions about the future trends in higher education were correct; student enrolments at universities in western Canada increased by 184% during the 1940s, by another 184% during the 1950s, and by a stunning 286% during the 1960s (Series W486-503, Section W: Education, in *Historical Statistics of Canada*: Statistics Canada's Internet Site, <http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/11-516-XIE/sectionw/sectionw.htm>, 23 March 2001).

⁹¹This decision was not without its critics. Werner Waitkus, a faculty member at Christian Training Institute, openly complained about the anti-intellectual attitudes and the "open hostility to academic studies in general" among some North American Baptists (cited in Sturhahn, *They Came From East and West*, 283; see also *Baptist Herald*, 14 April 1960).

⁹²Sturhahn, "For God and Truth," *1951 Annual*, 49; cited in Priestley, "For God and Truth," 5.

school training while only seven churches had North American Baptist Seminary graduates. Compounding the difficulties in attracting seminary graduates were the financial incentives in the United States that discouraged seminary graduates from coming back to Canada and the fact that North American Baptist Seminary was no longer interested in preparing bilingual pastors, which was still a necessity in western Canada because of post-World War Two immigration.⁹³ However, the decision to inaugurate a B.Th. program at Christian Training Institute was vigorously opposed by North American Baptist Seminary on the grounds that it would lead to the development of a second seminary.⁹⁴

It was also a matter of controversy within the denomination at large. Some felt that the proposal to make Christian Training Institute a college was driven more by the desires of certain leaders than on a clear demonstration of need and, in a rather patronizing fashion, suggested that to acquiesce to the Northern Conference would be like yielding to the pressure of a child when it is not in the best interests of the child. Others expressed fear that it would create a gap between American and Canadian students that would become “increasingly uncrossable.”⁹⁵ Objectors noted that the desire to give pastoral candidates access to a bilingual program was legitimate,⁹⁶ although many believed it would not be needed much longer. Critics pointed out that the school had not made any effort to convince North American Baptist Seminary to offer more courses in German, despite the fact that some of the seminary professors were capable of teaching in German. As a result, the charge of

⁹³“CTI Development Plan,” 15 April 1955, 3, NABCA. Unlike North American Baptist Seminary, the Bible school had professors who were able to teach Bible subjects in the German language (O.R. Schmidt, “CTI Report to the Board of Trustees of the Christian Training Institute,” 7-8 April 1959, NABCA; and *Christian Training Institute Theological Department Annual Catalogue* [1961-1962], 7).

⁹⁴Woyke, *Heritage and Ministry*, 419. By 1980, the school’s Bachelor of Theology program had been upgraded and served as the basis for a new graduate division called the North American Baptist Divinity School (later changed to Edmonton Baptist Seminary).

⁹⁵“Observations Regarding the Recommendation that the Program of the Christian Training Institute be on the B.Th. Bible College Level,” n.d., NABCA.

⁹⁶By the 1940s, the North American Baptists in western Canada were well on their towards Anglicization. A flood of post-World War Two immigrants interrupted this process. Some churches (mostly urban) were re-Germanized. In some instances, new German-speaking churches were organized in areas where there was sufficient German-speaking immigrants. Hence the school’s ongoing German program continued to serve this constituency. It was not until 1967 that Christian Training Institute dropped the requirement that all B.Th. candidates be bilingual.

opportunism on the part of the Northern Conference appears to have some legitimacy.⁹⁷ The Canadians wanted their own college.

The decision was made to proceed on the part of the denomination. It is significant for the way in which it recognized Christian Training Institute as part of an indigenous solution for resolving the pressing need for pastoral leadership within Canadian churches. The decision illustrates well a pattern that has been present throughout the history of Protestantism in Canada, namely, a move from initial dependence upon a denominational body outside of Canada towards a search for "Canadian solutions to Canadian problems."⁹⁸

The numerous curricular changes at Christian Training Institute during its first two decades of operation mirrored the dynamics taking place within the denomination to which the leaders were attempting to respond. Although the curricular programs varied over the years, the general institutional objectives remained the same. They consistently reflected a concern for the spiritual well-being of the denomination's young people and a concern for the future leadership of North American Baptist churches. Moreover, they showed a far greater interest in serving the educational needs of a specific denomination by instilling an evangelical Baptist ethos into the lives of its students than in promoting the fundamentalist/modernist debates taking place elsewhere.

These debates, which divided many other Christians in North America, were foreign to the experience of the ethnic-German immigrants who filled the pews of North American Baptist churches in western Canada. The curriculum reflected the desire of a largely seminary-educated clergy to increase the level of education in order to prepare their young people for service in the church and life within western Canada. Not surprisingly, by 1960 the school was well on the way towards becoming a Bible college. The decision to grant permission to a Canadian institution to train pastors heightened the school's role as a centre of influence and gave the North American Baptists in Canada a greater degree of autonomy from their American counterparts and lessened the reliance on seminaries south of the border.

⁹⁷"Observations Regarding the Recommendation that the Program of the Christian Training Institute be on the B.Th. Bible College Level," n.d., NABCA.

⁹⁸John Webster Grant, "The Church and Canada's Self-Awareness," *Canadian Journal of Theology* 13 (July 1967): 156.

4.3.5 Faculty Roles and Influence

During the first twenty-five years of Christian Training Institute's existence, more than seventy-five persons were involved in some capacity as instructors in the Bible school program at the school. During the early years, the majority were local area pastors who devoted part of their time to teaching at the school. As curricular programs diversified and faculty needs became more specialized and as salaries increased during the 1950s,⁹⁹ Christian Training Institute recruited more widely within the denomination.

Coinciding with the transitions taking place within the curricular programs of Christian Training Institute was an increase in the academic qualifications of faculty. At the outset, few faculty members had a baccalaureate degree. By 1950, more than half had at least a B.A. The academic qualifications increased as the school hired career teachers, some of whom had previous pastoral experience. As the school contemplated the move towards accreditation during the 1950s, faculty were encouraged to pursue higher education. By 1960, all faculty had both a bachelor's degree of some kind (usually a B.A.) and at least one or more advanced degrees (usually a B.D., Th.M. or an M.A.). Several even had earned doctorates in theology.

Although the gender balance within the student body was approximately equal, the same balance was not present among faculty. During its first few decades only about 15-20% of the faculty were women, with the theological program taught exclusively by men (almost all the students in the program were men). In addition, few of the women had academic qualifications equivalent to their male counterparts.¹⁰⁰

While Bible school faculty rarely received adequate monetary remuneration for their efforts and sacrifices on behalf of the school, they did have opportunity to exercise a significant influence within a denomination. In addition to their school responsibilities, full-

⁹⁹Within a five year period beginning in the early 1950s the amount spent on faculty salaries increased by 300% (Edwin H. Marklein, "Report of the Committee on CTI to the General Council," 1955, NABCA).

¹⁰⁰An interesting exception to this generalization is Rev. Miss Ethel Ruff, who taught at Christian Training Institute for a number of years during the late 1940s due to the merger with Alberta Baptist Bible Academy. Ruff was ordained in 1943 by the Payne Avenue Baptist Church (St. Paul, Minnesota). She may well have been the first ordained woman working as a Baptist minister in Canada (Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 301, 329; and Ruff's autobiography, *When Saints Go Marching* [New York: Exposition Press, 1957]).

time faculty often occupied key roles within the denominational organizational structure and were expected to devote time to itinerant preaching and teaching.

Few things shape the ethos of a school more than its faculty. Despite the high number of people involved in teaching during the school's first twenty-five years, notable is the remarkable consistency and uniformity in the denominational and theological ethos of the school. This is due to the fact that the overwhelming majority (about 75%) of those who taught within the Bible and theology departments were recruited from within the ranks of the North American Baptists with only occasional assistance from Baptist Union of Western Canada, Baptist General Conference Baptist or Regular Baptist personnel.¹⁰¹ Reinforcing the denominational uniformity was the fact that the majority of pastors in western Canada had been trained at a denominational seminary (first Rochester, later Sioux Falls).¹⁰² The seminary experience created both a network of friendships and fraternity, as well as a shared understanding of, and commitment to, a theologically "conservative," evangelistic ethos.¹⁰³

A key person in maintaining the Rochester ethos and utilizing the seminary connections for recruiting faculty and obtaining financial support was E.P. Wahl (1892-1983), president of Christian Training Institute for its first eighteen years of operation. Wahl's passion for training young people, together with his clear commitment to the institution,

¹⁰¹The same denominational uniformity was not maintained in the high school division in which staff included a few teachers from Mennonite, United Church of Canada, Anglican, Seventh Day Adventist and even Roman Catholic denominations (see "Christian Training Institute Personnel" and "Faculty - Chronological," NABCA).

¹⁰²A greater diversity is evident as faculty members began pursuing advanced degrees, although during the 1960s half of the faculty with graduate degrees obtained them from various Baptist seminaries or divinity schools in the United States.

¹⁰³See Henry Hirsch, "Our Seminary's Influence on the Denomination," *Baptist Herald*, 26 October 1950, 5-6. The early scholarship surrounding the Social Gospel movement ignored the influence of revivalism on the development of the Social Gospel movement (see Robert T. Handy, ed. *The Social Gospel in America, 1870-1920* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1966]; and Paul Allen Carter, *The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel: Social and Political Liberalism in American Protestant Churches, 1920-1940* [Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1971]). More recent examinations have demonstrated that revivalism was a more significant influence than previously supposed. Rauschenbusch is an excellent example of a person who tried to bring the two movements together in a synthesis. On several occasions, Rauschenbusch attended D.L. Moody's conferences at Northfield. Rather than denigrating the importance of individual salvation, he insisted that the most "important of all the corrective steps is a spiritual regeneration that awakens individuals to their complicity in the sins of society and to a commitment to social reform." The kingdom of God, he stated, begins with "personal religion" (Paul M. Minus, *Walter Rauschenbusch, American Reformer* [New York: Collier Macmillan, 1988], 160).

helped the institution gain credibility within the constituency, which in turn resulted in a degree of stability. While efforts always had to be made to stretch dollars as far as possible, the school never faced the same desperate financial situations as did other schools that were moored less securely to denominational support. During his time as a student at Rochester, Wahl was significantly influenced by Walter Rauschenbusch who taught in the German Department. His seminary training laid the foundation for his passion for the Christian education of young people and the “proper” preparation of people for life-long ministry. The seminary curriculum served as a model for what was taught at Christian Training Institute. Wahl embodied Rauschenbusch’s broad evangelicalism, which combined a strong biblicism with an evangelistic spirit and an emphasis on social responsibility.¹⁰⁴

Evident among the faculty and board members at Christian Training Institute was an appreciation for higher education not always present in other Bible schools. Rochester (and later Sioux Falls) offered theological education in a milieu of professionalized ministry and within proximity of graduate education. It was a place where post-secondary education was highly valued. Despite the anti-intellectual sentiments of some within the constituency, the common seminary experience among faculty and board members contributed considerably towards an impetus to transition the school towards becoming a co-educational institution that consolidated an arts and theological education.¹⁰⁵

4.4 Christian Training Institute and its Role Within the North American Baptist Conference

Located in the heart of its Canadian constituency, Christian Training Institute played a crucial role in the development of the North American Baptist Conference in western

¹⁰⁴His understanding that Christians have a calling to serve their communities led Wahl to start the Salem Manor Society, a home for seniors, after his retirement from Christian Training Institute.

¹⁰⁵The seminary influence at CTI was strengthened still further by the significant presence of local pastors on the Board of Governors: in 1954, for example, nine out of fourteen board members were North American Baptist pastors; two were professors in denominational schools and one person was the executive secretary of the denomination. The remaining two were identified as a housewife and a merchant.

Another influence may have been the fraternal relationships the North American Baptists had with the Baptist Union of Western Canada, a denomination that had a long record of experience in Canada with both theological and arts education.

Canada. Statistics compiled for the school's twenty-fifth celebration verify its direct impact upon the denomination. After twenty-five years, a total of 1,134 individuals had spent one or more years in the various departments of the school. Of these, 855 had been students in the Bible department, 240 in the high school and thirty-nine in the theological program. Well over 86% of the students who attended Christian Training Institute as Bible school students and 90% of the theology students came from North American Baptist churches (the percentage of high school students is somewhat less at 72%),¹⁰⁶ with approximately 70% of the North American Baptist students coming from the Northern Conference (with a definite majority coming from Alberta).¹⁰⁷ Although students from Ontario and the United States occasionally attended Christian Training Institute, the school served primarily the North American Baptist churches in western Canada. A good example is the McKernan Baptist Church located in Edmonton, which indicated in 1962 that more than fifty of its members had attended the school.¹⁰⁸

The school's mandate was to provide leadership training for lay workers in the local church. Towards this end, Christian Training Institute appears to have been successful. A survey completed in 1954 indicated that at least 76% of the alumni were actively involved in some capacity within the denomination as Sunday school teachers, youth workers, lay leaders, pastors or wives of pastors.¹⁰⁹ Although the school did not formally inaugurate a theological program designed for the training of ministers until 1958, a considerable number of alumni nevertheless ended up in pastoral ministry. Even though the school was primarily designed for training lay leaders in churches, the experience gained at Christian Training Institute helped many decide to take further training for other professions. Over time, the school contributed towards the preparation of a significant number of personnel for pastoral

¹⁰⁶Next to the North American Baptists, the largest denominational group was the Baptist Union of Western Canada with less than 4% of students and the Swedish Baptist with less than 3%. Overall, Baptist students made up 92% of the total enrolled in the Bible school. Female students often outnumbered the male students except in those programs leading directly to professional ministry or ordination.

¹⁰⁷"Statistical Reports - 25 Years of the Christian Training Institute," NABCA.

¹⁰⁸*The Christian Training Institute Promoter* (1962), 32.

¹⁰⁹"Summary of Report by the Sub-Committee of the Special Committee on CTI," 6-9 December 1954, 10, NABCA.

ministry. One statistical report indicates that more than 230 alumni from the first twenty-five years of the school (or 21%) were either involved in, or were moving towards, full-time pastoral ministry or missionary service. More than half of this number were involved in pastoral ministry either as pastors or as wives of pastors within the denomination. In keeping with the missionary emphasis of the denomination, more than thirty alumni were involved in missionary work by 1964.¹¹⁰ Although controversy surrounded the theological program, it did begin producing a new generation of bilingual leaders in western Canada.¹¹¹ By 1978, 60% of the North American Baptist pastors in Canada were products of the B.Th. program at Christian Training Institute.¹¹²

The school not only trained laypeople for church work, but it also served a key role in the assimilation and Canadianization of North American Baptist young people. Many students were immigrants, or the children of immigrants, who were “determined to make a clean break with the past and start a new life with Christ in the country of their choice.”¹¹³ To be sure, they came to Christian Training Institute for Bible training, but they also wanted high school diplomas and English language skills. Instruction was, with the exception of a few courses, almost exclusively in English. The desire for education on the part of new immigrants, the variations in curricular programs and the move towards college accreditation meant that, by the 1960s, the school increasingly became a stepping stone to university and thereby a gateway to the amenities of life in North America.¹¹⁴

The Baptist emphasis on missions, which was an integral part of the Christian Training Institute experience, was an important factor in accelerating the assimilation of the North American Baptists within Canadian society. The maintenance of ethnic and linguistic

¹¹⁰“Statistical Reports - 25 Years of the Christian Training Institute,” NABCA. It is worth noting that about one third of the school’s alumni involved in full-time pastoral ministry were not doing so under the auspices of the North American Baptists.

¹¹¹Within four years, thirty-five students had registered in the theological program. Only eleven had been born in Canada, while twenty-six had immigrated from Germany or other parts of Europe (“Study on the Christian Training Institute,” 1963, NABCA).

¹¹²Link, “North American [German] Baptists,” 101. See list of pastors compiled by Sturhahn, *They Came From East and West*, 234-286.

¹¹³Priestley, “The Effect of Baptist ‘Home Missions’ Among Alberta’s German Immigrants,” 66.

¹¹⁴See comments on Canadianization by Sturhahn, *From East to West*, 287-288.

distinctives was seen, by North American Baptists, not as an end in itself, but as a means for ongoing church extension.¹¹⁵ Bilingualism was a temporary necessity in order to reach a particular group of people. Henry Hirsch suggested, "We of the North American Baptist Conference have been a peculiar people. God has chosen us for a special mission. We were first chosen to preach to German-speaking people."¹¹⁶ This sense of a particular calling helped the North American Baptists simultaneously justify (for the sake of new immigrants) the retention of their ethnic distinctives and recognize (for the sake of second- and third-generation young people) that bilingualism was only a temporary measure. By conducting classes in English and by promoting a sense of mission towards German-speaking immigrants, the school helped North American Baptist churches maintain their bilingualism, but also facilitated access to the language skills that would result in an eventual switch to the exclusive use of English.

Although Christian Training Institute was ostensibly only an educational institution, it was also a centre of cohesion for the Northern Conference. It shaped the theological ethos of the North American Baptist Conference in western Canada, created lifelong networks of friendships, enhanced the language skills of hundreds of immigrants and provided a Baptist environment in which to motivate, train and educate church workers and pastors. The story of the North American Baptist work within western Canada would have been very different if such a centre had not been present. It is one of the reasons why the North American Baptists are today the second-largest Baptist group in Alberta.¹¹⁷

4.5 Christian Training Institute, the North American Baptists and Relations with other Evangelical Protestants

The North American Baptists have always understood themselves to be a part of the larger evangelical Protestant world. The pages of the *Baptist Herald* reflect a general

¹¹⁵General Conference Minutes, 1952; cited in Link, "North American (German) Baptists," 100.

¹¹⁶"Our Seminary's Influence on the Denomination," 5.

¹¹⁷Priestley, "The Effect of Baptist 'Home Mission' Among Alberta's German Immigrants," 55. By the middle of the century, the Canadian North American Baptists comprised approximately 15% of the total North American Baptist membership in North America; this increased to about 22% in 1968 and to almost 29% by 1998 (David Priestley, "Ethnicity and Piety Among Alberta's 'German' Baptists," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History Papers* [1994]: 148).

appreciation for evangelical Protestantism, particularly the evangelistic and missionary activities inspired by the nineteenth-century revivalists.¹¹⁸ They described themselves as “conservative,” “Bible-believing Christians.”¹¹⁹ Leaders at Christian Training Institute readily identified the school as “an evangelical centre of learning.”¹²⁰ The emphasis on the centrality and the authority of the Bible, together with an aggressive involvement in evangelism and missions, albeit within a specific Baptist denominational framework, situated the school easily within the broader “evangelical consensus.”¹²¹

Although the North American Baptists identified themselves as conservative, Bible-believing Christians, this is not a group one could characterize as fundamentalist. The biblicism of the denomination is clearly evident by browsing the *Baptist Herald*; Christian Training Institute documents emphasize the inspiration of scripture as the “revealed Word of God” and as the “inspired authority in matters of faith and conduct,” but absent in both the *Baptist Herald* and the school’s documents is a strident insistence on the fundamentalist shibboleth of inerrancy.¹²² In fact, even mention of fundamentalist battles is difficult to find within denominational literature. Absent also from the school’s curriculum is evidence of dispensationalism, an eschatological view accepted by many within the fundamentalist network.¹²³ Moreover, the North American Baptists were members of the Baptist World

¹¹⁸See, for example, Carl F. Henry, “The Greatest Evangelist in America: The Story of Charles G. Finney,” *Baptist Herald*, 15 June 1942, 4-5; and H.P. Donner, “The Northfield Conferences of Yesterday,” 1 April 1949, 10-11.

¹¹⁹“Our Seminary’s Influence on the Denomination,” *Baptist Herald*, 26 October 1950, 5-6; and *Baptist Herald*, 26 March 1964, 9.

¹²⁰E.B. Link, “CTI’s First Quarter Century,” *Baptist Herald*, 22 April 1965, 5.

¹²¹See, for example, the series of articles highlighting the relationship between the Bible and various aspects of life at Christian Training Institute (*Baptist Herald*, 21 April 1966, 3-10).

¹²²E.B. Link, “The Bible in Our Heritage,” *Baptist Herald*, 21 April 1966, 4. One discussion of creeds begins with a disclaimer acknowledging the necessity of creeds within the history of the church, but reminding readers that “the quoting of creeds cannot tell us what man believes. Only as we see man’s deeds can we really know his creed” (*The Christian Training Institute Promoter* [1950], 26; see also Priestley, “Doctrinal Statements of German Baptists in North America,” 51-71).

¹²³It was hard for any denomination in western Canada to avoid the influence of dispensationalism and it did surface occasionally in North American Baptist churches, but more among laypeople than clergy (David Priestley, interview with Bruce Guenther, 27 January 1999, Edmonton, AB). Groups such as the North American Baptists were more open to other theological influences after the dissipation of

Alliance, an organization shunned by the more fundamentalist Baptists.¹²⁴

The North American Baptist distance from fundamentalism is attributable to various factors. It is partly due to the pervasive influence of the seminary's broad theological ethos and emphasis on Baptist denominationalism. The "conservative" ethos of the denomination had more to do with the desire to maintain a particular pietistic, revivalist, socially-engaged heritage within their own denominational boundaries than the result of a reaction against theological liberalism. As was the case with the Mennonite Brethren, linguistic and ethnic distinctives, which remained a factor in denominational life until well into the 1970s, muted the influence of fundamentalism at exactly the time when other Baptist groups, such as the Baptist Union of Western Canada, were being fragmented. More importantly, most of the people in North American Baptist pews were immigrants--some fairly recent, arriving in the 1950s--who had no previous history with the fundamentalist debates in North America and who felt little need to be involved in the bitter schisms driven by Baptist fundamentalists such as William Aberhart or T.T. Shields.

Not only did the North American Baptists avoid association with fundamentalist Baptist groups, but they also were generally cautious about cooperation with other fundamentalist and evangelical groups, particularly transdenominational institutions and organizations. In part, this can be attributed to the ethnic and linguistic characteristics of the denomination, but more important, as has been noted earlier, was the strong fear that collaboration with transdenominational evangelicals would erode a sense of Baptist denominational identity.¹²⁵ The story of Christian Training Institute illustrates well the tension that was present between denominations that were struggling to become established in western Canada and the ecclesiology promoted, if only implicitly, by the transdenominational schools. This tension

their ethnic and linguistic distinctives.

¹²⁴Other clues concerning the broader theological orientation of the denomination include a recommended list of books for Sunday school workers published in the *Baptist Herald*. It includes, for example, works by Harry Emerson Fosdick (*Baptist Herald*, 15 January 1930, 10-11).

¹²⁵See *Baptist Herald*, 15 March 1951; *Baptist Herald*, 21 April 1966. See also the discussion in note #29.

often pitted institutions against each other.¹²⁶

For the North American Baptists, the strongest associations outside of their own denomination were fraternal relations with both the Swedish Baptists and the Baptist Union of Western Canada despite the fact that they had declined several invitations for official ties with Baptist Union of Western Canada and despite their ethnic and linguistic differences.¹²⁷ The emphasis on being "Baptist" first and "German" second transcended the organizational and ethnic differences among the three Baptist groups. The priority given to being "Baptist" within a milieu of multiple Baptist ethnicities kept the North American Baptists from developing the same kind of insular communities as the Mennonites, who manifested a stronger emphasis on the maintenance of certain ethnic characteristics, that is, language, as an integral part of their faith.¹²⁸

Cooperative relationships with the Swedish Baptists have been noted above. Although Swedish Baptist support for Christian Training Institute was never extensive, the little interest that was present was eventually redirected towards the development of their own school in Vancouver. As for the Baptist Union of Western Canada, the early expectations that the North American Baptists would eventually join them never materialized. Although many individuals joined the Baptist Union of Western Canada during the first half of the twentieth century, the successive waves of German immigration delayed the dream of union and resulted instead in the establishment and maturation of the North American Baptist Conference as a discrete denominational entity. Nevertheless, cooperative relationships with the

¹²⁶As the barriers created by ethnic and linguistic distinctives gradually diminished, the influence of transdenominational evangelicalism among the North American Baptists became more pronounced. Learning English not only helped them to evangelize more broadly, it also opened up a Pandora's box of new possibilities within. David Priestley states, "with the dilution of the ethnic character of the conference, the issues of the enveloping North American evangelicalism are gaining in strength among the North American Baptists" ("Ethnicity and Piety," 159).

¹²⁷As early as 1934, the North American Baptists, the Swedish Baptists and the Covenant Church organized a joint conference / convocation in Wetaskiwin that was attended by an estimated 1,200 people (see *Baptist Herald*, 15 March 1934; and Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 329).

¹²⁸This was an observation made by David Priestley, interview with Bruce Guenther, October 1994.

Baptist Union of Western Canada continue in the present.¹²⁹ In addition to the emphasis on a Baptist identity and polity, the theological ethos among the three groups was similar; therefore Swedish Baptist and Baptist Union of Western Canada ministers were occasionally invited to teach or to speak at Christian Training Institute,¹³⁰ although, as has already been noted, the total number of students from Baptist Union of Western Canada and Swedish Baptist churches was minimal. This changed somewhat after the school received its status as a college during the 1960s, when an increasing number of Baptist Union of Western Canada students began to attend; in addition, the B.Th. program attracted Baptist Union of Western Canada interested in ministerial training.

4.6 Conclusion

The story of Christian Training Institute contributes to our understanding of the complexity and diversity of the Bible school movement in a variety of ways. The school was an initiative on the part of a largely immigrant, German-speaking denominational extension struggling to become established in western Canada. It was part of a denominational strategy designed by North American Baptist leaders on the prairies to help their young people increase their Bible knowledge, develop Christian character and participate more competently in the activities of the local churches. By mid-century, the mandate had been adjusted as the school looked for ways to meet the changing educational needs of its denominational constituency. Although the denomination had a strong tradition of seminary-trained church leaders that had become well-established in the United States, the pioneering conditions of

¹²⁹Shortly after Christian Training Institute moved to its new campus south of Edmonton and became known as North American Baptist College, the Baptist Union of Western Canada seriously considered purchasing an adjacent property ("1971 General Council Decisions," *Baptist Herald*, August 1971, 8ff). By the mid-1970s, it was clear that the vision for such a cooperative venture had failed. Twenty years later discussions again took place about the possibility of a closer relationship between Carey Hall (Vancouver, British Columbia) and Edmonton Baptist Seminary (Priestley, "For God and Truth," 10). Currently the college collaborates with the Baptist Union of Western Canada in running Ascent, a discipleship training program that emerged from the collapse of the Baptist Leadership Training School (Calgary, Alberta) in 1997.

¹³⁰At least eight teachers were connected with Baptist Union of Western Canada churches and at least four with Swedish Baptist churches. Several Regular Baptists taught at Christian Training Institute on occasion as well. With few exceptions, the non-North American Baptist teachers seldom taught for more than two years (see "Faculty - Chronological," n.d., NABCA; and "Study on the Christian Training Institute," 1963, NABCA).

western Canada during the early twentieth century made it impossible to provide such leadership in every church or to develop a full-fledged seminary within the region. Christian Training Institute, first as a Bible school, then as a college and eventually as both a college and seminary, therefore, served as a flexible educational mechanism for developing denominationally loyal, indigenous leaders within the frontier environment of western Canada.

The school exemplifies a variety of aspects of the larger Bible school movement. Like so many schools within the different clusters of Bible schools, Christian Training Institute was operated by a denomination with a specific ethnic orientation. In addition to the barriers created by ethnic and linguistic distinctives, the theological ethos of the North American Baptists shaped Christian Training Institute as one of a significant number of Bible schools decidedly uninterested in fundamentalism. The strong denominational ethos within the school, which mitigated against cooperation and support of transdenominational organizations and institutions, illustrates well the tension within evangelical Protestantism in western Canada between denominationalism and transdenominationalism (of all the Bible schools in Alberta, by 1965 it was second only to Prairie Bible in total number of graduates, indicating the strength of denominationalism). The story of Christian Training Institute illustrates well the strength and importance of north-south relationships within some of the evangelical Protestant groups in western Canada. The school quite intentionally utilized a central, urban location, as did almost 50% of the Bible schools in western Canada, to serve a specific denominational constituency. It was among the first Bible schools in western Canada to move in the direction of accreditation, thereby foreshadowing a trend as many of the schools that survived the 1950s began to think about offering accredited degree programs. Christian Training Institute stands as an example of a school that successfully made the transition from a Bible school to a Bible college. Finally, the changing educational expectations among the North American Baptists that are reflected in the variations in curriculum, the role played by Christian Training Institute in accelerating the assimilation and Canadianization process, and the increasing autonomy from their American denominational counterparts, which led to the development of indigenous institutions and stronger fraternal and cooperative relationships with other Baptists in Canada, are all factors that contributed to a transition from a "sectish" to a "churchish" *mentalité* that was taking place within the denomination as well as among many other evangelical Protestant groups in western Canada.

CHAPTER FIVE

Pentecostal and Holiness Movement Bible Schools with a Special Focus on Western Bible College

5.1 Introduction

One of the fastest growing religious movements during the twentieth century in Canada and around the world was Pentecostalism. The movement produced a range of new denominations and shaped the experience of many within existing denominations. In less than a century it had spread to virtually every country and people group. By the year 2000, Pentecostals numbered approximately 500 million persons, or about 25% of all the Christians in the world.¹

The origin of the Pentecostal movement in North America dates back to events that took place in a small Bible school in Topeka, Kansas.² Bethel Bible School was started by Charles Fox Parham, a Methodist evangelist who had adopted the teachings of Alexander Dowie and A.B. Simpson on divine healing. He, together with his students, was examining the biblical teaching on Holy Spirit baptism. An extraordinary service, in which manifesta-

¹This number includes both "classical" Pentecostals and charismatics within a broad range of denominations. (After about 1970 the term classical Pentecostalism came into use to distinguish the older Pentecostal movement from neo-Pentecostals in mainline Protestant churches and charismatic Pentecostals in the Roman Catholic church.) See David B. Barrett, "A Survey of the Twentieth-Century Pentecostal/Charismatic Renewal in the Holy Spirit, with its Goal of World Evangelization," in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, eds. Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1988), 812-829.

²Standard histories of the Pentecostal movement include Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1997); Edith L. Blumhofer, Russell P. Spittler and Grant A. Wacker, eds. *Pentecostal Currents in America* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Harvey Cox, *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostalism Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-first Century* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1995); Robert Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); H. Vinson Synan, *The Holiness-Pentecostal Movement in the United States* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1971); and Burgess and McGee, eds., *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*. See Joseph W. Creech, Jr., "Visions of Glory: The Place of the Azusa Street Revival in Pentecostal History," *Church History* 65, No. 3 (September 1996): 405-425, for an overview of the historiographical debates concerning the origins of the Pentecostal movement.

tions erupted including “speaking in tongues” and “prophesying” on 1 January 1901, set in motion a chain of events that became known as classical Pentecostalism. Parham and small groups of believers immediately spread out from Topeka into nearby states to share their story.

Soon after, Parham, together with W.F. Carothers, set up another Bible school in Houston, Texas, which became a new centre of “Spirit baptism.” One of their converts, William J. Seymour, brought the teaching to Los Angeles in 1906 where he founded the Apostolic Faith Gospel Mission on Azusa Street. Through numerous first-hand reports published in Seymour’s occasional, but widely-circulated, newspaper *Apostolic Faith*, the Azusa Street Mission quickly attracted worldwide attention. As other focal points emerged across America for the “Latter Rain” people (as the Pentecostals were sometimes identified), variations in ethos and emphasis began to develop. Although some early Pentecostals eschewed the necessity of denominational structures,³ in less than a decade, they had begun to organize their own denominations that reflected some of the differences within the movement.

Despite their differences, Pentecostals have generally affirmed Protestant doctrines such as justification by faith, the necessity of a personal conversion experience and the authority of scripture, and thereby demonstrated their place within the larger world of evangelical Protestantism. The movement, however, derives its more distinctive doctrines from a combination of influences including the Methodist Holiness movement, the Catholic Apostolic movement of Edward Irving and the British Keswick “higher life” movement, which stressed “second blessing” sanctification and the empowering work of the Holy Spirit. This unique convergence of theological emphases led Pentecostals to proclaim what they perceived as the “full gospel.” The crucial point of demarcation between Pentecostals and other Christian groups was a unique emphasis on the person, work and gifts of the Holy Spirit. They believed that the occurrence described in Acts 2 on the day of Pentecost--a text that served as the hermeneutical key for understanding the entire Bible--not only signalled

³Early Pentecostals thought their mission was to call all Christians back to what they believed to be “apostolic faith.” Everywhere the work was to proceed under the direct guidance of the Holy Spirit and not “corrupt” denominational structures. In reality, the movement centred around popular itinerant evangelists who created their own organizational structures as they began to face opposition from denominational leaders.

the beginning of the church in the first century, but also described an experience available to all Christians in every age.⁴ This experience, called the "baptism in the Holy Spirit," is verified by the accompanying sign of "speaking in tongues" or "glossolalia."⁵ Participation in this experience is part of a major restoration of "apostolic faith" that Pentecostals believed will occur prior to the second coming of Jesus Christ. Many Pentecostals included an emphasis on healing and the premillennial second coming of Jesus Christ as key elements within the "full gospel."⁶

5.2 Variations in Holiness Movement and Pentecostal Bible Schools in Western Canada

Holiness movement and Pentecostal denominations are often grouped together because of their similarities and common roots. In western Canada, a total of twenty-eight Bible schools represented at least seventeen of the denominational divisions within the Holiness movement and Pentecostalism.⁷ As such they constituted a significant proportion (almost 25%) of the Bible schools within the region. The cumulative enrolment of Holiness movement and Pentecostal schools made it the third largest cluster within the Bible school movement. While the cumulative enrolment never exceeded that of either the Mennonite schools or the transdenominational schools, it followed a similar pattern, peaking during the late 1940s at close to 1,000 students and then declining steadily throughout the 1950s. It is

⁴Beyond this common point of agreement among Pentecostals, there is considerable diversity among Pentecostals (see Vinson Synan, "Pentecostalism: Varieties and Contributions," *Pneuma* 8, No. 2 [Fall 1986]: 31-49).

⁵An overemphasis on the experiential phenomenon of "speaking in tongues" has often obscured the multifaceted theological roots of the movement (see Donald Dayton, "Theological Roots of Pentecostalism," *Pneuma* 2, No. 1 [Spring 1980]: 3-21. Expanded treatments of this subject can be found in Donald Dayton, *Theological Roots of Pentecostalism* [Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1987]; Edith Waldvogel [Blumhofer], "The Overcoming Life: A Study in Reformed Evangelical Origins of Pentecostalism" [Ph.D. Diss., Harvard University, 1977]; and Vinson Synan, ed., *Aspects of Pentecostal-Charismatic Origins* [Plainfield, NJ: Logos, 1975]).

⁶See Aimee Semple McPherson, *The Four-Square Gospel* (Los Angeles: Foursquare Publications, 1969); and A.B. Simpson, *The Four-fold Gospel* (New York: Christian Alliance Publishing Co., 1890).

⁷The list of Bible schools in Appendix Two separates from the Pentecostal cluster those Bible schools that remained more closely aligned with Holiness denominations. Because of the small number of schools (six) in the Holiness cluster, the relatively few students enrolled in Holiness movement Bible schools during the period featured in this study, and the similarities between Holiness schools and those in other clusters, a representative school has not been featured in this dissertation.

impossible, within the confines of this chapter, to offer a comprehensive study of all twenty-eight Bible schools and their particular places within this cluster. Following a brief introduction to some of the more notable schools within this cluster, the chapter focuses on one of the earliest Bible schools started by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, Western Bible College in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

The Bible school with the distinction of being the very first in western Canada was the Holiness Bible School (later Holiness Bible College) started in 1909 in the small community of Crystal City, Manitoba.⁸ The first principal was Ralph C. Horner, founder of the Holiness Movement Church, one of the first Holiness groups formed in Canada.⁹ Following at least four moves to scattered locations across Saskatchewan and Manitoba, in 1957 the small school merged with Moose Jaw Bible College (later Aldersgate College), which was operated by the Free Methodist Church. Several more schools were added to this cluster during the 1920s, including Great West Bible Institute, a short-lived Christian and Missionary Alliance school in Edmonton;¹⁰ Life Bible College of Canada, a Foursquare Gospel Church of Canada school founded by Anna D. Briton in Vancouver;¹¹ a school in Calgary operated by the Church of the Nazarene (now known as Nazarene University College);¹² Glad Tidings Bible Training School in Saskatoon, which was started by Harry L.

⁸Zella Nixon Brown, *Aldersgate: The College of the Warm Heart* (N.p., n.d. [c. 1976]), 43-46.

⁹For a helpful overview of the Holiness movement in Canada see Marilyn Färdig Whiteley, "Sailing for the Shore: The Canadian Holiness Tradition," in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 257-270.

¹⁰Lindsay Reynolds, *Footprints: The Beginnings of the Christian & Missionary Alliance in Canada* (Beaverlodge, AB: Buena Book Services, 1981), 412; and Lindsay Reynolds, *Rebirth: The Redevelopment of the Christian & Missionary Alliance* (Beaverlodge, AB: Evangelistic Enterprises, 1992), 242, 246, 250, 266.

¹¹Joanne B. Wolf, "Canadian Foursquare History," Unpublished paper, 1996, 47-61. This group was a part of the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel founded by the flamboyant Aimee Semple McPherson in 1923.

¹²Dorothy J. Thomson, *Vine of His Planting: History of Canadian Nazarene College* (Edmonton, AB: Commercial Printers, 1961); and Fred Parker, *From East to Western Sea: A Brief History of the Church of the Nazarene in Canada* (Kansas City, KS: Nazarene Publishing House, 1971), 90-107.

Turner after his departure from Winnipeg Bible Institute (see Chapter Seven);¹³ and three initiatives by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada including the school that is the primary focus of this chapter. With the Pentecostal movement still in its infancy in which distinctions separating people had not yet solidified into denominational walls, many evangelists and pastors moved freely between both Holiness and Pentecostal groups.

Two decades later the number of Holiness movement and Pentecostal groups involved in the Bible school movement had doubled. The more notable Holiness movement additions included the German Bible Institute (now known as Gardner Bible College) started by the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana)¹⁴ and the Canadian Bible Institute (now known as Canadian Bible College) initiated by the Christian and Missionary Alliance.¹⁵ Pentecostal additions included a variety of small independent schools and several schools started by American Pentecostal denominations that had expanded into western Canada. Most prominent, however, among the Pentecostal groups in western Canada were the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, the Apostolic Church of Pentecost and Full Gospel Missions. By 1960 less than half of the Holiness movement and Pentecostal schools that had been started in western Canada were still in operation.

Without minimizing the differences that came to separate groups within the Holiness and Pentecostal movements, the schools within the cluster had a number of characteristics in common. A striking proportion (75%) of the schools were located in either cities or towns. This intentional urban presence is comparable only to the Baptist cluster and significantly higher than all other clusters. It reflects the patterns of growth within the Pentecostal

¹³The school was closely linked to Old Knox Apostolic Church. During Turner's time as pastor it was closely connected to the Christian and Missionary Alliance. After his departure, it became associated with Full Gospel Missions. One of the first students at this school was Wesley Affleck, who was later involved with Winnipeg Bible Institute and was instrumental in starting Burrard Inlet Bible Institute (later Okanagan Bible College) in 1963. See A.D. Marshall, *It Came to Pass: A Brief History of The Full Gospel Bible Institute, 1944-1969* (N.p., n.d. [c. 1969], 25-27; and Reynolds, *Rebirth*, 242-243.

¹⁴Gerald Froese, *Sounding Forth the Gospel on the Prairies: A History of the Church of God Reformation Movement in Western Canada* (Camrose, AB: Gospel Contact Press, 1982); and Linda Jane Wiebe, "A Study of the Current Status of Christian Education in the Church of God in Canada" (M.R.E. Thesis, School of Theology, Anderson College, 1979).

¹⁵The school was started by George M. Blackett in 1941 after his departure from Winnipeg Bible Institute as principal (Ruth Mildred Martin, "The Canadian Bible College: History from 1941-1962" [M.A. Thesis, Winona Lake School of Theology, 1962]; and Reynolds, *Rebirth*, 359-361; 401-406).

movement in western Canada. The student demographics within many Pentecostal denominations often represented a more diverse range of racial, ethnic and denominational backgrounds than what one might find within other Bible school clusters during this period. This reality indicates the way in which the schools within this cluster were defined more by a particular theological orientation than by a similar ethnicity or history.¹⁶ Finally, although the schools were clearly a significant part of the Bible school movement in western Canada, they were seldom acknowledged by leaders within the other clusters. The Holiness movement and Pentecostal schools were frequently isolated both from mainline Protestant denominations and their evangelical Protestant counterparts because of theological differences. Most of the schools therefore served a very specific denominational constituency within a particular geographical region (sometimes only one local congregation).

5.3 Pentecostal Origins in Canada

The story of Pentecostalism in Canada is intimately related to the events in the United States.¹⁷ The movement began in Canada through Ellen K. Hebden who directed the East End Mission, a combined “rescue mission” and “faith healing home” located in Toronto. An account of Hebden’s experience of baptism in the Holy Spirit that took place on 17 November 1906 was published in both the East End Mission’s periodical and by Seymour’s newspaper in Los Angeles. Hebden’s Mission, quickly dubbed “the Canadian Azusa,” became a point of interest for hundreds of people interested in knowing more about this religious phenomenon.¹⁸

In 1908, Hebden organized the first Pentecostal Worker’s Convention in Toronto. It became an annual event. These conventions created a loose network of people sympathetic to

¹⁶More ethnically homogenous examples of Holiness movement and Pentecostal groups did exist, for example, the German-speaking Church of God (Anderson, IN) and the various (at least five) ethnic conferences within the larger Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada umbrella (Thomas William Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada* [Mississauga, ON: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1994], 201).

¹⁷There was significant interaction between Pentecostal leaders in Canada and the United States. For a more detailed discussion of American influence in the development of Pentecostalism in Canada see Ronald Kydd, “Canadian Pentecostalism and the Evangelical Impulse,” in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, 289-300.

¹⁸Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 39-41.

Pentecostalism. It was here that people like George Slager, Robert and Aimee Semple (who later married Harold McPherson), R.E. McAlister, George A. Chambers, Andrew H. Argue, A.G. Ward and others who became prominent leaders within the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada met and got to know each other. By the end of 1910, there were fourteen "Apostolic Faith" congregations in the country, most of which had some connection with the Hebden.¹⁹ More than a dozen missionary workers had been sent overseas.

Although Hebden's mission in Toronto initially served as a central hub of Pentecostal influence, Pentecostal ministries in other urban locales soon emerged as regional centres of influence and expansion. Of particular importance was the ministry of R.E. McAlister in Ottawa, and the work of A.G. Ward, R.J. Scott and Andrew H. Argue in Winnipeg. As the gateway to western Canada, Winnipeg was, at the time, the third largest city in Canada and the most important metropolitan centre west of Toronto, with thousands of immigrants travelling through the city. The evangelistic ministry of the Argue family and their influence in establishing Calvary Temple--a congregation that served as a model for many other Pentecostal assemblies--helped make Winnipeg an important centre for Pentecostal evangelism and discipleship.²⁰ From Winnipeg it spread northward and westward. With many of the settlers in Manitoba coming from eastern Canada and Europe, a large proportion of the population was either Anglo-Saxon or French-Canadian, together with a mixture of Germans, Icelanders and other Europeans. Winnipeg's metropolitan status, and its diverse and unsettled population, made it an ideal hub for Pentecostal expansion.

By contrast, the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta had a more heterogeneous population. Many of the European immigrants settled in communities where race, language and religious traditions could be more easily preserved. The desire on the part of these immigrant groups often proved to be a significant barrier for Pentecostal evangelists. The difficulty of travel, the harsh winter conditions and the economic depression during the 1930s

¹⁹Miller observes that new congregations were frequently the result of an expulsion of members on the part of other denominations, rather than a schism initiated by those who had experienced the baptism of the Spirit. A good example is the expulsion in 1907 of ninety people, including eight clergymen, by the Mennonite Brethren in Christ (Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 45-46).

²⁰For a discussion of the importance of A.H. Argue and his family to early Pentecostalism in Canada, as well as his international influence, see Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 135. Four of Argue's children--Beulah, Eva, Zelma and Watson--became Pentecostal evangelists.

were significant deterrents particularly in rural areas. It was not, for example, until after World War Two that the major highways in Saskatchewan were paved. Miller cites also the lack of familiarity with the history and practices of American revivalism among the Saskatchewan immigrant population as a significant hindrance for the early Pentecostal movement.²¹

Within a decade, leaders in the Pentecostal movement realized that some type of organizational structure would be necessary. The rapid increase in the number of congregations resulted in a persistent shortage of qualified pastors. Opposition from other denominations demanded a response. The inefficiency of having individual congregations negotiate the sending and financing of missionaries led many to argue for a more centralized system. Still others expressed concern about the growing influence of opportunistic itinerant evangelists with less-than-stellar reputations.²² Although the move towards a more formal organization was vigorously opposed by the Hebden, ²³ the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada was nevertheless formed by Dominion charter on 17 May 1919.²⁴ The new body was to be an "association" not a "denomination," although it was not long before the new group began acting like a denomination. During the economically difficult decades of the 1930s, the number of churches grew from sixty-five to three hundred.²⁵ By 1941, the denomination had

²¹Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 82, 280-281.

²²Letter from Earl Kulbeck to Donald Klan, 6 July 1977, PAOCA; and Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 103-107.

²³The Hebden argued, "Not only is the free leading of the Spirit against man-made organizations, but the unity of the Spirit demands its abolition" (cited in Kydd, "Canadian Pentecostalism," 293; see also Gloria Kulbeck, *What God Hath Wrought: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada* [Toronto: Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, 1958], 33ff). As a result, Hebden's mission became a centre for trenchant opposition to organization.

²⁴Many Pentecostal assemblies in western Canada initially belonged to the Western Canada Assemblies of God District organized in 1919 by Hugh Cadwalder, an American evangelist. The group in western Canada merged with the larger Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada in 1922 to create a more national Pentecostal denomination (Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 117-119).

²⁵In 1921 Canadian census data indicates that only 0.1% of the Canadian population were affiliated with a Pentecostal group. This increased steadily each decade: in 1931 their numbers had more than doubled and they comprised 0.3% of the population of Canada, and by they had doubled yet again to 0.5% of the population (or about 58,000 people). By 1961 their numbers totalled 144,000 or about 0.8% of the Canadian population. Approximately one-half of these numbers belong to the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (see Kevin Shanahan, "StatsCan Counts Heads," *Eastern Journal of Practical Theology* 7, No. 2

spread across the country. Although Ontario remained its strongest region, almost 50% of its membership was distributed across western Canada with Winnipeg having the highest concentration in the region (Vancouver was a close second). Since its origin, the denomination has consistently been one of the fastest growing religious groups in Canada; by mid-century they had become a significant religious force within the country.

5.3.1 *Apostolic Church of Pentecost Bible Schools*

Originally a part of the same "Latter Rain" network in Canada from which the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada emerged, a second group of Pentecostals, the Apostolic Church of Pentecost, was formed in 1921. Despite their common origins, doctrinal differences divided the two Pentecostal groups. The issues included disputes over the formula to be used during baptism and the doctrine of the eternal security of the believer. The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada were more Trinitarian and Arminian, while the Apostolic Church of Pentecost emphasized using only the name of Jesus during baptism and were more Calvinistic.²⁶ The group was led by Franklin Small, who had worked together with A.H. Argue in Winnipeg in 1913 at the Apostolic Faith Mission and at the first Trossachs Gospel Camp Meeting in 1914.²⁷ The impact of the Trossachs Camp Meeting in southern Saskatchewan during the 1920s led to the emergence in 1927 of a third Pentecostal group in western Canada known as Full Gospel Missions, which was a loose affiliation of independent congregations. In 1944, this group changed its name to Evangelical Churches of Pentecost and, in 1953, they amalgamated with the Apostolic Church of Pentecost.

[Fall 1993]: 17-33).

²⁶The dispute was apparently precipitated by a sermon preached by R.E. McAlister just prior to a baptismal service (Robert A. Larden, *Our Apostolic Heritage* [Calgary, AB: Apostolic Church of Pentecost, 1971], 32). The "Jesus Only" doctrine taught that "'the Lord Jesus Christ,' is the ONE PROPER NAME of God for this dispensation; because in Him, Jesus Christ, Our Lord, all the Fulness of the Godhead dwelt; and to Him, all power in Heaven and earth, was given; that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in Jesus' name ONLY" (cited in Kydd, "Canadian Pentecostalism," 290). At the time of his withdrawal from the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, Franklin Small, founder of the Apostolic Church of Pentecost, reiterated some of the early concerns about the dangers of denominational organizations. According to Small, the denomination was merely "picking up the fragments of a shattered faith" left behind by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, which had now given organization "pre-eminence over the Word of God" (see Larden, *Our Apostolic Heritage*, 90-91).

²⁷A.D. Marshall, *It Came to Pass*; and Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 80.

Both the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada and the Apostolic Church of Pentecost played a prominent part in the story of Pentecostal Bible schools. A brief introduction to the efforts of the Apostolic Church of Pentecost offers an important point of comparison for the subsequent focus on Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada schools. The Apostolic schools highlight both the variations within the Pentecostal cluster of schools and the way in which different denominational emphases led to very different results.

The Apostolic Church of Pentecost efforts to establish a Bible school began in 1922 when Franklin Small delivered a passionate address to the group's second annual conference on the urgent need for a long-term Bible school in Winnipeg. A four-week course was organized, but then discontinued after one year. Two years later the subject of a Bible school dominated the agenda once again, but plans for a more permanent school never materialized apparently due to a "lack of funds."²⁸ Even during the 1930s, the Apostolic Church of Pentecost was involved in only one Bible school. Joseph A. Erickson started the Fundamental Bible School, which operated as a dual campus at both Coronation, Alberta and at Grenfell, Saskatchewan in 1935. Erickson apparently first presented the idea of a Bible school at the Trossachs Camp Meeting in 1928; when this never came to fruition, he raised the idea again several years later at a camp meeting near Veteran, Saskatchewan. This time a committee organized several months of classes that met first in Coronation and then in Grenfell. The Full Gospel Missions school started by Milton V. Brown in Yorkton during the 1930s lasted only two years, after which Brown joined forces with Erickson in Grenfell. In 1939 Erickson relocated his school to Port Coquitlam, British Columbia.²⁹ The departure of this school from Saskatchewan prompted H.J. McVety to start Queen City Bible School in Regina.³⁰ The need to maintain clear denominational boundaries, particularly after divisions due to doctrinal

²⁸Larden, *Our Apostolic Heritage*, 94-95.

²⁹In Port Coquitlam the school added a high school division. In 1945, Erickson became a Baptist, and the school became associated with Convention of Regular Baptists of British Columbia, later known as the Fellowship of Evangelical Baptists (Marshall, *It Came to Pass*, 90-93; and John H. Pickford, *What God Hath Wrought: Sixty Years of God's Goodness in the Fellowship of Regular Baptist Churches of British Columbia* [Vancouver, BC: Baptist Foundation of British Columbia, 1987], 122-123).

³⁰Queen City Bible School lasted only one year. Soon after its closure, McVety started another Pentecostal splinter group called the Grace Gospel Mission. During the 1940s, he tried once more to start a Bible school, Berean Bible School in Tribune, Saskatchewan (Marshall, *It Came to Pass*, 27-28). McVety eventually left the Apostolic church and joined the faculty of Winnipeg Bible Institute.

differences, often made attending a Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada school unthinkable for Apostolic Church of Pentecost young people.

During the 1940s, the young denomination initiated three more Bible schools in western Canada. In 1940 a school was started in Grande Prairie, Alberta and in 1943 a school was started in Radville, Saskatchewan. Neither lasted more than a couple of years. A more permanent school, Prairie Apostolic Bible Institute (later renamed Apostolic Missionary Training Institute when the denomination took over control of the school), was established in Saskatoon in 1943 with R.E.S. Toms as principal (Toms was pastor of the Saskatoon Apostolic Church). Student enrolment peaked at seventy during the late 1940s with returning veterans and then declined until 1953 when the school merged with the Full Gospel Bible Institute, a school operated by the Full Gospel Missions in Eston, Saskatchewan.³¹ The intense suspicion of a denominational organizational structure, along with the emphasis on the autonomy of each congregation, made it virtually impossible for the Apostolic Church of Pentecost to establish a long-term Bible school during the 1930s and 1940s. Early Apostolic Church of Pentecost schools were started either as an initiative of one congregation (for example, Glad Tidings Bible Training School), or by a group of individuals forming a Bible school society (for example, Prairie Apostolic Bible Institute). The group was unable to keep pace with the growth experienced by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada in part because it did not give the same attention to leadership development. The suspicion of more centralized denominational structures, along with the anti-intellectual tendencies that accompanied Pentecostalism, was much more intense and sustained within the Apostolic Church of Pentecost and Full Gospel Missions than among the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. The difference is due entirely to the leadership of the respective movements. A.D. Marshall, a teacher at Full Gospel Bible Institute, relates a telling story about the revivalist O.J. Lovick who, late in his career, considered his greatest mistake to have been the failure “to establish a Bible school to train young men to carry on the message that brought revival to them and to fill the pulpits he had established.”³²

³¹Marshall, *It Came to Pass*, 93-97.

³²Marshall argues that the imbalance between a healthy use of the human intellect and a reliance on the Holy Spirit was “one of the great mistakes that early Pentecost [Apostolic Church of Pentecost] made, and the root cause for much of the ‘false fire’ of which she is accused today. Even yet much of this lingers in

5.3.2 Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada Bible Schools

The remainder of the chapter examines more closely the story of Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada Bible schools with a particular focus on Western Bible College located in Winnipeg, Manitoba. This story contributes to a larger understanding of the Bible school movement in several ways. It offers a glimpse into the internal dynamics of a young denomination struggling to establish itself in western Canada. Almost all of the Bible schools started by the Pentecostals were located (or relocated) in urban centres,³³ and all of them had significant connections to large Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada congregations or well-known personalities. In this, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada schools reflected the pattern of expansion on the part of the denomination. The Pentecostal ethos created some unique challenges, that is, a tendency towards anti-intellectualism and a suspicion of centralized denominational structures, to which the leaders of Western Bible College tried to help the young denomination respond. Unlike many of the other denominations in this cluster, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada utilized the theological educational and extensive ministry experience that its first-generation leaders brought into the denomination. Many of those who became leaders of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada were converts drawn from the ranks of other denominations such as the Baptists (R.L. Dutaud), the Methodists (A.H. Argue, D.N. Buntain, F.M. Bellsmith), the Christian and Missionary Alliance (A.G. Ward), the New Brethren in Christ, the Mennonite Brethren in Christ (George Chambers and John Ball) and the Salvation Army. A small number of adherents came from the Anglicans (J.E. Purdie, A.D. Baker), Presbyterians (Sammy Wilson, Henry C. Sweet, T.T. Latto, J.W. McKillop) and the Congregationalists. The education and experience of these individuals proved indispensable for helping the newly-organized Pentecostal Assem-

the minds of men and women. The lack of knowledge of Scripture among Pentecostals was a byword among the learned 'Funnymentalists.' . . . Even when the Bible School [Full Gospel Bible Institute] became firmly rooted, there was still a deep-rooted suspicion of higher education. Seminary and college degrees were generally disregarded, sometimes ridiculed. Preachers, and teachers poked fun at the D.D.'s as 'Dry as Dust,' and the seminaries were humourously, or disdainfully, called 'cemeteries'" (*It Came to Pass*, 19-22).

³³Census data confirms that the Pentecostal movement was significantly more urban than many other new evangelical Protestant groups. In 1941 the Pentecostal membership was almost evenly divided between urban and rural members (see Cornelius Jaenen, "The Pentecostal Movement" [M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1950], 129-135).

blies of Canada overcome its suspicion of denominational bureaucracy, by providing the expertise in designing a denominational structure, and by designing an institution and program of theological education to prepare the next generation of leaders.³⁴ This Pentecostal denomination started more schools in western Canada than any other Holiness or Pentecostal group, and made a more substantial contribution than any other Holiness movement or Pentecostal denomination towards the development of Pentecostal theological education in western Canada. Like the majority of Bible schools in western Canada, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada schools manifested a strong denominational orientation: investigating the story of these schools therefore offers a good view into the life and development of the denomination.

5.3.2.1 Origins of Western Bible College, Winnipeg (1925-1950)

The charter that formally created the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada in 1919 endowed the new corporate body with all the rights and powers for the following purposes and objects: "a) to conduct a place of worship; b) to organize and conduct schools of religious instruction (colleges); and c) to carry on missionary work for the spread of the gospel and all such other operations pertaining to a regular denomination, such as the Church of England or Presbyterian Church of Canada."³⁵ Although the desire to establish a Bible school was evident among Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada leaders as early as 1921,³⁶ it was not until 1923 that plans were approved by the Eastern District Conference to set up a series of "Itinerary [sic] Bible Schools in Eastern Canada."³⁷ These plans were never carried out, but the following year three new efforts emerged in different parts of the country. One school was held by D.W. Kerr in the winter of 1924 in Evangel Pentecostal Church in

³⁴Buntain, for example, insisted that the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada did not need to "fear organization, but rather use organization to drive denominational machinery for God" (see Ronald Kydd, "The Contribution of Denominationally Trained Clergymen to the Emerging Pentecostal Movement in Canada," *Pneuma* 5, No. 1 [Spring 1983]: 32).

³⁵Letter from J.E. Purdie to Col. C.D. McPherson, 25 August 1943, Purdie Papers, CPCA.

³⁶"Report of the General Conference," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (November 1921); cited in C. Mark Schinkel, "James Eustace Purdie and Biblical/Theological Education in the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada: The Formative Years," Unpublished paper, 1986, 12.

³⁷Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 202-203.

Montreal. The Evangelistic Bible School of British Columbia (also known as Faith Bible School) was opened in Victoria in September 1924 by H. Wesley Cooksey with twenty-five students. It lasted only one year and reached a total of fifty students.³⁸ In February 1924 Cooksey began another school in Saskatoon together with John McAlister and George Schneider, which attracted thirty-five students; it continued during the winter months of 1925 with another thirty students. Many of the students in these initial attempts later continued their studies at Western Bible College in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

These short-lived attempts signalled the growing interest among Pentecostal young people and leaders for having a Bible school that was located in Canada. A number of young leaders had already begun attending schools in the United States, but many others who expressed interest did not have the resources to do so. In August 1925 the General Conference of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada met in Winnipeg; here it was agreed that a long-term "orthodox place of training to prepare candidates for Christian Ministry should be organized."³⁹ Although it was agreed that this school should be located in Winnipeg, the understanding was that it would only be temporary until both Eastern and Western Districts could set up their own regional schools. J.E. Purdie was appointed principal--Purdie knew nothing of the appointment at the time on account of his involvement in evangelistic and Bible conference work in Prince Edward Island.⁴⁰

The school was first known as Central Canadian Bible Institute; it opened on 16 November 1925 in the basement of Wesley Pentecostal Church with an enrolment of thirty-two students. Its location in the booming metropolis of Winnipeg made the college equally accessible to students from both eastern and western Canada. The express purpose of the school, as outlined in one of its first brochures, was "to train men and women for pastoral, evangelistic and missionary work at home and abroad."⁴¹ The first three faculty members included Purdie, Kathleen I. Reid and D.N. Buntain, pastor of Wesley Pentecostal Church;

³⁸Kulbeck, *What God Hath Wrought*, 50, 59, 65.

³⁹J.E. Purdie, "What God Hath Wrought: Historical Sketch of the College, 1925-1950," *The Gleaner* 11, No. 1 (April 1950): 2.

⁴⁰"What God Hath Wrought," *The Gleaner* (April 1950): 2.

⁴¹*Central Canadian Bible Institute, 1926-1927*, CPCA.

together they taught courses in Bible, theology, church history, dispensations, missions, apologetics, homiletics, pastoral theology, English and gospel singing. Students were housed in several nearby residential buildings. Within two years the name was changed to Canadian Pentecostal Bible College. With the prospect of a student body of close to one hundred for the fall term of 1927, the school recognized that it had outgrown the basement of the church. It therefore purchased St. George's Anglican Church, and used this facility as well as Wesley Pentecostal Church. For the next several years, enrolment consistently hovered around 125. The school quickly established international connections; by 1928 enrolment had increased to more than 130 students, many of whom came from across Canada, the British Isles and the United States.⁴²

The school temporarily closed its doors in 1930 so that it could relocate to Toronto and its buildings in Winnipeg were sold. It was moved because the General Conference believed that Toronto was a more strategic location closer to the larger Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada population in the Eastern district (Ontario and Quebec). Here it operated for only two years before the effects of the great depression, the enrolment of a relatively small student body, and some tension between Purdie and A.G. Ward, R.E. McAlister, and G.A. Chambers, brought Canadian Pentecostal Bible College to a close once again.⁴³

Meanwhile, with the sudden departure of the school from Winnipeg, students from western Canada complained about the cost of annual travel to and from Toronto. As a result, a second Pentecostal college was started in 1931 called Western Bible College. It was led by H.C. Sweet, and once again used the basement of Wesley Pentecostal Church. When Canadian Pentecostal Bible College closed in 1932, Purdie returned to Winnipeg to become the principal of Western Bible College, bringing with him the second- and third-year students from Toronto.

The two ventures in Winnipeg, both of which were led by Purdie, represent the

⁴²*The Gleaner* (November 1971): 1, CPCA.

⁴³Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 207. The General Conference had financed the purchase and renovation of St. George's Anglican Church. When it became clear that the school would have difficulty repaying this amount, it seemed expedient to sell the facility, and move the school to a large hotel not far from the denomination's national office (see Brian Ross, "James Eustace Purdie: The Story of Pentecostal Theological Education," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 17, No. 4 [December 1975]: 98).

Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada entry into the Bible school movement (hereafter Western Bible College will be used to refer to both schools). Although leaders within the fledgling denomination were divided over the question of whether specialized training was necessary for ministers, it did not take long for the denomination to designate the school as its national school for training pastors. Despite the fact that it was operational for only twenty-five years, Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada leaders are unanimous in identifying the school as the most influential Pentecostal institution in the first half of the twentieth century. It produced more than 500 graduates during its twenty-five years of operation. It not only trained several generations of leaders for the denomination, but it also served as the model for other regional schools in addition to providing many of the faculty members for these newer schools.⁴⁴

An important feature in the life and influence of Western Bible College was its close relationship with Wesley Pentecostal Church (later known as Calvary Temple). It served as a giant object lesson for the Bible school students. Along with the evangelistic ministry of A.H. Argue, which was headquartered in Winnipeg, a series of Charles S. Price evangelistic and healing services during the 1920s did much to attract attention to the Pentecostal movement in Winnipeg. It was during the early 1920s that the Wesley Church, which was Methodist at the time, joined the Pentecostal movement under the leadership of D.N. Buntain. In a short time, the congregation became one of the eminent assemblies in the movement. In 1937, D.N. Buntain became the General Superintendent of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, a position he held until 1944. As a result, Watson Argue (son of A.H. Argue) became the pastor of Wesley Pentecostal Church. He not only continued the tradition of aggressive evangelism that had characterized the assembly, but also added the new innovation of regularly-scheduled, live radio broadcasts. In order to accommodate the increasing size of the congregation, the large First Baptist Church on Cumberland Avenue was purchased in 1938. It was renamed Calvary Temple--apparently at the suggestion of Price.⁴⁵ During the 1940s, Sunday evening services regularly filled the 1,600 seat auditorium to capacity; it became the largest Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada assembly in Canada.

Western Bible College began in the basement of Wesley Pentecostal Church, but the

⁴⁴Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 85.

⁴⁵The name was subsequently used by many other Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada churches (Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 132).

church was much more than simply the physical location of the school. It continued using the facilities of this church until 1947 when the school gradually moved into its own facility just a few doors west of the church. The relationship with Calvary Temple enhanced the school's role as the "national" Bible school. The benefits were reciprocal: the energy and abilities of students and faculty helped provided personnel for the various church ministries. Like most other Bible schools, providing opportunities for gaining practical experience in ministry was a priority, and the dynamic, optimistic environment of Calvary Temple offered a perfect context for this. Students were involved in teaching Sunday school, various music ministries, preparing radio broadcasts and a variety of roles in church services. Here they saw a vibrant and enthusiastic Pentecostalism in action. Involvement on the part of many young prospective ministerial candidates in Calvary Temple helped determine the shape of Pentecostal ministry in other urban contexts across the country. Access to a large facility, music and radio equipment minimized the capital costs for the school. Many church staff had faculty roles: Buntain taught at Western Bible College prior to its move to Toronto; starting in 1937, Watson Argue, as well as his assistant, Robert Sistig, both taught courses--Argue taught "Evangelism and Radio Work" while Sistig taught music courses. In addition to "spiritual and scholarly instruction," and an "experienced staff," Watson Argue reasoned that the proximity of the school to Calvary Chapel offered many additional benefits for attending Western Bible College: "It offers the privilege of active participation in soul-winning in a strong evangelistic centre where souls are constantly lining the altars for conversion, and hungry hearts are seeking and finding within the consecrated retreat of the prayer room; where gospel music is a living force of worship and gladness; where radio offers its far-flung message, and where a vision for God and souls permeates the atmosphere."⁴⁶

Western Bible College officially closed its doors in 1950. The closure was precipitated by Purdie's resignation as principal--Purdie wished to devote more time to itinerant preaching and teaching. During the 1940s student enrolments at Western Bible College were consistently lower than they had been during the depression years of the 1930s. In part this was due to the absence of men who were involved in the war effort, but to a greater degree it was due to the stiff competition for prospective Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada students

⁴⁶*Western Bible College Yearbook*, 1938-39, 9.

on the part of newly-organized regional schools.⁴⁷

By this time six other Bible schools had been started in Canada with five still in operation in 1950--three in western Canada (Saskatoon, Edmonton and Victoria), one in Toronto and one in Montreal. It is not accidental that all of the Bible schools started by the denomination were located in urban centres. Although the Pentecostal movement spread throughout all many rural parts of the country, the focal points for the movement were cities.⁴⁸ Their urban locations made them accessible to a greater number of travelling evangelists and missionary speakers. In short, the location of the Bible schools enhanced the role played by urban centres as strategic centres of influence.

Although Western Bible College enrolments did increase for several years following the war on account of returning war veterans, by the end of the 1940s student numbers were once again in decline. Exacerbating the situation was the fact that by the end of the 1940s enrolment in some of the district schools was actually higher than at the Winnipeg school. Finding suitable accommodation was often a problem for students attending Western Bible College; by the late 1940s, several of the regional schools had either built dormitories (for example, Central Pentecostal College) or converted buildings into student "hostels" (for example, Western Pentecostal Bible College) making them a more attractive option. The Board of Governors, along with leaders of the Manitoba District of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, decided to merge the school with Bethel Bible Institute in Saskatoon. Many Manitoba Pentecostals objected and wanted the college to remain in Winnipeg, but because a residential school model was preferred, and because the school in Saskatoon already owned a dormitory, it was moved to Saskatoon.⁴⁹

5.3.2.2 Internal Opposition to Bible Schools

Despite the theological education acquired by many of the leaders involved with the Bible school movement, they nevertheless found themselves within a movement in which

⁴⁷Purdie, "What God Hath Wrought," *The Gleaner* (April 1950): 4.

⁴⁸This was observed by Gordon F. Atter as early as 1937 ("The Pentecostal Movement: Who We Are and What We Believe" [By the author, 1937; rev. ed., 1957, CPCA]).

⁴⁹Erna Alma Peters, *The Contribution to Education by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada* (Homewood, MB: By the author, 1970), 28.

some preferred a simple emphasis on the major Biblical “truths” along with a rather unsophisticated approach towards theology. As a result, not everyone within the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada agreed that Bible schools were a good idea. Leaders within the early Pentecostal movement were divided about the need for Bible schools, and over the question of whether specialized training was necessary for ministers. Those opposed argued that the Holy Spirit would provide leaders with all the necessary resources; it is, after all, “God who makes preachers.”⁵⁰ Like institutional structures, education was seen as a “man-made” innovation that would hinder the leading of the Holy Spirit. Another common objection was based on the conclusion that the churches that had “lost out to God” had done so, at least in part, because their clergy had been “educated out of spirituality into deadness.” The apostle Paul’s words in 2 Corinthians 3:6 (“the letter kills but the Spirit gives life”), and Paul’s presumed denigration of human wisdom in 1 Corinthians, were regularly used to insinuate that theological education would inevitably result in such “deadness.”⁵¹ Still others who opposed Bible schools took a slightly different tack. The urgency of being involved in evangelism before the imminent return of Jesus Christ led some to question whether spending the time and money to go to Bible school was not in effect a waste.⁵²

The early theological controversies within the young movement also contributed to a certain ambivalence and suspicion concerning theological education. Afraid that an overemphasis on theology might only fragment the movement further, the General Conference of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada passed a resolution in 1919 that stated:

whereas much contention and confusion has been caused over the issue of one God and Trinitarian views, also the Baptismal Formula, be it resolved, that we as a body go on record as disapproving not only the above issues, but of all other issues, that divide and confuse God’s people to no profit, and that aggressive evangelism be our motto.⁵³

⁵⁰A.C. Schindel, interview with Bruce Guenther, 2 December 1997. See also the comments by Willard C. Pierce in *The Gleaner* (April 1950): 12; and Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 201-202.

⁵¹The same dynamic is described by Edith L. Blumhofer in her history of the Assemblies of God (see *The Assemblies of God: A Chapter in the Story of American Pentecostalism, Volume 2--Since 1941* [Springfield, MO: Gospel Publishing House, 1989], 110).

⁵²This attitude was present not only among Pentecostals, but also among other groups that strongly emphasized premillennialism.

⁵³General Conference Minutes, 26 May 1919, 19, CPCA.

Debates over the necessity of Bible school training were most intense during the first several decades following the formation of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, although a suspicion of higher education has continued to linger for most of the twentieth century. The experience of Egbert S. Berry, a graduate in 1933, was commonplace. He writes:

On my way to College in 1930 a Minister of the Gospel tried to dissuade me from my course. He believed that the only school necessary was that of experience. Looking over the years of my ministry, I have come to the conclusion that this would have been one of the biggest mistakes in my life. Because of the fundamental and Scriptural teaching received in the College, I have been spared many sorrows and escaped many pitfalls which come to the unlearned worker.⁵⁴

Purdie, and other Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada leaders, regularly defended the validity and necessity of formal training. Such articles generally exhibited a considerable degree of tactfulness and restraint, but occasionally a more vigorous directness is evident. For example, in 1939 Purdie writes:

The history of the Church proves that the majority of ministers who were most spiritual and most used in the salvation of souls were those who had tremendous doctrinal and theological convictions on the great verities of Christianity. Applying the foregoing to the present day evangelistic groups, we discover many colourless preachers who are earnest, but who have "a zeal without knowledge." . . . Because they lack the true understanding of what they believe, their congregations suffer. The understanding of the truth in all its various angles not only makes us spiritually and intelligently free, but also provides the ground for true and pure thinking. . . . If we would stem the tide of Traditionalism, Rationalism and Mysticism, it behooves the Minister to be thoroughly prepared for his work. Hence the value of the Schools of the Prophets in the old Hebrew days, and the Christian Colleges of training which have existed from early times.⁵⁵

Many of those who rose to positions of prominent leadership in the denomination had had the benefit of theological education prior to joining the Pentecostal movement and, as a result, recognized the long-term impact a school devoted to the training of leaders could have in shaping the ethos and direction of a denomination. They saw the school as a necessary means for preserving and propagating their distinctive Pentecostal theology, and as the means for

⁵⁴"Since I Left Bible College . . ." *Western Bible College Yearbook*, 1939-40, 21.

⁵⁵"The Need for Preachers with Convictions," *Western Bible College Yearbook*, 1938-39, 3.

moderating a tendency among some towards an excessive subjectivity and anti-intellectualism. The attitude on the part of denominational leaders vacillated between wariness and support. In an interview, Purdie describes the gradual process by which support for theological education prevailed as the dominant position:

The ministers and people in the early history of the Pentecostal church were so preoccupied with the salvation of souls and the building up of the household of faith, together with days and nights of prayer, that with great victories in the spiritual realm they had not become conscious for a considerable time of higher education. . . . The Pentecostal church . . . amid all the revivals . . . [was] cautious as to how far she should go in exalting the intellectual. . . . This church was not opposed to any ministers of other churches that had intellectual attainments in higher education and degrees, as long as these men and women adhered to the Bible as the highest authority, and were in themselves real believers according to the New Testament, and essentially evangelical. . . . Pentecostals were not opposed to education when it was sound and true to the great theological settlement of the reformation. . . . Therefore they gradually saw the need of Bible colleges.⁵⁶

On the occasion of Western Bible College's twentieth anniversary in 1945, Purdie confidently asserted "that the discipline of sound study, which is so imperative for young men and women to have in these days of superficiality, together with our emphasis upon a life of prayer and devotion to the Lord Jesus Christ, has contributed much to the ministry of those that once sat in our lecture halls."⁵⁷ As the number of graduates increased, and as college-trained ministers and church workers spread across the country assuming leadership positions within the denomination, gradually the resistance towards education and Bible schools waned. The development of five additional regional schools by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada during the late 1930s and 1940s signalled a progression in this direction.

5.3.2.3 *Western Bible College's Curriculum and Programs*

Looking back some twenty years after the college was started, Purdie identifies the two observations that prompted the unique design of Western Bible College's curriculum:

First, that while in the best and most evangelical Theological Colleges and Seminaries of that day, strong emphasis was laid upon the Bible as the infalli-

⁵⁶J.E. Purdie, interview with Erna Peters, October 1968; cited in Peters, *The Contribution to Education by the PAOC*, 24.

⁵⁷*The Portal*, Twentieth Anniversary Issue, 1944-45, 3.

ble word of God, yet the student was not sufficiently familiarized with the actual content of the Holy Scriptures themselves; secondly, that while in the best Bible Schools on our continent, there were very good courses on the Bible itself, yet there was a lack of instruction in real Systematic Theology as taught in the best Seminaries. For these two reasons we drew up a course in which both elements of instruction are well-balanced.⁵⁸

The curriculum was patterned after that of the evangelical Anglican Wycliffe College in Toronto, which was familiar to Purdie, and was recommended by Purdie as an internationally recognized “institution of high scholastic standing and of sound evangelical teaching balanced with real spirituality.”⁵⁹ In addition to balancing systematic theology and biblical studies, efforts were made to balance “the deeper doctrinal, theological and historical subjects . . . with the more practical such as Public Speaking, Pastoralia, Evangelism.”⁶⁰ Courses were organized into four “fields” of study: theology, biblical studies, history and practical theology. Courses in theology included “The Idea of Theology,” “The History of Doctrine,” “The Structure of Theology,” and “New Testament Theology” (a detailed look at the book of Romans). Throughout the history of the school, the area of theology remained almost exclusively the domain of J.E. Purdie. Courses in biblical studies included a variety of Old and New Testament courses including “The Life and Teachings of Christ,” “The Early Church and St. Paul” and “Dispensational Truth.” The Historical Field included three courses in both “Church History” and “World Missions,” as well as course called “Modern Cults.” The practical field included “Homiletics,” “Pastoralia,” “Evangelism and Radio Work,” “Soul-Winning,” “Lectures on Social Culture,” and an optional course called “Home Nursing and First Aid.” These four categories were expanded during the 1940s to include religious education, languages (Greek, Ukrainian, Hebrew and Spanish)⁶¹ and “the University Field of Opportunity,” an option available only to students who had attained “the required academic standing” (at least Grade Twelve).

⁵⁸*The Portal*, 1946-47, 4.

⁵⁹Letter from J.E. Purdie to Central University, 16 November 1937, Purdie Papers, CPCA.

⁶⁰J.E. Purdie, “The Principles of our Balanced Course,” *Western Bible College Yearbook*, 1938-39, 3.

⁶¹Courses in Ukrainian and Spanish were offered in an effort to accelerate students into cross-cultural evangelistic ministries. The Ukrainian department was started in 1944 in conjunction with the Russian and Eastern European Mission (Chicago).

While the course of study at Western Bible College was demanding by Bible school standards of the day, Purdie was nevertheless exaggerating the curricular superiority of the school in more ways than one when he described the academic program as “practically a Seminary Curriculum and of course very superior to the Bible Schools whose courses are mostly non-theological in character.”⁶² It was a program operating in makeshift facilities, without adequate textbooks and with limited library resources. The tenuous financial situation of the college made it impossible to address these deficiencies.

The impact of the curriculum cannot be understood apart from the more general theological ethos among Pentecostals, which strongly emphasized dispensational premillennialism, prioritized evangelism and missions as the primary mandate of the church, and undergirded these two with an uncritical, and sometimes even naive, approach towards the Bible and theology. Central to Pentecostal theological education was “the Book,” the Bible, in which could be found inspiration and authority (and innumerable proof-texts). Human interpretations and opinions, that is, theology, were always to be regarded as secondary in importance to the Bible. In order to understand the Bible properly, students were instructed to read the Bible “prayerfully,” not relying on “natural” reason for understanding.⁶³

The missionary emphasis within the school was rooted in the evangelical conviction concerning the absolute necessity of the sinner’s individual experience of salvation. “The propagation of the Gospel” was considered “the most noble cause of all.”⁶⁴ Although D.N. Buntain affirmed that “every field in life is honourable,” he simultaneously asserted, “there is no greater work among men than the training of leaders to go forth in full-time service as missionaries, evangelists, pastors and deaconesses.”⁶⁵ The missionary emphasis was given a considerable degree of urgency by the belief in the imminent return of Jesus Christ and the belief that unrepentant sinners were destined for an eternal lake of fire. Current events, particularly prior to and during World War Two, provided an abundance of signs indicating

⁶²Letter from J.E. Purdie to Central University, 16 November 1937, Purdie Papers, CPCA.

⁶³See comments in Mervil Jackson’s class notes (Mervil Jackson Papers, CPCA).

⁶⁴*Western Bible College Yearbook*, 1938-39, 24.

⁶⁵*Rejoice: a History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Alberta and the Northwest Territories* (Edmonton, AB: The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, n.d. [c. 1984]), 136.

the imminent return of Christ. Theological debate faded into insignificance when compared to the urgency of evangelism and missions. Students met weekly to pray for, and learn about, the evangelistic needs of regions around the world. In 1945, a local chapter of the Foreign Missions Fellowship was organized among the students.

In addition to their studies, all students were involved in a myriad of activities designed to give them some practical experience in ministry.⁶⁶ Students were expected to encounter the personal experiences of prayer, preaching and evangelism. Each day began with a short, early-morning chapel service. These services offered students the opportunity to practice leading services and speaking in public. One day a month was set aside for fasting and prayer. Each student was assigned to a specific ministry that included various evangelistic, children's and youth activities at Calvary Temple, visiting hospitals and nursing homes, assisting at various Pentecostal missions and churches in the Winnipeg area and house-to-house visits. The primary focus underlying all of these activities was evangelism.

5.3.2.4 Faculty Roles and Influence

Some of the most striking features of the faculty at Western Bible College include the diversity of their denominational backgrounds prior to joining the Pentecostal movement, their extensive experience in professional ministry and their relatively high level of academic qualifications. All of them were deeply committed to the project of designing and delivering a program of theological education to the Pentecostal movement. Their level of education was not typical of the majority of Pentecostals in the pew, or for that matter, of the majority of people in Canada. The first several decades of the twentieth century were tumultuous years of farm settlement and industrialization in western Canada, which left many without even a grade eight level of education; the economic crises of the 1930s further robbed thousands of educational opportunities. The presence of such individuals, along with their considerable leadership skills and theological background helps explain why the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada managed to minimize some of the anti-intellectual strands within their denomination more quickly in comparison to other Pentecostal groups such as the Apostolic Church of Pentecost, and why they were successful in establishing an institution for the training of

⁶⁶See *Western Bible College Yearbook*, 1942-43, 12-13 for comments regarding student attitudes and apprehensions about their "practical work" assignments.

ministers and church workers as early as 1925. As was the case generally in the Bible school movement, the personalities and influence of several charismatic individuals shaped the unique ethos and direction of the institution.⁶⁷ Although approximately fifty people were faculty or special lecturers at one time or another, I will highlight the life and credentials of several who contributed most to shaping the ethos of the school. This is the only chapter in which a series of short biographical vignettes of faculty are included. Unlike other denominational schools, to which faculty generally brought years of denominational familiarity and ministry experience, Western Bible College was unique in serving a denomination that was less than a decade old. It is, therefore, helpful to examine the diversity of backgrounds that came together among the faculty of this school to create a tradition of theological education for the newly-forged Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada.⁶⁸

After Western Bible College ceased to exist in 1950, the former General Superintendent (and co-founder of the school with Purdie), D.N. Buntain remarked: "Knowing the movement as I do, I can say that Western Bible College under Dr. Purdie has done more to mould the character and shape the destiny of our movement than any other thing."⁶⁹ Accolades for Purdie abound within Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada literature.⁷⁰ Dubbed the "Father of Canadian Pentecostal Colleges," the role of James Eustace Purdie (1880-1977) in shaping Western Bible College in particular, and Pentecostal theological education in Canada in general during the first half of the twentieth century, can hardly be overstated.⁷¹

Purdie was born in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island in 1880.⁷² His maternal

⁶⁷Miller observes how the growth of Pentecostalism during the 1920s and 1930s was linked to a plethora of highly individualistic characters (*Canadian Pentecostalism*, 138).

⁶⁸A complete list of faculty can be found in Peters, *The Contribution to Education by the PAOC*, 173.

⁶⁹*Jubilation: Five Decades in the Life of Western Pentecostal Bible College* (Abbotsford, BC: WPBC, 1991), 11.

⁷⁰See *The Pentecostal Testimony* (June 1970): 5; and *The Gleaner* (April 1950): 6-8.

⁷¹Thomas Wm. Miller, "Portraits of Pentecostal Pioneers: J.E. Purdie," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (February 1987): 22-24; and Letter from Earl Kulbeck to Donald Klan, 6 July 1977, PAOCA.

⁷²Detailed information about Purdie's past was recorded by Gordon Franklin in 1973 through an extensive series of interviews (see J.E. Purdie, Interview by Gordon Franklin, 1973, CPCA; and James Dunlop Craig, "'Out and Out for the Lord': James Eustace Purdie, An Early Anglican Pentecostal," [M.A. Thesis, University of St. Michael's College, 1995]).

grandfather was a Member of Parliament for twenty-eight years; his paternal grandfather, an immigrant from Edinburgh, Scotland was the first banker in the province, and for forty years was an elder in the Presbyterian Church. His parents were part of a low-church Anglican parish (St. Paul's, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island) through which he was converted in 1899. Shortly after this experience he became a zealous lay worker in the Anglican church.⁷³ In 1902, Purdie began studies at the University of Toronto and Wycliffe College. He was ordained in 1906, and a year later graduated with a B.D. from Wycliffe. In 1909 he married Frances Emma Morrison whom he had met when she was a student at Wycliffe. They frequently worked together closely in public ministry.⁷⁴

He first came into contact with Pentecostalism in 1911 in New Brunswick, but it was not until 1919 while serving as the rector of St. James's Anglican Church in Saskatoon that, according to Purdie, "the infilling of the Holy Spirit . . . manifested Himself in me by tongues flowing from my lips."⁷⁵ At the time, Saskatoon was a city of about 35,000. St. James was one of the finest church structures in the community.⁷⁶ After his Pentecostal experience he began to invite Pentecostal speakers to his parish in an attempt to introduce his parishioners to the movement. One such speaker was the young Walter McAlister, who helped establish Pentecostalism in Saskatoon. As Purdie developed his own reputation as a Pentecostal preacher he was gradually drawn more fully into the burgeoning movement. In 1920, Purdie moved to the United States for a short time and then back to New Brunswick. During this

⁷³"Principal of the Western Pentecostal Bible College for Thirteen Years." *The Pentecostal Testimony* (May 1938): 17.

⁷⁴Frances Purdie's role as wife was not always easy. Prior to her marriage, she graduated from the Church of England Deaconess House in Toronto. Financial reasons prevented the Purdie family from moving to Winnipeg from Prince Edward Island in 1925 when Canadian Pentecostal Bible College first began. In 1929, the family did finally move only to learn shortly after that the school was being relocated to Toronto. Her active role alongside her husband at Western Bible College was made official in 1935 with the title "Assistant to the Principal." In 1938 she became a regular lecturer at the school. The Purdies had two children who both graduated from the University of Manitoba. His daughter became a school teacher; his son went on to study at Wycliffe College (Letter from J.E. Purdie to Central University, 16 November 1937).

⁷⁵"My Own Pentecost," *The Pentecostal Testimony* (June 1970): 9. Purdie acknowledges the significant influence of various Holiness movement writers, most notably Phoebe Palmer.

⁷⁶Prior to his Pentecostal experience Purdie has established a pattern of inviting prominent fundamentalists to preach in his parish including William Evans from Moody Bible Institute, Rowland V. Bingham, founder of the Sudan Interior Mission, and the Congregationalist preacher, G. Campbell Morgan.

time he acquired more experience in revival ministry by assisting the fundamentalist Reuben A. Torrey. He thereafter used revivalist terminology and methods in his own services.

Purdie was respected and trusted by many leaders both within Pentecostal circles and within the broader evangelical world. He was considered one of the leading theologians within the young Pentecostal movement; as such, he was ideally suited to lead initiatives in the area of theological education. Despite the endorsement of Purdie by the General Conference, convincing the entire denominational constituency of the value of a theological education was a battle that lasted most of Purdie's lifetime. While Purdie acknowledged that "no preacher can be made by study alone," he also affirmed that "the best training was needed, in addition to the anointing of the Holy Ghost." In his view, *both* evangelistic and teaching ministries were outlined in the New Testament. On the basis of his own theological education at Wycliffe and his ministry experience, he outlined seven factors necessary for creating a successful "divinity college." These factors included a doctrinal statement based on the acceptance of the Bible as "the completely inspired Word of God"; a company of well-trained teachers who will teach the statement of faith to others; the best possible curriculum that should be "scholarly, comprehensive, orthodox, thoroughly evangelical in every point of doctrine and such as the student himself can intelligently grasp"; a saved, Spirit-led student body; prayer on the part of faculty and students; a missionary vision; and a library of good books.⁷⁷ As his students became leaders and missionary pioneers, Purdie's views concerning the necessity of theological training as the means to stabilize and guide the young movement were vindicated. According to Pentecostal historian Ronald Kydd, the one "who made the greatest individual theological contribution to the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada was undoubtedly James Eustace Purdie." In spite of the fact that he published relatively little, devoting himself instead to preparing lecture notes and extensive preaching, Purdie "has to be acknowledged as the primary figure in mediating theology to several generations of the Pentecostals."⁷⁸

Despite his considerable abilities and achievements, several anomalies surround

⁷⁷"Factors that make a Divinity College," *The Portal*, 1943-44, 3.

⁷⁸Kydd, "The Contribution of Denominationally Trained Clergymen," 26, 28.

Purdie. His own educational background along with his own reading,⁷⁹ gave his frequent emphasis on the need for “well-trained” faculty credibility. Because he was constantly concerned about defending the academic reputation of Western Bible College, it is difficult to understand why he pursued arrangements with institutions that did not have a very good academic reputation on behalf of others and himself. Recognizing the correlation between academic credibility of an institution and the credentials of faculty, Purdie tried to ensure that all of his faculty were “lettered.” Towards this end Purdie negotiated an arrangement with Central University (Indianapolis) so that Western Bible College graduates with a high school diploma could, with no extra work, obtain a Th.G. (Graduate in Theology) degree. Virtually everyone on faculty during the mid-1940s who did not already have an academic degree was given a Th.G. (mischievously referred to as “thugs”). The B.A. (Bachelor of Arts) degree could be obtained from the same institution with only one additional year of correspondence work. These arrangements did not produce the desired result; recipients of the Th.G. discovered later that very few other institutions were willing to recognize its validity. Those graduates who had earned a B.A. degree could obtain a B.Th. (Bachelor of Theology) degree from London College of Theology with one year’s work of textbook studies. Similar arrangements were also negotiated with seminaries in the United States.⁸⁰ Although Purdie was given a D.D. *honoris causa* by the Reformed Episcopal Seminary (Philadelphia) in 1936, a year later he expressed a desire to obtain a Ph.D. with minimal effort from Central University, the same institution from which he negotiated the infamous Th.G. degrees for his faculty.⁸¹ In view of the attitudes of many within the denomination towards higher education, and despite a General Conference Resolution in 1936 explicitly discouraging the use of titles of Reverend and Doctor, it is difficult to understand Purdie’s expectation that people address him as “Dr. Purdie.” At least some denominational leaders felt that this did more to hinder

⁷⁹Purdie was particularly well-read in the area of New Testament and systematic theology, and had acquired a library of substantial size (approximately 2,000 volumes).

⁸⁰*The Portal*, 1945-46, 4. During 1930s several students had, on their own initiative, negotiated some transfer credit from places like Wheaton College, Evangelical Theological College (Dallas Theological Seminary), Presbyterian Theological Seminary (Omaha), and the University of Omaha.

⁸¹Letter from J.E. Purdie to Central University, 16 November 1937, CPCA. In addition to his B.D. from Wycliffe College, Purdie eventually received a B.A. from Temple Hall College and Seminary (1946), and a St.D. from St. John’s University in India (1950).

than help his promotion of Western Bible College.⁸² Although the Th.G. degrees did not bring the kind of academic respectability and recognition that Purdie had hoped for, he was nevertheless one of the first Bible school principals in western Canada to even consider the possibility of negotiating transfer credit into a university degree program, a process that he initiated as early as 1937. The “Th.G.s” notwithstanding, the faculty were (generally speaking) among the most academically qualified of any within the Bible school movement. By the mid-1940s, approximately one-third of the faculty had both a bachelor’s degree and an advanced degree in theology.

Purdie’s influence within the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada extended well beyond the institutional walls of Western Bible College. As early as 1931, a National Bible School Committee was put in place “for the supervision of all Bible school matters, including the curriculum, and general policy of all Canadian Bible Schools” endorsed by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada.⁸³ The Committee, made up of J.E. Purdie, D.N. Buntain, A.G. Ward, John McAlister and J.W. McKillop, was formed in response to the emergence of a new Pentecostal school in Winnipeg in 1931, the temporary closure of Canadian Pentecostal Bible College in Toronto in 1932, and the subsequent merger of these two ventures. As other districts expressing interest in having a Bible school located in their area, it seemed inevitable that more schools would be started. After having established a “national” school for training ministers, and having approved a course of studies along with a process for approving ministerial candidates, the prospect of additional schools that might dilute these standards prompted the General Conference to instruct this Committee to write and distribute a National Bible School policy that would insure a level of consistency within its schools. The General Conference warned that any students attending a school that did not meet its standards would not be eligible for ministerial credentials within the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada.⁸⁴ Beginning in 1948, the committee was led by Purdie for almost a decade

⁸²A.C. Schindel, Interview with Bruce Guenther, 11 December 1998.

⁸³1932 *Yearbook, Constitution and Bylaws of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada* (London: PAOC, 1932), 38.

⁸⁴This committee did not meet regularly. In 1946 the national committee on Bible schools and colleges was activated with Purdie as chairman, Charles Ratz as secretary, and the Bible college principals as the other members. In 1956, this committee was re-constituted again, and was given the mandate to formulate and administer the “National Standard for Canadian Bible Colleges.”

together with the principals of the other Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada Bible schools.

Purdie's role as both a theologian and an educator within the denomination led to the request by the General Conference in 1951 that he prepare a catechism. *Concerning the Faith* contained 300 questions and answers to be used in the formal instruction of Pentecostals. It represented Purdie's attempt to demonstrate the consistency of Pentecostal ideas with the historic Christian creeds. Although his strongly-held views concerning premillennialism stood at odds with the prevailing amillennialism among Anglicans, Purdie's Anglican roots are clearly evident, and at times they are in tension with the non-creedal, non-confessional heritage of Pentecostalism. In a movement predisposed towards Arminian theology, Purdie offered a more moderate Reformed theology.⁸⁵ Throughout his Pentecostal ministry, Purdie preferred to use the Keswick expression "infilling of the Holy Spirit" instead of the usual Pentecostal expression "baptism of the Holy Spirit."⁸⁶ In opposition to certain Holiness movement influences, he denied that this "infilling" of the Holy Spirit could be a second work of grace; it is instead given by God for power and liberty in service.⁸⁷ In his catechism, the Lord's supper and baptism are "sacraments," rather than mere "ordinances."⁸⁸

Purdie's influence also extended beyond Pentecostal boundaries. Throughout his life he maintained contact with the Anglicans--he never did relinquish his membership in the Anglican church, or even his practice of wearing a clerical collar.⁸⁹ During his tenure at Western Bible College, he continued to preach at numerous interdenominational ministerial

⁸⁵This did not go unnoticed by other Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada leaders. Earl Kulbeck suggests that Purdie's influence gave the denomination "a certain texture which makes its unique in the Pentecostal world" (Letter from Earl Kulbeck to Donald Klan, 6 July 1977, PAOCA).

⁸⁶This is also evident in Western Bible College's "Standards of Faith" that reads "We believe in . . . the infilling of the Holy Spirit as an essential equipment for service."

⁸⁷Purdie, *Concerning the Faith* (Toronto: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1951), 44-46. See also "Christianity and the Holy Spirit," *The Gleaner* (April 1950): 22-24.

⁸⁸*Concerning the Faith*, 71-72. These hints of Anglicanism within the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada catechism are identified by Roger Stronstad, "Dr. J.E. Purdie and Western Bible College," Unpublished paper, 1974, Purdie Papers, CPCA.

⁸⁹Ronald Kydd, "Pentecostals, Charismatics and the Canadian Denominations," *Église et Théologie* 13, No. 2 (1982): 224-225. In fact, Purdie maintained a role as "Honorary Assistant" at St. Margaret's Anglican Church in Winnipeg, occasionally preaching and helping with communion (Letter from J.E. Purdie to J.E. Harris, 18 August 1952, VBI Papers, BGCA).

associations across the country, seminaries and conferences.⁹⁰ After the closure of the school in 1950, Purdie continued an itinerant evangelistic and healing ministry that lasted well into the 1970s. Purdie, together with some of his other faculty colleagues, stood apart from some other denominational leaders by promoting a more moderate and less "sectarian" Pentecostalism.⁹¹

Another notable figure in the life of Western Bible College was Henry Charles Sweet. Although he was involved in administrative leadership for only a short period of time in 1931, his association with the school greatly enhanced the credibility of the school and the Pentecostal movement. Invaluable also was his experience with a broad network of people and denominations. He taught at Western Bible College at various times beginning in 1931 till its closure in 1950. Sweet's life and ministry was characterized by a truly remarkable ecumenical breadth, a love for learning and lifelong success as an evangelist. He was an ardent premillennialist--a doctrine he learned from his parents as a young child--and a person whose evangelical credentials were beyond question.⁹²

Sweet's early childhood was spent in England where he was raised in the Bible Christian Church, which merged with the Methodist Church in 1886. His family emigrated to Manitoba when Henry was a young teenager. It was not until he was twenty-one that "he became sure of his regeneration by the Spirit of God."⁹³ As opportunities became available he conducted services in the Salvation Army and Baptist Church at Morden, Manitoba. Following his graduation from the University of Manitoba, where he graduated with a B.A. (in Moral and Mental Philosophy), he attended both Colgate Theological Seminary and Crozer Theological Seminary, where he earned a B.D. He subsequently attended the

⁹⁰One such lecture, on the topic of "Authority in Religion," was delivered in the winter of 1952 to the Montreal Ministerial Association, which met in the McGill University chapel ("Dr. & Mrs. J.E. Purdie's Four Months' Gospel Tour," *The Gleaner* [June 1952]: 3).

⁹¹Craig, "'Out and Out for the Lord': James Eustace Purdie," 132-135; and Peter Althouse, "The Influence of Dr. J.E. Purdie's Reformed Anglican Theology on the Formation and Development of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada," Paper presented to the Society for Pentecostal Studies, Wycliffe College, Toronto, ON, 7-9 March 1996.

⁹²See Ronald Kydd, "H.C. Sweet: Canadian Churchman," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 20, Nos. 1-2 (March-June 1978): 19-30.

⁹³"Sweet Memories," *The Portal*, 1948-49, 4.

Evangelical Theological Seminary (later known as Dallas Theological Seminary) and was awarded a Th.D in 1928.

He was ordained by First Baptist Church in Chester, Pennsylvania in 1897, and until 1904 ministered in various Baptist churches across western Canada. In 1904 he joined the Presbyterians. Beginning in 1911, he served for several years as principal of the Presbyterian-run File Hills Indian Boarding School in Balcarres, Saskatchewan. His association with the Pentecostals began around 1914, during his time as the minister of a Union Church (made up of Presbyterians and Methodists) in Conquest, Saskatchewan. Within a year he became actively involved with the Pentecostals on a more frequent basis in Winnipeg where, among other things, he baptized A.H. Argue's son Watson. Conflict within the broader Pentecostal movement spilled over into the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada during the early 1920s; for at least a short time, Sweet was aligned with the new Apostolic Church of Pentecost. He not only was one of the signatories on the group's application for a federal charter in 1921, but he was also elected to a three-year term as a presbyter in the new movement.⁹⁴ Why he did not remain with the Apostolic Church of Pentecost, and why he never officially joined the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, is not clear. At about this time, Sweet became involved in yet another ministry; while the exact nature of his involvement is unknown, in 1920 he began what turned out to be a three-decade relationship with Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, a Negro church in Winnipeg.

In 1928, he joined the faculty of the fledgling Winnipeg Bible Institute (see Chapter Seven) where he taught homiletics and New Testament. The following year he became the principal. His connection to this transdenominational school likely came about through his association with Emmanuel Baptist Church in Winnipeg that had close links to the school through Perceval Cundy, former principal of the Bible Training School and former pastor at Emmanuel, and through J.M. Niven, one of the founding board members of the school. Sweet's tenure was short-lived; he officially resigned in 1930 after the board drafted a statement of faith with which he did not entirely concur. He nevertheless remained as interim principal, but was abruptly dismissed after several incidents involving Pentecostal students during the fall term. The Board asked faculty to support their affirmation that "the school was

⁹⁴Larden, *Our Apostolic Heritage*, 92-93.

not Pentecostal, that it was not in sympathy with Pentecostal demonstrations on its premises, that in the future Pentecostal students would not be accepted, and that every board and faculty member would have subscribe to and support the position outlined."⁹⁵ Within two weeks Sweet, along with several of his students, formed the new Western Bible College.⁹⁶ Within a year, Canadian Pentecostal Bible College in Toronto and Purdie arrived back in Winnipeg. Purdie's insistence that he be the one to lead the school strained relations somewhat, but Sweet nevertheless continued to teach at Western Bible College. His teaching responsibilities included various homiletics and New Testament courses. During his time as a faculty member he continued to preach at the independent Elim Chapel, the centre of a fundamentalist network in Winnipeg.⁹⁷

Like Purdie, Daniel Newton Buntain was born in Prince Edward Island. His family moved west, and after studying at both the Baptist college in Brandon and Wesley Methodist Theological College, he was ordained into the Methodist ministry. He pastored several Methodist churches in Saskatchewan and Manitoba.⁹⁸ During the early 1920s, the church that Buntain was leading joined the Pentecostal movement. Wesley Pentecostal Church not only became the birthplace for Canadian Pentecostal Bible College in 1925, but also became one of the eminent assemblies in the movement. Buntain became the General Superintendent of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada in 1937, a position he held until 1944. He then moved to Edmonton, Alberta where he became the pastor of Edmonton Tabernacle. In 1947, he again became involved in theological education by starting Canadian Northwest Bible Institute in the facilities of Edmonton Tabernacle.

While Buntain was not as academically inclined as Purdie or Sweet, he helped shape

⁹⁵Kydd, "Canadian Pentecostalism," 297; Edward Hildebrandt, "A History of the Winnipeg Bible Institute and College of Theology from 1925-1960" (M.Th. Thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1965), 37-38; and D. Bruce Hindmarsh, "The Winnipeg Fundamentalist Network, 1910-1940: The Roots of Transdenominational Evangelicalism in Manitoba and Saskatchewan," in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, 312.

⁹⁶See H.C. Sweet, "The Founding of the Western Pentecostal Bible College - 1931," 29 April 1931, PAOCA.

⁹⁷Kydd, "H.C. Sweet: Canadian Churchman," 28.

⁹⁸See D. Mark Buntain [son of D.N. Buntain], *Why He is a Pentecostal Preacher* (Toronto: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1944).

the ethos of the school (and the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada) in other ways. In addition to the spiritual contributions that men like Purdie, Sweet and Buntain made to the young Pentecostal movement, Ronald Kydd observes the significant social impact they had by helping the young movement relate to the larger society. All three were open to cooperation with other evangelical groups. In part, Buntain's efforts to keep the Pentecostal movement from being too narrowly parochial came from his experience as a Methodist when he for a time served as secretary of the Ministerial Association in Winnipeg.⁹⁹ Although the student population--and the Pentecostal movement at large--was by no means a monolithic blue-collar group, students at Western Bible College were expected to learn about soteriology as well as social graces and etiquette.¹⁰⁰ He encouraged Pentecostals to run for public office and convinced the denomination to respond to a League of Nations report by participating in an outcry against slavery in 1934. Like Purdie, he encouraged Pentecostals to overcome their fear of education and of Bible schools, but he did so on more pragmatic grounds. "The world today with all its schools and books," he wrote, "has no place for an ignorant man. There was a time when it did not matter much whether a man had education or not, for nobody else had any. But it is different today. If we are going to capture the educated, cultured people, and lead them for God, we must be cultured, trained and fitted."¹⁰¹

Another faculty member with solid academic credentials outside the area of theology was A.D. Baker, who taught the "Life of Christ" at Western Bible College on a part-time basis for nineteen years. He had earned a B.A. from the University of Toronto (and received the Governor-General's medal in Modern Languages and History). For forty years he was Professor of Modern Languages at St. John's Anglican College in Winnipeg. He served also for a considerable time as the Chair of the German Department at the University of Manitoba.

⁹⁹Kydd, "The Contribution of Denominationally Trained Clergymen," 24.

¹⁰⁰Kydd, "The Contribution of Denominationally Trained Clergymen," 23. See Buntain's remarks about the "cultural refinement" that Western Bible College "stamped" upon its leaders (*The Gleaner* [April 1950]: 11).

¹⁰¹"EC," *The Pentecostal Testimony* 20, 7 (1 April 1939), 3. Kydd demonstrates how Buntain's organizational experience and ability, which he obtained during his time with the Methodists, greatly helped the early development of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. Buntain justifies the use of efficient organizational structures with the same kind of pragmatism with which he defended education (see Kydd, "The Contribution of Denominationally Trained Clergymen," 31-32).

The credentials of these faculty members demonstrates the diversity that was present within the early Pentecostal movement. Faculty brought their unique concerns and emphases to Western Bible College, and cumulatively they designed the foundation for Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada theological education. More than any other evangelical Protestant group in the first half of the twentieth century, the Pentecostals encouraged the participation of women in ministry. Although the denomination agreed that both women and men are called to prophesy and preach, they did not permit women to become “elders” in their congregations.¹⁰² Despite this restriction, they were called upon to teach a wide range of courses. About 40% of the faculty who taught at Western Bible College were women.

Involved as one of the founding faculty members was Kathleen Reid, whom Purdie had recruited in 1925 in Toronto on his way to Winnipeg from Prince Edward Island. She had received an M.A. from Edinburgh University, and as an Anglican missionary had eleven years of teaching experience in a college in India. She taught courses in music, missions and apologetics. Gladys Lemmon was one of the first students to enrol in Canadian Pentecostal Bible College in 1925, and one of the first to graduate--she was the valedictorian of the graduating class of 1928. Prior to attending Western Bible College she had been intent on a teaching career. These plans were abandoned when Lemmon was diagnosed with lung cancer and given less than two months to live. She was encouraged by the inimitable H.C. Sweet, who had once been her minister in Emerson, Manitoba, to seek out those among the Pentecostal movement in Winnipeg who might pray for her healing. Her miraculous recovery led to her active involvement in the Pentecostal movement. After graduation she was invited to join the faculty, a position she maintained for twenty-three years.¹⁰³ In addition to being the Dean of Women for several years, she taught various New Testament, church history and missions courses, and served as the national director for the denomination's Women's Missionary Council. Hanna (Mooney) Sweet (1870-1961) was an older sister of the well-

¹⁰²Before the official formation of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, many Pentecostals in Canada were loosely associated with the General Council of the Assemblies of God in the United States. In 1914, this group adopted a statement concerning the “Rights and Offices of Women” that stated, “we recognize their God-given rights to be ordained, not as elders, but as Evangelists and Missionaries, after being duly approved, according to the Scriptures” (*Combined Minutes of the General Council of the Assemblies of God*, 1-10 April 1914, 8, CPCA).

¹⁰³“The Dean of Women,” *The Portal* (1946-47): 7.

known Canadian activist and suffragist Nellie McLung. Born in Ontario, the Mooney family moved to Manitoba during the 1880s. In 1894 she married H.C. Sweet; they had four children. Hanna went on to have a distinguished career in education, teaching in the public school system in Winnipeg from 1915 to 1937. In 1924 she earned the B.A. degree magna cum laude from the University of Manitoba. After her retirement from teaching, she joined the faculty on a part-time basis. Eleanor L. Siemens was on faculty from 1940-1948. During this time she developed the area of Christian education, which included arranging formal affiliation with the Evangelical Teacher Training Association).

The faculty of Western Bible College reflect a diversity of denominational and educational backgrounds that was unique among Pentecostals. This made it possible for the school to offer develop a curriculum that was, at least during the 1930s and early 1940s, more rigorous than most Bible schools in western Canada. Furthermore, it enabled the school to challenge some of the anti-intellectual tendencies within the young denomination.

5.4 The Influence of Western Bible College within the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada

Despite its inauspicious beginnings and meagre resources, Western Bible College played an integral role during the formative years of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada as their *de facto* national theological training school. The school was never an autonomous enterprise; it was an institution explicitly designed to serve the needs of a denomination that was struggling to design a workable organizational structure and to deploy personnel for aggressive expansion. The school helped the young denomination develop indigenous leadership. The objectives of the school were to nurture Pentecostal youth in their faith and to train Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada leaders, skilled in evangelism and expository preaching. According to one unofficial list included in the college newsletter *The Gleaner* in 1950, approximately 50% of the school's alumni were "officially engaged in the work of the Lord." The alumni list is incomplete, but it identifies more than 335 people who were engaged in some form of professional ministry in 1950 (in total around 700 students attended the college).¹⁰⁴ It is safe to say that more than half of the students who attended did eventu-

¹⁰⁴*The Gleaner* (April 1950): 28-32.

ally get involved in professional ministry.¹⁰⁵

The vast majority of people on this alumni list--about 84%--were involved in pastoral and evangelistic ministries in North America. Prior to the establishment of Western Bible College, prospective students had been encouraged to attend Pentecostal Bible schools in the United States (a good example is Watson Argue). Canadian leaders were unhappy, however, with the number of Canadian students who stayed in the United States after the completion of their studies. The impact of the school is significant because of the way in which it trained Canadians for Pentecostal ministry in Canada. Of the 84% who stayed in North America, only 14% accepted positions in the United States while 86% were distributed throughout Canada. In 1938, E.N.O. Kulbeck identified this contribution on the part of Western Bible College as an aspect of the strategic importance of the school for Canadian Pentecostals. In an appeal to former students to support the newly formed Canadian Pentecostal Bible College-Western Bible College Alumni Association, he explains how important it is "to advertise our present College in Winnipeg." According to Kulbeck, "of our young folks who go to the United States to study, of those who go into full-time work, it is doubtful if fifty percent of them will return to Canada."¹⁰⁶ Purdie had good reason for consistently reminding the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada about the strategic importance of the Bible school ministry for the growth and development of the denomination.¹⁰⁷

Not surprisingly in view of the emphasis on missions within the Western Bible College environment, a significant proportion of those involved in professional ministry chose to go overseas as missionaries. By 1950 more than fifty of the school's alumni had

¹⁰⁵The student body mirrored the remarkable diversity that made up the denomination. The close-knit college environment mixed students who were urban and rural, rich and poor, male and female, and from various denominational and national backgrounds. Most years, the number of women enrolled outnumbered the men. Over the years students from more than twenty different countries, and more than twenty different denominations attended, Western Bible College (see *Western Bible College Yearbook*, 1942-43, 3). Bible schools were sometimes mischievously referred to as "bridal schools." This dynamic was certainly evident at Western Bible College; it is worth noting that 40% of the people on the alumni list of 1950 were married to someone who had also attended the school.

¹⁰⁶"Our Fellowship," *The Gleaner* (May 1938): 3. Canadian Pentecostals were often resentful when their young leaders accepted positions in the United States, yet ironically they encouraged scores of their graduates to go to virtually every other country.

¹⁰⁷In addition to the approximately 700 students who attended regular classes at Western Bible College, more than 600 students enrolled in a "Home Study Course on the Bible," which was offered during the 1920s to those unable to attend regular classes (Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 204).

entered missionary service in Africa, China, India, British West Indies, South America, Palestine and Labrador.¹⁰⁸ The Purdies, especially Frances, personally maintained contact with scores of Western alumni. Frances Purdie continued to edit--albeit somewhat irregularly--*The Gleaner* long after the school had closed its doors, in order to maintain contact with alumni. According to an estimate compiled by the Purdies in 1971, the number of overseas missionaries from Western Bible College had increased to seventy-eight (serving in twenty different countries).¹⁰⁹

What is perhaps more remarkable is the number of alumni who decided to get involved in teaching within educational institutions. Some of the brightest students were encouraged to continue their theological studies. Several students--Gladys Lemmon, Earle Cairns, Alvin C. Schindel, L.T. Holdcroft and J.C. Scott--were recruited almost immediately after graduation to teach at Western Bible College. Although Lemmon stayed at Western Bible College, the other four all went on to assume significant positions of leadership in other schools. Former faculty members and graduates played a vital role in the six regional schools started during the late 1930s and 1940s. In 1950 about 8%, or twenty-six people, were involved in teaching at a Bible school, college or seminary.¹¹⁰ By 1971, Purdie estimated this number to have increased to around seventy--almost equal to the number of persons who had served as overseas missionaries.¹¹¹

By the end of World War Two, the number of Pentecostals in Canada had increased from 513 in 1911, to over 57,000. The number of Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada churches had grown to 300, with 190 ordained ministers and fifty-two missionaries. By 1960 membership had increased to over 142,000. Without the leadership personnel supplied by Western Bible College (along with the later contributions of regional Bible schools), the denomination would not have been able to sustain its remarkable rate of growth in Canada, nor its mission-

¹⁰⁸*The Gleaner* (April 1950): 14.

¹⁰⁹*The Gleaner* (November 1971): 1.

¹¹⁰Several claims are made in Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada literature during 1950 that around forty alumni were involved in academic roles (for example, see Willard Pierce's comments in *The Gleaner* [April 1950]: 12).

¹¹¹*Pentecostal Testimony* (June 1970): 4

ary activity around the globe.¹¹²

After a decade of having only one Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada Bible school in Canada, other districts began to organize their own schools. As noted previously, Western Bible College served as a model for these regional schools. In 1935 George R. Hawtin started the Saskatchewan Bible School for Pentecostal Workers in Star City. Within two years it was moved to Saskatoon where it became Bethel Bible Institute (in 1961 its name was changed to Central Pentecostal College).¹¹³ Four years later in 1939 Ontario Pentecostal Bible School (now known as Eastern Pentecostal Bible College) was started.¹¹⁴ Four more schools were started during the 1940s. A second attempt was made to start a Bible school in Victoria, British Columbia in 1941. Originally located at the Glad Tidings Tabernacle, the British Columbia Bible Institute moved to North Vancouver in 1951. In 1962 this school was renamed Western Pentecostal Bible College, and in 1974 it moved to its present location in Abbotsford, British Columbia.¹¹⁵ In 1941 the Institut Biblique Bérée was established in Montreal by Mme. L. Bellemare of Montreal and W.L. Bouchard from Providence, Rhode Island. Although it is designed more as a school for training lay workers, its three-year French-language curriculum was nevertheless modelled after that used by their English-language counterparts. The Maritime Bible School, first located in Truro and then Halifax, started in 1944. It lasted only three years. Students were then encouraged to attend the school in Ontario. In 1946, D.N. Buntain was instrumental in starting Canadian Northwest Bible

¹¹²Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 214.

¹¹³Controversy over control surrounded this school from the outset culminating in Hawtin's departure in 1947. Loyal students followed him to North Battleford, Saskatchewan where he established Sharon Bible School, which became the headquarters for the "Latter Rain Movement." The near loss of one of their Bible schools prompted the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada to strengthen the link between their schools and the denominational organizational structure (Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 260-265; and Richard Riss, *The Latter Rain Movement of 1948 and the Mid-Twentieth Century Evangelical Awakening* (Etobicoke, ON: Kingdom Flagships Foundation, 1987).

¹¹⁴The school was preceded by several annual six-week program run by Gordon F. Atter at Cobourg, ON. The first one was held in 1937 with twelve students (*The Gleaner* [May 1938]: 5).

¹¹⁵One of the reasons given for the necessity of a school in British Columbia was the growing attractiveness of local "non-Pentecostal" schools (*Jubilation: Five Decades in the Life of Western Pentecostal Bible College*, 11). Because of the strong anti-Pentecostal sentiments in non-Pentecostal schools, attending almost always resulted in the rejection of Pentecostalism and the permanent loss of these young people (Letter from Earl Kulbeck to Donald Klan, 6 July 1977, PAOCA)

Institute (now known as Northwest Bible College) in the facilities of the Central Tabernacle Church in Edmonton, Alberta.

After the closure of Western Bible College in 1950, none of the five other schools emerged to take over Western Bible College's former role as the central, national school. Instead, each school focussed, with remarkable success, on serving the needs of its own district. The regional influence is well illustrated by the alumni of both Northwest Bible College and Western Pentecostal Bible College. By 1958 (only twelve years after it began) two-thirds of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada pastors in Alberta were graduates of Northwest.¹¹⁶ Similarly, by 1970 half of the Pentecostal pastors in British Columbia were alumni of Western. The influence of Western Bible College nevertheless continued. More than a few of Purdie's graduates became involved in these regional schools. One informal estimate offered by the editorial committee that produced a history of Western Pentecostal Bible College, suggested that seventeen of the school's personnel traced their academic background to Purdie's classroom.¹¹⁷ When L.T. Holdcroft, a former student and teacher at Western Bible College, became president of Western Pentecostal Bible College in 1968, the presidents of all four English-language Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada Bible colleges in Canada were alumni of Western Bible College--these included Herbert Bronsden at Eastern Pentecostal Bible College, Alvin C. Schindel at Central Pentecostal College (in addition, Schindel had taught at Western Bible College and Eastern Pentecostal Bible College), and John Cooke at Northwest Bible College.¹¹⁸

The influence of Western Bible College was extended through the regional schools in other ways as well. The "Standard Curriculum" for all Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada

¹¹⁶John C. Cooke to W.E. McAlister, 11 April 1958, PAOCA.

¹¹⁷*Jubilation: Five Decades in the Life of Western Pentecostal Bible College*, 11.

¹¹⁸Other Western Bible College graduates who played prominent roles in Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada schools in Canada include James Swanson, C.B. Smith, and C.A. Ratz at Ontario Pentecostal Bible College, E.W. Robinson at Western Pentecostal Bible College, Florence Sanders, Clinton Cairns, H.J. Underhill, James Purse, and Mr. & Mrs. Arthur Schindel at Western Pentecostal Bible College. Examples of graduates who taught overseas or in the United States include: Bernard Embree, professor in a seminary in Taiwan; E. Earle Cairns, professor at Wheaton College; Raymond Carlson, president of North Central Bible College (Minneapolis); Ker Munroe, Columbia Bible College; I.J. Harrison, president of a Bible college in California; and A.T. Jackson and three others, who became faculty members at West Indies School of Theology.

colleges in Canada was virtually a duplicate of the curriculum used at Western Bible College.¹¹⁹ The influence became even more direct with the invention of the mimeograph, which made it possible for Western Bible College to distribute course notes directly to the regional school. Furthermore, a considerable number of the articles published in *The Pentecostal Testimony* during its first several decades of operation came from faculty and alumni of the school. Western Bible College shaped the emerging ethos of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada through the sermons and pastoral influence of its alumni, the publications and itinerant ministry of its faculty, and the role of alumni within regional Bible schools.

5.5 Western Bible College, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada and Relations with Other Evangelical Protestants

The Pentecostals in Canada frequently identified themselves as both fundamentalists and evangelicals.¹²⁰ During the 1920s, articles in *The Pentecostal Testimony* reveal a sympathy for the fundamentalist antipathy towards “modernism” and for the concerns of people like William Jennings Bryan.¹²¹ Moreover, leaders within the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada reflect an abiding interest in the work of evangelical revivalists such as Charles Finney and D.L. Moody. This is hardly surprising considering the fact that many of the denomination’s leaders, prior to their involvement in Pentecostalism, had significant connections to individuals and organizations that became part of a larger fundamentalist

¹¹⁹Carman W. Lynn, ed., *Truth Aflame: Across the Nation and Around the World, a History of Eastern Pentecostal Bible College, 1939-89* (Peterborough, ON: Eastern Pentecostal Bible College, 1989), 34.

¹²⁰See Gordon Atter, “The Pentecostal Movement,” *The Pentecostal Testimony*, 15 April 1930, 10; “Candid Camera,” *The Pentecostal Testimony*, 15 December 1947, 13; H.H. Barber, “What is an Evangelical,” *The Pentecostal Testimony*, December 1956, 12; Brian C. Stiller, “The Evolution of Pentecostalism: From Sectarianism to Denominationalism with Special Reference to the Danforth Gospel Temple, 1922-1968” (M.Rel. Thesis, Wycliffe College, 1975), 8-10; and Kydd, “Canadian Pentecostalism and the Evangelical Impulse,” 295.

¹²¹See “The Conversion of Christobel Pankhurst,” *The Pentecostal Testimony*, December 1922; and J. Hoover, “The Tragedy of Modern Theology,” *The Pentecostal Testimony*, March 1930, 12. At least two individuals have explored the influence of fundamentalism on Canadian Pentecostals (Robert K. Burkinshaw, “Pentecostalism and Fundamentalism in British Columbia,” *Fides et Historia*, 24 [Winter/Spring 1992]: 68-80; and C. Mark Schinkel, “The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada: The Influence of Fundamentalism on Articles Appearing in *The Pentecostal Testimony*” [M.Rel. Thesis, Wycliffe College, 1990]).

network.¹²² Western Bible College, too, considered itself to be thoroughly evangelical and part of the larger evangelical Protestant world: "Evangelical! Evangelistic! Fundamental!" declared a headline describing Western Bible College during the 1940s.¹²³ A strong biblicism, a vigorous emphasis on evangelism and missions, and an intense premillennialism among the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada justified their self-understanding as evangelical Protestants. While faculty at the school readily agreed that "modernism" with its improper emphasis on rationalistic philosophy, logic and ethics, was antithetical to people of "real" faith, aggressive attacks were relatively rare, and certainly not the central focus of specific courses or of the school in general.

While Pentecostals identified themselves as evangelicals and shared identical views on most cultural and theological issues with non-Pentecostal evangelicals, seldom did the two groups attempt to develop cooperative relationships prior to the 1950s. In fact, during the first half of the twentieth century relations between the two groups were generally characterized by mutual animosity and exclusion. The Pentecostals created their own religious world that was largely isolated from other evangelical Protestants. The most charitable explanation for such a division is that the early Pentecostals were far too preoccupied with designing a new organizational structure for their rapidly growing denominations. They were too busy building their own institutions, organizing a multitude of evangelistic enterprises, and dealing with their own internal doctrinal conflicts to be heavily involved with building a broader evangelical coalition. Yet, while it is true that Pentecostals were preoccupied with their own concerns, the explanation for the acrimony between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals is more complex.¹²⁴

¹²²During the 1920s some movement of personnel took place between the young Pentecostal denominations such as the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada and Apostolic Church of Pentecost, new Holiness movement denominations such as the Christian and Missionary Alliance, and some fundamentalist schools and organizations (for example, H.L. Turner, J.E. Purdie, H.C. Sweet, et al.). By the end of the 1920s, such movement becomes increasingly rare.

¹²³*The Portal*, 1946-47, 17; see also Purdie, "Factors that Make a Divinity College," *The Portal*, 1943-44, 3. Purdie used the term "fundamental" primarily to denote "essential" and reserved "evangelical" to describe a larger movement that transcended denominational boundaries.

¹²⁴See Grant Wacker, "Travail of a Broken Family," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47, No. 3 (July 1996): 505-528, for a fascinating analysis of the conflict between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostal evangelicals. Although Wacker's article features mostly American personalities, historians who have examined Canadian Pentecostalism corroborate that similar tensions existed in Canada (Miller, *Canadian*

The Pentecostals saw themselves as offering a “value-added” kind of evangelicalism, the “full” gospel as opposed to a presumably less authentic “regular” version. The central theological difference had to do with Pentecostal insistence that the order of salvation included, beyond salvation and sanctification, an experience called the baptism of the Holy Spirit. This by itself would not have turned into such an explosive and divisive issue if Pentecostals had not insisted that such an experience must be authenticated by speaking in tongues. The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada “Statement of Fundamental and Essential Truths” clearly outlined that “the Baptism of believers in the Holy Ghost is indicated by the initial sign of speaking with other tongues as the Spirit of God gives them utterance.”¹²⁵ Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada ministers were explicitly warned that dissent on this point was both “inconsistent and unscriptural.”¹²⁶ Charles Price, the noted Pentecostal evangelist who did much to further the Pentecostal cause in Canada during the 1920s, sometimes mocked the fundamentalists with the phrase, “Our friends the Fundamentalists are fundamental on only part of the fundamentals.”¹²⁷ Such ridicule, along with denunciations of other denominations as “old-line” and “dead,” did little to endear Pentecostals to non-Pentecostal evangelicals.

Non-Pentecostal evangelicals interpreted the exclusive claim to a “special” experience as evidence of “spiritual pride” at best, and blatant heresy at worst. And in a movement given to sensationalism with its testimonies of spectacular supernatural interventions, it was not difficult for non-Pentecostal evangelicals to find evidence of excess in the form of exaggerated claims and outright deception, occasional moral lapses by Pentecostal evangelists, and the disruption of families and churches. During the first few decades following the start of the Pentecostal movement, most evangelicals considered Pentecostals to be fanatics whose aberrant behaviour brought disgrace and embarrassment to the church. More than a few non-Pentecostal Bible schools warned students about “false cults” including Pentecostalism, insinuating that the movement was inspired by none other than Satan. This made it virtually

Pentecostalism; and Kydd, “Canadian Pentecostalism and the Evangelical Impulse,” 297.

¹²⁵See also *The Pentecostal Testimony*, December 1920, 1.

¹²⁶Kulbeck, *What God Hath Wrought*, 354-355.

¹²⁷Cited in Miller, *Canadian Pentecostals*, 133.

impossible for dialogue or cooperation to take place.

Exacerbating the isolation brought on by the shunning and exclusion on the part of non-Pentecostal Protestants were certain Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada policies and practices. While the network of Bible schools established by the denomination was effective in achieving the objectives of training people for church ministry in specific districts and for recruiting volunteers for overseas missionary work, the demand on the part of the General Conference that prospective ministers attend a recognized Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada school in order to be licensed nurtured a kind of parochialism within the regional schools. Furthermore, the selection of faculty was limited to those whose theological education and ministry experience had been obtained within the denomination. This expectation stands in contrast to the educational diversity brought into the denomination by the previous generation. Prior to 1960, faculty members at the regional colleges who had earned degrees from non-Pentecostal theological institutions stand out as notable exceptions. While a good number of faculty in the regional schools were graduates of Western Bible College, other faculty often included senior ministers whose experience in pastoral ministry was considered sufficient qualification for teaching. The academic calibre of faculty in the regional schools was often uneven, ranging, in the words of Brian Ross, "from the competent and sincere to the merely sincere."¹²⁸ This practise created a kind of insular environment that, on the one hand, helped establish a distinctive (and homogenous) ethos for a group of new indigenous leaders for the young denomination, and a common experience and point of reference for subsequent generations of leaders. On the other hand, the insular environment limited contact with non-Pentecostal evangelicals, together with a general distrust of other institutions of higher learning, institutionalized a new kind of anti-intellectualism that Purdie had not anticipated at Western Bible College.¹²⁹

The Western Bible College faculty stood at odds with the general Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada constituency in several ways. As noted previously, not everyone

¹²⁸Ross, "James Eustace Purdie," 101. A few second-generation leaders within Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada Bible schools such as A.C. Schindel did pursue education outside of the Pentecostal world, which did eventually bring more theological breadth to the movement.

¹²⁹It is not coincidental that Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada colleges in western Canada did not pursue accreditation with the Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges until the 1980s.

agreed with Purdie about the importance of theological education for ministers. In view of the rancorous rhetoric and mutual scorn that existed generally between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals during the first half of the twentieth century, it is intriguing to note that the prominent members of the faculty like Purdie, Buntain and Sweet managed to maintain relations with some non-Pentecostal evangelicals. Purdie maintained a relationship with the Anglican church throughout his life. While the incident involving Sweet and Winnipeg Bible Institute is indicative of the kind of hostilities that existed, Sweet nevertheless continued preaching at Elim Chapel during the 1940s. Both Purdie and Sweet made it a point to stay in touch with what was happening in the larger evangelical world. Purdie, for example, subscribed to wide range of evangelical literature including journals like the Anglican low-church *Episcopal Recorder*, the more academic *Princeton Theological Review*, and the virulently anti-Catholic newsletter, *The Protestant Challenge* published by the Canadian Protestant League. Purdie was familiar with the "Princeton theology" of B.B. Warfield,¹³⁰ and promoted dispensational premillennialism that had been popularized by the Scofield Study Bible, both of which insisted that supernatural occurrences (speaking in tongues, healings and miracles) had ceased at the end of the apostolic age. In addition, his association with Reuben Torrey no doubt left him with a clear understanding of evangelical views concerning Pentecostal theology.¹³¹ Regardless of whether Purdie agreed with non-Pentecostal evangelicals about the baptism of the Holy Spirit, he at least understood how Pentecostal exclusivity was viewed by non-Pentecostal evangelicals. Purdie's efforts to mute Pentecostal extremism is revealed by his refusal to use the term "baptism of the Spirit," opting instead to use "infilling of the Holy Spirit," and by the relatively brief treatment given to the doctrine in Western Bible College's "Standards of Faith."

The people of Western Bible College and Calvary Temple introduced the denomination to Youth for Christ, which was seen as a dynamic, up-beat organization well-suited for the evangelistic style used by Pentecostals. In 1945 Watson Argue, along with various music groups from Calvary Temple, played an important role in organizing and promoting a major Youth for Christ rally in Winnipeg. Argue was appointed Youth for Christ's director in

¹³⁰See *Counterfeit Miracles* (most recently reprinted in London: Banner of Truth Trust, 1972).

¹³¹R.A. Torrey, *Is the Present "Tongues" Movement of God?* (Los Angeles: BIOLA Book Room, n.d. [c. 1913]).

Winnipeg and later regional vice-president of western Canada. The organization provided a point of entry back into the larger evangelical world for many Pentecostals long before the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada generally began to develop relations with other evangelicals. Western Bible College chapel services provided another point of contact. During the 1940s speakers representing Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship, Western Canada Mission to Jews, The Gideons, and the British & Foreign Bible Society visited the school.¹³² Had the school not closed its doors in 1950 it is possible to surmise that they would have been at the forefront of helping the denomination move towards more conciliatory and cooperative relations with other evangelicals that began to take place a decade later through leaders such as J. Harry Faught, pastor of Danforth Gospel Temple in Toronto, C.H. Stiller, A.C. Shindel and E.N.O. Kulbeck, who became editor of *The Pentecostal Testimony* during the 1950s.¹³³

Perhaps due to their ministry experience in various denominations, the leaders of Western Bible College had a more irenic spirit and a vision of the church that transcended the narrower confines of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. The same cannot be said for some of their denominational colleagues and of some denominational leaders in subsequent generations. Although faculty were not representative of the entire Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada constituency in their views concerning theological education and in the maintenance of various transdenominational relationships, their example eventually helped change and shape the ethos of the entire movement and break down the barriers between Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal evangelicals.¹³⁴

¹³²Elsewhere within the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada during the 1940s was a growing sense of affinity for the newly formed National Association of Evangelicals ("General Conference," *The Pentecostal Testimony*, 15 October 1944, 4).

¹³³Faught graduated with a Th.D. from Dallas Theological Seminary in 1953 and, after his return to Canada, became one of the founders of the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada during the 1960s. Kulbeck had ties with various American evangelical institutions (for example, Temple College and Seminary in Chicago); after he became editor *The Pentecostal Testimony* began giving considerably more coverage to events within the larger evangelical community (Kydd, "Canadian Pentecostalism and the Evangelical Impulse," 297-299).

¹³⁴Other factors also helped facilitate the breakdown of the barriers between Pentecostals and non-Pentecostals, including both the post-war economic boom of the 1950s, which muted somewhat the premillennial pessimism prevalent among Pentecostals and the impact of the charismatic movement within a broad range of denominations.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the contribution of Western Bible College both to the development of theological education within the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, a denomination that was to become the largest and most prominent Pentecostal group in Canada, and to the larger Bible school movement in western Canada. Within the cluster of Holiness movement and Pentecostal schools, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada were by far the most aggressive in promoting theological education and were the denomination within the cluster with the most schools. Western Bible College, one of the first Bible schools started by the denomination, played an integral role during the formative years of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada as the closest equivalent to a national theological training school. It set out to meet the needs of a denomination that was struggling to design a workable organizational structure, to respond to tendencies towards anti-intellectualism, and to train and deploy personnel for aggressive expansion. The school, along with five subsequent regional institutions that were closely patterned after Western Bible College, played a significant part in training indigenous leaders and facilitating the development of the denomination and its expansion across Canada. All of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada schools were located in cities across western Canada. This helped them become centres of influence and outreach. Leaders within the school not only vigorously promoted missions and evangelism, but also offered a more moderate theology that tempered some of the more extreme tendencies within the young Pentecostal movement. Despite affinities, and some contact, with the larger world of fundamentalism, the school made its most substantial contribution as a centre of influence within a Pentecostal religious world that was often isolated from other evangelical Protestants. Like the majority of Bible schools in western Canada, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada schools manifested a strong denominational orientation. Nevertheless, the theological education and interdenominational ministry experience of some of the leading faculty at Western Bible College helped lay the foundation for more open and cooperative relationships with other evangelical Protestants after 1960.



CHAPTER SIX

“Other” Denominational Bible Schools with a Special Focus on Covenant Bible Institute

6.1 Introduction

Scattered throughout western Canada were Bible schools run by several small denominational groups that do not belong to the broader classifications used elsewhere in this study. Included in this nondescript cluster of “Other denominations” are three Lutheran schools,¹ three schools started by the Evangelical Church in Canada,² three schools operated by the Church of Christ,³ one short-lived venture by the Evangelical Free Church⁴ and one by the Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of Canada (see Appendix Two for a list of Bible schools in western Canada). Most of these eleven schools were located in Alberta and Saskatchewan and all but four remained in operation in 1960. Without minimizing the key role each of these schools played within its particular denomination, it is fair to say that, on their own, none of these schools could be considered particularly significant in the overall development of the Bible school movement. But when placed together, they create yet another view of the diversity that made up the Bible school movement in western Canada that augments the stories of some of the other denominational schools featured in this study.

While leaders of these schools seldom had occasion for direct contact with one

¹See George O. Evenson, *Lutheran Collegiate Bible Institute: Its Story* (Altona, MB: Friesen Printers, n.d. [c. 1990]); and George O. Evenson, *Send Out Your Light: The History of the Canadian Lutheran Bible Institute* (Camrose, AB: Canadian Lutheran Bible Institute, 1997).

²See Theodore E. Jesske, *Pioneers of Faith: A History of the Evangelical Church in Canada* (Three Hills, AB: EMF Press, 1985).

³See Lillian M. Torkelson and Roger W. Peterson, *Western Christian College: Background and Historical Perspective, 1931-1995* (Copy at <http://www.mun.ca/rels/restmov/canada/contents.html>); and Boyd L. Lammiman, *Joy Comes in the Morning: Alberta Bible College Celebrating Sixty Years, 1932-1992* (N.p., n.d. [c. 1992]).

⁴Calvin B. Hanson, *From Hardship to Harvest: The Development of the Evangelical Free Church of Canada* (Edmonton, AB: Evangelical Free Church of Canada, 1984), 127-129.

another, the stories of their schools nevertheless have some significant commonalities. The stories of these schools mirror numerous aspects of the historical development of western Canada. Most (not all) of the schools are linked to denominational constituencies that owe their origins in Canada to immigration. All struggled with the problems of economic hardship and geographic isolation, their minority status alongside their larger denominational counterparts in the United States, and the desire to find local strategies that would both nurture an interest in Christian faith and guide the process of cultural assimilation within subsequent generations. None of these schools were particularly large; the cumulative student enrolment of this cluster is the smallest of any cluster, making up only about 5% of the total enrolment in Bible schools in western Canada. All of them were started in order to serve specific denominational constituencies in Canada that began as extensions of much larger, more established denominational bodies located in the United States. The Bible schools in western Canada played an integral role both in developing leaders for, and nurturing a sense of Canadian identity within, these small and often isolated denominations. With the exception of the schools started by the Church of Christ, a group with roots in the nineteenth-century Restoration movement, all of the schools included as "Other" were connected to a specific ethnic immigrant community struggling to establish itself in western Canada. All of the schools offered instruction in English and played an important role in helping young people adjust to life in western Canada. Furthermore, several of these schools illustrate the way in which European pietism found expression in western Canada and was institutionalized within Bible schools.⁵ The common experience of these schools shows the tension experienced by leaders and institutions trying to preserve denominational distinctives and interests while being influenced by the larger transdenominational institutions, which were often more aggressive in their student recruitment.

6.2 *Covenant Bible Institute, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan (1941 - present)*

It is impossible to select a school within this cluster that typifies every characteristic of all eleven schools. A school that captures many of the common dynamics and which has

⁵For a discussion of Norwegian pietism see Evenson, *Lutheran Collegiate Bible Institute: Its Story*, Appendix C, 99-104; and R. Mayan, "The Lutheran Bible School Experience: Measuring the Value," Unpublished paper, 1990. The influence of European pietism is also a theme within the story of the Mennonite Brethren Bible schools (see Chapter Three).

therefore been selected as an example in this chapter, is Covenant Bible Institute, which was started in 1941 by the Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of Canada. Commenting on the historical significance of Covenant church schools within the Covenant experience in America, David Nyvall, a notable leader in Covenant theological education, observed that the Covenant schools "stood at the very centre of denominational life."⁶ In addition to serving as an influential institution of learning and leadership training, Covenant Bible Institute was a source of common identity and purpose for the denomination within Canada.

The school's story contributes to a larger understanding of the Bible school movement in several ways. It is an example of a school that reflects the merger of certain European and North American influences within western Canada. It is an institutionalized expression of the pietistic ethos that the Covenant tradition inherited from its Lutheran roots. Alongside the story of the Mennonite Brethren schools and the Christian Training Institute, the history of Covenant Bible Institute helps provide at least a partial explanation for the disproportionate number of Bible schools in western Canada. Like the other denominational groups classified as "Other," the immigrant population that made up the Evangelical Covenant Church constituency was located almost exclusively on the prairies. It further illustrates the way in which even small ethnic immigrant communities with limited resources relied on Bible schools for both the training of leaders within their churches and the spiritual formation of their youth. Finally, the school serves as a window through which to observe some of the relational dynamics between a small denominational struggling to maintain its unique identity and the larger evangelical Protestant world in western Canada and beyond. The denomination was touched by the influence of American evangelicalism, but uninvolved in the fundamentalist campaigns against Protestant liberalism. The denomination was particularly open to cooperation with other evangelical Protestants, but it struggled with the tension of how to work collaboratively and cooperatively with other evangelicals and still maintain certain denominational distinctives. Unlike most of the other schools featured in this study, Covenant Bible Institute represents schools that started during the 1940s, somewhat later than most other Bible schools. As such, it exemplifies the way in which many of the denominational schools started during the 1940s were initiated, at least in part, as a denominational

⁶Cited in Karl A. Olsson, *By One Spirit* (Chicago, IL: Covenant Press, 1962), 611.

reaction against the more established (usually transdenominational) schools.

6.2.1 Covenant Church Origins

The Covenant church grew out of the movement known as Lutheran pietism. This movement, usually associated with Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1705) and August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), emphasized the personal, practical and experiential aspects of faith. It also stressed the spiritual priesthood of the laity, the devotional reading of scripture, the importance of philanthropy and the sending of missionaries.

The movement spread to Sweden from Germany during the mid- to late-nineteenth century where it inspired a series of religious revivals led by Peter Fjellstedt (1802-1879) and Carl Olof Rosenius (1816-1868). Comprised of both clergy and laypeople, the Swedish pietists sought to bring about spiritual renewal within the Lutheran Church of Sweden.⁷ Many of the leaders within the movement worked as lay preachers and colporteurs distributing literature, tracts and Bibles. Despite attempts to remain a part of the state church, dissension and opposition prompted the formation in 1878 of the Mission Covenant.⁸

Prior to the official formation of the Mission Covenant in Sweden, a number of leaders within Swedish pietism, sometimes called "Mission Friends," arrived in the United States followed by other Swedish immigrants influenced by the pietist movement. The new American environment allowed greater freedom of expression and experimentation than they had known in Sweden and, as a result, the group became a unique blend of old and new influences. In an effort to preserve their Lutheran heritage, the Swedish immigrants organized two synods; these two synods merged in 1885 to form a new denomination called the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant of America (the name was later changed to the Evangelical Mission Covenant of America and more recently to the Evangelical Covenant Church of America). By 1960, the denomination had more than 500 churches and a membership of more than 55,000 members (actual attendance always exceeded reported member-

⁷Many of the early leaders had some links to various voluntary religious organizations such as the Evangelical Alliance (Swedish chapters were organized in 1852 and 1853), the Swedish Bible Society and the Swedish Missionary Society (Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 78-172).

⁸The divide between the Swedish Mission Covenant and the Swedish Lutheran Church was never completely distinct; many members of the Swedish Covenant maintained an affiliation with the state church.

ship).

The theological ethos of the Mission Covenant was a combination of its Lutheran heritage, Swedish pietism and the evangelistic impulse and methods of American evangelicals such as D.L. Moody. However, according to Wendell Anderson, it was the pietistic spirit of revival that "was of singular significance to the early immigrants to North America"⁹ and that has shaped the priorities of the group to the present. The result of such a convergence of influences was a denomination thoroughly evangelical in its emphasis on the Protestant principle of the authority of scripture, the necessity of spiritual life, justification by faith, the unity of all believers in Christ and the urgency of the missionary task. Rather than formulate a new doctrinal creed, the founders of the Mission Covenant determined that the final authority of scripture along with the affirmations of the historic creeds of the church, particularly the Apostles' Creed, would define the group. As a result, doctrinal uniformity was not considered an absolute essential within the Covenant church, although the strident promotion of "eccentricities in doctrine and practice" have been discouraged within the Covenant Church.¹⁰ The word "covenant" indicates its commitment to the principle of voluntary association of congregations for the purpose of engaging in the work of the kingdom of God. The denomination considers itself to be evangelical, but not exclusive; biblical, but not doctrinaire; traditional, but not rigid; and congregationalist, but not independent.

6.2.2 Evangelical Covenant Church Origins in Canada

The first two Swedish Mission Friends to find their way to Canada from the United States landed in Fort Garry (later known as Winnipeg) in 1874. A steady trickle of Scandinavian immigrants, mostly from the United States, looking for free land soon followed. In 1885, the first Covenant congregation was organized in Winnipeg--it was initially called "God's Scandinavian Congregation" (later changed to the First Scandinavian Christian

⁹Wendell B. Anderson, "From Sect to Denomination: The Training of Clergy in the Covenant," *Covenant Quarterly* 44, No. 3 (August 1991): 9. For a thorough study of the cultural and religious setting in Europe in which the Covenant church had its origins, as well as its American origins, see Olsson, *By One Spirit*.

¹⁰Carl G. Cham, "Our Covenant History," *The Covenant Messenger* (February 1957), 1, 7; CBCA.

Mission Church) and within a year it joined the newly organized Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant of America. Although the transient nature of immigrant populations living in an urban hub such as Winnipeg often made it difficult for this congregation to retain parishioners, it did mean that the congregation's influence was disseminated across western Canada as people who had been part of the congregation for a time settled elsewhere. The congregation served as a springboard for a missionary ministry to Swedish colonies scattered across western Canada.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the trickle of Swedish immigrants from Europe became a flood. These immigrants believed that a rural, agricultural way of life offered the best opportunity for establishing a community in which they could protect and preserve their culture, language and religion. The greatest number settled in Saskatchewan (then called the Northwest Territories), although new communities made up of Scandinavian immigrants sprang up all across the three prairie provinces.¹¹ Led by the Winnipeg congregation, a group of five Swedish congregations joined together in 1904 to form the Scandinavian Mission Covenant of Canada (later known as Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of Canada and renamed the Evangelical Covenant Church of Canada in 1956).¹² The early Canadian Covenanters saw themselves as a missionary extension of the American Covenant with a mandate to reach the thousands of Scandinavians arriving in western Canada during the early part of the twentieth century and to establish congregations within the communities in which they had settled.¹³ Scandinavian immigration was sharply curtailed after 1914. As a result, the number of congregations levelled off between twenty and twenty-five. The lack of adequate financial and pastoral resources, linguistic and ethnic differences and the presence

¹¹According to 1931 and 1941 Census statistics, immigrants of Scandinavian descent were among the largest immigrant groups in western Canada (next only to Germans and Ukrainians).

¹²The Canadian Covenanters was one small conference among a total of twelve conferences that comprised the larger Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America. Numerically the Canadian conference was only a small part of the larger whole: in 1910 its membership numbered close to 300; by 1930 this had increased to 460 and by 1960 it was over 700. This was less than 2% of the total Covenant membership in North America at the time. The Canadian Covenanters relied heavily on the Americans for both finances and personnel.

¹³The Covenanters were not particularly successful in their objective: by 1931, there were more than 81,000 Swedes in Canada and less than 1% were active in the Evangelical Covenant Church (Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 475).

of other evangelical denominations with which to integrate, all offer explanations for why numerous "mission points" started by Evangelical Covenant Church ministers during the early decades of the twentieth century never became denominational congregations.

With only limited resources at their disposal, the need to create and maintain a larger sense of community among the scattered rural congregations proved to be a monumental challenge. In order to address the problem, the Canadian Conference, only months after being organized, launched a Swedish-language newspaper known as *Canada Posten*. By devoting space to news from Sweden as well as Canada, it created a link between the immigrant's old home and the new. More importantly, it supplemented the occasional visits of the travelling ministers and helped bind together the early congregations.¹⁴

Another persistent problem for the Canadian Covenanters was finding trained missionaries and ministers who were willing and able to face the challenges of frontier life in western Canada. Although the American Covenanters provided financial assistance to the Canadian group,¹⁵ relatively few Americans responded to pleas for personnel. Of those who did come to Canada, most found the wilderness frontier conditions too daunting, and few stayed longer than two years. Despite their desire for permanent, seminary-trained ministers, out of economic and practical necessity the Canadian group was forced to use both itinerant preachers and more local "farmer-preachers" to serve their scattered congregations. Most rural Scandinavian communities happened to be located near a railway line; as a result, travelling preachers used trains to make regular visits.¹⁶ For the itinerant ministers, the *vidsträckt fält* (widespread field) was an onerous burden.¹⁷ By 1910, only one of the ten

¹⁴Camille Jacobson, *Days of Our Years, 1904-1954* (Prince Albert, SK: Evangelical Mission Covenant of Canada, 1954), 20.

¹⁵The amount of money received from the Americans increased significantly in 1909 when they discovered that the Congregationalists were pouring in a substantial amount of money (Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 474).

¹⁶The importance of the railway in elevating the status of Winnipeg as a "gateway" and centre of influence in western Canada can hardly be overstated. By 1911, the city had at least twenty-four different rail lines connecting it to various parts of the United States and Canada (see Pierre Berton, *The Promised Land: Settling in the West, 1896-1914* [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1984], 321-322). However, it was not until around 1915 that the network of railroads was in place across western Canada.

¹⁷Jacobson, *Days of Our Years*, 13.

Covenant congregations had a permanent pastor.¹⁸ Although the proportion of congregations with full-time pastors gradually increased over time (during the 1940s it was close to 65%), "pastoral supply" remained a "major concern" during the late 1950s.¹⁹

6.2.3 The Need for a Bible School

A number of initiatives preceded the establishment of a permanent residential school in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan during the early 1940s. The persistent and urgent need for trained ministers to serve remote and scattered congregations and to facilitate missionary expansion within Canada led the young denomination to consider an invitation from the Baptists as early as 1913 to cooperate in the training of young people at the Baptist college in Brandon, Manitoba.²⁰ The inauguration of a Swedish department at Brandon College in 1907 made the offer attractive to the fledgling Evangelical Covenant Church. According to Camille Jacobson, the proposal was rejected by denominational leaders on account of certain differences with the Baptists, although the discussion did inspire a dream of a school located in Canada.²¹

As a result of these initial discussions, a committee was appointed to study the "school question" in 1914.²² The committee was led by C.O. Hofstrand, a Bible teacher from Sweden who was also one of the founders of the Canadian conference in 1904. While the advent of World War One deflected the attention of the committee for several years, by 1918 they did manage to organize a short program of study in Winnipeg and in Minnedosa, Manitoba in 1919. Despite opposition from American spokespersons who felt this Canadian initiative might threaten the viability of the denominational school, the Swedish Evangelical

¹⁸Jacobson, *Days of Our Years*, 25.

¹⁹Wendell B. Anderson, *The Covenant Church in Canada, 1904-1994: A Time to Remember* (Prince Albert, SK: Evangelical Covenant Church of Canada, 1995), 88.

²⁰The Covenanters had a strong ethnic affinity to the Swedish Central Conference, which was formed in 1907 to create a closer association among scattered Swedish Baptist congregations in western Canada (Margaret Ellis Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada* [Calgary, AB: Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1974], 326.

²¹Jacobson, *Days of Our Years*, 28. She does not, unfortunately, specify the nature of the differences that prevented collaboration with the Baptists.

²²Jacobson, *Days of Our Years*, 28.

Mission Covenant College and Seminary (later divided into two institutions and renamed North Park College and Seminary) located in Chicago,²³ Hofstrand forged ahead by expanding the course of instruction to three months and designing what was intended to be a three-year course. In 1920, the school was held at Hvas, Saskatchewan, which was closer to Hofstrand's farm; the program included courses in a variety of Biblical books as well as introductory courses in geometry, algebra, nature study, physical geography and drawing.

Year	Location	Key Personnel	Students
1920	Hvas, SK	Hofstrand	10
1927	Calgary, AB	Hjalmar Sundquist	12
1928	Calgary, AB	Hjalmar Sundquist, Joel Peterson	30
1929	Minnedosa, MB	Joel Peterson	n/a
1930	Minnedosa, MB	Joel Peterson	n/a
1931	Minnedosa, MB	Joel Peterson	n/a
1932	Norquay, SK	D.N. Ericson	35
1933	Norquay, SK	D.N. Ericson	45
1934	Wetaskiwin, AB		50
	Stockholm, SK		20
1935	Wetaskiwin, AB		30
	Talmage, SK		27
1936	Wetaskiwin, AB		n/a
	Alpine, MB		n/a
	Hume, SK		n/a
1937	Wetaskiwin, AB		n/a
	Alpine, MB	D.N. Ericson	n/a
1938	No schools		
1939	Wetaskiwin, AB		n/a
	Brockington, SK	John Bergstron, E.B. Anderson	n/a

Table 6.1 Evangelical Covenant Church Winter Bible Schools²⁴

²³The American Covenanters were familiar with the Bible institute. The earliest educational initiatives on the part of Swedish immigrants included the Swedish Lutheran Mission Institute, started in 1873 and located in Keokuk, Iowa. In 1875, the school moved to Knoxville, Illinois, and was renamed Swedish American Ansgar College. It closed due to financial difficulties in 1884. The same year, Eric August Skogsbergh, an energetic and entrepreneurial pastor, organized a small school in his church in Minneapolis. The school, known as the Minneapolis Business School and Bible Institute, was intended to provide not only basic ministerial education, but also the kind of practical language and commercial courses for new immigrants. In 1891, Skogsbergh offered his fledgling school to the denomination. Thus the Covenant's first school, The Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant College and Seminary, came into being. After three years in Minneapolis, the school moved to Chicago and was renamed North Park College and Seminary. By 1919, the college division had become a junior college. The possibility of a new school in Canada threatened to divert Canadian support.

²⁴Other teachers included P.E. Landerdahl and Ebert Turnquist in Alberta, D.N. Ericson, E.B. Anderson and others in Saskatchewan. Archival materials on these short-term schools was not available; the information for Table 6.1 was derived primarily from Jacobson, *Days of Our Years*, 42-45.

Hofstrand was the sole instructor to twelve students; the language of instruction was Swedish. The initiative was discontinued after a year.

Discussions about a Bible school were renewed during the late 1920s. A pressing concern was the slow development of Sunday School and youth work--after twenty-five years in Canada the denomination had only ten youth groups and fifteen Sunday schools. In his annual report in 1929, Superintendent G.A. Quarnstrom attributed this to a lack of trained teachers and leaders within local churches.²⁵ In addition, the problem of recruiting full-time pastoral personnel was exacerbated further by the economic hardship of the 1930s that made it impossible to bring North Park Seminary students north even for the summer. The desperation of the situation forced the struggling Canadian conference to search for an indigenous solution, namely the winter Bible institutes. During the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s, several Evangelical Covenant Church congregations convened and hosted short-term local Bible schools during the winter months.

The urgency of developing ministries specifically for youth was keenly felt by the leaders and pastors within the denomination. The winter Bible schools were designed to address some of the dynamics that typically exist within immigrant families. The first generation was particularly anxious to find ways to pass along important aspects of their heritage and experience, while the second generation struggled to adapt aspects of the old into a new environment and to forge their own cultural and religious identity.²⁶ The decade of the winter Bible schools coincided exactly with the time during which the denomination made the official (and often controversial) transition from Swedish to the English language.²⁷

²⁵In 1929 the denomination had twenty churches with approximately another twenty-eight "mission points" with only eleven pastors (see report cited in Anderson, *The Covenant Church in Canada*, 11; see also Jacobson, *Days of Our Years*, 35, 42; and "Canada Conference," *Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America Yearbook* [1940], 113; CBCA).

²⁶In addition to second generation Covenanters, the evangelistic zeal of the early Covenanters brought a number of non-Scandinavian people into their congregations who did not share the ethnic traditions of the first generation Covenant immigrants (see Paul Larson's description of the various "circles," or groups, within the Covenant Church, in "The Convergence of Covenantalism and Interiority," *Covenant Quarterly* 44, No. 1 [February 1986]: 13-23).

²⁷The translation of the constitution into English in 1923 marked the beginning of the transition; in the late 1920s an English page designed specifically for youth was introduced in *Canada Posten* (Joel Peterson was the editor of this page). It was not until 1940 that English was declared the official language of the denomination. (The official transition to English among the American Covenanters took place a decade earlier in 1929; it was not, however, until 1950 that familiarity with Swedish was dropped as a pre-

The winter Bible schools, which were conducted in English, were an opportunity for those young people caught in cultural transition to study the Bible in the language with which they were most familiar. The schools served as centres of revivals. The communal environment was an ideal atmosphere in which to promote the Covenant pietistic ethos. The renewed zeal on the part of students often resulted in local "awakenings."²⁸

Many of the personnel involved in leading the winter Bible schools were also active in other youth programs (for example, a prominent promoter of the importance of youth work was Canadian-born Joel S. Peterson, who later became the first principal of Covenant Bible Institute). Leadership for other youth initiatives such as Bible camps, Sunday schools and young people's associations often grew out of the relationships developed at these schools.

After more than a decade of scattered short-term Bible schools, the small, struggling denomination felt certain of the need for a permanent Bible institute. The contribution made by the short-term programs convinced the annual conference in 1939 that pursuing such an initiative was vitally important for the survival of the denomination. Leaders predicted that without a Bible school of their own in the very near future, "in five years there would be no Covenant [in Canada]."²⁹ In 1939, the denomination decided it was time to establish a permanent Bible institute that would offer a more stable and central institutional location for furthering the emphases featured within the scattered winter schools. A board was appointed to work out the details in consultation with North Park Seminary. The school was slated to open in the fall of 1940, with D.N. Ericson, who had been involved in several short-term schools, as the first principal. Because enrolments for the first year were projected at less than ten, the initiative was postponed for a year.³⁰ The dream finally came to fruition in 1941 in the Bethany Covenant Church and parsonage at Norquay, Saskatchewan with Joel S.

requisite for Covenant seminary students.)

²⁸See Jacobson, *Days of Our Years*, 43-44.

²⁹Jacobson, *Days of Our Years*, 44-45.

³⁰"Canada Conference," *Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America Yearbook* (1940), 114; and "School Board Report," *Yearbook of the Scandinavian Mission Covenant of Canada* (1941), 26-27; CBCA.

Peterson, a person with extensive ministry experience in Canada, as the principal.³¹ The Bible school symbolized a certain "coming of age" for the small Canadian denomination.

6.2.4 A Permanent Campus in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan

Almost immediately after Covenant Bible Institute's official inauguration in Norquay, the desire for a more permanent facility was expressed.³² A more permanent site was found three years later in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan where the school remained until 1995.³³ The location was promoted because of its greater accessibility by both rail and road and for its central location in the midst "of a large undeveloped missionary field"--Prince Albert was, at the time, a city of approximately 14,000.³⁴ Throughout its first decade of operation, the school launched a continuous series of capital projects both to extend the size of the campus and to obtain the necessary facilities. By 1954, the campus owned eighteen city lots and occupied a new classroom and administration building that had been completed at a cost of \$60,000.

Consistent with the pattern established in the winter Bible schools, Covenant Bible Institute was described as a "training school." An early report within the denominational *Timely Tidings* (an English language periodical started in 1943 and renamed *The Covenant Messenger* in 1947) used a military metaphor that everyone clearly understood at the time to

³¹The Canadian-born Peterson served as president of the school for its first ten years of operation. He was a logical candidate for the position because of his ongoing promotion of youth events and ministries within the Evangelical Covenant Church, his familiarity with the Canadian conference and his previous experience as both instructor and acting president (1930-41) at Minnehaha Academy (Minneapolis, Minnesota). He later became one of the central personalities in a divisive doctrinal controversy. Four years after his resignation, he returned for one more year as interim president in 1955-1956.

³²See remarks by Superintendent G.A. Quarnstrom, "Canada Conference," *Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America Yearbook* (1943), 107-108; CBCA.

³³After narrowly averting the closure of the Prince Albert campus in 1990 (see "Development Study Commission Final Report"), the school obtained a new lease on life after relocating to a virtually new campus in Strathmore, Alberta in 1995. The campus was originally built as a detention centre for troubled youth by the Government of Alberta and sold to the Evangelical Covenant Church for \$1.5 million (Neil Josephson, "A New Vehicle, but the Same Journey," *Covenant Companion* 85, No. 5 [May 1996]: 12-13). The school is today a good example of a Bible school that has retained intact its original vision and is enthusiastic about the future.

³⁴*Timely Tidings* (March 1944), 4; CBCA. The fact that there was no other Bible school located in Prince Albert and that there was little evangelical missionary activity in the area, were also considerations.

appeal to prospective students: "No soldier is sent into the battle lines for his country without training at some base for the simple reason that his service is better for the training. Isn't it possible also that the same is true for those who intend to do battle for the Lord?"³⁵

The purpose of the school was articulated by Joel Peterson on the front page of one of the first issues of *Timely Tidings*. The reasons outlined by Peterson explaining why Evangelical Covenant Church young people should consider attending Bible school reflect both the pietistic and mission emphases of the Evangelical Covenant Church tradition, as well as the pressing need for more trained personnel within Canadian congregations. He described the Bible school as "a spiritual repair shop." It is an antidote to the way in which "the rust of spiritual inactivity corrodes; wrong attitudes develop lopsidedness and break down our efficiency; and discouragement and compromise destroy our zeal. If you are in a state of disrepair, a year of Bible School will do you a world of good." Peterson's rhetoric is more than just a hard-sell; he was articulating a view that was widely-held by evangelical Protestants who were involved in other Bible schools in western Canada. In addition to being a place for spiritual nurture, he described the Bible school as a "training ground for more efficient service" in both local churches as well as for full-time service elsewhere. "The Bible studies, prayer-life, teacher-training courses and practical work to be had at Bible school," he continued, "will be of immeasurable value in helping you find your place of greatest usefulness on your own home church. Your church needs better equipped and more fully consecrated teachers and youth leaders. You can be one of them."³⁶ During the late 1950s, Wendell B. Anderson was even more straightforward. In response to the question, "Do we really need a Covenant Christian training school?" he wrote, "If we expect the coming generation of Canadian Covenanters to possess any spiritual dynamic and to be aware of their spiritual heritage, or to transmit to succeeding generations the message and the mission, then we cannot afford to coddle weak sentiments and notions that appeal more to lethargy than

³⁵*Timely Tidings* (October 1944), 2; CBCA.

³⁶Joel S. Peterson, "Why Go To Bible School?" *Timely Tidings* (September 1943), 1; CBCA. Additional "by-products" identified by Peterson included: "learning to live with people . . . forming right habits of prayer, personal Bible reading, honesty, co-operation, industry and devotion to duty; acquiring right attitudes towards one's body, the world, the rights of others and the great crying need of the unsaved and unreached multitudes."

life."³⁷

6.2.5 Covenant Bible Institute's Curriculum and Program

For its first twenty years the school offered a three-year course of studies designed to prepare men and women for service in Canada and on mission fields around the world. Peterson described the program as a "comprehensive course of instruction" that would "deepen the spiritual experience of our young people" and "train our young people for effective service on our needy home field or on the foreign field."³⁸ Although denominational leaders in both the United States and Canada did not consider the school's program equivalent to that of the denomination's seminary in Chicago, the three-year program was considered adequate for pastoral ministry by many of the denominational leaders in western Canada. The more thoroughly-trained seminary graduates may have been preferable, but everyone recognized that the expense of spending an extended period of time studying in the United States was prohibitive for most Canadian students. The use of Covenant Bible Institute graduates as pastors in western Canada was an expedient solution to an urgent problem. By the late 1950s, Evangelical Covenant Church leaders recognized that churches in western Canada were expressing a preference for seminary-trained pastors and Covenant Bible Institute changed its program to focus more specifically on the training of laypeople.³⁹

The three-year program at Covenant Bible Institute was dominated by Bible courses; 50% of the instructional hours in the first year, 25% in the second year and 40% of the third year was in Bible. The priority given to Bible courses reflects the pietistic heritage that emphasized the sole authority of the Bible along with the need to "know the Word." The

³⁷*The Covenant Messenger* (April 1957), 8; CBCA. During the 1950s, the school continued to be promoted as a "training school for a better knowledge of God's Word, Deeper Spiritual Life, More Effective Christian Service" (*The Clarion* [1956], 47; CBCA).

³⁸*Covenant Bible Institute Bulletin* (1942-1943), 2; CBCA. The Canadian conference superintendent, G.A. Quarnstrom, is more discrete in maintaining a role for North Park Seminary by suggesting that the curriculum will be designed in consultation with North Park and students destined for professional ministry will complete their training at the seminary ("Canada Conference," *Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America Yearbook* [1940], 114; CBCA).

³⁹In 1950, Peterson reports that nine former Covenant Bible Institute students were taking further studies at North Park College or Seminary ("Covenant Bible Institute of Canada," *Evangelical Mission Covenant of America Yearbook* [1950], 150; CBCA).

emphasis on Bible was supplemented by various courses in doctrine, church history and comparative religions.⁴⁰ Practical courses designed to prepare people for involvement within their local congregations such as Sunday School administration, youth work, Vacation Bible School methods, personal evangelism and homiletics rounded out the curriculum. A high school diploma was not required for entrance until the late 1950s. The most essential prerequisite was "a deep personal experience of salvation." A "good character" and a "willingness to work hard" were also eminently desirable.⁴¹

Classes were accompanied by a strong emphasis on "practical Christian service" and missions. Each student was assigned to participate in visits to a variety of homes, hospitals and even jails and to assist with various youth programs. Encouraged by the motto, "Every Christian a missionary everywhere, always,"⁴² these assignments were understood as opportunities for the practical application of classroom instruction. As such, they served as an extension of the training program of the school.⁴³ In addition, many students were involved in "active service" during the summer months, working in Sunday Schools, Vacation Bible School ministries and children's Bible camps. During the 1940s, approximately half of the student population devoted some part of the summer to such ministries.⁴⁴ Reinforcing the motto were regular missionary conferences and prayer meetings. From 1942 onwards, at least one faculty member with missionary experience was present at the school.⁴⁵

The student population was primarily Canadian, drawn almost exclusively from the

⁴⁰The priority given to the study of the Bible over courses in other areas reflects a similar pattern at North Park Seminary (see Anderson, "From Sect to Denomination," 12).

⁴¹*Covenant Bible Institute Bulletin* (1947-1948); CBCA.

⁴²"Covenant Bible Institute of Canada," *Evangelical Mission Covenant of America Yearbook* (1946), 125; CBCA.

⁴³To encourage students to attend, tuition rates were deliberately kept as affordable as possible (tuition plus room and board for two semesters in 1942 was \$75). As a result, contributions of food and volunteer labour were solicited from congregations. As part of their program, students were expected to do a certain amount of daily "gratis" work.

⁴⁴See "Canada Conference," *Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America Yearbook* (1944), 82; CBCA.

⁴⁵The person who occupied this role for a significant period of time was Isaac W. Jacobson, who served as a missionary in China for forty years (1902-1942). He joined the faculty in 1944 and remained for more than ten years.

three prairie provinces. Annual enrolments during the first number of years averaged around twenty-five and peaked in 1948 at thirty-nine students. Almost every year, the number of women outnumbered the men. By 1960, approximately 375 students had studied at Covenant Bible Institute. Despite urging from faculty members, most students did not graduate from the three-year program; the majority stayed only for a year. By 1960, less than one hundred students had graduated from the three-year program.

Facing a serious illness, Joel Peterson resigned his position as principal in 1951. A change in leadership coincided with efforts to adapt the educational program of Covenant Bible Institute in light of changing conditions.⁴⁶ Student enrolments in the Bible school program declined badly during the late 1940s and early 1950s. In part, this was due to the schism that the denomination experienced in 1947 and, in part, it was due to attractive options available at other Bible schools.⁴⁷ The first major change designed to attract more students was the addition of a high school program. Unwilling to undertake the task of establishing their own high school especially at a time when the development of public high schools in rural Saskatchewan was being encouraged by the provincial government, the school negotiated an arrangement with Prince Albert Collegiate Institute in 1951. For several years, Covenant Bible Institute served as a residence for Evangelical Covenant Church teenagers interested in finishing their high school program in Prince Albert. Although the presence of the high school students kept student numbers around thirty during these crucial years, the program did not come without its problems. With uncharacteristic candour, acting president Quarnstrom talked about the way in which the younger and more immature students--some of whom were not professing Christians--changed "the spiritual tone of the school."⁴⁸ During his first year as president in 1956, Wendell Anderson openly wondered whether it was possible "to foster a fitting spiritual atmosphere and carry on a high school

⁴⁶After Peterson's resignation, leadership in the school was provided by series of successive acting-presidents including Leonard Quarnstrom, the conference Superintendent (1951-1953); Thomas Dice (1953-1955); and Joel Peterson (1955-1956). Wendell Anderson became president in 1956 and served in this capacity until 1990.

⁴⁷See explanation by Joel Peterson in "Covenant Bible Institute of Canada," *Evangelical Mission Covenant of America Yearbook* (1950), 151; CBCA.

⁴⁸"Covenant Bible Institute of Canada," *Evangelical Mission Covenant of America Yearbook* (1953), 134; CBCA.

program too" and speculated that the lack of such an atmosphere might be related to declining student enrolments.⁴⁹ It was not long before the high school program was abandoned.

The relatively small number of students opting to complete the three-year program and the gradual recognition that Covenant Bible Institute would never fulfill the early Evangelical Covenant Church dream of becoming a Canadian version of North Park Seminary, were factors that prompted a process of curriculum revision during the late 1950s. As early as 1953, Leonard Quarnstrom identifies the issues:

The majority of our graduates have been farm young people who were unable to take higher education and who welcomed the opportunity of spending three winters at a Bible school. Now most of the young people are able to continue their studies if they so desire, and, if not, work is plentiful and salaries attractive. Students interested in a three-year Bible course are mainly those thinking in terms of parish work, the mission field or ministry. If these students have their high school, as most of them do, they prefer attending a school that is accredited. In meeting the present situation, it seems imperative that we develop an accredited Bible school course with high school entrance requirements. Perhaps such an accredited course could be tied in with our over-all Covenant educational program to provide pastoral training for men who feel the call to the ministry, but are unable to meet the new entrance requirements to North Park Theological Seminary. In addition to the above accredited course, it might also be advisable to develop a shorter Bible course--one or two years--especially beamed [sic] to train workers for youth work in our churches and to acquaint students with our denominational program.⁵⁰

Once again, it was Wendell Anderson who brought about sweeping changes. The three-year program was replaced by both a new one-year and two-year course of studies; both were designed in conjunction with representatives from North Park Seminary. The new program was more explicitly focused on equipping "mature young people for more effective and useful service in the church. The one-year course will serve to stabilize one's Christian faith

⁴⁹"Report from Covenant Bible Institute," *Evangelical Mission Covenant of Canada Yearbook* (1957), 13; CBCA.

⁵⁰"Covenant Bible Institute of Canada," *Evangelical Mission Covenant of America Yearbook* (1953), 135; CBCA. In 1951, Covenant Bible Institute offered several "commercial" courses (typing and shorthand) in response to students who wished to obtain some employable skills while taking Bible school courses.

before entering professional training or the secular university."⁵¹ The program was more explicitly oriented towards the spiritual nurture and training of laypeople. Persons interested in pastoral ministry were advised to go to North Park Seminary.⁵²

6.2.6 Doctrinal Controversy and Crisis

The Bible school had barely moved to Prince Albert when, in 1946, seven congregations and fifteen out of twenty ministers decided to leave the denomination (two of the congregations and one minister later returned). The schism almost resulted in the collapse of the denomination. Because of Covenant Bible Institute's growing influence and central role within the denomination, it was caught in the centre of the storm.

The conflict first came to a head at an annual meeting in June 1945. A motion requesting that a creedal statement be written for the Evangelical Covenant Church generated considerable discussion, but was eventually defeated. As a result, a group of ministers led by Herb Jamieson, E.B. Anderson and David Enarson met in January 1946 to draft a series of resolutions to be presented at the next annual meeting later that same year.⁵³ The resolutions called for, among other things, Joel Peterson's resignation as principal of Covenant Bible Institute because of his refusal to endorse the substitutionary theory of the atonement as *the* Biblical view of the atonement and for his refusal to consider severing ties with the Evangelical Covenant Church of America, which some pastors felt allowed too much theological latitude. The group tried to bolster its presentation with the claim that the majority of Evangelical Covenant Church ministers and members subscribe to the substitutionary theory of the atonement. Although it appeared that a compromise solution had been worked out at

⁵¹"Report from Covenant Bible Institute," *Evangelical Mission Covenant of Canada Yearbook* (1957), 15; CBCA.

⁵²*The Covenant Messenger* (May 1957), 8; CBCA.

⁵³For a list of the resolutions, see Anderson, *The Covenant Church in Canada*, 298-300. Enarson became a leader in a group of independent churches (see Chapter Seven) linked to Prairie Bible Institute that eventually joined the Evangelical Free Church of Canada. He went on to teach at Peace River Bible Institute during the early 1950s and then at Prairie Bible Institute where he left in frustration over their refusal to consider accreditation (see Hanson, *From Hardship to Harvest*, 133-135; and David Enarson, *Thine Hand Upon Me: He Tells it Like it Was, Memoirs of David Enarson* [n.p., n.d. (c. 1996)]). Together with Robert N. Thompson, a Social Credit, and later Progressive Conservative, Member of Parliament, Enarson put forward the vision that resulted in the formation of Trinity Western College (later renamed Trinity Western University) in Langley, British Columbia.

the annual meeting in 1946, during the subsequent months a flood of resignations were submitted. The irenic D.N. Ericson did not assume an enviable task when he became Superintendent in 1947.⁵⁴

On the surface, the conflict was a theological controversy over differences about an understanding of the atonement. The group led by Jamieson claimed that

the whole structure of doctrine of the Christian faith rests upon certain basic truths, which are its foundations, that is, fundamental to it. If this foundation is out of order, the whole structure is imperiled. We humbly submit that: THE LORD JESUS DIED FOR OUR SINS ACCORDING TO THE SCRIPTURES AS A REPRESENTATIVE AND *SUBSTITUTIONARY* SACRIFICE: AND THAT ALL THAT BELIEVE IN HIM ARE JUSTIFIED ON THE GROUND OF HIS SHED BLOOD: and that this Statement of Faith is a necessary part of the FOUNDATION on which the whole body of truth rests and cannot be compromised.⁵⁵

The debate spilled over into the pages of *Timely Tidings*, which published a special supplement early in 1946 containing lengthy articles on both sides of the atonement debate. If E.B. Anderson's article, "Substitutionary Atonement," is representative, it is not difficult to see why resolution to the debate was virtually impossible. Anderson insisted with a dogmatic rigour that the substitutionary atonement, that is, that Christ's death was a substitutionary sacrifice for the sins of humanity, is the "plainly revealed" view in "God's word" from which "we dare not deviate and which cannot be discarded without incurring grave disaster." A matter is "never settled until it is settled right," according to Anderson, "and it is never settled right until it is settled according to the word of God." On the other side was Joel Peterson who, after a brief survey of various approaches to the subject throughout church history, suggested that "every theory of the Atonement has been developed by some man on the basis of his study of the Scriptures. . . . Always each one has claimed for his view the strongest possible scriptural basis." Peterson concluded by appealing to the Covenant principle of "freedom of conscience" that would allow Christians to differ on this non-essential matter; it is after all, "not your theory of atonement which saves you, but the

⁵⁴Ericson's made a pastoral attempt to avoid assigning blame, to bless those who had left and to focus on moving ahead ("President's Report," *Yearbook of the Evangelical Mission Covenant of Canada* [1947], 3; CBCA).

⁵⁵Cited in Olsson, *By One Spirit*, 783.

receiving of it."⁵⁶

Underlying the different interpretations about the atonement, however, was a more substantive divide over the unique character of the denomination, the nature of "Covenant Principles" and the leadership role of Covenant Bible Institute within the denomination.⁵⁷ It is not coincidental that almost all of the ministers who were in favour of a creedal statement that included an affirmation of the substitutionary theory of the atonement had studied at Prairie Bible Institute. Many of these pastors became part of the Evangelical Covenant Church during the 1930s when a desperate shortage of pastoral candidates from North Park Seminary prompted congregations to look elsewhere for suitable and willing candidates. The shortage was created, in part, by the desperate economic conditions on the prairies that made it impossible for congregations to support seminary students even for a summer. In addition, immigration from Scandinavian countries had stopped; therefore, for Evangelical Covenant Church churches to expand, it meant reaching beyond ethnic and linguistic boundaries. The graduates from Prairie Bible Institute were able to help Evangelical Covenant Church congregations do this. These students understood western Canada and were not as daunted by the privations in rural Canada as some of the North Park Seminary graduates. The doctrinal latitude of the denomination, along with the high degree of autonomy given to congregations, did not usually make the inclusion of others a problem; in fact, there were considerable affinities between the Evangelical Covenant Church "tradition" and the Prairie Bible Institute ministers in that they both shared a strong evangelistic impulse and an emphasis on an experiential piety. As a result, a growing number of pastors who had been trained at Prairie Bible Institute, particularly those with Scandinavian ethnic roots, were recruited by Evangelical Covenant Church congregations. In 1945, there were twenty-five ministers in the Canadian conference (not all full-time): seventeen had studied at Prairie Bible Institute.

The struggle to assimilate a growing number of pastors from different ethnic and theological backgrounds and to establish new loyalties were serious concerns for Evangelical

⁵⁶See *Timely Tidings Supplement* (1946), 1-4; CBCA.

⁵⁷For a detailed explanation of Evangelical Covenant Church principles see *Covenant Affirmations* (Chicago, IL: Covenant Publications, rev. ed., 1996).

Covenant Church leaders.⁵⁸ They contributed to the keen sense of urgency for establishing a permanent Evangelical Covenant Church school. In 1938, Superintendent G.A. Quarnstrom wrote, "The time is here to begin this Bible Institute work. . . . No matter how good these other schools are, they still cannot give our young people that which our Mission Friends feel is most important for their salvation, namely the Mission Friends principles. . . . We need our own school."⁵⁹ The problem of assimilating leaders from other schools (and preventing young people from attending these other schools) was not unique to the Evangelical Covenant Church. Covenant historian Karl Olsson observed that the Covenant church throughout North America attracted many by its evangelical spirit who then expected to find within the denomination an undeviating fundamentalistic orthodoxy and who misconstrued all exceptions as violations of essential Covenant piety (or as evidence of liberalism).⁶⁰ Some of the Prairie Bible Institute-trained ministers in Canada did not share with many of the Evangelical Covenant Church members a Swedish ethnic heritage or an historical understanding of Covenant principles. The group advocating the substitutionary theory of atonement did not see that their position was perceived as an attempt to impose a rigorous dogmatism on a tradition that had made the conscious acknowledgement and acceptance of diversity an integral part of its evangelical identity.

The incident vindicated those leaders who had strongly advocated the importance of a denominational Bible school in Canada for inculcating the non-creedal Evangelical Covenant Church ethos to successive generations. The departure of congregations and ministers who were less committed to Covenant Bible Institute strengthened both the dependency of those who remained on at the school and the denominational resolve to help the school survive. Nevertheless, the loss of some of their most aggressive evangelists and church-planting pastors and the need to rebuild the denomination resulted in a more insular, inward-looking stance for decades to come.

⁵⁸The influence of ministers from Prairie Bible Institute accelerated the transition from bilingual to English only services.

⁵⁹Cited in Anderson, *The Covenant Church in Canada*, 40.

⁶⁰See Harold Lindsell's denunciation of the Evangelical Covenant Church for its failure to use the word "inerrancy" (see *The Battle for the Bible* [Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1976], 123-128; and Hanson, *From Hardship to Harvest*, 133-135).

6.2.7 Faculty at Covenant Bible Institute

The faculty of Covenant Bible Institute was never a large group. Seldom were there more than two persons in addition to the president working full-time as faculty. The entire faculty team usually numbered between four and seven, with most carrying some additional denominational leadership role besides their teaching responsibilities--for many this additional role was a pastoral position in one of the Evangelical Covenant Church churches in or around Prince Albert.⁶¹ Many teachers routinely spent parts of their summers in denominational ministries such as Bible camps and youth rallies.⁶² In addition to meeting needs within a small denomination, this kind of denominational exposure for faculty was crucial for meeting and attracting prospective students. These dual roles helped faculty to model for their students the practical skills taught in the classroom and authenticated the strong Covenant emphasis on an experiential piety.⁶³

Evident among the faculty of the first two decades are the strong connections to the American Covenant. In fact, Covenant Bible Institute was likely the most important place for maintaining strong north-south ties between the Evangelical Covenant Church in Canada and the other Covenant conferences located in the United States. During the 1940s, the salaries of two faculty members, Isaac W. Jacobson, a missionary with forty years experience in China, and Camilla Jacobson, were financed entirely by the American Covenant and the First Covenant Church in Minneapolis respectively. The presence of these American Covenant-trained faculty was vital in helping Covenant Bible Institute maintain a Covenant ethos and

⁶¹A notable exception was Camilla Jacobson who worked part-time as the editor of *Timely Tidings*.

⁶²See for example, the advertisements in *Timely Tidings* (June 1944), 4; CBCA.

⁶³Faculty were involved in pioneering several ministry initiatives in Prince Albert. Prior to the relocation of Covenant Bible Institute, Prince Albert had virtually no Evangelical Covenant Church work. By 1950 there were three Evangelical Covenant Church congregations in the city; each received significant help from the students and faculty of the Bible school. The school also played a prominent role as a participant, or in some instances as a coordinator of, various interdenominational ventures. For example, in 1946 the Child-for-Christ initiative was taken over by Covenant Bible Institute and the school encouraged participation in several Youth for Christ rallies in 1946 and 1947 (see *Timely Tidings* [23 February 1946], 4; [9 March 1946], 4; [12 February 1947], 3; CBCA).

identity. Although faculty received their education from a wide variety of institutions,⁶⁴ the most common link was either some experience in pastoral ministry in a Covenant congregation or some time spent in a denominational educational institution (usually North Park Seminary in Chicago).⁶⁵ In addition, prominent denominational leaders and personalities were invited north to Covenant Bible Institute as speakers at missionary conferences or commencement celebrations. In addition to serving either officially or unofficially in an advisory capacity concerning curricular matters, North Park Seminary had more than a casual interest in the graduates of Covenant Bible Institute.

While some leaders in Canada envisioned that Covenant Bible Institute might one day become an alternative to North Park Seminary in Chicago, the generally low academic qualifications of faculty did not make that possible during the first two decades of the school's existence. When the school started in 1941, faculty members with a completed bachelor's degree were the exception;⁶⁶ this changed by the late 1950s, when the absence a bachelor's degree was the exception. Throughout Covenant Bible Institute's history, approximately one-third of the faculty were women.⁶⁷

6.3 Covenant Bible Institute's Role within the Evangelical Covenant Church

Although Covenant Bible Institute did not occupy a prominent role within the larger Covenant church in North America, the Bible school was highly regarded as an indispensable

⁶⁴Some of the non-Covenant schools at which the faculty members in 1948 had studied include Brandon College, University of Minnesota, University of Alberta, Seattle Pacific College and Regina Bible Institute.

⁶⁵A number of senior North Park Seminary students spent several years as "interns" in Prince Albert with part-time responsibilities in both Covenant Bible Institute and a Prince Albert congregations (for example, Leonard Peterson, Dale Sandberg and Harry Hubbling).

⁶⁶The one notable exception was John Peterson who possessed a doctorate (and three other degrees). For more than thirty years he served as a Covenant missionary and seminary teacher in China. He taught missions at Covenant Bible Institute for three years. His reputation for scholarly thoroughness stood out as the exception rather than the rule (see comments in *Timely Tidings* [October 1943], 2; and *The Clarion* [1954], 2; CBCA).

⁶⁷The prominent role of women as faculty at Covenant Bible Institute does not seem to have been a point of contention with the group of Prairie Bible Institute-trained pastors who left the denomination. In part, this may have been due to L.E. Maxwell's example of including women on the faculty.

aspect of the denomination's work in Canada.⁶⁸ Geographically centred between Evangelical Covenant Church congregations in the Winnipeg area and those in Alberta, it did not take long for the school in Prince Albert to become, in the words of Leonard Quarnstrom, "the very heart of our work in Canada."⁶⁹ In part, this was due to the presence of the Superintendent's office on campus that made the campus the administrative centre of the denomination—this link was formalized when Leonard W. Quarnstrom became Superintendent in 1950.⁷⁰ The Superintendent's responsibilities often included teaching some courses at the Bible school, cementing still further the already close relationship. The relationship was symbiotic: classroom involvement gave Superintendents a first-hand look at prospective church leaders and pastors whom they might be interested in recruiting. In part, the school's importance was due to the prominent roles occupied by various faculty members as denominational pastors and leaders. Most importantly, it was central in the sense that the denomination was very conscious of the fact that the school was preparing the denomination's future leaders. The campus became for many members of the Covenant "holy ground."⁷¹ Although fewer students graduated from the three-year program than expected, dozens of alumni went out to serve their local churches in a variety of volunteer capacities. In addition, the school produced an important number of Evangelical Covenant Church missionaries and pastors even though training pastoral leaders was not the central mandate of the school. By 1956, almost 300 students had attended Covenant Bible Institute. According to Joel Peterson, twelve of its graduates were serving overseas as missionaries and a slightly larger number were active as full-time pastors, parish workers and teachers in Canada. Several students

⁶⁸The same is true for Alberta Bible College (Calgary, Alberta) and its impact within the Church of Christ. But the same could not be said for the Lutheran Bible schools in western Canada that operated on the periphery of denominational life, or for the Evangelical Church in Canada Bible schools.

⁶⁹*Clarion* (1954), 29; CBCA. The same assessment was reiterated by the current Superintendent (Jeff Anderson, Interview with Bruce Guenther, 10 December 1998).

⁷⁰The relationship was even closer during the two years when Leonard Quarnstrom served in a dual capacity as both Superintendent and interim president of Covenant Bible Institute following the resignation of Joel Peterson.

⁷¹Jacobson, *Days of Our Years*, 55.

were continuing their education in other schools.⁷² Although the denomination did not ordain women at the time, it is worth noting that a considerable number of female graduates volunteered as missionaries or took on leadership roles within congregations without a full-time pastor as "parish workers."⁷³

6.4 Covenant Bible Institute, the Evangelical Covenant Church and Relations with other Evangelical Protestants

The consistently small membership numbers of the Evangelical Covenant Church belie its importance to the development of evangelicalism in western Canada. Dozens of the mission points started by the denomination during the first half of the century for which it was unable to find full-time pastoral personnel were assimilated by other evangelical denominations during the 1930s--and for the first two dozen years the number of mission points outnumbered the formally organized and affiliated congregations. Even without considering the extenuating circumstances of the 1930s in rural western Canada that made cooperation with others on the prairies essential and mitigated against attitudes of exclusivity, the combination of doctrinal latitude, a strong evangelistic impulse, limited resources and an emphasis on personal piety made it relatively easy for people within the Evangelical Covenant Church to work alongside those from other evangelical denominations, organizations and institutions. The significant relationship during the 1930s and 1940s with Prairie Bible Institute has already been noted. While relations with Prairie Bible Institute were more restrained and cautious after 1946 and Covenant leaders became more concerned about establishing more of a denominational identity, the group was characterized by a remarkably irenic and cooperative spirit that was largely devoid of animosity towards other denominations even after the demoralizing schism in 1946.

⁷²*The Clarion* (1956), 4; CBCA. All four members of the first graduating class, three of whom were women, went on to serve as missionaries (Jacobson, *Days of Our Years*, 53). It is worth noting that Wendell Anderson, who became president of Covenant Bible Institute in 1956 (and remained president until 1990), was a student at the school during the time when Joel Peterson was president. Anderson later attended North Park College. His long involvement in leadership positions within the school and denomination can be seen as an extension of the school's influence in its early years.

⁷³A good example is Edna A. Benson who, as a student at Covenant Bible Institute in 1946, assumed responsibility for a small "mission chapel" in Prince Albert. She later joined the faculty in 1954 and continued her leadership role in the congregation as a "parish worker."

Despite the use of the Bible school as a place to instill Covenant distinctives, it was also the context in which many students were introduced to organizations other than those operated by the Evangelical Covenant Church. Contact with other evangelical Protestant groups continued through reading material, through chapel speakers and through participation in interdenominational ministries in Prince Albert. The openness towards, and involvement with, other evangelical groups reflected what was happening more generally within the denomination. The pages of *Timely Tidings*, first edited by David Enarson until the theological controversy during the mid-1940s, carried numerous articles by well-known North American fundamentalists and evangelicals.⁷⁴ Reports concerning the activities of Covenant Bible Institute students reveal an impressive network of connections with evangelical organizations such as the North Western Mission Association, Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship, Pioneer Camps, Child for Christ Crusade and Youth for Christ; with educational institutions such as Prairie Bible Institute, Winnipeg Bible Institute, Regina Bible Institute and Peace River Bible Institute;⁷⁵ and through cooperative initiatives with churches from denominations such as the Christian and Missionary Alliance, Baptist Union of Western Canada, Presbyterian, Anglican, Nazarene and Pentecostal.⁷⁶

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter explores yet another facet of the relationship between denominationalism and the Bible school movement in western Canada by examining the experience of a small, mostly rural, ethnic immigrant denomination with only one Bible school in western Canada.

⁷⁴See for example, a variety of articles by people such as L.E. Maxwell, F.B. Meyer and M.R. DeHaan during the early 1940s. A more specific example is an article entitled, "Unashamed Fundamentalists," *Timely Tidings* (July 1945), 1-3 [Reprinted from the *Sunday School Times*]. A significant number of articles were reprinted from Prairie Bible Institute's *Prairie Overcomer*. Such borrowing from stopped rather abruptly after 1945 when Camilla Jacobson, a faculty member at Covenant Bible Institute, became the editor. Jacobson was educated at North Park Seminary and did not support the group of Prairie Bible Institute-trained pastors who left the denomination. She remained the editor until 1953 ("Wendell Anderson, "Conference Publications: Our Information Highway," *The Covenant Messenger* 50, No. 2 [May 1955]: 1, 10; CBCA).

⁷⁵See for example, *Timely Tidings* (February 1944), 3; *Timely Tidings* (27 April 1946), 43; *Covenant Messenger* (April 1957), 8; CBCA.

⁷⁶See for example, *Timely Tidings* (February 1944), 4; *Timely Tidings* (March 1944), 4; *Timely Tidings* (23 February 1946), 4; *Timely Tidings* (9 March 1946), 4; *Timely Tidings* (12 February 1947), 3; CBCA.

Despite a denominational tradition that clearly valued seminary-trained pastors, the inauguration of Covenant Bible Institute was an expedient response to both the urgent need for leaders and the limited denominational resources in western Canada. The school exemplified the situation facing many evangelical denominations in western Canada at the time. With largely agrarian congregations, whose members were often cash-poor, it was simply too expensive to send students to far-away colleges and seminaries. Limited resources made it impossible to establish their own seminary on the prairies. Bible schools were a practical response to such circumstances. Covenant Bible Institute played a vital role in helping the denomination address its need for indigenous leadership development and for the nurture of a common Canadian Covenant identity within congregations scattered across western Canada. It marked the point of convergence of both continental and North American influences. Moreover, the story of Covenant Bible Institute illustrates rather dramatically the tension sometimes created when the interests and views of those committed to transdenominational fundamentalism clashed with those interested in preserving denominational distinctives. Among other things, the school represented a denominational response to the narrower theological emphases of fundamentalism and to the minimization of denominational distinctives that was common in transdenominational institutions and organizations. Although the story of Covenant Bible Institute does not exemplify every characteristic of the eleven schools within this cluster, its experience does make an important contribution to the larger composite of diversity that is developed within this study.



CHAPTER SEVEN

Transdenominational Bible Schools with a Special Focus on Four Select Schools

7.1 Introduction

The final cluster of Bible schools to be featured in this study are the transdenominational schools. As noted in Chapter Two, most of the limited scholarly work that has been done on the Bible school movement in Canada to date has focussed on schools belonging to this cluster. Aside from the obvious fact that none of the schools in this group are identified as belonging to a denomination, the cluster is unique in several other respects. First, a number of these schools are among the most well-known Bible schools in Canada, and even in the world. Long before 1960, the reputations of Prairie Bible Institute, and to a lesser extent Briercrest Bible Institute, extended far beyond the boundaries of Canada. In part, such international recognition was due to their size. These were the two Bible schools in western Canada with the largest enrolments during the 1940s and 1950s. As a result, Prairie Bible Institute in particular has frequently been chosen as “representative” of the entire Bible school movement. Although this cluster includes only 11% of the total number of Bible schools in western Canada prior to 1960, by the end of World War Two, the cumulative enrolment of the transdenominational schools started to exceed that of the Mennonite schools, and comprised a full one-third of the enrolment within the entire Bible school movement (see Table 3.1 in Chapter Three). The growing prominence of schools within the transdenominational cluster foreshadowed developments and trends among evangelical Protestants in Canada during the second half of the twentieth century.

Second, the percentage of schools within the transdenominational cluster that managed to survive until 1960, that is, 75%, vastly exceeds that of any other clusters (for example, less than 30% of the Mennonite and Baptist schools were still in existence by 1960). In fact, 50% of the transdenominational schools that started prior to 1960 are still operating today. The denominational consolidation that led to the closure of many denomination schools seldom affected the transdenominational schools. The ability of a constellation

of transdenominational schools to develop constituencies that were both sufficiently loyal and capable of underwriting the financial costs without any additional denominational support is itself a significant statement about the strength and development of transdenominational evangelicalism in western Canada.

Third, the schools within this cluster reveal the most direct links to, and most thorough influence of, a larger international fundamentalist network.¹ Although the transdenominational schools in western Canada develop somewhat later than similar schools in the United States, many (not all) of the schools in this cluster help substantiate Joel Carpenter's portrayal of American fundamentalism as a network of institutions that transcended denominational boundaries. According to Carpenter, the most important terminals in the fundamentalist network were the Bible schools, which became the *de facto* regional headquarters of the fundamentalist movement.² Each school featured in this chapter manifests a somewhat different flavour: while the British Columbian one maintains connections to both mainline Protestant and fundamentalist networks, the three transdenominational prairie schools featured in this chapter represent an institutional embodiment of fundamentalist beliefs and concerns. Taken together, these schools offer important glimpses into a unique expression of evangelical Protestantism in western Canada.

7.2 *Selecting Transdenominational Schools*

As was the case among Mennonite schools, it is difficult to choose a truly representative school from among the twelve schools in the transdenominational cluster. Although all of the schools in this cluster have some of the same emphases in common, isolating only one institution would obscure the way in which different regional contexts and constituencies variegated transdenominational evangelicalism in western Canada. Therefore, instead of featuring only one representative school as in most of the preceding chapters, what follows is a series of brief institutional biographies of the earliest, and certainly the most influential, transdenominational Bible schools—one from each province—that will identify some of the central figures and the important developments in the life of each institution. The survey

¹See Chapter One for a fuller discussion of definitional approaches to fundamentalism.

²*Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 16-18.

begins by looking at the Vancouver Bible Institute, started in 1918 by the ecumenical Walter Ellis. It was one of the few transdenominational schools that had significant contact with mainline Protestants although its influence was largely centred in British Columbia. Featured next is Prairie Bible Institute, started by Fergus Kirk and L.E. Maxwell in 1922 in Three Hills, Alberta. The third school is Winnipeg Bible Institute, which began in Winnipeg in 1925. The last school to be featured in this chapter is Briercrest Bible Institute, which was started by Sinclair Whittaker and Henry Hildebrand in 1935 in Briercrest, Saskatchewan. Two of these schools were situated in important urban centres in the region; the other two in small, rural villages in the middle of the prairies. Taken together, the four institutional biographies not only verify the significant influence of fundamentalism within the transdenominational cluster of Bible schools

Table 7.1 Student Enrolment in Transdenominational Bible Schools (1925-1960)								
	1925	1930	1935	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960
Vancouver Bible Institute	60	105	60	50	35	105	60	0
Prairie Bible Institute	35	90	280	500	470	800	640	670
Winnipeg Bible Institute	25	20	55	80	55	55	70	50
Briercrest Bible Institute	0	0	10	110	105	215	195	340
All Other Transdenominational Schools	0	25	50	100	110	200	85	180
TOTAL	120	240	455	840	775	1,375	1,050	1,240

Note: Enrolment numbers are based on a combination of actual and estimated data.

and its southward links to American fundamentalism, but also reveal more fully the variations within the transdenominational constituencies surrounding, and the ethos within, the different schools. The four institutional biographies offer a unique window into the diversity among fundamentalists in particular, and some of the dynamics in the development of transdenominational evangelicalism in western Canada in general.

7.2.1 Vancouver Bible Institute, Vancouver, British Columbia (1918-1955)

The first transdenominational Bible school in western Canada, Vancouver Bible

Institute was started in the urban centre of Vancouver, British Columbia in 1918.³ According to Robert Burkinshaw's path-breaking study of evangelical Protestantism in British Columbia, the school emerged as one of several transdenominational initiatives following the public controversy that polarized Protestants after the French E. Oliver evangelistic campaigns in Vancouver in 1917.⁴ Oliver, a popular Presbyterian minister affiliated with the Bible Institute of Los Angeles, who became known as a strident fundamentalist, was invited to conduct a lengthy evangelistic campaign in Vancouver by the Vancouver Evangelistic Movement, a group of local evangelical leaders interested in promoting evangelistic and missionary activity. Oliver provoked a storm of controversy with his scathing denunciations of local ministers whom he accused of being modernistic and liberal, and of neglecting "soul-winning" in favour of "social regeneration."⁵

The conflict galvanized support among a wide range of Vancouver-area evangelicals for the creation of a new network of institutions and organizations that embodied concerns and emphases they believed were lacking in the mainline Protestant denominations. This set the stage for the development of a "two-party" Protestantism in the Vancouver region. However, unlike the divisions that took place within some denominations, particularly in the United States, the sense of alienation experienced by those who were sympathetic with evangelical concerns and did not result in a complete abandonment of, or separation from, mainline Protestant denominations.⁶ Instead, evangelicals belonging to the more "respectable" Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist churches located on Vancouver's west side worked together with individuals from the smaller, and more uniformly evangelical Plymouth Brethren and Salvation Army to create and support a new network of institutions

³It was first called the Vancouver Bible Training School, then renamed the Vancouver Bible School in 1923 before being named the Vancouver Bible Institute in 1950.

⁴Burkinshaw devotes considerable space to the story of Vancouver Bible Institute in *Pilgrims in Lotus Land: Conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, 1917-1981* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1995), 57-75; and in "Conservative Evangelicalism in the Twentieth-Century 'West,'" in *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada and the United States*, ed. George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 317-348.

⁵Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, 41-54.

⁶Burkinshaw nevertheless calls the individuals involved in this network "practical sectarians" because "their primary commitments often lay with their evangelical institutions outside of denominational control (*Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, 56).

and organizations.⁷ In part, this cooperation was made possible by the “strikingly British ambience,” which permeated Protestantism in Vancouver during the first few decades of the twentieth century.⁸

Vancouver Bible Institute played a central role in this new network and is unique within the larger Bible school movement in several respects. It not only became the most prominent and influential Bible school in British Columbia during the first half of the twentieth century, but it was virtually the only Bible school in British Columbia until the 1930s.⁹ Furthermore, there was no other transdenominational Bible school in western Canada that was as ecumenically successful. Its primary base of support rested, from the outset, among urban, mainline Protestant evangelicals. The school drew together evangelical Protestants from many denominations. In this, it was comparable only to Toronto Bible College in central Canada, a school with which Vancouver Bible Institute had close contact.¹⁰ Finally, Vancouver Bible Institute is one of only several transdenominational schools that ceased operation before 1960. The reasons for its closure offer glimpses of the shifting

⁷Other transdenominational evangelical initiatives with which the school had close contact included the Girls' Corner Club, Shantyman's Christian Association, British Columbia Evangelical Mission, British Columbia Sunday School Mission, Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship, and most notable of all, China Inland Mission, one of the world's largest and most influential missionary societies (see Burkinshaw, “Conservative Evangelicalism in the Twentieth-Century ‘West,’” 327).

⁸Burkinshaw, “Conservative Evangelicalism in the Twentieth-Century ‘West,’” 319; and Ian S. Rennie, “Fundamentalism and The Varieties of North Atlantic Evangelicalism,” in *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1770-1990*, eds. Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington and George A. Rawlyk (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 342-345. See also Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 139-140.

⁹Three small exceptions to this general observation include the short-lived Faith Bible School, which was started in 1924 by a small group of Pentecostals and closed after one year (*Jubilation: Five Decades in the Life of Western Pentecostal Bible College* [Abbotsford, BC: WPBC, 1991], 9); the Life Bible College of Canada, which was started in 1928 by Anna D. Britton as part of the Kingsway Foursquare Gospel Church in Vancouver (see Joanne B. Wolf, “Canadian Foursquare History,” Unpublished paper, 1996), and the short-lived Regular Baptist Bible Institute, which began as a series of night classes in the Mount Pleasant Baptist Church in 1929 (John B. Richards, *Baptists in British Columbia: A Struggle to Maintain “Sectarianism”* [Vancouver, BC: Northwest Baptist Theological College and Seminary, 1977], 102-103).

¹⁰The broad range of denominations represented among the people involved during the formative years of Toronto Bible College was, according to John Stackhouse, indicative of a “widespread theological fluidity” within Protestantism in Canada (*Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to Its Character* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993], 53-70).

demographics among Protestants in British Columbia.

The school initially offered a two-year diploma course of “thorough and systematic training in the knowledge and practical use of the English Bible” that was designed for “Sunday School workers, Pastors’ assistants, and City, Home and Foreign missionaries.”¹¹ The curriculum was patterned after similar programs at Toronto Bible College, Moody Bible Institute and the Bible Institute of Los Angeles, and was not intended as a substitute for the seminary training required of ordinands in mainline Protestant denominations. Courses were scheduled both on week-day mornings as well as on several evenings, making it possible for students to study either full-time or part-time. In addition, the school offered regular Thursday evening lectures specifically for Sunday School teachers who were using the International Uniform Lesson series.¹² These lectures proved to be particularly popular among church leaders and Sunday School teachers, with attendance often exceeding 150.¹³ Except for a small registration fee, tuition was free. Academic standards for admission were low, but “spiritually high.” The first public advertisement of the schools specified that the “fundamental qualification” was a “living faith in the Lord Jesus Christ.” Somewhat less important, although considered helpful, was “a fair English education.”¹⁴ In addition to their studies, students were expected to participate in some form of “practical work.”

The combined full-time and part-time enrolment never reached one hundred during the 1920s and exceeded that figure only a few times during the 1930s and 1940s. Enrolments were particularly low during the war years, dipping down perilously to twenty-eight in 1942. Throughout the school’s history, the majority of students were part-time (the number of full-time students came close to forty immediately after World War Two). The school attracted students from a diverse range of Protestant denominations, which, by 1940, included Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Anglican, Christian and Missionary Alliance, Christian

¹¹“Vancouver Bible Training School Annual Report,” June 1919, I, VBI Papers, BGCA.

¹²From the mid-nineteenth century until the 1950s, this interdenominational Sunday School curriculum was widely used by Protestants. For more on the International Uniform Lesson series see Gerald E. Knoff, *The World Sunday School Movement* (New York: Seabury Press, 1979), 64-68.

¹³Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, 70.

¹⁴“Minutes of the Central Committee of Vancouver Bible Training School,” 17 May 1918, VBI Papers, BGCA.

Brethren, the stridently fundamentalistic Metropolitan Tabernacle (affiliated with the Independent Fundamental Churches of America), and even several Pentecostal churches.¹⁵ The vast majority of students came from Vancouver and the surrounding area.

The dominant figure in the history of Vancouver Bible Institute and among evangelical Protestants in Vancouver for almost three decades was the scholarly pastor Walter Ellis. Born in 1883 in Derbyshire, England, Ellis arrived in Canada in 1903 as assistant to George Lloyd, the Anglican chaplain to the Barr Colony in Saskatchewan. By 1912, he had earned both a B.A. (honours) and an M.A. in Semitics from the University of Toronto, and completed the course requirements for a B.D. from Wycliffe College.¹⁶ In 1914, he joined the faculty of Latimer Hall, an evangelical Anglican college in Vancouver, to teach Old Testament, apologetics and church history.¹⁷

Ellis was absent from Vancouver during the Oliver campaign, although he had been a part of the Vancouver Evangelistic Movement that had invited Oliver to Vancouver. Despite his distress over the heated and vituperative controversies surrounding the campaign, Ellis nevertheless continued to identify with those who sought to emphasize evangelism and missions, and defend against the inroads of liberal theology. Following the Oliver campaign in 1917, he organized several Bible classes for new converts. This led to the organization of Vancouver Bible Institute, which was to be a "hotbed for evangelistic effort and inspiration" and would supply churches with motivated and trained evangelists.¹⁸ His appointment in

¹⁵The Baptists consistently had the greatest number of students at Vancouver Bible Institute (see "Enrolment Report," January 1940, VBI Papers, BGCA). The same denominational breadth was not represented among faculty: of the eighteen part-time faculty hired between 1918 and 1944, eight were Baptist, seven Presbyterian, one Anglican, one Free Methodist and one Plymouth Brethren (Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, 69).

¹⁶It is a curious coincidence that Ellis and J.E. Purdie were students together at both the University of Toronto and Wycliffe College before being ordained by the Anglican Church (Letter from J.E. Purdie to J.E. Harris, 18 August 1952, VBI Papers, BGCA).

¹⁷For a short time, two Anglican schools co-existed in Vancouver. Latimer Hall was started in 1910 and St. Mark's Hall was started in 1912. These two schools merged in 1920 to form the Anglican Theological College (D.C. Masters, *Protestant Church Colleges in Canada: A History* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966], 169-172).

¹⁸Ellis believed that even though evangelistic work was more "spectacular" than Bible school work, the "mainspring of evangelistic effort of the best kind is in the Bible Training Schools and Bible Conferences" ("Report on the Eastern Canada and USA Trip," 8 March 1919, VBI Papers, BGCA).

1918 as principal, a position he held until his death in 1944, was a part-time post,¹⁹ for he had no intention of leaving his position at Latimer Hall. He was, therefore, surprised to discover that he had been relieved of his teaching position at Latimer Hall during the summer of 1918. Despite his desire to remain within the Anglican church, the bishop's repeated refusal to renew his ministerial license eventually prompted him to become the minister of Fairview Presbyterian Church in 1926.

Ellis was influential in establishing both the theological ethos as well as the general character for the school. Along with its explicitly evangelical doctrinal stance, the school was characterized by a greater degree of tolerance for diversity in the areas of eschatology and ecclesiology than in any other transdenominational school in western Canada. The theological ethos of the school was shaped also by Ellis's vigorous promotion of an experiential Keswick Holiness teaching that included an emphasis on consecration, personal holiness, daily communion with God, and a life of active service, especially in evangelism and foreign missions.²⁰ For nearly twenty years, Ellis organized "Keswick weeks" designed to help students and others to obtain "a full realization of the presence and power of the Holy Spirit."²¹

Moreover, unlike some other evangelicals, Ellis was not opposed to academic study. He was well-known for his thoughtful sermons and his love of books (his personal library numbered between five and six thousand volumes). Burkinshaw notes that his "ability to deal

¹⁹Toronto Bible College served as the model on which the organizational structure of Vancouver Bible Institute was based. The Toronto school was based on the British model of an administrative president and an academic principal. Vancouver Bible Institute's Council, led at first by Robert W. Sharpe, met almost monthly, and was selected from a larger group of the school's supporters called the Advisory Council.

²⁰Ellis was profoundly influenced at Wycliffe College by W.H. Griffith Thomas, one of the foremost proponents of Keswick Holiness teaching in North America (Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, 66). Rennie notes that Keswick conventions were often the venue that brought conservative British and Canadian evangelicals and American fundamentalists together ("Fundamentalism and The Varieties of North Atlantic Evangelicalism," 337-339). Burkinshaw observes that the prevalence of Keswick teaching among British evangelicals resulted in a greater emphasis on personal piety and service than on doctrinal precision (*Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, 74). For a full study of the Keswick movement see C. Melvin Loucks, "The Theological Foundation of the Victorious Life: An Evaluation of the Theology of the Victorious Christian Life in the Light of Present and Future Aspects of Biblical Sanctification" (Ph.D. Diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1984).

²¹"Minutes of the Central Committee of Vancouver Bible Training School," 17 May 1918, VBI Papers, BGCA.

with modernism in a scholarly, uncontentious manner earned him a reputation among many conservatives as an effective and reliable defender against this threat.”²²

From the outset, Ellis tried to clarify what he perceived to be the relationship between Vancouver Bible Institute and the churches in Vancouver. He argued that “the Bible schools must enlist the sympathy of Christians on the widest lines consistent with the truth. For us this means that we should make friends to ourselves of members of all the Churches who sympathetically cooperate. So far as possible we should give them a voice in our affairs; at the same time we must zealously guard the matters of faith which we hold as fundamental.”²³ He considered “interdenominational” support and cooperation essential for the “permanency” of the school. The school’s schedule was, therefore, designed “to conflict as little as possible with the regular work of the churches. We are not a rival to them. We seek to be their handmaid. . . . It seeks to cooperate with all the evangelical churches, and so to supplement their work. No sectarian nor merely denominational tenets are taught in the classes.”²⁴

Ellis’s desire to avoid potentially divisive controversies with other evangelicals was occasionally put to the test, particularly with those who both insisted on a dispensationalist approach towards eschatology and considered anyone unwilling to do so as theologically suspect. Ellis subscribed to “historic premillennialism,” which was less pessimistic and allowed for a more figurative interpretation of apocalyptic literature than dispensationalism. Pressure came as early as 1919 from a rather ambitious initiative on the part of James M. Gray, dean of Moody Bible Institute, to establish a common “Declaration of Faith” for use by all Bible schools on the continent. Ellis corresponded with Gray asking him not to make it “too narrow, especially with regard to the Second Coming.” Later in 1919, the Vancouver Bible Institute Council refused to endorse the proposed draft as “too exclusive.”²⁵

Vancouver Bible Institute was also forced to respond to pressure from local dispensationalists. In 1930, Ellis wrote to Prairie Bible Institute to dispel rumours that it was

²²Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, 62.

²³“Report on the Eastern Canada and USA Trip,” 8 March 1919, VBI Papers, BGCA.

²⁴“Vancouver Bible Training School Annual Report,” June 1919, 1, VBI Papers, BGCA.

²⁵“Report on the Eastern Canada and USA Trip,” 8 March 1919; “Report of the Principal to the Council of the Vancouver Bible Training School,” 11 April 1919; and “Minutes of the Council of the Vancouver Bible Training School,” 27 December 1919, VBI Papers, BGCA.

postmillennial, a position that was commonly associated with liberalism. Still closer to home was pressure from people such as W.M. Robertson, the strident, controversial and authoritarian leader of the Metropolitan Tabernacle, a prominent centre of fundamentalist influence in the city. Robertson advised people to attend Prairie Bible Institute and avoid the "unsound" Vancouver Bible Institute.²⁶ Despite his less combative style, and his attempts to avoid controversy on this matter, Ellis occasionally found himself caught between the fires of liberalism on the left and those fundamentalists on the right, who were either more strident in their call for complete separation from mainline denominations or simply disagreed with Vancouver Bible Institute's decision to permit diversity on certain doctrinal matters.²⁷

Although Ellis consistently resisted pressure to restrict Vancouver Bible Institute's position on eschatology to a dispensational position,²⁸ he nevertheless managed to maintain lifelong, amicable relationships with many Protestants including strident American fundamentalists as well as local fundamentalists who insisted on "separation" from mainline denominations. Despite ongoing association with various fundamentalist organizations--particularly transdenominational foreign missionary societies--and his appreciation for certain emphases prevalent throughout the fundamentalist network (for example, a Keswick approach to spirituality), he appears never to have identified himself or the school as fundamentalist. His irenic, cooperative style enabled him to play a key role in the establishment of several transdenominational organizations in Vancouver.²⁹

The school was never officially a part of any denomination, but it had a broad influence in the development of evangelical Protestantism in British Columbia in the first

²⁶Despite Robertson's lack of support, Vancouver Bible Institute did have significant supporters within the congregation, and a steady trickle of students continued to attend (Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, 128).

²⁷Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, 59.

²⁸Ellis was greatly influenced by John McNicol, principal of Toronto Bible College (see Warren Charlton, "Dr. John McNicol and Toronto Bible College," *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* [1977]: 38-57; and Brian A. McKenzie, "A History of Toronto Bible College [1894-1968]: A Study in Canadian Fundamentalism," Unpublished paper, University of Toronto, 1982).

²⁹In a tour of Bible schools in both USA and Canada in 1919, Ellis observed a notable "difference in temperaments on the two sides of the line," and signalled his clear preference for the "temperament" of Toronto Bible College over that of Moody Bible Institute ("Report on the Eastern Canada and USA Trip," 8 March 1919, VBI Papers, BGCA).

half of the twentieth century. As Burkinshaw notes, the school's influence was "out of all proportion to its size."³⁰ The school served as one conduit of evangelical influence within mainline Protestant congregations particularly before World War Two.³¹ In addition, its graduates extended the influence of the school through a web of other organizations. For example, Margaret Fraser launched an organization in 1929 called the British Columbia Sunday School Mission, which was designed to bring vacation Bible schools and Bible correspondence courses to children living in rural communities. For fifteen years the organization recruited students from Vancouver Bible Institute, sending them as summer workers across the province. In 1944, it became part of the Canadian Sunday School Mission, "which by this time had become the most prominent evangelical organization working with children in western Canada."³² More than 150 of its students entered some kind of professional Christian ministry or married someone who did. Many of these students went overseas as missionaries with the China Inland Missions. Finally, Vancouver Bible Institute played an important role in the life of the smaller, more homogenous evangelical Protestant groups, by meeting some of their educational needs until they were able to establish their own institutions.³³

The death of Ellis in 1944 marked the end of an era for the school. Although the institution carried its momentum into the post-war years, which led to an expansion of the curriculum in 1946 and the purchase of a new women's residence in 1947, by the mid-1950s declining enrolments prompted the cancellation of classes. The reasons for the decline of the school are varied. Students who might have considered Vancouver Bible Institute as an option twenty years earlier, now looked elsewhere.³⁴ Despite the advantages of its urban

³⁰Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, 69.

³¹Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, 221.

³²Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, 123; and Mann, *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955), 114-116.

³³Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, 57.

³⁴One indication that educational choices among evangelicals had shifted dramatically is the fact that the decline of Vancouver Bible Institute coincides with the significant growth on the part of Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship (David Phillips, "The History of the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship in Western Canada" [M.C.S. Thesis, Regent College, 1976], 193-235).

location, the school felt the competition from other Bible schools that had developed better residential and recreational facilities, that had designed more comprehensive three or four-year programs preparing people for professional ministry (and sometimes offering degrees), and that spent considerably more time and money in publicity and aggressive student recruitment. Denominations and churches that had historically sent students to the school gradually stopped. J.E. Harris, a Convention Baptist minister who was the school's second principal for seven years (1945-1952), attributed its demise in part to the competition experienced from emerging denominational schools. The inauguration of the Baptist Leadership Training School in Calgary in 1949 made it increasingly difficult for Harris to recruit Baptist students, who had once comprised the majority of its student population.³⁵

Perhaps most problematic for Vancouver Bible Institute was the fact that the "centre of gravity" within evangelical Protestantism in the Vancouver region (and elsewhere) gradually shifted after World War Two from the mainline denominations towards the more numerous (albeit smaller) homogeneously evangelical denominations. In his comments to the discouraged Edward McPhee, a Presbyterian who became the school's third principal, Harris observed: "The newer Gospel churches of small denominations or non-denominational groups are not fields in which you or I could make the appeal like Maxwell [from Prairie Bible Institute] could make. We are not informal enough or fervent enough or perhaps anti-denominational enough for them."³⁶ Burkinshaw concludes that Vancouver Bible Institute's close association with mainline Protestantism had become a hindrance when competing with other Bible schools.³⁷

In 1956 the directors of the school offered the assets of the institution to three groups: the Canadian Sunday School Mission, the Evangelical Free Church and the Baptist General Conference. Although the Evangelical Free Church was interested,³⁸ the first group to present

³⁵Letter from J.E. Harris to E.I. McPhee, 4 October 1953, VBI Papers, BGCA; and Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, 154, 300. In addition, the Regular Baptists established their own school (Northwest Baptist Bible College) in Port Coquitlam in 1945.

³⁶Letter from J.E. Harris to E.I. McPhee, 4 October 1953, VBI Papers, BGCA.

³⁷Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, 152-155.

³⁸Letter from the Canadian Pacific District, Evangelical Free Church of America to Vancouver Bible Institute Council, 19 May 1956, VBI Papers, BGCA.

a formal affirmative response was the Baptist General Conference, which began to operate the school in 1957 with only eight students.³⁹ Enrolment almost reached sixty the following year. After a decade it was relocated to nearby Surrey, British Columbia where it continued to operate until 1977.

7.2.2 *Prairie Bible Institute, Three Hills, Alberta (1922 - present)*

By 1960, Prairie Bible Institute, the second transdenominational Bible school to be established in western Canada, had become the most widely-known Bible school in Canada. As a result, it has sometimes even been designated as “the most important” Bible school in Canada.⁴⁰ A significant factor in establishing such a prominent reputation was its size. By 1948 the annual enrolment reached almost 900 making it one of the largest Bible schools in the world.⁴¹ At the time, no other Bible school in Canada even came close to Prairie Bible Institute in size (in 1948, only eight Bible schools in western Canada had enrolments exceeding 100, and one school [Briercrest Bible Institute] had a student population of 240). At the time, the school’s enrolment comprised 60% of the total number of students in transdenominational schools in western Canada, and approximately 23% of the total number of Bible school students in all of western Canada. Moreover, many of its graduates were scattered across the globe as missionaries creating an international reputation for the school. By 1969 almost 1,500 Prairie Bible Institute graduates were overseas missionaries with an additional 900 involved in ministries in North America.⁴²

³⁹Norris Magnuson, “Vancouver Bible Institute, Bethel College and Seminary: A Decade of Progress in a Century of Educational Advance,” in *The 1960s in the Ministry of the Baptist General Conference*, ed. Donald E. Anderson (Evanston, IL: Harvest Publications, n.d.), 113; and Gordon Carlson, *75 Years History: Columbia Baptist Conference, 1889-1964* (Seattle, WA: Columbia Baptist Conference, 1964), 236-240. This was the first educational venture on the part of the Baptist General Conference in Canada since the closure of the Alberta Baptist Bible Academy in Wetaskiwin, Alberta in 1946.

⁴⁰John G. Stackhouse, Jr., “The Protestant Experience in Canada Since 1965,” in *The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1760-1990*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Burlington, ON: Welch, 1990), 204-205.

⁴¹An additional 300 students were enrolled in the elementary school and high school on campus. Enrolments in the Bible school slipped to under 700 by 1960.

⁴²Edward Lawrence Oke, “A Philosophy of Bible College Education” (M.Ed. Thesis, University of Calgary, 1972), 145; and Margaret Epp, *Into All the World: The Missionary Outreach of Prairie Bible Institute* (Three Hills, AB: Prairie Press, 1973), 14.

Because of its size, Prairie Bible Institute, along with its founder Leslie E. Maxwell, has attracted more scholarly attention than any other Bible school in Canada. Scholars, however, have been divided in their interpretation of the school, particularly on the matter of whether the school is “representative” of other Bible schools, and over the exact nature of the school’s relationship to fundamentalism in Canada and the United States. William E. Mann used Prairie Bible Institute as the basis for his general observations about “sectarian educational institutions, commonly called Bible schools,” which came into being “primarily to produce pastors for the fundamentalist movement.”⁴³ Donald A. Goertz argued that Maxwell was the organizer and theologian of a religious revival that ran parallel to William Aberhart’s effort’s in Calgary. However, as Aberhart veered further away from an explicitly religious message and more towards Social Credit ideas and politics, Maxwell became the arbiter of Alberta fundamentalism. Prairie Bible Institute, almost by default, set the tone for a developing fundamentalist milieu within the province.⁴⁴ The work of John G. Stackhouse, Jr. is focussed specifically on transdenominational evangelicalism in Canada. He describes the school as a “bulwark of prairie evangelicalism,” and suggests that Prairie Bible Institute stands as “the central institution and representative of a ‘sectish’ sort of evangelicalism common especially outside urban areas but present in cities across Canada as well.”⁴⁵ By using a narrow historical definition of fundamentalism (see Chart 1.2), Stackhouse carefully avoids categorizing the school as fundamentalist, opting instead to see it as illustrative of “sectish” transdenominational evangelicalism.⁴⁶ A recent thesis by James Enns argues that the central purpose of Prairie Bible Institute was the training of overseas missionaries. Instead of seeing fundamentalism as only a militant expression of evangelicalism, Enns suggests that various fundamentalist “currents” are present within the larger river of evangelicalism. According to Enns, a “Holiness-revivalist current” of fundamentalism is not only clearly recognizable within Prairie Bible Institute, but is also the source of the school’s

⁴³*Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, 82-91.

⁴⁴“The Development of a Bible Belt: The Socio-Religious Interaction in Alberta between 1925 and 1938” (M.C.S. Thesis, Regent College, 1980), 99, 119.

⁴⁵*Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 51, 132.

⁴⁶*Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 12.

vitality and growth. Furthermore, he suggests that highlighting the school as “representative” in fact misrepresents the rest of the Bible school movement, obscures the unique qualities and distinctive ethos of Prairie Bible Institute, and obscures “the diverse nature of fundamentalism.”⁴⁷ The school is “representative” only to the degree to which it shared in common with other schools certain emphases (for example, teaching the Bible, missions, practical training for laity), but it was not representative in other ways (for example, size, complete absence of mainline Protestant connections, resistance to accreditation and the proportion of Americans within student population). Despite the obvious interpretative variations, such attention has at least familiarized scholars with the story of Prairie Bible Institute.⁴⁸

The idea for a Bible school in the Three Hills, Alberta, a small village located 120 kilometres north-east of Calgary, came from several Scottish Presbyterian families led by Fergus Kirk, who had settled in the area in 1915. At the time, Alberta was experiencing significant social and economic change. During the first three decades of the twentieth century the population of Alberta increased by almost 700,000. Many of the new immigrants came from outside of Canada, and brought with them considerable religious diversity; by 1946 approximately fifty religious groups existed in Alberta. Wildly fluctuating economic conditions, and the absence of strong roots on the part of immigrants within the region, created a fertile environment for new religious and political ideas.⁴⁹

Following a nervous breakdown, which precipitated a spiritual awakening, Kirk started Bible classes in the area using the “search-questions” that his sister Hattie had received from William C. “Daddy” Stevens during her time as a student at the Missionary

⁴⁷“Fundamentalist Education at Prairie Bible Institute, 1922-1947,” 6-9, 23-24. This is an extension of the observation made by Bruce Hindmarsh who observed that the fundamentalist network of institutions and organizations centred in Winnipeg created both an ideological and geographical mid-point between Stackhouse’s “churchish” Toronto Bible College, and “sectish” Prairie Bible Institute (“The Winnipeg Fundamentalist Network, 1910-1940: The Roots of Transdenominational Evangelicalism in Manitoba and Saskatchewan,” in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. George A. Rawlyk [Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997], 317).

⁴⁸David R. Elliott includes Maxwell in a series of short biographical studies (“Studies of Eight Canadian Fundamentalists,” [Ph.D. Diss., University of British Columbia, 1989], 258-276). For a general critique of this work see Chapter Two.

⁴⁹See Mann, *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, 3-26; and Goertz, “The Development of a Bible Belt,” 5-36, 109-118.

Training Institute in Nyack, New York.⁵⁰ Despite some trepidation, the success of the Bible classes led to the inauguration of a Sunday school in an empty schoolhouse. The combination of Kirk's limited education and his keen desire to provide young people in the area with more regular and thorough instruction in the Bible prompted him to write Stevens, asking him to send a teacher. Stevens recommended Leslie Earl Maxwell, who accepted the request to conduct Bible classes in the area, and became the first principal of the new venture.⁵¹ Kirk's interest in missions and sacrificial giving of time and money as the president of the school greatly helped Maxwell in establishing the school.

No single individual exercised more influence on the development of Prairie Bible Institute's identity than Maxwell. It shared in common with other Bible schools an emphasis on teaching the Bible, practical training, premillennialism, personal holiness, and missions, but the ethos of the school had a peculiar flavour attributable entirely to the formative influence of Maxwell. The school became an embodiment of his unique theological emphases and priorities.

Born and raised as the oldest of nine children on a farm near Salina, Kansas, Maxwell spent his adolescent years helping his family scrape together a living. Several personal crises, including the tragic death of a younger brother and contact with fiery Methodist evangelists, precipitated a spiritual interest and an intense fear of death and hell. These childhood experiences, along with influence of a devout aunt who helped him find accommodation and a job in Kansas City after high school and who took him to a local Presbyterian church, the reading of a book called *Twin Hells*, and a personal relationship with Walter Wilson, a prominent Plymouth Brethren Bible teacher, culminated in a conversion experience.⁵² After

⁵⁰Started in 1882 by A.B. Simpson, this school was one of the first Bible schools in North America (Virginia Lieson Brereton, *Training God's Army: The American Bible School, 1880-1940* [Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990], 48-49).

⁵¹For more on the Kirk family see Hector Kirk, *With God on the Prairies* (Three Hills, ON: Prairie Press, 1975); Philip W. Keller, *Expendable! With God on the Prairies: The Ministry of Prairie Bible Institute* (Three Hills, ON: Prairie Press, 1966), 59-72; Bernice Callaway, *Legacy: The Moving Saga of our Prairie Pioneers* (N.p.: MacCall Clan, 1987); and Goertz, "The Development of a Bible Belt," 99-105.

⁵²Wilson was an Open Brethren teacher and evangelist whose Bible classes, radio broadcasts and books (for example, *Strange Experiences of The Doctor* [Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1938] were popular throughout the American mid-west (see Goertz, "The Development of a Bible Belt," 106).

spending almost two years (1917-1919) with the American army in France, Maxwell returned to Kansas to support his family. Dissatisfaction with the Presbyterian church prompted him to join the Tabernacle Baptist Church. The pastor, a graduate of Moody Bible Institute, encouraged Maxwell to enroll in the newly-founded Midland Bible Institute, a small school started by Stevens. A disciplined regime of work and study allowed Maxwell both to complete the three-year course of study and continue sending money to his mother.⁵³ In response to Steven's encouragement, Maxwell arrived in Three Hills in September 1922 and began conducting his first class of ten students in a local farmhouse.⁵⁴ His farming background, and willingness to work hard and live simply, helped him win the respect of people within the community. Despite his original intention of only staying two years, Maxwell remained as principal until 1977, and then as "founder" until his death in 1984.

From the outset, "the influences of Maxwell's spiritual and educational formation shaped the operational philosophy and curriculum of Prairie Bible Institute."⁵⁵ The early motto, "Training Disciplined Soldiers for Christ," articulated the school's goals and aspirations. Using his experience at Midland as a model, Maxwell introduced two program options: an introductory two-year program and a three-year "graduate" program to which a fourth year was added in 1929. The programs were kept simple, practical and lay-oriented, comprising mostly of Bible courses supplemented by courses in history, literature, missions and music that were taught "in Bible light." Unique within the school's Bible courses was the emphasis placed on an inductive "Study Guide Method" that Maxwell learned from his mentor Stevens. The method required students to read through their Bible and simultaneously answer a series of assigned "search questions" from a textbook.⁵⁶ It did not necessitate additional

⁵³Details of Maxwell's early years are recounted in Keller, *Expendable! With God on the Prairies*, 21-47; and Goertz, "The Development of a Bible Belt," 87-99.

⁵⁴For the first two years the school was known as Three Hills Bible School. After land and buildings were purchased in the village of Three Hills, Alberta in 1924, the name was changed to Prairie Bible Institute.

⁵⁵Enns, "Every Christian a Missionary," 44-45.

⁵⁶For a more detailed description see Enns, "Every Christian a Missionary," 43-53. James Gray from Moody Bible Institute popularized this inductive approach through his widely used *Synthetic Bible Studies: Containing an Outline Study of Every Book of the Bible with Suggestions for Sermons, Addresses and Bible Expositions* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1923).

books (a pragmatic consideration when library resources were limited), and was therefore ideally suited for the preparation of missionaries. In 1943, the school expanded its program tracks to include various two-year and a four-year programs, and made additions to the curriculum that indicated a growing awareness of the need to include exegetical studies as part of biblical studies. In short, the curriculum was a “portable education, unencumbered with analysis and speculative criticism of academia. Missionaries needed a gospel that would ‘travel light’ and adapt to the rustic environment of frontier evangelism.”⁵⁷

Interest in Prairie Bible Institute gradually grew during the 1920s. By the early 1930s enrolment exceeded one hundred. It remained stable during the worst depression years, with most of the students coming from Alberta, and then quickly climbed close to 300. Another surge in student numbers took place during the 1940s, peaking in 1948. Student numbers followed a general pattern within the Bible school movement dipping in the early 1950s and then remaining relatively stable until the late 1960s. Students came from a variety of mostly evangelical churches. Students from so-called “nondenominational” churches represented the largest group throughout the first decade, but were eventually outnumbered by Baptist students. Demographic data is limited, but it is clear that the school did not attract great numbers from mainline Protestant or Pentecostal churches.⁵⁸ Notable is the fact that throughout the 1930s American students comprised approximately 25% of the student enrolment,

⁵⁷Enns, “Every Christian a Missionary,” 53-54. Like many other schools, Prairie Bible Institute sought affiliation with Evangelical Teacher Training Association although it only did so in 1937, several years later than many other Bible schools in western Canada. The fear that external associations might exert pressure to reduce the number of Bible courses and distract it from its primary objective kept the school from considering accreditation with the Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges until the 1980s, long after other Bible schools had moved in this direction. “We are not personally concerned,” writes Maxwell, “about becoming uniform with others, or in becoming accredited. God has given us a special method of Bible study second to none, and we are content to do what God wants us to do without having to adjust to that which others feel led to do. . . . We are convinced that many of the present trends will ultimately take these very Bible institutes into modernism” (see William C. Ringenburt, *The Christian College: A History of Protestant Higher Education in America* [Grand Rapids, MI: Christian College Consortium, 1984], 170; and Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 77).

⁵⁸Prairie Bible Institute did not welcome Pentecostals. The movement had created a serious rift at Midland, which convinced both Maxwell and Miller that speaking in tongues was a divisive teaching “contrary to God’s Word” (see James Opp, “‘Culture of the Soul’: Fundamentalism and Evangelism in Canada, 1921-1940” [M.A. Thesis, University of Calgary, 1994], 97; and Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 237-238, 241).

and by the end of the 1940s this had increased to almost 40%.⁵⁹ It was the only Bible school in western Canada to have such a significant proportion of non-Canadian students.

Climbing enrolments required additional faculty. Maxwell successfully recruited several acquaintances from Midland including Dorothy Ruth Miller, the most influential faculty member during the school's first twenty-five years next to Maxwell. Miller, a graduate of both Columbia University and New York University, taught both at A.B. Simpson's school in Nyack and Midland before coming to Prairie Bible Institute. Few faculty members, however, carried such academic qualifications, as the school quickly established a pattern of hiring its own graduates. Faculty were not only to be competent teachers, but also to act as models of piety and holy living. While most faculty were men, Maxwell manifested what Enns calls an "egalitarian spirit" towards Christian ministry.⁶⁰ This was exemplified in various ways. Miller taught core Bible courses with Maxwell, served as the co-editor of the *Prairie Pastor*, and preached regularly at the school's worship services. Approximately 20-25% of the school's board were women. A significantly higher percentage of female graduates (41%) went on to serve as foreign missionaries than male graduates (36%).⁶¹

According to Maxwell, a "Bible-centred" curriculum, along with a "Biblically-spiritual" environment, would invariably produce a "preeminently missionary" school.⁶² Maxwell believed "it is our supreme task . . . to prepare trained, schooled, disciplined, and fit young people, to 'make up the hedge, and stand in the gap' on the far-flung missionary

⁵⁹Enns, "Every Christian a Missionary," 6; and Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 78, 238-239. From 1945 onwards, females significantly outnumbered males within the student population.

⁶⁰Enns, "Every Christian a Missionary," 73-76. Short of formal ordination Maxwell encouraged women to take leadership roles. Prairie Bible Institute was not unique within the transdenominational evangelical world: a similar policy was maintained for a time by Moody Bible Institute (see Janette Hassey, *No Time for Silence: Evangelical Women in Public Ministry Around the Turn of the Century* [Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1986]); and the China Inland Mission (Klaus Fiedler, *The Story of Faith Missions: From Hudson Taylor to the Present Day* [Oxford, England: Regnum Books, 1994], 33).

⁶¹See Brereton for a fuller discussion of the opportunities for women within Bible schools in comparison to most theological seminaries (*Training God's Army*, 129-132).

⁶²L.E. Maxwell, "Forward," in *Into All The World: The Missionary Outreach of Prairie Bible Institute*, 9.

fronts.”⁶³ Simply put, for Maxwell, participation in the cause of missions was inseparable from Christian living. The defining feature of Prairie Bible Institute was the preeminent place given to the training of individuals for missionary service. The cause of missions permeated absolutely every aspect of life at the school.⁶⁴ Although Maxwell tried not to minimize “home missions,” the “dense darkness of heathenism” suggested that priority be given to “foreign missions.”⁶⁵ For Maxwell, the preeminence of evangelism served as a unifying force as it diminished ecclesiastical and doctrinal differences. Reinforcing this emphasis on campus was a regular cycle of chapel speakers, prayer meetings and conferences. Speakers at such events routinely came from transdenominational “faith mission” organizations, particularly China Inland Mission, Sudan Interior Mission, Worldwide Evangelism Crusade and Unevangelized Fields Mission.⁶⁶ Both the remarkable number of graduates involved in missionary work (as noted above), and the staggering percentage of graduates (almost 50%) who went overseas, offer ample evidence of the school’s success in fulfilling its mission.⁶⁷

Integral to the curriculum was an emphasis on practical experience outside the classroom. Many of the outreach activities initiated by the school greatly helped extend the influence of the school (noted above were the annual conferences). Groups of students often

⁶³Maxwell, *With God on the Prairies*, 38.

⁶⁴See also Keller, 129. Regardless of their differences on other points, all observers of Prairie Bible Institute agree on this matter (for example, Goertz comments on how “missions was seen as the only true vocation” [“The Development of a Bible Belt,” 2]; Stackhouse notes that missions was “at the heart of everything” at the school [*Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 87]; and Enns argues that “preparing students for foreign missionary service became the central organizing principle behind Prairie Bible Institute’s growth and development” [“Every Christian a Missionary,” 8]).

⁶⁵Maxwell, “Foreword,” in *Into All The World*, 11.

⁶⁶Enns notes how the regular presence of influential American fundamentalist leaders alongside the personnel of missionary organizations at conferences helped establish Prairie Bible Institute’s international reputation as a dynamic missionary training school (“Every Christian a Missionary,” 97-102). Moreover, hosting conferences on campus helped the school to become a kind of “regional coordinating centre” for networking like-minded fundamentalist organizations and individuals (see Carpenter who describes this same phenomenon in the United States [*Revive Us Again*, 53-56, 83-85]).

⁶⁷A significantly lower percentage of graduates (29%) pursued full-time professional ministries in North America. This is yet another indication of the priority given to foreign missions over home missions, and the strength of the relationships between Prairie Bible Institute and transdenominational organizations. Denominational Bible schools invariably had a higher percentage of graduates involved in home ministries (Oke, “A Philosophy of Bible College Education,” 145).

accompanied faculty on itinerant preaching tours during the summer months. During the first decade these trips were largely confined to Alberta and Saskatchewan, but then were expanded to other parts of Canada and the United States. In order to provide ministry opportunities for students during the summer, Maxwell started his own Prairie Sunday School Mission in 1929; 2,500 children signed enrolled in a Bible correspondence course during the first year. This initiative was absorbed by the larger Canadian Sunday School Mission a year later, which continued to recruit Bible school students who were sent to rural communities across western Canada during the summer months.

By the end of the school's first decade, Prairie Bible Institute had embarked on two additional "missionary strategies" of outreach within western Canada: printing and radio. In 1928 Maxwell purchased a small printing press and initiated an eight-page pamphlet first called *The Prairie Pastor*. Circulation numbers reached 2,500 by the end of the 1920s, 5,000 by the end of the 1930s, and 60,000 by the mid-1960s (then known as the *Prairie Overcomer*).⁶⁸ Articles within Prairie Bible Institute publications included items written by Maxwell, other faculty, missionaries and students, as well as reprints from a wide range of devotional authors and publications such as the *Sunday School Times*, *Evangelical Christian* and *Dawn*.⁶⁹ Its publications became an effective means for promoting the school, and for disseminating its Holiness-fundamentalist ethos.⁷⁰

During the early 1930s Maxwell began to use radio to broadcast the school's church service. The response from listeners was generally sufficient to keep the broadcast on the air. Following a six-week evangelistic campaign in Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, Oscar Lowry, an itinerant evangelist associated with Moody Bible Institute, came to Calgary in the fall of

⁶⁸"Minutes of the PBI Board," 30 March 1929; and "Minutes of the PBI Board," 16 May 1939; cited in Enns, "Every Christian a Missionary," 19.

⁶⁹For a more detailed analysis of the content of Prairie Bible Institute's publications, see Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 247-248; and Enns, "Every Christian a Missionary," 108-113. Over time, the school produced and distributed correspondence courses, a special publication for children, and a variety of devotional literature.

⁷⁰Through its associations and doctrinal statements, Prairie Bible Institute intentionally aligned itself with fundamentalism. For example, early on the school affirmed that it stood "for every whit of the 'Fundamentals'" (cited in Enns, "Every Christian a Missionary," 24, 57-58; and Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 78-80). Maxwell was, however, eager to cast his net as wide as possible, and therefore simultaneously affirmed his intention of maintaining "cordial fraternal relations with all evangelical divisions of the church" (*Manual of the Prairie Bible Institute*, 1925-26, 5).

1938. Using Prairie Bible Institute's airtime, parts of Lowry's campaign were broadcast throughout the CFCN listening area (CFCN, known as the "Voice of the Prairies," was one of the most powerful radio stations in Canada). Lowry's campaigns throughout Saskatchewan and Alberta resulted in a widespread outpouring of religious fervour that some have called a revival.⁷¹ The response to the Calgary campaign--Lowry received 5,700 letters--greatly boosted the profile of the school's broadcast (and religious broadcasting generally in Alberta), and vindicated Maxwell's expectations of radio as a tool for evangelism.⁷² During the 1940s and 1950s, the school greatly expanded its radio audience by distributing recorded broadcasts across the country.

Intertwined with the biblicism embedded within the curriculum, and the strong emphasis on evangelism and missions, was Maxwell's Holiness theology of the crucified life, which was a unique hybrid created by weaving together strands of influence from A.B. Simpson, the Keswick movement and his own spiritual experiences.⁷³ Although the language used to describe the process varies, Holiness advocates such as Maxwell believed it was essential for Christians to "surrender" or "yield to the Lord" in a second, often highly emotional and crisis-like, post-conversion experience or "work of grace" (sometimes also called the "second blessing"). This experience instantaneously enabled a Christian believer to rise to a new and higher plane of spiritual power and intimacy with God (that is, the "deeper Christian life" or "the fullness of the Holy Spirit"), a greater degree of personal holiness ("the

⁷¹See Rennie, "The Western Prairie Revival in Canada: During the Depression and World War II," Paper presented at the Oxford Conference on Revival, Oxford, 1978; and Goertz, "The Development of a Bible Belt," 216-226. Goertz comments that the so-called "Bible Belt" in Alberta is "that area within the radio range of CFCN, Calgary, the station used by Aberhart, Maxwell and Lowry" (3). This is not entirely accurate, for it was the combined impact of itinerant preaching, publications, and radio that defined the parameters of the school's constituency.

⁷²Enns, "Every Christian a Missionary," 113-116; Opp, "'Culture of the Soul': Fundamentalism and Evangelism in Canada, 1921-1940," 117-146. The more aggressive use of radio on the part of Prairie Bible Institute coincides with the void created by William Aberhart's move towards a more political message (Aberhart started using radio in 1925, and became premier of Alberta in 1935).

⁷³The classic expression of Maxwell's ideals concerning "crucifying the self" can be found in *Born Crucified: The Cross in the Life of the Believer* (Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1945).

victorious Christian life”) and ministry effectiveness.⁷⁴ Maxwell’s initial understanding of Holiness theology was obtained from his mentor Stevens,⁷⁵ but was augmented by his reading of people such as Amy Carmichael, Samuel Zwerner, Madame Guyon, Andrew Murray, William Law, Oswald Chambers and others. Maxwell, and others, directly linked a willing response to missionary service as evidence of a “crucified life” that is “fully surrendered to the Lord.” The prominence given to Maxwell’s Holiness theology tended to minimize doctrinal emphases at Prairie Bible Institute that were featured more prominently in other Bible schools (for example, militant anti-modernism and dispensational premillennialism).⁷⁶

Because of Prairie Bible Institute’s remote rural location, the school assumed responsibility for providing on-campus accommodation for students. At the outset, this was done as a practical necessity, but Maxwell soon recognized how his message of “living a crucified life” might be applied within the close proximity of campus life. The geographical isolation and highly regulated daily routine of the school prompted some observers to describe the school as “quasi-monastic,” and as a “military boot-camp.”⁷⁷ Maxwell frequently used military metaphors to explain the rationale for the disciplined, almost ascetic, campus schedule: “It is our task to train disciplined soldiers for stern front-line duty. If you are a volunteer--‘Fall in!’ PRAIRIE is sometimes considered too rugged--for *softies*, but never for

⁷⁴The Holiness movement is rooted in Methodism, but by mid-nineteenth century had spread to many other denominations. The belief in a “second work of grace” contributed considerably towards the unique theological emphases of the Pentecostal movement in the early twentieth century, but it was widely disseminated elsewhere within evangelical Protestantism in a modified form through the Keswick conferences (see George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1980], 72-80; and Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 80-85).

⁷⁵Stevens was significantly influenced by the founder of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, A.B. Simpson’s “Four-Fold Gospel” of Jesus as Saviour, Sanctifier, Healer and Coming King (see Darrel R. Reid, “Towards a Fourfold Gospel: A.B. Simpson, John Salmon, and the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Canada,” in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, 271-288).

⁷⁶While a premillennialist, Maxwell did not accept all facets of dispensationalism (see Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 241).

⁷⁷Ian Rennie, “The Western Prairie Revival in Canada,” 16; Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 82; and Enns, “Every Christian a Missionary,” 64-90. Rennie also sees a similarity between the Maxwell’s elevation of missionary vocations and the medieval monastics who considered the disciplined life of the cloister to be superior (“The Doctrine of Man in the Bible Belt,” Paper presented at the Regent College Conference, Calgary, February 1974, 11).

soldiers.”⁷⁸ The elaborate set of rules, which governed virtually every aspect of a student’s life on campus, was not to be considered an expression of legalism, but rather as preparation for the rigours and privations of missionary life.⁷⁹

Faculty were not exempt from living a life of “self-denial” within the school community; in fact, they were expected to lead by example. Early on Maxwell had articulated the principles of “no debt,” and “hoping for nothing” (based on Luke 6:35), which prompted him to renounce even his meagre salary. From that point onward faculty and staff divided equally any income that was available for their use creating a kind of economic commune. Everyone was expected to live as frugally as possible, spending only what was “necessary,” and helping with maintenance and mundane chores.⁸⁰ To make the cost of training affordable even to those with very limited financial means the school developed its own farming/gardening operation, which eventually covered 960 acres.⁸¹ In addition, everyone associated with the school was expected to give generously to missions. By the end of its first twenty-five years of operation, the school had collected and distributed over \$420,000 for missions.⁸²

The fact that Prairie Bible Institute managed to move beyond its geographical isolation—an isolation compounded by its emphasis on cultural separatism—and become a major part of a larger international fundamentalist network is remarkable.⁸³ The school

⁷⁸*Prairie Bible Institute* (promotional pamphlet, n.d.); cited in Enns, “Every Christian a Missionary,” 64.

⁷⁹The school is well-known for its intentional efforts at minimizing the social interaction between men and women (see Enns, “Every Christian a Missionary,” 82-83). This was, however, not entirely unique to Prairie Bible Institute.

⁸⁰All students were assigned tasks at the school as part of an effort to keep costs as low as possible. Stackhouse describes this expectation as part of “a rural attitude” (*Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 81). The practise was, however, used by virtually all Bible schools in western Canada and was not unique to rural schools.

⁸¹Roy L. Davidson, *God’s Plan on the Prairies* (Three Hills, AB: By the author, 1986), 59, 64.

⁸²Enns, “Every Christian a Missionary,” 84-88. This amount was raised through regular offerings during Bible and missionary conferences.

⁸³It is, as Enns notes, even more remarkable when one considers that almost all of the prominent transdenominational schools in the United States were located in cities (Enns, “Every Christian a Missionary,” 118; and Brereton, *Training God’s Army*, 71-76, 79-84).

became a major influence in popularizing a particular fundamentalist ethos throughout Alberta and western Canada. In addition to the hundreds of graduates who volunteered as missionaries--almost always with transdenominational organizations--numerous graduates became pastors and leaders within denominations such as the Baptist Union of Western Canada, Christian and Missionary Alliance, Fellowship of Gospel Churches, and the Evangelical Free Church. In addition, the origins of at least two other transdenominational schools in western Canada are connected to Prairie Bible Institute.⁸⁴

7.2.3 *Winnipeg Bible Institute, Winnipeg, Manitoba (1925 - present)*

The early decades of the twentieth century were a time of rapid change within Winnipeg as a massive influx of immigrants streamed through the city. At the time, it was the third-largest city in Canada, and an important metropolitan gateway to the prairies. The city is well-known as a centre for labour unrest, which culminated in the 1919 General Strike, and for the development of social Christianity, but as Michael Gauvreau and Nancy Christie demonstrate, it was also a hotbed for evangelical revivalism particularly among working-class Winnipeggers. Almost annually, thousands of people flocked to hear popular evangelists who had been invited to Winnipeg, including Billy Sunday in 1914 (invited by the Ministerial Association), S.J. Reid in 1915, W.R. Greenman, Britton Ross and French Oliver in 1918, Gypsy Smith in 1919, and Aimee Semple McPherson in 1920.⁸⁵ In many instances, several churches cooperated in organizing revival meetings. A sizeable proportion of

⁸⁴The story of Peace River Bible Institute, which is sometimes called "little Prairie," is also connected to the Kirk family. Forced to return to North America on account of sickness, Hattie Kirk, sister to Fergus Kirk, and her husband Ephraim Monge settled in the Peace River district in northern Alberta. When local interest in a Bible school developed, Hattie wrote to Fergus asking him to recommend a person. A school was started in 1933 by Walter W. McNaughton, a graduate of Prairie Bible Institute (Peace River Bible Institute Alumni Association, "*Holding Forth the Word of Life . . .*" *Peace River Bible Institute, 1933-1977* [Altona, MB: Friesen Yearbooks, 1977], 8-12). Similarly, a group of people in northern Saskatchewan wrote to Maxwell asking him to send someone to help them start a Bible school. He recommended George M. Little, who became the first principal of Three Rivers Bible Institute (now known as Nipawin Bible Institute) in 1935. Most of the other instructors who taught at the school during its earliest years were graduates from Prairie Bible Institute (Clifford Maier and Eleanor Maier, *A Journey of Faith: The NBI Story* [Marquette, WI: By the authors, 1994], 1:65-85).

⁸⁵"'The World of the Common Man is Filled with Religious Fervour': The Labouring People of Winnipeg and the Persistence of Revivalism, 1914-1925," in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, 337-350. Many of these evangelists helped facilitate an acceptance of premillennialism among evangelicals in Winnipeg during the early twentieth century.

participants in these extended crusades were members of mainline Protestant churches.

Despite the tenacity of evangelicalism within mainline Protestant denominations, the Protestant landscape was changing. New evangelical Protestant groups springing up across North America were quick to seize a foothold in Winnipeg because of the potential for the dispersion of followers across western Canada. The inimitable Sidney T. Smith, once a member of Westminster Presbyterian Church, helped a small nondenominational city outreach centre transform itself into an independent congregation called Elim Chapel, which became a recognized centre within the international fundamentalist community by 1920. As noted in Chapter Five, by the 1920s the Pentecostals had successfully established a significant presence in Winnipeg. Similar in style and theology to the Pentecostals were various Apostolic groups. Holiness movement groups such as the Salvation Army, the Hornerites and the young Christian and Missionary Alliance appeared in Winnipeg preaching their unique approach to Christian piety. The third transdenominational school to be featured in this chapter is a school first known as the Winnipeg Bible Training School.⁸⁶ It is a school that reflects the evolving nature of evangelical Protestantism in Winnipeg in particular, and also generally within the prairie provinces, as it brought together different strands of influence and denominational affiliation from some of these new evangelical groups before these new expressions of Protestantism had fully hardened into their theological or denominational molds.

The school began in January 1925 under the leadership of Harry L. Turner, pastor of Glad Tidings Assembly in Winnipeg and a former Christian and Missionary Alliance missionary. Turner's previous experience in starting a Bible school in Argentina, and his concern for training men and women for Christian work in the rapidly expanding settlements

⁸⁶This school had more name changes than most. For a short time in 1928 it was called Winnipeg Bible College in order to help its students distinguish themselves from members of the International Bible Student's Association or "Bible students," now known as Jehovah's Witnesses ("Minutes of the Directors' Meeting," 24 July 1928, PCA; and Edward Hildebrandt, "A History of the Winnipeg Bible Institute and College of Theology from 1925-1960" [M.Th. Thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1965], 31), but within a year it became known as Winnipeg Bible Institute (1929-48). The school was legally incorporated as the Winnipeg Bible Institute and College of Theology in 1948. The name was again changed to Winnipeg Bible College in 1963, and is known today as Providence College (located in Otterburne, Manitoba).

across the Canadian prairies, prompted him to initiate a Bible school in Winnipeg.⁸⁷ He was assisted by Purceval Cundy, a minister at Emmanuel Baptist Church, and Muriel Taylor, a member of Elim Chapel and a worker with Canadian Sunday School Mission. Turner resigned after the first term for personal reasons⁸⁸ and the task of leading the fledgling school fell to Cundy, an immigrant from Britain who had supervised missionary work on the prairies among people of non-English origin on behalf of the Baptist Union of Western Canada prior to his position at Emmanuel. The first six years of the school's existence were rather tenuous, characterized by financial hardship, frequent relocations (seven places) and changes in leadership (five principals), and difficulties in defining a constituency.⁸⁹ Muriel Taylor, who stayed with Winnipeg Bible Institute until 1947, aptly described it during these years as "a real sickly infant."⁹⁰

According to the first *Prospectus*, the stated purpose of the school was to train "Christian workers for service in voluntary or official positions in the Church, the Sunday School or the Mission Field at home or abroad."⁹¹ According to a long-time faculty member, the school was part of a strategy for addressing the "great spiritual need of the expanding

⁸⁷The independent Glad Tidings Assembly was the result of a schism from the Pentecostal Assembly of God (later known as Calvary Temple). Turner's ministry included a successive series of conflicts surrounding his openness to facets of Pentecostal teaching. This was the reason he left the Christian and Missionary Alliance fold in Argentina in 1918. However, he maintained ongoing contact with the fledgling denomination, and assisted the Glad Tidings Assembly in becoming a part of the Christian and Missionary Alliance in 1926. After a more formal reconciliation with the denomination, he became dean of St. Paul Bible Institute and for six years (1954-1960) served as the president of the Christian and Missionary Alliance (see Lindsay Reynolds, *Rebirth: The Redevelopment of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, 1919-1983* [Beaverlodge, AB: Evangelistic Enterprises, 1992], 206-208, 296, 313).

⁸⁸Turner's first wife died only one week after the school began. Seven months later he married the nurse who had cared for his wife (Interview with Zella Turner by Bill and Jean Loge, 16 July 1985, PCA). Turner moved to Saskatoon where he started Glad Tidings Bible Training School, which was loosely connected with a Pentecostal group known as Full Gospel Missions.

⁸⁹Details of the school's various locations can be found in "Journey Through the Campuses," a slide-show prepared by the school in 1986 (see transcript in PCA).

⁹⁰Quoted in Hildebrandt, "A History of the Winnipeg Bible Institute and College of Theology," 34.

⁹¹*Winnipeg Bible Training School Prospectus* (c. 1926), 2, PCA.

West and the need for missionaries in missionary programs around the world.”⁹² Taylor explained:

It is a school on the Prairies, taught and administered by those who know the spiritual need and conditions on the Prairies, for the young men and women of the Prairies. As in the foreign field, missionaries say the problem of evangelization of the country lies with trained Christian natives, so it is trained Christian rural people who are the key to the evangelization of the vast spiritually unreached sections of rural Western Canada.⁹³

At the outset, the institution had no entrance requirements, “except approved Christian character,” although possession of a high school diploma was preferred and did permit entry into the more advanced two-year program. During the school’s seven-month term, which began in October and extended until April, a choice of two programs were offered including a one-year “Preparatory Course” intended for those without a high school diploma, and a more thorough two-year “Standard Course.” During Cundy’s tenure as principal, the school scheduled evening classes and offered correspondence courses as ways to make its program accessible to more students. The school decided not to charge tuition, opting instead to operate on a “faith” basis by which it depended solely on the voluntary gifts of friends and students.

Despite the denominational and theological diversity among the faculty involved with Winnipeg Bible Institute during its early years, they shared a general unity about the need to cooperate in order to train workers who might more speedily fulfill the mandate of the Great Commission. To facilitate cooperation and unity, the school was to remain “non-sectarian and undenominational.” Their theological commonality was expressed within the first doctrinal statement, which consisted of a simple four-point affirmation of the authority of the Bible, the person and work of Jesus Christ, the work of the Holy Spirit and the necessity of

⁹²“Historical Perspective,” *Winnipeg Bible College Witness*, February 1975, 6.

⁹³Muriel Taylor, “The School That Would Not Die,” 1935; quoted in Hildebrandt, “A History of the Winnipeg Bible Institute and College of Theology,” 64. See also a brochure entitled *Winnipeg Bible Institute* (c. 1933), 3, PCA, which talks about the need for trained workers on the prairies of western Canada.

the new birth.⁹⁴

The school drew faculty, board members, visiting speakers and students from over a dozen denominations, but several sources exerted a greater degree of influence on the school than others. Present from the outset were individuals closely connected to the Christian and Missionary Alliance.⁹⁵ This included Turner, who facilitated the transition of Glad Tidings Assembly into the Christian and Missionary Alliance denominational fold in 1926, and Muriel Taylor, a former Anglican who had attended Nyack Bible Training School before returning to Winnipeg and becoming part of Elim Chapel. Although Perceval Cundy associated more with the Baptists, in a moment of financial desperation in 1926 he offered to turn over the fledgling school to the Christian and Missionary Alliance. The offer was rejected because the denomination was embroiled in an internal debate over official denominational support of its smaller Bible schools in Edmonton and Toronto, and was not about to become involved in yet another financially struggling school in Winnipeg. Another notable Christian and Missionary Alliance presence came in the form of George M. Blackett,⁹⁶ a graduate of Toronto Bible College and a Christian and Missionary Alliance pastor who, after serving as principal at Winnipeg Bible Institute from 1935 to 1941, started a Christian and Missionary Alliance Bible school in Regina. A good number of students from Winnipeg Bible Institute followed Blackett to Regina.⁹⁷ The Christian and Missionary Alliance influence brought an experiential emphasis on holiness and “deeper life” sanctification that may have encouraged an openness to Pentecostalism on the part of some at Winnipeg Bible

⁹⁴Winnipeg Bible Training School Prospectus (c. 1926), 3, 12, PCA. Despite a rather lean doctrinal statement, this same *Prospectus* indicates that the key textbook used in its Bible Doctrine course was R.A. Torrey, *What the Bible Teaches: A Thorough and Comprehensive Study of What the Bible has to Say Concerning the Great Doctrines of Which it Treats* (New York: Revell, 1898), which is a thoroughly dispensationalist work.

⁹⁵Started by A.B. Simpson, the Christian and Missionary Alliance began as a transdenominational fellowship calling Christians to a renewed holiness and to participation in missionary outreach before it became a denomination.

⁹⁶Other faculty members who had links to the Christian and Missionary Alliance included John Woodward, who “taught Alliance doctrine and tried to steer several graduates into the Alliance orb” (Reynolds, *Rebirth*, 242), Lillian Nimrod (later Lillian Dugard), William Price and John Cunningham.

⁹⁷Reynolds, *Rebirth*, 274, 343-346. The ongoing Christian and Missionary Alliance interest in Winnipeg Bible Institute reflected the unresolved divisions within the denomination concerning the most preferable location, and denominational support for their own theological school in Canada.

Institute.

The most enduring influence in the development of the school came from Elim Chapel.

The relationship was present from the beginning through Muriel Taylor, but was strengthened considerably after A. Clarke Hunt, former treasurer at Elim Chapel and president of Mid-West Paper Sales, became chair of the board of directors. Winnipeg Bible Institute routinely used the Elim Chapel facilities for conferences and graduation exercises, and took advantage of the steady stream of prominent fundamentalists brought to Winnipeg by the wealthy and influential Sidney Smith.⁹⁸ The Bible conferences organized by Elim Chapel served as a point of contact for evangelical leaders from different denominations, and as a conduit of fundamentalist influence within Winnipeg. The support of various people at Elim Chapel as board members and faculty (for example, C.L. Johnston, W. Pearce, Samuel L. Head, Fred Mitchell, Margaret Moody, et al.) helped solidify the theological ethos of the school. Although Winnipeg Bible Institute was never a large school--full-time enrolments fluctuated between forty and seventy throughout the 1940s and 1950s--the overlapping constituencies and cooperative (almost symbiotic) relationship between Winnipeg Bible Institute as the educational mission, Elim Chapel as the urban mission and the Canadian Sunday School Mission as the rural mission, created an important role for the school as an integral part of a fundamentalist network in Winnipeg during the first half of the twentieth century.⁹⁹

In addition to the influence of people from Elim, the appointment of Simon E. Forsberg as principal in 1931 further cemented the school's place as a fundamentalist centre in Winnipeg. Cundy, who had resigned from his position at Emmanuel Baptist in order to give his full attention to the needs of the new school, had done much to publicize the new initiative, to develop a curriculum, to recruit part-time faculty, and to broaden the governance structure to include a Board of Directors. H.C. Sweet replaced Cundy in 1929, but his tenure

⁹⁸Ian Rennie notes Smith's involvement on the boards of both Moody Bible Institute and Dallas Theological Seminary. In addition, he served for a time as the president of the World Christian Fundamentalist Association ("Fundamentalism and The Varieties of North Atlantic Evangelicalism," 344). Smith's wide business and religious contacts made it possible for him to bring prominent fundamentalist leaders to Winnipeg (Hindmarsh, "The Winnipeg Fundamentalist Network, 1910-1940," 304-308.)

⁹⁹Hindmarsh, "The Winnipeg Fundamentalist Network, 1910-1940," 308-309.

was short-lived; he officially resigned in 1930 after the board, led by Hunt, drafted a statement of faith with which he did not entirely concur.¹⁰⁰ He nevertheless remained as interim principal, but was abruptly dismissed after offering his sympathetic support for several somewhat frenzied chapel services and prayer meetings involving Pentecostal students.¹⁰¹ In response, the board drafted a strongly-worded anti-Pentecostal statement demanding faculty support for the affirmation that the school was not Pentecostal, that Pentecostal demonstrations or manifestations were to be prohibited on its premises, and that in the future Pentecostal students would not be accepted (see Chapter Five).¹⁰² Forsberg, who succeeded Sweet, not only brought some badly needed administrative stability, but also a more precisely defined theological identity that was, at least in part, based on the reaction to the incidents involving Sweet.

After serving as a pastor in an independent gospel church in Chicago and attending night classes at Moody Bible Institute, Forsberg enrolled at the Evangelical Theological College (later Dallas Theological Seminary) in 1926. Here he developed an interest in missionary work in western Canada. After graduating in 1929, he moved to Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan where he worked both as the pastor in the Gospel Tabernacle and assisted W.J. Millar in the fledgling Moose Jaw Bible Institute.¹⁰³ He was instrumental in extending the

¹⁰⁰One point of dispute was whether the school's statement of faith should explicitly affirm premillennialism, a view that at least some did not consider "absolutely fundamental" ("Minutes of the Winnipeg Bible Institute Board," 25 February 1930, PCA). The decision was eventually made to include premillennialism (see "Minutes of the Winnipeg Bible Institute Board," 3 April 1930, PCA; and Hildebrandt, "A History of the Winnipeg Bible Institute and College of Theology," 34-37).

¹⁰¹One student, Henry Hildebrand, who later became principal of Briercrest Bible Institute, recalls an incident at a prayer meeting conducted at Sweet's house (in the attic) where the group became intent on helping him enter a charismatic experience (Henry Hildebrand, *In His Loving Service: Memoirs by Henry Hildebrand* [Caronport, SK: Briercrest Bible College, 1985], 34-35).

¹⁰²"Minutes of Winnipeg Bible Institute Board," 2 January 1931, PCA; Hildebrandt, "A History of the Winnipeg Bible Institute and College of Theology," 37-38; and Hindmarsh, "The Winnipeg Fundamentalist Network, 1910-1940, 312. During the 1950s, Pentecostal students were once again enrolled at Winnipeg Bible Institute in part because of the demise of Western Bible College (*The Gleaner* [June 1952], 2).

¹⁰³Moose Jaw Bible Institute relocated to Pambrun, Saskatchewan in 1932 where it was called Millar Memorial Bible Institute (now known as Millar College of the Bible). Millar was born in Scotland where he was converted through the influence of D.L. Moody. After a brief time in Africa, he arrived in Canada in 1910 to work as T.T. Shields's assistant at his seminary in Toronto. Differences over eschatology prompted Millar to come west where he unexpectedly found himself the leader of a new Bible school

work of the Canadian Sunday School Mission into Saskatchewan. He travelled incessantly, speaking as an evangelist and a Bible conference speaker. His move to Winnipeg Bible Institute, only two years after his arrival in Moose Jaw, helped connect several fundamentalist centres on the prairies.¹⁰⁴

One of Forsberg's first initiatives as principal was to set the school in a more decidedly fundamentalist direction. The Board talked about how it might "develop a fundamentalist constituency,"¹⁰⁵ while the dogmatic Forsberg formulated a new statement of faith for the school that included an article affirming "the literal record of creation in the Book of Genesis" and an eschatological article containing a statement about the rapture and the millennium. This statement constructed an identity for the institution that made it clear it did not have formal links to any denomination. Instead of the earlier, more irenic invitation to cooperate, the public literature of the school picked up a more defensive tone as it lamented "the lack of Biblical instruction in the home; the Bible being removed from the schools; the prevailing ignorance of what the Bible teaches; the multiplication of zealous teachers under false doctrines--under the guise of Christianity." New courses in "Dispensational Truth" and "Modernism and Modern Cults" were added.¹⁰⁶ Conferences sponsored by the school featured a steady stream of American fundamentalists such as William B. Riley, Lewis Sperry Chafer, James Gray and Peter W. Philpott. Forsberg, together with Hunt, and subsequent principals such as Wesley Affleck, an early graduate of Winnipeg Bible Institute, helped the school become, in the words of Hindmarsh, "the Dallas Theological Seminary of the Canadian prairies."¹⁰⁷

(Opp, "'Culture of the Soul': Fundamentalism and Evangelism in Canada, 1921-1940," 34). After Millar died, a young graduate of the school, Herbert W. Peeler, anchored the school as principal for the next sixty years (Sarah J. Peeler, *Links Make a Chain, 1932-1957*; Sarah J. Peeler, *The Story of Forty Years and Millar Memorial Bible Institute's Lengthening Chain, 1932-1973* (Saskatoon, SK: Western Tract Mission, n.d. [c. 1973]); and *Links of Gold, 1932-1982: An Historical and Pictorial Review* (n.p., n.d. [c. 1982])).

¹⁰⁴Forsberg had close ties to several individuals teaching at the transdenominational Saskatoon Bible Institute (see Hindmarsh, "The Winnipeg Fundamentalist Network, 1910-1940," 311-312).

¹⁰⁵"Minutes of the Winnipeg Bible Institute Board," 7 November 1932, PCA.

¹⁰⁶Hildebrandt, "A History of the Winnipeg Bible Institute and College of Theology," 44.

¹⁰⁷Hindmarsh, "The Winnipeg Fundamentalist Network, 1910-1940, 313. Such a comparison might be warranted by the ethos nurtured by Forsberg, but not by student numbers (see Table 7.1).

Forsberg not only defined the theological ethos of the school, but also gave attention to reshaping the curriculum of the school, and to more aggressive promotion and student recruitment. In 1932, a year after his arrival, Winnipeg Bible Institute became affiliated with the Evangelical Teacher Training Association. By 1933, students had a choice of three different three-year programs (General Bible, Missionary Training and Christian Education) along with a one-year teacher training program and several "post-graduate" subjects. Curricular changes were accompanied by a more intentional and organized approach to practical service. Detailed statistics were kept of practical work activities and the results of student efforts. Forsberg's extensive itinerant speaking tours, the school's Bible and missionary conferences, and the inauguration of a radio broadcast in cooperation with the Canadian Sunday School Mission, greatly increased awareness and interest, and during the mid-to-late 1930s full-time enrolments peaked at close to 100, the highest during its time in Winnipeg.¹⁰⁸ (In 1970 the school purchased St. Joseph's College, a Catholic high school in Otterburne, Manitoba and enrolments quickly exceeded 100.)

Although Winnipeg Bible Institute offered training in Bible and theology, and promoted missions like the other Bible schools featured in this chapter, unlike Prairie Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute, its leaders had certain academic aspirations for the school. Whereas Prairie Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute experienced a greater degree of internal stability because of the longevity of their key leaders, the instability and upheaval created by multiple leaders in short succession was offset somewhat by the benefits of a broader awareness and appreciation for Christian higher education. Although few of the faculty and principals of Winnipeg Bible Institute received their education at public universities, by the 1950s a significant proportion had obtained some training at various evangelical seminaries in the United States.¹⁰⁹ Forsberg set out the objective of providing advanced

¹⁰⁸Forsberg's departure in 1935 was largely due to a rather acrimonious conflict with Hunt (Hildebrandt, "A History of the Winnipeg Bible Institute and College of Theology," 61-63).

¹⁰⁹Approximately 25-30% of the Winnipeg Bible Institute faculty were women, but it was usually the men who had obtained seminary education. During the late 1940s and early 1950s, 20-30% of the faculty had earned graduate degrees (for a list of faculty see Hildebrandt, "A History of the Winnipeg Bible Institute and College of Theology," 170-173). This compares to 75% of the faculty in public universities in Canada whose credentials included a graduate degree (Series W486-503, Section W: Education, in *Historical Statistics of Canada*: Statistics Canada's Internet Site, <http://www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/11-516-XIE/sectionw/sectionw.htm>, 23 March 2001).

theological education, which was nurtured by his successors; as a result there was not the same hostility towards Christian higher education and the granting of degrees that was present at some other Bible schools.¹¹⁰ By the 1940s, entrance requirements were generally higher at Winnipeg Bible Institute than at other transdenominational Bible schools. Despite having abandoned several previous attempts, the board successfully obtained a provincial charter in 1948 from the provincial legislature that allowed the school to grant degrees.¹¹¹ Shortly after, the school introduced a four-year Bachelor of Theology program alongside its other three-year diploma programs. Winnipeg Bible Institute is unique in this regard among transdenominational schools in western Canada. The way in which it integrated liberal arts courses and began seeking accreditation during the 1960s set an example that many other transdenominational schools followed in subsequent decades.

However, despite receiving degree-granting status, the problem of degree recognition remained. The strict theological parameters established by the school circumscribed association with almost all other institutions. The fear, on the part of leaders at Winnipeg Bible Institute, that association would inevitably result in a compromise in doctrinal integrity sometimes verged on the edge of paranoia.¹¹² Few faculty members had studied, or had personal connections, at nearby universities. In 1950, Wesley Affleck, who led the school for almost twenty years, negotiated an arrangement with the correspondence department of the University of London (England) that lasted until 1964. During the early 1950s interest was expressed in becoming accredited with the Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges, but the tenuous nature of the school's financial situation and enrolments made this impossible. Despite the school's longstanding interest in becoming an institution with higher academic

¹¹⁰Peter S. Rae, "Unholy Alliance? The Church and Higher Education in Canada" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Manitoba, 1998), 255. This dissertation offers a detailed analysis of the school's path towards recognition and affiliation.

¹¹¹The principal at the time, H.H. Janetzki, recommended that the academic level of the school be raised to that of a "Junior University" (Hildebrandt, "A History of the Winnipeg Bible Institute and College of Theology," 106).

¹¹²Wesley Affleck's refusal to accept an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from the Bible University of Amur, India because of the school's association with the Eastern Orthodox Church illustrates well the fear of being tainted by association ("Minutes of the Board Meeting of the WBITC, 14 September 1953, PCA).

standards, it was not until 1973 that it was eventually granted full membership.¹¹³

Even though Winnipeg Bible Institute never came close to matching Prairie Bible Institute or Briercrest Bible Institute in size, it exercised a unique influence within a particular region that occasionally extended into the larger world of transdenominational evangelism in Canada. As noted earlier, the school emerged as an important centre of fundamentalist influence, not as a reaction to particular developments within Winnipeg, but as a cooperative initiative on the part of several like-minded individuals with a common interest in evangelizing the prairies.¹¹⁴ Not only was Winnipeg Bible Institute a conduit of fundamentalist influence within Winnipeg, but through the work of its graduates and faculty a fundamentalist network was extended throughout western Canada. The school's academic orientation prompted a significant number of individuals in other transdenominational Bible schools to take a part of their training at Winnipeg Bible Institute.¹¹⁵ Elmer Towns, a graduate of Dallas Theological Seminary who became principal in 1961, was optimistic about the potential for building a graduate program upon the school's reputation for academic excellence: "Our aim is to emphasize the College of Theology and give superior academic preparation. We are in the planning stages of including a Theological Seminary in the next three or four years."¹¹⁶

¹¹³The school had been granted associate status in 1964, but remained, in the opinion of the Association, "too vulnerable financially" to become a full member (Rae, "Unholy Alliance," 258). By the time Winnipeg Bible Institute received full membership in 1973, it had become apparent that such status would not automatically help the school obtain recognition for its degrees. During the late 1960s the school began to initiate conversations about transfer credit with local universities. Ironically, these arrangements came about "not so much out of lobbying or negotiating, but out of a personal trust of the instructors involved" (Rae, "Unholy Alliance," 261 ff).

¹¹⁴Hindmarsh notes that "the history of the late nineteenth-century conservative coalitions of Princetonian theologians, urban revivalists associated with D.L. Moody, Holiness advocates and premillennial dispensationalists--all of whom came together in Bible conferences and institutes--did not exist in Winnipeg, except insofar as newcomers to the city had had such experience elsewhere" ("The Winnipeg Fundamentalist Network, 1910-1940," 306-307).

¹¹⁵Ben Harder, academic dean at Winnipeg Bible Institute during the 1970s and then president of Berean Bible College in Calgary, claimed that more than twenty Winnipeg Bible Institute faculty members or alumni had either started schools or become presidents of other educational institutions.

¹¹⁶Letter from Elmer Towns to William Eichhorst, 6 March 1962; cited in "Historical Perspective," *Winnipeg Bible College Witness*, February 1975, 9-10; and Kenneth G. Hanna, "The Need for Evangelical Scholarship in Canada," Paper presented to the Association of Canadian Bible Colleges, 22 May 1968, 4-5, Box 990.8.1, MBBI Papers, MHSBCA. In 1972 the dream of an evangelical seminary was

Like other Bible schools, global missions was vigorously promoted on campus.¹¹⁷ However, at Winnipeg Bible Institute, unlike at Prairie Bible Institute, the proportion of graduates involved in professional ministry in Canada or married to someone in pastoral ministry was always significantly higher than the proportion that went overseas as missionaries.¹¹⁸ In part, this can be attributed to the school's longstanding relationship with the Canadian Sunday School Mission.¹¹⁹

Several factors, however, limited the school's influence within southern Manitoba. First, unlike Vancouver Bible Institute, few faculty members at Winnipeg Bible Institute had any connections with the mainline Protestant denominations within the region.¹²⁰ The school's defensive ethos mitigated against association with other groups; this was particularly true of mainline Protestants who were perceived as liberal. For their part, mainline Protestants were wary of a school that was strongly linked to independent (and fundamentalist) churches like Elim Chapel and other young, upstart evangelical "sects." Second, the influence of the school was limited by the strength of the Mennonite communities and their loyalty to their own Bible schools and colleges in southern Manitoba. The close proximity of

realized; it was one of the first schools of its kind in western Canada.

¹¹⁷Annual missionary conferences were started in 1951. Chapel speakers regularly included representatives from numerous mission organizations (see chapel speaker lists in *The King's Herald* [1938-39], 23; and *The King's Herald* [1945-46], 7).

¹¹⁸"Zoning Board Brief" (c. 1955), in Hildebrandt, "A History of the Winnipeg Bible Institute and College of Theology," 166-168. Hildebrandt notes that of the original twenty-six students who attended Winnipeg Bible Institute in 1926, eighteen went into professional Christian service on the prairies and only one went overseas ("A History of the Winnipeg Bible Institute and College of Theology," 24). See also "Alumni," in *The King's Herald*, Winnipeg Bible Institute Yearbook (1947), 30, in which the list of home missionaries is considerably longer than the list of foreign missionaries.

¹¹⁹The relationship between Winnipeg Bible Institute and the Canadian Sunday School Mission was symbiotic as they shared equipment, furniture, support staff and radio broadcasts. Most importantly, they supplied each other with personnel. Lloyd Hunter, founder of the Canadian Sunday School Mission, was a member of the board at Winnipeg Bible Institute for a time; Muriel Taylor, longtime faculty member at Winnipeg Bible Institute, served concurrently as the general secretary for Canadian Sunday School Mission from 1929 to 1951; and C.L. Johnston was a long-time board member for both groups. Each summer Canadian Sunday School Mission recruited Bible school students as summer workers to staff Vacation Bible Schools scattered across the prairies; the students, in turn encouraged promising young converts to attend Bible school.

¹²⁰A notable exception is Fred Glover, Rector of St. Margaret's Church, who was part of the Winnipeg Bible Institute faculty during the late 1940s and early 1950s.

several Mennonite schools kept Winnipeg Bible Institute from recruiting a significant number of students from this denominational constituency despite the fact that many Mennonites, particularly the Mennonite Brethren, were sympathetic to fundamentalist emphases and were involved with the Canadian Sunday School Mission and other mission agencies alongside Winnipeg Bible Institute alumni. A steady trickle of Mennonite students did enroll at the school; in fact, Mennonites comprised 20-25% of the student body during the 1930s and even higher during the 1950s. Because of the small enrolment, the total number of Mennonite students at Winnipeg Bible Institute was small in comparison to the combined enrolment of the Mennonite Bible schools and colleges in Manitoba, which in 1945 equalled 250 students. By 1960, this number had more than doubled exceeding 500, whereas enrolment at Winnipeg Bible Institute during this same period averaged a steady fifty-five students.¹²¹ The difficulty on the part of Winnipeg Bible Institute in attracting Mennonite students was exacerbated further by the presence of two Mennonite colleges within Winnipeg (Mennonite Brethren Bible College and Canadian Mennonite Bible College), both of which successfully pursued university affiliation agreements during the 1960s.¹²²

7.2.4 Briercrest Bible Institute, Caronport, Saskatchewan (1935 - present)

The fourth transdenominational school to be featured in this chapter is Briercrest Bible Institute, which began in the rural village of Briercrest, Saskatchewan (located twenty-four miles southeast of Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan), in 1935 during the worst drought and economic depression to affect the region. While the school's story parallels the Prairie Bible Institute/Maxwell saga in many respects, it also features some important differences.¹²³ By replicating the pattern used by the Winnipeg fundamentalist network featured above, the

¹²¹Throughout most of the 1950s, the enrolment of each of the five Mennonite schools in Manitoba exceeded that of Winnipeg Bible Institute.

¹²²The school recently negotiated a transfer-of-credit arrangements with local universities.

¹²³A detailed comparative study featuring Prairie Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute would be a worthy project. Both established campuses that were largely self-contained, both had close ties to the larger fundamentalist world and both were deeply shaped by the individuals who founded the schools.

school can be seen, at least at the outset, as an extension of this network.¹²⁴ It did not take long, however, for Briercrest Bible Institute to develop its own indigenous constituency across the prairies. Despite its isolated rural location, in less than five years the school's enrolment eclipsed that of Winnipeg Bible Institute.

The idea for a Bible school in the Briercrest area was conceived by a diverse group of people who were involved in starting the small nondenominational Briercrest Gospel Assembly, and who had developed a variety of connections during the 1920s and early 1930s to the larger fundamentalist community.¹²⁵ Of the four schools featured in this chapter, the circumstances surrounding the origin of this school come closest to the stereotype of Bible schools as a fundamentalist reaction to modernism within mainline Protestantism.

In the early 1920s, Annie Hillson, a teacher from Ontario and formerly a missionary candidate to Bolivia, began a Sunday school in the local community church, which later became part of the United Church of Canada.¹²⁶ Interest led to the inauguration of an evening Bible class for women, which lasted for a decade and prompted at least one of the participants, Isabel Whittaker, to enrol in a Moody Bible Institute correspondence course. During this time a visit from Lloyd Hunter resulted in the conversion of Sinclair Whittaker (Isabel's husband).¹²⁷ For years the women's Bible study group had expressed interest in having their own Bible school, particularly after W.J. Millar began a Bible school in nearby Moose Jaw. Interest became more acute as drought caused repeated crop failures and an estimated 90% of the people in the region were on relief, making travel virtually unaffordable. Isabel Whittaker wrote both Moody Bible Institute and Winnipeg Bible Institute asking them to start a

¹²⁴Hindmarsh, "The Winnipeg Fundamentalist Network, 1910-1940," 313-315.

¹²⁵Hildebrand notes the denominational, ethnic and vocational diversity of the group (*In His Loving Service*, 56).

¹²⁶David Nadeau, ed., *Hildebrand of Briercrest: A Follower of God, A Leader of Men; A Christian Leader's Life and Impact as Told by Family and Friends* (Three Hills, AB: Bookmark & WordSmith Publishers, 1996), 110-111.

¹²⁷J.H. Hunter, "A Beacon of God in Western Canada: The Story of Caronport," *The Evangelical Christian* 44 (1948), BBKA. Whittaker moved from Ontario to Saskatchewan in 1912 where he built up a chain of six stores. From 1929 to 1934 he served as a Conservative member of the provincial legislature (Henry H. Budd, *Wind in the Wheatfields: A Pictorial History of Briercrest Bible College, 1935-1985* [Caronport, SK: Briercrest Bible College, 1986], 6-14).

“branch” at Briercrest; both schools declined.¹²⁸ During the early 1930s the Whittakers organized and hosted their own Bible conferences, inviting speakers such as L.E. Maxwell, Simon Forsberg and Lloyd Hunter. When Sinclair Whittaker’s suggestion that the church begin using the material published by the *Sunday School Times* was opposed, a small group from the United Church decided to form their own congregation. Ever the entrepreneur and visionary, Whittaker took the initiative to invite a young Winnipeg Bible Institute graduate, Henry Hildebrand, to start a new school in the region. Hildebrand declined the invitation, but agreed to pastor the newly formed Briercrest Gospel Assembly, a position he maintained until 1941. After his arrival, the group nevertheless managed to persuade the young pastor to start a Bible school, and the first classes were held in a small hotel in October 1935.¹²⁹

From the outset, the endeavour was very much a collaborative effort by people in the Briercrest area. For example, Sinclair Whittaker became president of the school, while Annie Hillson, Isabel Whittaker and Margaret Rusk (a local student who had attended Winnipeg Bible Institute) helped with instruction. Whittaker, together with other individuals, took responsibility for many of the physical needs of the school. This role in the life of the school was formalized in 1938 as he became the chair of the newly organized board of directors, a position he maintained until the mid-1950s.

Hildebrand, who remained as principal for forty-two years until 1977, and then assumed the role of Chancellor until 1996, shaped the internal ethos of the school. He was born in 1911 into a Mennonite family living in the Ukraine. After enduring the horrors and hardships of the Bolshevik revolution, he emigrated to Canada with his family in 1925 (as part of the *Russlaender* Mennonite influx) settling near Winkler, Manitoba. Here they faced additional adversity as floods destroyed their crops, and the immigrant family struggled to cope with the sudden loss of their mother.¹³⁰ In 1929, Hildebrand was converted at a Canadian Sunday School Mission summer camp, and subsequently baptized in a local church

¹²⁸Moody Bible Institute was apparently not interested in an outreach on the under-populated prairie (Opp, “‘Culture of the Soul’: Fundamentalism and Evangelism in Canada, 1921-1940,” 91-92).

¹²⁹Bernard Palmer and Marjorie Palmer, *Miracle on the Prairies: The Story of Briercrest Bible Institute* (Caronport, SK: Briercrest Bible Institute, n.d. [c. 1960]), 24-25; Hildebrand, *In His Loving Service*, 45-63.

¹³⁰For more biographical information, see Hildebrand, *In His Loving Service*, 13-50. See also Nadeau, *Hildebrand of Briercrest*, for a collection of anecdotal tributes to Hildebrand.

belonging to the Mennonite Brethren, a group characterized by its piety, emphasis on missions and interest in education (see Chapter Three). Contact with Winnipeg Bible Institute students at camp, and the offer of a job in Winnipeg arranged by Lloyd Hunter, prompted him to abandon his plan to attend the nearby Winkler Bible Institute and attend Winnipeg Bible Institute instead. Here he met Simon Forsberg, whom he later considered one of the most significant influences on his life. After attending a Mennonite Brethren church in Winnipeg for a time, he moved on to Elim Chapel. His assimilation into the fundamentalist network was finalized as he devoted himself to working with the Canadian Sunday School Mission as a “circuit riding preacher” in rural Manitoba and Saskatchewan. It was during this time that he responded to Whittaker’s persistent request.

The people at the Briercrest Gospel Assembly had their theological differences with leaders in the local United Church, and to a certain extent the new school saw itself as a bulwark against the influence of theological liberalism. Both Hildebrand and Henry Budd, a graduate of Briercrest Bible Institute and the school’s second principal, saw the school as part of “God’s witness” against “the liberalism that swept the field on the Prairies” and “robbed us of most churches, hospitals and schools.”¹³¹ The Briercrest origins were symbolic, as Bruce Hindmarsh notes, of the larger drama being acted out within North American Protestantism, namely, the fundamentalist-modernist debates.¹³²

Starting with eleven students, the new school quickly grew as numbers tripled for the beginning of the second year. Together with another former student from Winnipeg Bible Institute (Donald McMillan), Hildebrand organized a course of studies modelled after the curriculum of Winnipeg Bible Institute. Despite efforts by various groups to “capture the school into their orbit,” Hildebrand steered the school in an “interdenominational” and “evangelical” direction.¹³³ Student numbers continued to increase steadily until the beginning of World War Two.

Without a denominational constituency as a foundation for recruiting students,

¹³¹*In His Loving Service*, 214-218; and Henry H. Budd, “The Financial Future of Canadian Bible Colleges” (Ph.D. Diss., University of Oregon, 1980), 12-17.

¹³²“Briercrest Bible College: An Analysis of its Formation in Interaction with its Environment,” Unpublished paper, 1988, 14.

¹³³Hildebrand, *In His Loving Service*, 83, 98.

Whittaker was quick to recognize the potential of radio as a significant tool for promoting the school and extending its potential constituency across the vast, but thinly populated, prairies.¹³⁴ Even before classes officially began in 1935, Hildebrand used radio to publicize the new venture.¹³⁵ For the next two years the school intermittently broadcast programs, but it was involvement in broadcasting the Oscar Lowry campaign during the summer and fall of 1938 that resulted in the most dramatic increase in students. By 1939 enrolments exceeded one hundred, prompting a search for more buildings within the small village of Briercrest. Soon after, the "Young People's Hour" became a regular feature on a Regina station (the name of the program was changed in 1968 to the "Briercrest Bible Hour"). Radio helped to recruit students and also became a regular link with the school's prairie constituency. By mid-1940s the school's broadcast was carried by more than twenty stations across Canada, which gave the school a more national profile.¹³⁶

Although enrolments declined dramatically during the war, the stage was set for significant expansion when the school purchased the Caron airport located fifteen miles west of Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan following the end of World War Two. This facility, built in 1942 for the training of Royal Canadian Air Force pilots, was to be liquidated as a surplus asset. The aggressive lobbying of both the federal and provincial government by Whittaker allowed the school to obtain the airport for 5% of its original construction cost.¹³⁷ In 1946, the school relocated to the airbase (later renamed Caronport); the ready-made, self-contained campus offered ample room for the expansion of the Bible school, the development of a more self-sufficient operation, and the potential for using the facility as a conference centre. The addition of a high school in 1946 was followed by a general store, post office, an elementary school, and a farm operation that produced a significant proportion of the school's milk, meat

¹³⁴Hildebrand, *In His Loving Service*, 104, 143.

¹³⁵Budd, *Wind in Wheatfields*, 26-28.

¹³⁶By the end of the 1940s, growth in student enrolments and response to the school's radio broadcast forced Hildebrand to choose between establishing a strong school or developing a large-scale radio broadcast (Hildebrand, *In His Loving Service*, 147).

¹³⁷"The Challenge of God to . . . A Great Advance," *The Evangelical Christian* 42, No. 8 (August 1946), 389-392; Bernard Palmer and Marjorie Palmer, *Beacon on the Prairies: The Men God uses in Building the Briercrest Bible Institute* (Minneapolis, MN: Bethany Fellowship, Inc., 1970), 40-45; Budd, *Wind in the Wheatfields*, 7-17; and Palmer and Palmer, *Miracle on the Prairies*, 54-62.

and garden produce, all of which brought a greater complexity to the entire operation. Students were expected to contribute a certain number of hours of “gratis service” in order to keep the school’s budget to a minimum.

The barracks offered residential facilities for both the Bible school and the newly-organized high school. This was an attractive feature for students from rural parts of the prairies Saskatchewan during the 1940s and 1950s that often gave rural schools an advantage over Bible schools located in urban centres. Enrolments immediately doubled, reaching 244 by 1948. Living within the Briercrest Bible Institute community offered fewer distractions and was an integral part of the educational experience. According to Paul Magnus, the common (albeit rather spartan) community experience offers at least a partial explanation for the remarkable loyalty of the school’s alumni.¹³⁸ The visibility of the school, and more convenient access to its rural location, was enhanced when the Trans-Canada highway was routed across the front of its property during the 1950s.

As noted above, the curriculum of the first three-year diploma program was intentionally patterned after Winnipeg Bible Institute with courses in “Biblical theology, Bible--both analysis and exposition, Spiritual Life, Personal Evangelism, Missions, Church History, Homiletics, Speech, Pastoral Theology and Music.”¹³⁹ The ethos of the school was similar to Winnipeg Bible Institute, albeit somewhat less academic because very few faculty arrived with seminary credentials in hand (and fewer still with university degrees). Hildebrand was deeply shaped by Simon Forsberg’s systematic approach to theology, and his emphasis on “sound doctrine.”¹⁴⁰ Hildebrand’s more irenic personality softened the more strident dogma-

¹³⁸Of all the schools in North America that were associated with the Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges, Briercrest Bible Institute had some of the most loyal alumni (Paul Magnus to Alumni, March 1988; cited in Hindmarsh, “Briercrest Bible College: An Analysis of its Formation in Interaction with its Environment,” 22).

¹³⁹Hildebrand, *In His Loving Service*, 64-71.

¹⁴⁰Hindmarsh sees Hildebrand as an important example of someone who was shaped by the fundamentalist network surrounding Winnipeg Bible Institute, and who then “reproduced its central emphases and structures elsewhere” (“The Winnipeg Fundamentalist Network, 1910-1940,” 313). Hildebrand was, for a time, simultaneously the pastor of a non-denominational congregation, the principal of a transdenominational school, and the provincial superintendent of the Canadian Sunday School Mission in Saskatchewan.

ticism that characterized Forsberg's approach.¹⁴¹ In addition, Hildebrand identified Harry A. Ironside, who was also strong dispensationalist, C.H. Spurgeon and G. Campbell Morgan as his favourite authors.¹⁴² Hildebrand's "moderate" Calvinism mixed with a strong biblicism, dispensational premillennialism, Keswick Holiness teaching, and a passion for evangelism characterized the theological ethos of the school.¹⁴³

As the school grew, gifted students were routinely recruited as faculty and staff. Many of these individuals stayed with the school for a long period of time (for example, Orville Swenson, Odd Brygman, Ted Bergren, Alvin Lewis, Walter Fender, Homer Edwards, Art Sundbo, Robert Adam, Henry Budd and many others).¹⁴⁴ The intentional recruitment of teachers and staff from among those already familiar with the school not only ensured the maintenance of a more homogenous ethos, but also, as Hindmarsh notes, reinforced a cultural conservatism by preventing "the school community from being fully involved in the dynamic interchange of a pluralistic society."¹⁴⁵

Reflecting post-war trends towards more education and higher vocational standards, Hildebrand recognized during the late 1950s that the school needed faculty with better academic credentials. In the early 1960s, the school instituted a policy that required better academic credentials on the part of incoming faculty, and encouraged existing faculty to

¹⁴¹Instead of fomenting doctrinal controversies, Hildebrand tried to "dwell on the positive aspects of our Christian faith" (*In His Loving Service*, 37).

¹⁴²Hildebrand, *In His Loving Service*, 160-163.

¹⁴³The social ethos of the school was strict, but not as ascetic as Prairie Bible Institute. Senior students at Briercrest Bible Institute were, for example, allowed to date occasionally (see Palmer and Palmer, *Miracle on the Prairies*, 69-76).

¹⁴⁴Budd, *Wind in the Wheatfields*, 16; Palmer and Palmer, *Miracle on the Prairies*, 48-49. See the numerous biographical vignettes of alumni in Bernard Palmer and Marjorie Palmer, *Beacon on the Prairies: The Men God uses in Building the Briercrest Bible Institute* (Minneapolis, MN: Bethany, 1970). Even by the mid-1970s a full 70% of the faculty were former students with an additional 25% having had at least part of their training at some other Bible school (Hindmarsh, "Briercrest Bible College: An Analysis of its Formation in Interaction with its Environment," 29-30).

¹⁴⁵Hindmarsh, "Briercrest Bible College: An Analysis of its Formation in Interaction with its Environment," 29.

pursue further studies during the summer or short sabbaticals.¹⁴⁶ The curricular program of Briercrest Bible Institute, however, remained largely unchanged until 1967 when Henry Budd became the first dean of faculty. The impetus for upgrading educational standards was the prospect of accreditation with the Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges, a process that began in 1971 and was successfully completed in 1976.¹⁴⁷

The school's central purpose was to train men and women for Christian church-related ministries. This included not only the training and motivating laypeople for service in their local churches and communities, but also the preparation of pastors, missionaries, evangelists and workers in Christian organizations. Evangelism and missions were a major curricular emphasis at Briercrest Bible Institute. A steady stream of representatives from missionary societies visited the campus to speak at regular Bible/Missionary conferences, prayer meetings or chapel services. Most frequent were personnel from transdenominational organizations such as Sudan Interior Mission, China Inland Mission and Wycliffe Bible Translators.¹⁴⁸ In addition to encouraging students to consider foreign missions, missionary conferences were routinely used to raise money for specific projects, for example, the travel costs for missionary alumni. By 1950 at least thirty-seven alumni had either gone overseas or were preparing to do so. By the mid-1980s this number had increased to over 650.¹⁴⁹ In addition to participating in missionary conferences at Briercrest Bible Institute, mission organizations sometimes used the campus facilities for training events (for example, as early as 1943, the Summer Institute of Linguistics used the campus to run its program).

¹⁴⁶Palmer and Palmer, *Beacon on the Prairies*, 135-141. Notably, Hildebrand was among the first to pursue further education. By taking courses during the summer, he completed both a B.A. and an M.A. at Winona Lake School of Theology during the 1960s (Hildebrand, *In His Loving Service*, 196).

¹⁴⁷Throughout the accreditation process, the school adamantly denied that its original mission had been compromised and that the move towards becoming a Bible college would inevitably propel the school towards becoming a Christian liberal arts college (Henry Budd, "Afterword: Reaching Forward," in *In His Loving Service*, 257). In 1974 Briercrest Bible Institute became the first educational institution in Saskatchewan independent of the University of Saskatchewan to receive the authority to grant Arts degrees (Hildebrand, *In His Loving Service*, 196-197).

¹⁴⁸Some of the more prominent speakers included P.W. Philpott, Alan Redpath, Oswald J. Smith, R.V. Bingham, Robert Glover and Ian Thomas (Hildebrand, *In His Loving Service*, 136).

¹⁴⁹Budd, *Wind in the Wheatfields*, 31. According to a survey completed during the 1980s, 47% of the school's graduates have been or are in professional Christian service (Hildebrand, *In His Loving Service*, 253).

Foreign missions was not, however, given the same preeminence as at Prairie Bible Institute. A wider range of vocational and educational options was encouraged.¹⁵⁰ Along with Winnipeg Bible Institute, the school shared a specific concern for preparing Christian leaders in western Canada.¹⁵¹ The strong links between Briercrest Bible Institute and the Canadian Sunday School Mission were reinforced each year by students fulfilling their practical work assignments--the fact that Hildebrand served as the provincial superintendent for the Canadian Sunday School Mission in Saskatchewan from 1938 to 1945 also helped. During the late 1950s, the school formed an evangelistic department headed up by Henry Unrau, a former Canadian Sunday School Mission missionary in British Columbia.¹⁵² The school's direct involvement in rural evangelism through Sunday schools, radio and camps contributed towards the extension of an indigenous fundamentalist network in western Canada of which Winnipeg Bible Institute was also a part.¹⁵³

Transdenominational schools such as Briercrest Bible Institute were particularly conscious of the need to maintain the loyalty of their constituency through regular contact. The charismatic, personable style of Hildebrand's leadership, together with the longevity of his tenure at the school, helped retain a sense of familiarity among alumni and maintain confidence concerning the stability of the institution among constituents. This proved to be invaluable for Briercrest Bible Institute in developing long-term relationships with donors. Hildebrand was, on the one hand, quick to recognize the potential fragility of the school's relationship with its constituency and, on the other hand, able to recognize that loyalties built on personal relationships were frequently more solid than those to an abstraction such as a denomination.¹⁵⁴ In the absence of a denominational affiliation, the influence of specific

¹⁵⁰Palmer and Palmer, *Miracle on the Prairies*, 180-183; and Hildebrand, *In His Loving Service*, 196-197, 217.

¹⁵¹Palmer and Palmer, *Miracle on the Prairies*, 181-182.

¹⁵²Palmer and Palmer, *Miracle on the Prairies*, 146.

¹⁵³A number of Briercrest Bible Institute graduates were instrumental in helping initiate several transdenominational evangelical ministries to Canada's indigenous people (Hildebrand, *In His Loving Service*, 91; and *Light on the Horizon: Northern Canada Evangelical Mission's Fifty Years of Ministry to Canada's First People* [Prince Albert, SK: Northern Canada Evangelical Mission, 1996], 18).

¹⁵⁴Hildebrand, *In His Loving Service*, 135.

individuals is heightened. (Maxwell's longevity is similarly an important factor in the development of Prairie Bible Institute, but is missing almost entirely in the story of Winnipeg Bible Institute.)

7.3 Transdenominational Bible Schools and Fundamentalism

The institutional biographies featured in this chapter offer important insights concerning both the presence and character of fundamentalism in western Canada. They verify the substantial influence of fundamentalism within transdenominational Bible schools and other transdenominational organizations. All of the transdenominational schools had substantial contact with the fundamentalist world described by George Marsden and Joel Carpenter and, with the exception of Vancouver Bible Institute, were all recognized by other fundamentalists as an integral part of a larger fundamentalist network of schools and organizations scattered across North America. One does not, therefore, find the best and most representative examples of fundamentalism within western Canada in the bizarre antics and extreme rhetoric of individuals such as William Aberhart and T.T. Shields;¹⁵⁵ rather, one finds the fullest institutional expression of fundamentalism in western Canada within transdenominational Bible schools such as Prairie Bible Institute, Winnipeg Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute.¹⁵⁶ The association of the Bible school movement in Canada as a whole with fundamentalism must be limited to the majority of schools in the transdenominational cluster along with select denominational schools.

Despite the significant north-south connections noted above within each of the schools, the transdenominational schools were not merely extensions of the American movement, but particularly those on the prairies can be considered indigenous expressions of fundamentalism. All of the schools in the transdenominational cluster had connections to some of the theological issues that fragmented Protestantism at the beginning of the twentieth

¹⁵⁵Despite being radically different in their approach and in their conclusions, see Elliott, "Studies of Eight Canadian Fundamentalists"; and Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century*, 23-45.

¹⁵⁶This is similar to James Opp's description of transdenominational Bible schools as "the most distinct manifestation of the paradox between maintaining a separate fundamentalist identity and the desire to promote a spiritual awakening within mainstream society" ("Culture of the Soul": Fundamentalism and Evangelism in Canada, 1921-1940," 19, 116).

century, and some additionally had a direct relationship with a local congregation that had separated from one of the mainline Protestant denominations (for example, Winnipeg Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute). But as twentieth-century newcomers to Canada, many of the participants within the transdenominational schools generally did not share, for at least two reasons, the same intense sense of cultural loss and crisis with modernism that led to an evangelical withdrawal from public life, social concerns and politics in the first few decades of the twentieth century in the United States. First, their relatively recent arrival in western Canada meant that they did not share the memory of a nineteenth-century evangelical Protestant hegemony and therefore did not feel a sense of commitment towards the more rancorous divisions caused by fundamentalists in the United States and parts of Canada.

Second, W.E. Mann's description of the loosely integrated character of Alberta's community structure during the early twentieth century offers further insight into why the transdenominational Bible schools on the prairies did not adopt a more militant, adversarial tone. The older mainline Protestant groups never exercised the same socially integrating influence on the prairies as they did in central Canada. The development of Protestantism on the prairies during the early twentieth century is more about a religious free-for-all than about a conflict between two disparate social and religious groups and, as a result, fundamentalists (and other newer evangelical Protestant denominations) on the prairies did not feel particularly beleaguered or sectarian. While the fundamentalist disapproval of theological liberalism should not be minimized, of equal concern was the perceived inability on the part of mainline Protestant denominations to recruit workers who could meet the challenge of evangelizing western Canada.

The perception of mainline Protestant weakness and lack of ability on the prairies was justified. Simultaneous with the rapid growth of transdenominational Bible schools in western Canada, the mainline Protestant seminaries in western Canada were experiencing dramatic declines in student enrolment, which resulted in the closure of schools. The challenges facing mainline Protestant schools included high tuition, the inexperience of faculty with the conditions of prairie life, an inordinate emphasis on scholastic achievement which discouraged enrolment, preoccupation with church union and inflexible centralized

denominational policies.¹⁵⁷ During the 1920s and 1930s, mainline Protestant denominations struggled to find sufficient number of ministers to fill pulpits in western Canada prompting them to withdraw from many rural communities at exactly the time when many newer evangelical Protestant groups were arriving on the scene.¹⁵⁸ The transdenominational Bible schools were better fitted to meet the needs of the prairies than were the mainline seminaries. Unfettered by links to denominational bureaucracies, their pragmatic flexibility and entrepreneurial approaches (for example, the use of radio) suited the pioneering era of the early twentieth century.¹⁵⁹ The Bible schools were more of a missionary movement than a reaction; western Canada was seen as a massive opportunity.

As noted in Chapter Two, Ernest R. Sandeen, William Vance Trollinger and Joel Carpenter observed the way in which prominent transdenominational Bible schools in the United States became the focal points of a growing fundamentalist network. These transdenominational Bible schools functioned as “denominational surrogates” by providing educational and other religious services, a support structure for fellowship and inspiration, and opportunities to participate in evangelism and foreign missions.¹⁶⁰ Not only were they the institutional embodiment of fundamentalist beliefs and concerns, but they were often also the base from which to carry out their main purpose. As a result, these teaching centres became the *de facto* regional headquarters of a fundamentalist network of organizations. Each one of the transdenominational schools worked together with organizations such as the Canadian

¹⁵⁷Mann, *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, 88-95; and John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Burlington, ON: Welch Publishing Company Inc., 1988), 52. Phyllis D. Airhart observes how the religious and cultural pluralism of western Canada challenged the vision of an Anglo-Saxon Canadian Christian hegemony, which contributed to a “crisis of confidence” within the United Church of Canada (“‘As Canadian as Possible Under the Circumstances’: Reflections on the Study of Protestantism in North America,” in *New Directions in American Religious History*, eds. Harry S. Stout and D.G. Hart [New York: Oxford University Press, 1997], 129).

¹⁵⁸Comparative numbers for all of western Canada are difficult to find, but a chart compiled by Mann of Protestant groups in Alberta in 1946 indicates that mainline Protestants only outnumbered the younger, smaller evangelical groups by a ratio of about 2.5 to one (Mann, *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, 30-31).

¹⁵⁹Burkinshaw, “Evangelical Bible Colleges in Twentieth-Century Canada,” in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, 373-377.

¹⁶⁰*God’s Empire: William Bell Riley and Midwestern Fundamentalism* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 7-8; *Revive Us Again*, 16-18.

Sunday School Mission, and missionary organizations such as China Inland Mission, Sudan Interior Mission and others.

Despite their belated entry into the larger fundamentalist network in North America, the transdenominational Bible schools in western Canada similarly became key fundamentalist centres of influence in the region. On-campus events helped facilitate the networking of, and created a synergy among, like-minded individuals and organizations interested in the proclamation of the evangelical gospel. This proclamation was done through radio broadcasts, Bible conferences, training of personnel for independent faith missions, itinerant preaching and music teams, and publishing.¹⁶¹ These activities helped the transdenominational schools literally contact thousands of people in western Canada and beyond, and solidified their reputation as resource centres for churches and organizations.¹⁶² In addition to being a hub of fundamentalist activity within their specific geographical region, schools such as Prairie Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute developed a national and even international constituency. Even a school such as Vancouver Bible Institute, which was more careful not to alienate its mainline denominational constituents, served as a conduit of fundamentalist influence through its close association with transdenominational missionary societies. The most important terminals in the expanding fundamentalist network in western Canada were the Bible schools.

Adding further credence to the perception of transdenominational Bible schools as “denominational surrogates” was the practice by some (not all) transdenominational schools of conducting their own Sunday-morning church services on campus and discouraging (even disallowing) the attendance of staff and students at nearby churches. This was more common

¹⁶¹Bruce Hindmarsh argues that fundamentalist activity surrounding the transdenominational Bible schools in western Canada tended to follow a certain pattern. The components of this pattern, according to Hindmarsh, included an independent gospel chapel, a local transdenominational Bible school, and an energetic Sunday school work, which reflected on a small scale the relationship between Moody Church, Moody Bible Institute and the American Sunday School Union in the American Midwest. Although a school such as Winnipeg Bible Institute fits this pattern almost exactly, and without minimizing the symbiotic relationship between all transdenominational Bible schools and the Canadian Sunday School Mission, the pattern fits the experience of other transdenominational schools imprecisely, and it is perhaps an overstatement to claim that it was “repeated time after time in towns across the west” (“The Winnipeg Fundamentalist Network, 1910-1940,” 314-315).

¹⁶²This sometimes resulted, as Larry McKinney observed, in a division of loyalty between a local transdenominational school and a denomination (*Equipping for Service: A History of the Bible College Movement in North America* [Fayetteville, AR: Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges, 1997], 166).

on the part of the schools located in rural locations such as Prairie Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute where it was more difficult to disperse a large number of students among local churches.¹⁶³ Moreover, on-campus services gave students an opportunity for supervised involvement in music, preaching and teaching Sunday school. Both Maxwell and Hildebrand had roots within particular denominations, but neither made it a priority to maintain these denominational connections during their tenure as Bible school principals. Although they both adamantly insisted that they had no desire to start another denomination, both were far more deeply committed to an on-campus congregation than they were to any off-campus congregation affiliated with a denomination.¹⁶⁴ Despite the stated intentions of Maxwell, graduates from Prairie Bible Institute organized a number of independent congregations dubbed locally as Three Hill Baptists. Following World War Two, alumni from both Prairie Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute were involved in starting independent churches across the prairies that maintained a loose ecclesiastical connection. Several of these independent churches led by alumni joined together in 1942 and became known as the Fellowship of Gospel Churches. In some instances Prairie Bible Institute assisted these congregations financially.¹⁶⁵ By 1948 this group of congregations had grown to approximately twenty churches, and by 1955 had agreed to become part of the Evangelical Free Church. Similarly, a group of congregations (approximately a dozen located mostly in Saskatchewan) led by Briercrest Bible Institute graduates organized themselves as the

¹⁶³The fact that a large percentage of staff and faculty at both schools were graduates helped create and maintain an homogenous ethos that was copied within independent congregations. Both Prairie Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute continue to conduct their own Sunday services, although faculty are now freer to attend other churches in the area. At times, Briercrest Bible Institute even hired "campus pastors," who served the on-campus congregation much like a pastor might within a denominational setting. More recent efforts by some staff and faculty at Briercrest Bible Institute to establish an on-campus congregation independent from the governance of the school have repeatedly been discouraged.

¹⁶⁴A suspicion of churchly traditions was not uncommon among transdenominational fundamentalists. George Marsden notes that the movement generally lacked a "strong doctrine of the church." Denominations were "regarded as essentially convenient associations of like-minded Christians ("Fundamentalism," in *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience: Studies of Traditions and Movements*, 3 vols, ed. Charles H. Lippy and Peter Williams [New York: Scribner's, 1988], 2:948).

¹⁶⁵The committee responsible for the actual formation of this new denomination included Bob Simpson, a former missionary; Henry Muddle, a faculty member at Prairie Bible Institute; Kenneth Jardine; and Robert N. Thompson (Calvin B. Hanson, *From Hardship to Harvest: The Development of the Evangelical Free Church of Canada* [Edmonton, AB: Evangelical Free Church of Canada, 1984], 118-120).

Association of Gospel Churches.¹⁶⁶ Included in this group of congregations was the Briercrest Gospel Assembly where Hildebrand had served as a pastor and where he had been ordained. In 1940 the Associated Gospel Churches, a small Ontario-based fundamentalist denomination formed in 1922 under the leadership of P.W. Philpott, organized a committee in western Canada that was authorized to receive churches into fellowship, ordain pastors and issue licenses to preach. Membership on the committee included A.C. Hunt, Wesley Affleck, D.R. Aikenhead, Herbert Peeler and Henry Hildebrand.¹⁶⁷ Many of the congregations initially connected to Association of Gospel Churches in Saskatchewan eventually decided to join the larger Associated Gospel Churches. The growth experienced in western Canada by the Associated Gospel Churches and the Evangelical Free Church is directly linked to the impact of the transdenominational schools. Although schools such as Prairie Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute claim to have maintained an arms-length distance from the organizational structures of these new denominations, the significant overlap in personnel did not go unnoticed by leaders from other denominations. Winnipeg Bible Institute and Vancouver Bible Institute, in contrast to both Prairie Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute, were both located in urban centres, and required students to attend local churches in order to alleviate suspicions of being “antidenominational.”¹⁶⁸

7.4 The Character of Fundamentalism within Transdenominational Bible Schools

It is impossible to include within the limited confines of this chapter a comprehensive analysis of the character of fundamentalism within the transdenominational Bible schools such as Prairie Bible Institute, Winnipeg Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute; however, some preliminary observations can be made. The ethos of these transdenominational Bible schools even at the outset was not so much a reactionary protest against the influence of theological liberalism as it was a signal of their interest in joining a larger

¹⁶⁶Mann, *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, 106.

¹⁶⁷Lauren Redinger, *A Tree Well Planted: The Official History of the Christian Workers' Churches of Canada and the Associated Gospel Churches, 1892-1993* (Burlington, ON: Associated Gospel Churches, 1995), 76.

¹⁶⁸See comments by Kenneth G. Hanna, “The Need for Evangelical Scholarship in Canada,” Paper presented to the Association of Canadian Bible Colleges, 1968, 5.

network of institutions that were promoting evangelical priorities by providing a form of Christian higher education for young people in their regions. These transdenominational Bible schools in Canada jumped aboard the fundamentalist movement in North America precisely at a time when, as Carpenter argues, “rather than persisting along the 1920s lines of conflict [American] fundamentalists during the 1930s were developing their own institutional base from which to carry on their major purpose: the proclamation of the evangelical gospel.”¹⁶⁹

Rather than a militant anti-modernist, anti-liberalism agenda, the transdenominational Bible schools in western Canada (including Vancouver Bible Institute) emphasized an evangelical unity concerning a belief in the authority of the Bible, along with a common core of fundamentalist concerns including an emphasis on practical training of laypeople in evangelism and church work, on personal holiness and on involvement in foreign and home missions. Despite some variations in the priority given to each of these emphases, common to all transdenominational schools was a clear conviction that a thorough, inductive study of the Bible would invariably confirm the veracity of these emphases. The curriculum of each school was therefore intensely “Bible-centred.” The urgency of participating in evangelism and missions was fuelled further by an endorsement of premillennialism (often dispensationalism).

Central also to the character of transdenominational fundamentalism in schools such as Prairie Bible Institute, Winnipeg Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute was an understanding of church, not so much as institution, but as a collection of converted individuals. Loyalty to the universal invisible body of believers took priority over a commitment to a local assembly of believers. Transdenominationalism facilitated a kind of “evangelical ecumenism that often disregarded denominational boundaries or viewed them as matters of convenience rather than deep conviction.”¹⁷⁰ These transdenominational schools tried, with varying degrees of success, to emphasize a “spiritual unity” without discouraging participation in denominations. Despite affirmations of denominational cooperation and support from leaders of these transdenominational schools, many denominational leaders nevertheless

¹⁶⁹“A Shelter in the Time of Storm: Fundamentalist Institutions and the Rise of Evangelical Protestantism, 1929-1942,” *Church History* 49 (March 1980): 73.

¹⁷⁰Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, 152.

considered the transdenominational schools to be, if not overtly, at least implicitly, anti-denominational.

The character of fundamentalism was defined further by a particular understanding of piety. As noted above, the concern for post-conversion progress in personal holiness within all transdenominational Bible schools was closely connected to the Keswick movement. By the 1920s, Keswick Holiness teaching had thoroughly permeated the fundamentalist network of Bible schools and faith missions. Although there were variations (such as the difference between Maxwell and the other leaders mentioned in this chapter), Keswick generally taught that a desire for holiness could be cultivated through Bible study and prayer, and that spiritual power to attain a greater level of holiness could be attained through surrender and consecration to God. Holiness called for the renunciation of “worldly” amusements and behaviours, and for self-sacrifice.¹⁷¹ This emphasis was at the very heart of the missionary impulse. “Because the missionary vocation was considered to demand the most radical self-denial and devotion to the evangelical cause,” explains Carpenter, “volunteering for missionary service seemed a sure indication that one was a fully consecrated, Spirit-filled Christian.”¹⁷² The primary purpose of the hothouse atmosphere and the strict daily routine of the Bible schools was not so much to create a “safe” insular subculture for young people (which of course it did), but rather to provide opportunities to deepen faith and to learn the discipline of “dying to self,” a prerequisite for effective service.

A vital facet of their role as hubs of fundamentalist activity was their intimate relationship with both home and foreign missionary societies, which saw the Bible schools as

¹⁷¹Michael Hamilton notes that “historians have often regarded fundamentalists as cultural separatists in part because fundamentalists so often employed the rhetoric of outsiderhood, in part because there is a substantial body of literature written by disaffected former fundamentalists who criticize the movement for its insularity, and in part because historians have, for their own reasons, preferred to think of them as a fringe group” (“The Fundamentalist Harvard: Wheaton College, and the Continuing Vitality of American Evangelicalism, 1919-1965” [Ph.D. Diss., University of Notre Dame, 1994], 23). Carelessly labelling this separatist impulse as “sectarian” obscures the complexity of the fundamentalist ambivalence towards the “world.” Despite the awkwardness of Stackhouse’s neologism “sectish *mentalité*,” it nevertheless offers a better understanding of the tension within some fundamentalist communities between cultural separatism and evangelistic engagement.

¹⁷²Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 82.

fertile soil for recruitment.¹⁷³ The transdenominational Bible schools in particular were a visible expression of the evangelical missionary impulse. The regular Bible/missionary conferences hosted by Bible schools created a natural circuit for missionaries and missionary society representatives. The almost constant presence of missionaries on or near the campus; the ongoing correspondence with, and reports from, alumni serving overseas that offered detailed descriptions of life in other cultures and the vagaries of international travel; the fund-raising efforts that directed huge sums of money towards specific individuals and projects; and the regular Bible/missionary conferences all created an environment that heightened an awareness of missions. This awareness and interest, in turn, naturally facilitated a kind of internationalism. The conferences, which routinely attracted hundreds, and at the larger schools, thousands, of people were likely the most internationalist events taking place in western Canada at the time.¹⁷⁴ Considering the emphasis on missions in every Bible school it is not surprising to discover that a massive proportion of the Protestant missionaries sent from North America during the twentieth century had their roots in the Bible school movement. A study completed in 1974 indicated that almost 65% of the 2,700 Protestant missionaries from Canada in overseas service had received all or part of their training in a Bible school in western Canada.¹⁷⁵ Such statistical compilations seem to corroborate Ian Rennie's suggestion that the western prairies of Canada might yet be seen "as one of the most fruitful

¹⁷³Alvyn Austin comments on the authority exerted by the missionary societies within the fundamentalist network. Bible schools trained workers, but the missions societies decided whether or not to accept the graduates of a particular institution (in "The Transplanted Mission: The China Inland Mission and Canadian Evangelicalism," in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, 367).

¹⁷⁴Michael Hamilton makes this observation in his review of Joel Carpenter's *Revive Us Again* ("The Hidden Years of Fundamentalism Revealed," *Evangelical Studies Bulletin* 14, No. 4 [Winter 1997]: 5).

¹⁷⁵Charles Tipp, "Canadian Denominations and Overseas Missionaries," Unpublished paper, 1974; cited in Rennie, "The Western Prairie Revival in Canada: During the Depression and World War II," 23. Statistics from many sources verify the relationship between Bible schools and missionary involvement. At mid-century S.A. Witmer calculated that 50% or more of the 27,000 Protestant missionaries from North America had "received their preparation, or part of it, in a Bible school." Alumni from two schools, Moody Bible Institute and Prairie Bible Institute, accounted for 15% of the total missionary force from the United States and Canada (*The Bible College Story: Education with Dimension* [Manhasset, NY: Channel Press, 1962], 11). Another estimate in 1985 suggested that more than 46,500 of the approximately 69,000 Protestant missionaries from North America had been trained in Bible schools/colleges (see Henry H. Budd, "Afterword," in *In His Loving Service*, 258; and *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880-1980*, eds. Joel A. Carpenter and Wilbert R. Shenk [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990], xii).

areas in the western world for the production of missionary personnel."¹⁷⁶

Despite the many similarities among the transdenominational schools, their unique stories also offer insights into the variegated character of fundamentalism and evangelicalism in western Canada. Contact with the larger world of fundamentalism did not result in a monochrome ethos within all transdenominational schools, a fact that was well recognized by evangelical Protestants at the time. The unique ethos created within each of the schools in this cluster reflected somewhat different shades of fundamentalist influence as it was mediated through regional circumstances, and the unique personalities, preferences and priorities of its leaders. The isolated rural environment of Briercrest and Three Hills was very different than the metropolitan centre of Winnipeg and Vancouver. Despite the apparent disadvantage of their remote geographical isolation, the two rural schools displayed a remarkable ability to forge a widespread support network and were successful in developing a sizeable, loyal constituency and even an international clientele.¹⁷⁷

The schools in this cluster differed in many other respects as well. They varied considerably in their relationship to mainline Protestant denominations, in their openness towards higher education, in the teaching roles assigned to women, in their assessment of the value of systematic theology, in the curricular configuration of their programs, in the emphasis on certain doctrines (for example, premillennialism), in the priority given to foreign missions, and in the range of ancillary institutions and organizations developed on campus (for example, high schools, mission offices). The multitude of differences among the transdenominational schools confirms Timothy Weber's observation that "fundamentalism is a much more complex phenomenon than previously imagined. It is urban and rural, sophisticated and simplistic, intellectual and anti-intellectual, moderate and militant. In short, fundamentalism is much more diverse--geographically, socially, politically, educationally and theologically--than its negative public image portends."¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶Rennie, "The Western Prairie Revival in Canada: During the Depression and World War II," 23.

¹⁷⁷This stands in contrast to the prominent Bible schools in the United States, which were almost all located in urban centres (Brereton, *Training God's Army*, 71-76, 79-86).

¹⁷⁸*Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875-1982* (Grand Rapids, MI: Academie Books, 1983), 102.

Although their emphases on evangelism and missions overlapped and resulted in contact with the same missionary organizations, this did not mean that the transdenominational schools shared a common constituency within western Canada. In his brief, comparative description of Prairie Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute, Hindmarsh aptly suggests that in certain respects the schools remained "two evangelical solitudes."¹⁷⁹ In reality, there were almost as many "solitudes" within this cluster of transdenominational schools as there were schools.¹⁸⁰ During the 1930s travel was difficult and constituencies tended to be defined geographically. Despite the fraternal relationships between certain schools (for example, Winnipeg Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute), the use of radio, along with increased mobility facilitated by affordable automobiles during the 1940s, made the transdenominational schools more aware of the fact that they were competing for students and donation dollars. Although alumni, who were involved in the foreign missionary societies that networked the transdenominational schools, moved freely from school to school, those involved in managing campus operations tended to focus on the preservation of their own enclave. George Marsden's comparison of the fundamentalist network of institutions and organizations to the mediaeval feudal structure is helpful. It was made up of "superficially friendly, somewhat competitive empires built up by evangelical leaders competing for the same audience, but all professing allegiance to the same king."¹⁸¹ The relationship of each transdenominational Bible school to other organizations (for example, missionary societies) within the larger fundamentalist network was stronger than the inter-institutional relationships between the transdenominational Bible schools in western Canada. The various transdenominational campus "solitudes" did not begin to work cooperatively together until the late 1950s. A significant step that served as a catalyst for more inter-institutional cooperation were the discussions between several transdenominational and denominational Bible schools coordinated by S.A. Witmer in 1958 that led to the inauguration in 1960 of the Conference of Christian Educators, an annual gathering that became

¹⁷⁹Hindmarsh, "The Winnipeg Fundamentalist Network, 1910-1940," 319.

¹⁸⁰In fact, there were multiple "solitudes" within every cluster. Leaders within most schools seldom had an accurate understanding of other Bible schools in the region.

¹⁸¹Cited in Enns, "Every Christian a Missionary," 117.

known as the Association of Canadian Bible Colleges in 1968.¹⁸²

7.5 Transdenominational Bible Schools and Evangelical Protestant Denominations

By the end of the 1940s, the influence of the transdenominational schools had touched virtually every denomination in western Canada. All denominations in the region needed workers, and some evangelical denominations such as the fledgling Christian and Missionary Alliance, the Baptist Union of Western Canada, the Evangelical Covenant Church (see Chapter Six), the Evangelical Free Church and others, actively recruited pastoral candidates from the transdenominational schools.¹⁸³ In part, this was due to the fact that none of these denominations established their own theological schools in the region before the 1940s. The fundamentalist ethos of transdenominational Bible schools such as Prairie Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute significantly shaped the development of such denominations.

Many denominations, however, expressed concern and even resentment over the influence exercised by the transdenominational Bible schools on the prairies. Despite widespread sympathy for the strong biblicism and the emphasis on evangelism and missions, a source of considerable tension centred upon the suggestion that transdenominational schools were promoting a kind of "antidenominationalism," a charge that was always vigorously denied by leaders in transdenominational schools. Maxwell asserted that Prairie Bible Institute,

while independent of denominational auspices, yet is not anti-denominational. While it does point out the reproof and correction which the Word of God makes of the spirit of sectism . . . , yet the School holds itself in cordial fraternal relationship with all evangelical divisions of the Church. As an independent School it offers a place where persons of all sects can feel happy together and that for two reasons: first, because the School itself in management is wholly unsectarian; secondly, because those who come to it as stu-

¹⁸²The timing of this transition within Bible schools in western Canada coincides with the transition within transdenominational evangelicalism in Canada from "sectish *mentalité*" to a more "churchish *mentalité*" noted by Stackhouse.

¹⁸³See Reynolds, *Rebirth*, 336-337; Mann, *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, 106; Goertz, "The Development of a Bible Belt," 209-224; Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, 160-161; and Burkinshaw, "Evangelical Bible Colleges in Twentieth-Century Canada," 370. The Pentecostal denominations did not feel the impact of transdenominational schools to the same degree primarily because of a theological divide that generally kept Pentecostals out of transdenominational schools.

dents are expected to prefer it on that account . . . , they prefer the whole undivided body to any one division thereof, while yet remaining warm-hearted members of their particular sects.¹⁸⁴

Similarly, Hildebrand repeatedly described Briercrest Bible Institute as “interdenominational” and denied “disturbing students’ denominational affiliation.”¹⁸⁵ It was a message often lost on denominational leaders particularly as they observed young people from their denomination participate in on-campus services and in the independent congregations associated with Prairie Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute. A veritable litany of complaints from denominational leaders can be documented, but typical are the comments expressed by R.F. Watts, a minister with the Baptist Union of Western Canada:

There are a very few schools which are really inter-denominational; among them Toronto Bible College, Vancouver Bible School [Institute] and the school in Winnipeg. These schools really send their students back to their own churches to work in cooperation with their ministers. But the majority of the others are staffed by former members of other churches, who have become disgruntled and who foist their prejudices upon their students sending them out suspicious of their own ministers as free lancers or as divisive elements in our denominational work. Usually the schools with a definite denominational label are not troublemakers because they only appeal to the members of their own constituency. It is the so-called interdenominational school, which is a problem to us. I imagine that hundreds of Baptist young people from the west have been lost to our church through attending these schools. A real difficulty about these divisive schools is they exaggerate the fundamentalist-modernist controversy out of all proportions and apply the label “modernist” to all who do not agree with them. The “standard” and widely recognized schools such as the Toronto Bible College, Vancouver Bible School and so on give very good training, fundamental but not dispensational and without bias.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴*Prairie Bible Institute Catalogue*, 1932-33, 19; cited in Opp, “‘Culture of the Soul’: Fundamentalism and Evangelism in Canada, 1921-1940,” 93.

¹⁸⁵*In His Loving Service*, 83, 98.

¹⁸⁶Cited in Leonard O’Neil, “A Survey of the Bible Schools of Canada” (B.D. Thesis, McMaster University, 1949), 47. It is worth noting that even a vigorous critic such as Watts puts Vancouver Bible Institute in a different category than Prairie Bible Institute and others. Renfree offers further glimpse into the Baptist Union of Western Canada perspective: “Young people—among them many potential leaders of the church—were also drawn away by the rapidly expanding Bible school movement, particularly in the Prairie provinces. Nearly all of them independent and nondenominational, the school offered a particularly appealing opportunity, with their emphasis on old-fashioned values and “correct” doctrine, as well as their low fees and expenses. Union Baptists, who prized higher education for their ministers, found this a difficult situation to handle, not only because of their own lack of training facilities, but because of the strong antidenominational bias of the majority of schools at this juncture” (Harry A. Renfree, *Heritage*

Such a response from a leader within the Baptist Union of Western Canada is not surprising considering the substantial number of their Baptist students annually enrolled at Prairie Bible Institute. It was, in part, this reality along with the pressing need for leaders in rural churches, that prompted this Baptist denomination to start its own school, Baptist Leadership Training School, in 1949.¹⁸⁷ Even if one makes allowance for the fact that Watts's denunciation was, at least in part, motivated by an interest in promoting his own denomination's entry into the Bible school movement (Watts was the first principal) he articulates clearly the frustration felt widely by other denominational leaders in western Canada about the "loss" of their young people.¹⁸⁸

The Baptist Union of Western Canada was not alone in feeling pressure to develop their own educational institutions to reinforce denominational loyalty. To prevent their young people from attending transdenominational schools, a wide range of denominations decided, rather belatedly in some cases, to establish their own Bible schools. The desire to create an alternative was clearly a significant factor in the decision on the part of the Lutherans to start a school in Saskatchewan during the late 1930s,¹⁸⁹ and on the part of the Regular Baptists in

and *Horizon: The Baptist Story in Canada* [Mississauga, ON: Canadian Baptist Federation, 1988], 265-266).

¹⁸⁷See Margaret Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*, 432-433; Harry A. Renfree, *Heritage and Horizon: The Baptist Story in Canada* (Mississauga, ON: Canadian Baptist Federation, 1988), 265-266; and Gerald Ward, *Emergence of a Rather Special School* (n.p., n.d. [c. 1989]), 10.

¹⁸⁸See also "Nondenominationalism: Enemy of Baptist Advance," *Baptist Horizon*, January 1955: 3; and Samuel Mikolaski, "The Believers' Church in Canada"; cited in Gerald Richard Blackaby, "Southern Baptists in Their Canadian Context, 1953-1990: An Evaluation of the Validity of the Canadian Convention of Southern Baptists," (Ph.D. Diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1990), 16-17. In 1967 the North American Baptist's Christian Training Institute in Edmonton considered a proposal to relocate to Vancouver and merge with the Baptist General Conference's Vancouver Bible College. The proposal was rejected, in part, because the withdrawal of a Baptist school in Edmonton would leave young people more vulnerable to the "strong independent Bible colleges on the prairies" (Letter to Joe Sonnenberg, 20 January 1967, VBI Papers, BGCA).

¹⁸⁹J.B. Stolee, "Report to the Board of Regents of the Educational Institutions of the ELCC," 11 March 1965, LTSA; Harold Engen, "A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada" (B.D. Thesis, Luther Theological Seminary, 1955), 105; and George O. Evenson, *Lutheran Collegiate Bible Institute: Its Story* (Altona, MB: Friesen Printers, n.d. [c. 1990]), 26.

opening Western Baptist Bible College in Calgary in 1934.¹⁹⁰ It was a consideration, as noted in Chapter Six, in the story of the Covenant Bible Institute in 1941, and in the decision by several Pentecostal groups in western Canada.¹⁹¹ As noted at length in Chapter Three, the Mennonite Brethren frustration with transdenominationalism was an important facet in the genesis of the Mennonite Brethren Bible College in Winnipeg in 1944.¹⁹² Even the United Church started a one-year lay training institute in British Columbia in 1947.¹⁹³ Whatever these denominational schools may have had in common with transdenominational schools, it is clear that they did not originate because of a fundamentalist reaction to Protestant liberalism; these denominational Bible schools were, at least in part, a reaction against the influence of transdenominational fundamentalism.¹⁹⁴

The evangelical Protestant denominations in western Canada with strong ethnic immigrant constituencies felt the influence of transdenominational Bible schools on the prairies in a still more unique way. Joel Carpenter observed that "one of the great and relatively unexplained ironies of [North] American religious history is that many people in immigrant-based denominations found in fundamentalism an attractive modern American

¹⁹⁰S.H. Bonham stated that "many of the colleges available were so strongly inter-denominationally minded that there [sic] graduates were not well-equipped to pastor churches, and certainly not Baptist churches" (*Our Lord, Our Roots, Our Vision* [Three Hills, AB: EMF Press, 1980], 28; and John B. Richards, *Baptists in British Columbia: A Struggle to Maintain "Sectarianism"* [Vancouver, BC: Northwest Baptist Theological College and Seminary, 1977], 81-82, 102-103).

¹⁹¹Celebrating the presence of a permanent Apostolic Church of Pentecost Bible school in western Canada, A.D. Marshall writes, "I am minded of those days when many of our Pentecostal young men and women had to go to a 'fundamentalist' Bible school if they wanted a Bible education at all. Many of these 'fundamentalist' schools were already flourishing, but a Pentecostal [Apostolic] School was, generally speaking, nowhere to be seen" (*It Came to Pass: A Brief History of The Full Gospel Bible Institute, 1944-1969* [N.p., n.d. (c. 1969)]). See also *Jubilation: Five Decades in the Life of Western Pentecostal Bible College* (Abbotsford, BC: Western Pentecostal Bible College, 1991), 11.

¹⁹²Frank Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1982), 470; and John A. Toews, "The Dangers of Interdenominationalism," *Konferenz-Jugendblatt* (Juli-Oktober 1954): 3-4.

¹⁹³Mann, *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, 107.

¹⁹⁴The same pressure was felt in other parts of Canada (see Robert Wilson, "Evangelical, Missionary, and Christ-Centred": The Founding of Atlantic Baptist College," in *Fragile Stability: Definition and Redefinition of Maritime Baptist Identity*, ed. David Priestley [Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1994]: 135).

Christianity.”¹⁹⁵ This same phenomenon existed in western Canada. Previously highlighted in Chapter Three of this study, was the way in which evangelicalism served as a potent force accelerating the “Canadianization” of an ethnic immigrant group such as the Mennonite Brethren.¹⁹⁶ Similarly, Burkinshaw observes how the Scandinavian ethnic identity of the Evangelical Free Church faded as the influence of Prairie Bible Institute graduates increased within the denomination.¹⁹⁷ The English-speaking religious world of transdenominational fundamentalism was compatible enough to draw immigrants (and children of immigrants) who were interested in making a transition from their former ethnicity to a newer, socially desirable Canadian ethnicity. Denominational distinctives associated with their former ethnic identity were often discarded. The appeal to a spiritual unity that transcended both denominational and ethnic differences among students at transdenominational Bible schools served as a powerful, albeit inadvertent, “engine of ethnic assimilation.” Although this subject deserves a more extensive analysis before definitive conclusions can be made, the widespread and long-term strength of transdenominational evangelicalism in western Canada suggests that the transdenominational religious orientation embodied within schools and mission organizations may have been, ironically, more effective as an agent for assimilation than the deliberate, and often coercive, struggles on the part of the Anglo-Saxon mainline Protestant establishment to homogenize new immigrants.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵“The Fundamentalist Leaven and the Rise of an Evangelical United Front,” in *The Evangelical Tradition in America*, ed. Leonard I. Sweet (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1984), 275.

¹⁹⁶Elsewhere I argue that evangelicalism became a desirable religious option for traditional Mennonites because it offered what was perceived as both a spiritual and cultural emancipation. It provided an alternative religious (and cultural) system that was better able to interpret the modern world to culturally-alienated, religiously-minded Mennonites (Bruce L. Guenther, “The Convergence of Old Colony Mennonites, Evangelicalism and Contemporary Canadian Culture--A Case Study of Osler Mission Chapel [1974-1994],” *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 14 [1996]: 118).

¹⁹⁷Burkinshaw, *Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, 160-162. Similar observations are made by both Goertz, “The Development of a Bible Belt,” 224; Mann, *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, 34, 154; and Hindmarsh, “The Winnipeg Fundamentalist Network, 1910-1940,” 497. This phenomenon within evangelical Protestantism deserves a fuller investigation.

¹⁹⁸For a brief discussion of the appeal of fundamentalism as a vehicle for assimilation by ethnic Protestants in the United States see Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, 194-195, 204-205; and Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 11, 141-160.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the significant contribution of transdenominational Bible schools to the larger Bible school movement in western Canada. The four Bible schools featured in this chapter—one from each province in western Canada—offer a window through which to observe the development of transdenominationalism, a unique expression of evangelicalism. Although the different Bible schools featured in this chapter represent discrete campus “solitudes,” at least the three schools located on the prairies can be taken together as the fullest institutional embodiment of fundamentalist beliefs and concerns in western Canada. The history of each school not only verifies the significant southward links between transdenominational Bible schools in western Canada and American fundamentalist institutions and organizations, but also demonstrates the development of an indigenous fundamentalist network in the region. Although transdenominational schools generally did not work together cooperatively, they remained part of network from which they both drew resources (for example, textbooks and conference speakers), and to which they supplied personnel.

The character of transdenominational fundamentalism in western Canada was not so much about the opposition to theological liberalism as it was a proactive effort to promote evangelical priorities through the training of workers for the proclamation of the gospel. The common core of fundamentalist concerns within these schools included an emphasis on practical training of laypeople in evangelism and church work, on personal holiness and on involvement in foreign and home missions. The rapid growth of transdenominational fundamentalism attests to its compelling vision of life for many people.¹⁹⁹

The transdenominational Bible schools on the prairies became key fundamentalist centres of influence in the region. They functioned as “denominational surrogates” by providing educational and other religious services, a support structure for fellowship and inspiration, and opportunities to participate in evangelism and foreign missions. A symbiotic relationship evolved between Bible schools, mission organizations and independent congregations. The Bible schools were easily the most important centres for the training and

¹⁹⁹Laurence Moore’s observation that fundamentalism was not so much a species of “deviation” in American religious life, but one important way in which “average Americans invested their lives with meaning” may well help account for the rapid growth of fundamentalism on the prairies (*Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1986], 149).

recruitment of missionary personnel.

The common fundamentalist influences within each transdenominational Bible school did not result in a monochrome ethos. The four institutional biographies reveal the variations within the constituencies surrounding, and the ethos within, the different transdenominational Bible schools. Regional circumstances, and the unique personalities, experiences and priorities of its leaders resulted in significant differences among transdenominational schools. Examples of differences included the following: the irenic cooperative style and personal contacts of Walter Ellis, which aided Vancouver Bible Institute in becoming far more ecumenically successful than any other transdenominational school; Maxwell's inductive "Study Guide Method" of Bible study, along with his quietist and ascetic spirituality, which was directly related to the preeminence given to foreign missions; Winnipeg Bible Institute's higher academic aspirations; and Briercrest Bible Institute's more intentional interest in training workers for western Canada; the schools varied considerably in their emphasis on dispensational premillennialism; unlike the frequent change in leadership at Winnipeg Bible Institute, the long tenures of Maxwell at Prairie Bible Institute, and Hildebrand at Briercrest Bible Institute, helped instill a greater sense of loyalty among alumni and supporters; Prairie Bible Institute was among the most strident opponents to accreditation; and both Prairie Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute used their rural environments to considerable advantage by developing multi-faceted educational communities. Many more differences could be itemized, but suffice it to say that a comparative look at the transdenominational schools reveals the variegated nature of fundamentalism, and by extension, of evangelicalism, in western Canada.

The transdenominational schools had a formative influence on many evangelical denominations. Denominations such as the Evangelical Free Church and the Associated Gospel Churches did not have their own Bible schools and actively recruited leaders from transdenominational schools. Moreover, denominations with a strong ethnic immigrant base experienced the influence in another, more unique way as the attraction of transdenominationalism facilitated the cultural assimilation of their young people. Leaders within transdenominational schools often struggled to define their role alongside and within these denominations, and despite their vigorous claims to be "interdenominational" and "nonsectarian," tensions persisted with certain denominations that considered transdenominational

schools (particularly Prairie Bible Institute and Briercrest Bible Institute) to be “antidenominational.”

Despite the humble origins of the four schools featured in this chapter, several of these schools grew to become the largest Bible schools in the region (and in the case of Prairie Bible Institute, one of the largest in the world), and together the transdenominational schools became, by 1960, the cluster with the largest number of students. Such growth foreshadowed a general trend during the second half of the twentieth century of the decline of denominationalism.²⁰⁰ Increased cooperation among both the transdenominational and denominational schools reflects the transition within Canadian evangelicalism from a “sectish” to a more “churchish” *mentalité* that is described more fully by John Stackhouse. These transitions helped the transdenominational schools to remain a significant force within evangelical theological education.

²⁰⁰Carpenter, *Revive Us Again*, 239.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusion

8.1 Summative Observations and Conclusions

This dissertation concentrates on the origins of the Bible school movement in western Canada and subsequent developments within the movement up to 1960, with particular attention given towards examining their role within their respective constituencies and understanding the relationships among evangelical Protestant groups in the region. It demonstrates that the Bible school movement in western Canada was a diverse, complex, dynamic and flexible collection of schools comprised of multiple denominational, theological and ethnic clusters that shared numerous evangelical emphases, interests and objectives. This study, therefore, contributes to a fuller understanding of the origins and early developments within the Bible school movement in western Canada, a phenomenon that has largely been ignored by scholars in Canada. By offering an overview of the movement that includes quantitative statistics, narratives and interpretative conclusions, the study provides a basic foundation from which to understand more fully the development of evangelical theological education in Canada and evangelical Protestantism in western Canada. Cumulatively, the Bible schools offered a particular form of religious education to far more people than the seminaries within the region. In fact, it is safe to conclude that one cannot understand twentieth-century Canadian evangelicalism without taking into account the formative role played by the Bible school movement that touched the lives of thousands of people in western Canada.

The one thing that all the Bible schools in western Canada had in common was an evangelical theological ethos. Despite such theological compatibility, the variations among Bible schools in western Canada, and by extension evangelical Protestantism in western Canada, reveal a mosaic comprised of institutions from many different ethnic and doctrinal heritages. This dissertation has demonstrated that, prior to 1960, the Bible school movement in western Canada was, in a word, diverse. Approximately thirty different denominations, not including the various transdenominational constituencies, were involved. This variety mirrors

the diversity generally found within evangelical Protestantism in western Canada. The presence of the ethnic immigrant groups streaming into the region during the early twentieth century (for example, Mennonites, German Baptists and the Evangelical Covenant) and the new evangelical Protestant denominations (for example, Pentecostals) emerging during the same period helps explain the disproportionate number of Bible schools in western Canada. The relatively recent settlement and development of the region created a religious free-for-all in which the smaller, more flexible evangelical groups flourished.

The Bible schools served the multiple denominations and constituencies that made up the larger evangelical Protestant network as centres that both embodied the distinctives of their respective constituencies and helped to guide their future direction. The Bible schools were, in a sense, a crucible in which evangelical Protestants addressed the issues that faced western Canada at large during the first half of the twentieth century such as immigration, American influence, isolation, economic hardship, ethnicity and cultural assimilation. In this way the Bible school movement played an integral role in the development of evangelical Protestantism in western Canada prior to 1960.

The Bible schools in western Canada represented an innovative pragmatic response to the pioneering conditions of western Canada during the early twentieth century. Denominational leaders sought an educational mechanism that would help their young people increase their Bible knowledge, keep those young people loyal to a particular tradition, and provide them with practical training for life-long service to the church. Leaders nevertheless faced the constraints created by the economic realities in the region, particularly during the 1930s. Bible schools--with their spartan facilities, many volunteer faculty and staff, limited library resources--were sometimes the only educational option that people in the region could afford.

In general, the Bible schools displayed a far greater flexibility than that enjoyed by more traditional liberal arts or theological church-related colleges. As educational expectations changed among evangelical Protestants (and within society in general), Bible schools also changed and adapted. The preliminary steps during the 1950s on the part of several Bible schools towards accreditation and degree recognition became a trend after 1960 as many of the larger Bible schools became increasingly sophisticated educational institutions.

Although most Bible schools were lay-oriented, they nevertheless produced a significant proportion of leaders for local churches and denominational ministries. The

training of indigenous leaders by evangelical Protestant denominations in western Canada inadvertently nurtured a sense of Canadian identity, particularly within denominations that had the vast majority of its membership located in the United States. Even denominations with their own seminary (usually located in the United States) and with a clear preference for seminary-trained pastors, sometimes opted for having their own Bible school(s) in western Canada in order to keep their most gifted prospective leaders within the region. An undertone of nationalism appears in many of the Bible school stories featured in this study.

This study provides considerable insight into the tension between transdenominational schools and certain denominational constituencies. Most transdenominational Bible schools nurtured variations of a fundamentalist ethos in which evangelism, foreign missions, personal holiness and a variety of other doctrinal concerns were given priority. They became centres for the training and recruitment of a veritable army of missionary personnel. They stressed cooperation and unity in a way that often minimized the maintenance of denominational or ethnic distinctives. These schools gained tremendous populist appeal and by 1960 had become a significant force within evangelical theological education. Although many denominational schools shared a commitment to a strong biblicism and an emphasis on missions and evangelism with the transdenominational schools, the story of the Bible school movement in western Canada is about a significant tension between denominational and transdenominational perspectives and loyalties. In fact, some denominational Bible schools emerged as a response to the impact of transdenominational Bible schools.

In addition to compiling the most thorough historical overview of Bible schools in Canada done to date, this dissertation not only builds upon, and expands, some of the methodological and interpretative foundations of fundamentalism and evangelicalism in Canada that have been laid by others, but also offers several important interpretative nuances. It demonstrates that the origins of the Bible school movement are more complex and multifaceted than some previous, often one-dimensional, historical explanations had supposed. The common perception of the Bible school movement as a fundamentalist reaction to Protestant liberalism is correct only in so far as it identifies fundamentalism as a significant influence within the movement, but incorrect in equating the entire movement with fundamentalism and in supposing the origins of the entire movement were due to a reaction against liberalism. This dissertation uncovers a much greater multiplicity of factors and objectives

that contributed to the inauguration of various schools.

Even more importantly, this study commends several historiographical adjustments to the understanding of evangelicalism and fundamentalism in western Canada (and perhaps all of Canada). By including both denominational and transdenominational Bible schools, this study offers a more proportional perspective of the development of evangelical Protestantism in the region. Because of its size, a transdenominational school like Prairie Bible Institute quickly became well-known. Its reputation eclipsed the more numerous, but smaller, lesser-known denominational initiatives. This study reveals that the Bible school movement was, despite the growing strength of transdenominationalism over time, significantly more denominational in its orientation than it was transdenominational during the first half of the twentieth century. Understanding the changing relationships and tensions between denominational and transdenominational institutions, as this study attempts to do, is vital for obtaining a full understanding of the development of evangelical Protestantism in the region.

Furthermore, the understanding of fundamentalism as a militant expression of evangelicalism is too narrow and does not permit a full-orbed understanding of fundamentalism's influence within the region. This study, therefore, extends into western Canada an interpretative framework for understanding fundamentalism put forward by the Americans Joel Carpenter and Michael Hamilton that both recognizes the connections between a large international fundamentalist network and the Bible schools in western Canada, and accounts for the self-understanding of those directly involved in the fundamentalist network.

8.2 New Ways Forward

Finally, this dissertation is not intended, as noted in Chapter One, to be the definitive study of Bible schools in western Canada. Many questions remain unexplored, some of which have been suggested in passing throughout this study. One obvious way to expand this study is to add institutional biographies that might provide still more clarity to the variegated complexity found within the Bible school movement in western Canada. There is a place also for more detailed comparative studies of key institutions and individuals. More helpful, obviously, would be to extend the present study both geographically to include the rest of Canada and chronologically to include the last forty years of the twentieth century in order to discern still larger patterns and explanations for these patterns. A more comprehensive study

of evangelical theological education in Canada during the twentieth century, including Bible colleges and seminaries, remains to be undertaken.

In addition to expanding the breadth of this study, there are many themes hinted at throughout that were not the central focus of the dissertation, but that nevertheless warrant an expanded treatment. For example, the need to look more closely at the place of Bible schools, alongside a range of other educational institutions, in the history of education in western Canada is mentioned in several chapters. This study does note that many Bible schools appeared prior to the widespread establishment of public secondary schools. As a result, the Bible schools' flexible programs attracted many Canadians during their adolescent years, including large numbers of women, who had not previously enjoyed access to formal theological or religious education. Moreover, the practical training offered by Bible school programs prepared many Canadians for Christian vocations. But in so doing, they also placed graduates in a stronger position to enter non-church vocations long before a high-school education became almost mandatory within Canadian society.

There are still other thematic possibilities. The fact that the majority of the student population were women begs for an informed critique and analysis of the role of gender in shaping both the Bible school movement, and evangelical Protestantism in Canada more generally. Both the sheer number of women, and the proportion of women within the total student population at Bible schools (often more than 50%), vastly exceeded the same numbers at seminaries in Canada. Bible schools were often the only options available for religious higher education. A considerable number of the women trained in Bible schools, both married and single, became foreign or home missionaries. In addition, substantial numbers of women were involved in instruction and in various aspects of leadership in at least some schools. An assessment of the impact of the experiences of these women on perceptions and roles of women in evangelical churches, organizations and families remains to be done.¹

¹An important monograph that devotes some attention to the relationship between Bible schools and the public ministry of women in the United States is Janette Hassey, *No Time for Silence: Evangelical Women in Public Ministry Around the Turn of the Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1986). Mention of the same is also made in passing in John G. Stackhouse, Jr., "Women in Public Ministry in 20th-century Canadian and American Evangelicalism: Five Models," *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 17, No. 4 (1988): 471-485; and Virginia Lieson Brereton, "The Bible Schools and Conservative Evangelical Higher Education, 1880-1940," in *Making Higher Education Christian*, eds. J. Carpenter

The influence of fundamentalism within the Bible school movement, and the character of fundamentalism as it is found within certain transdenominational schools, has been a key theme and received considerable attention within this study. A comprehensive analysis of fundamentalism, similar to the premier study by Joel Carpenter of fundamentalism in America, which recognizes the centrality of fundamentalism in the early development of transdenominational evangelicalism, remains to be done in Canada. It would of necessity explore more fully the theological and cultural world within certain Bible schools. Moreover, additions to the growing body of literature on fundamentalism and evangelicalism in Canada make it possible to texture more richly the kind of comparative studies of evangelicalism in the United States and Canada that have already been done by scholars such as Mark Noll.²

The impact of the Bible school movement as a predominately lay movement needs to be assessed.³ Although Bible schools did train many clergy, for most schools, the primary focus was on training lay persons. Most of the Bible schools owed a great deal to lay initiative and leadership and, in turn, produced large numbers of lay leaders. Furthermore, the

and L. Shipps (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 1110-1136. Within the last decade a variety of studies exploring gender issues within American fundamentalism and evangelicalism have been published including Betty A. Deberg, *Ungodly Women: Gender and the First Wave of American Fundamentalism* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1990); and Margaret Lamberts Bendroth, *Fundamentalism and Gender, 1875 to the Present* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993). Sharon Anne Cook offers a helpful overview of important studies in Canada that contribute towards the building of a foundation for a larger, more comprehensive study of women within evangelical Protestantism. She does not, however, mention the Bible school movement (see "Beyond the Congregation: Women and Canadian Evangelicalism Reconsidered," in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. George A. Rawlyk [Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997], 403-416).

²See for example, Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1992); "Canadian Evangelicalism: A View From the United States," in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, 3-20; and "Religion in Canada and the United States: Comparisons From an Important Survey Featuring the Place of Evangelical Christianity," *Crux* 34, No. 4 (December 1998): 13-25. Less extensive, but helpful, are several articles by John G. Stackhouse, Jr.: "Respectfully Submitted for American Consideration: Canadian Options in Christian Higher Education," *Faculty Dialogue* 17 (Spring 1992): 57-71; "More than a Hyphen: Twentieth-Century Canadian Evangelicalism in Anglo-American Context," in *Amazing Grace: Studies on Evangelicalism in the United States, Canada, Britain, Australia and Beyond*, ed. George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 375-400; and "The National Association of Evangelicals, the Evangelical Fellowship of Canada, and the Limits of Cooperation," *Christian Scholars Review* 25 (1995): 157-179.

³A helpful model for the study of voluntary lay initiatives is Brian P. Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

emphasis on missionary service, which was ubiquitous within the Bible school movement, motivated thousands of graduates to go overseas. As a result, Robert Wright's assessment that the "Christian internationalism" of Canadian Protestantism in the early part of the twentieth century owed more to a nineteenth-century evangelicalism than to the new international liberalism of the 1920s may be relevant to the Bible school movement. The Bible school movement's affinity with many aspects of nineteenth-century evangelicalism, and its emphasis on foreign missions, makes the possibility of a relationship between "Christian internationalism" and the Bible schools seem probable.⁴

The significance of ethnicity is noted within several chapters of this study, and substantiates what has almost become a truism within Canadian historiography, namely, that religion and ethnicity are intertwined in Canada. However, the complex nature of this relationship and how it has evolved in the experience of different religious communities has not always been adequately explored. Harold Coward, for example, complains that major studies of ethnicity in Canada frequently give religion only minor attention.⁵ This study does offer some preliminary observations by noting how Bible schools were used as an educational genre for the preservation of ethnic and religious distinctives, how certain religious emphases within the Bible schools inadvertently militated against ethno-religious isolation from the larger cultural milieu, and how transdenominational schools accelerated the acculturation among students from ethnic immigrant denominations. A more thorough analysis of the interplay between ethnicity and evangelical Protestantism remains to be done. Particularly helpful in identifying possible avenues of inquiry in this area is the historiographical assessment published by Terrence Murphy in which he complains that most of the work by Canadian historians on this question has been too narrowly focussed on the institutional development of individual ethno-religious communities.⁶ A comparative analysis of the various ethnic groups involved in the Bible school movement would contribute

⁴Robert Wright, *A World Mission: Canadian Protestantism and the Quest for a New International Order, 1918-1939* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

⁵"Setting the Research Agenda for Canadian Religious Pluralism," *ARC: The Journal of the Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill* 25 (1997): 123.

⁶"Religion and Ethnicity in Canadian Historiography," *Studi Emigrazione/Etudes Migrations* 103 (September 1991): 305.

considerably towards an understanding of the relationship between ethnicity and religion in western Canada.

The description of the Bible schools as a “handmaiden” to the churches accurately summarizes how many evangelical Protestants in western Canada understood these institutions. They trained numerous generations of young people for service within their respective denominational and transdenominational constituencies. Although the Bible schools in western Canada were isolated from each other for decades by a combination of ethnic and theological differences, as well as geographical distance, the common priorities and emphases laid the foundation both for the development of more national, interlocking networks that emerged among evangelicals after the 1960s, and for the resurgence of evangelical Protestantism during the second half of the twentieth century in Canada.⁷

⁷John G. Stackhouse, Jr., *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to Its Character* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 16.

APPENDIX ONE

Early History of the Bible School Movement in Canada

The late nineteenth century witnessed the birth of dozens of Bible schools, most of which were located in the United States.¹ It signalled an interest in a new kind of religious training designed specifically for lay people. The first such training school might well have been the short-lived Lay College founded by T. Dewitt Talmage in 1872. It was part of the Presbyterian Tabernacle in Brooklyn, New York. It was to “do for lay Christian men and women just what the seminaries do for the clergy, barring dead languages. It was desired to have nothing dead about the institution.”² The search for fast, effective and practical training schools resulted in several more schools during the 1880s, beginning with the Baptist Missionary Training School in Chicago in 1881. It was unique both because it was the first missionary training school in the United States and because it admitted only women.³ This was followed a year later by A.B. Simpson’s Missionary Training College for Home and Foreign Missionaries (later Nyack College), D.L. Moody’s Chicago Bible Institute in 1886 (renamed Moody Bible Institute in 1900), and A.J. Gordon’s Boston Missionary Training School in 1889. The Canadian-born and trained Simpson wanted to open a training school that would prepare “foot soldiers of God’s army,” people who might not otherwise go to college to minister to people abroad who might not otherwise hear the gospel. D.L. Moody’s

¹For a careful discussion of the origins of the Bible school movement in America, see Virginia Brereton, *Training God’s Army: The American Bible School, 1880-1940* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990), 39-77, 202-204. Also helpful is Larry J. McKinney, “The Fundamentalist Bible School as an Outgrowth of the Changing Patterns of Protestant Revivalism, 1882-1920,” *Religious Education* 84 (Fall 1989): 589-605; Larry J. McKinney, *Equipping for Service: A History of the Bible College Movement in North America* (Fayetteville, AR: American Association of Bible Colleges, 1997), 59-100; John L. Eagen, *The Bible College in American Higher Education* (Fayetteville, AR: American Association of Bible Colleges, 1981), 35-43; and Safara A. Witmer, *The Bible College Story: Education with Dimension* (Manhasset, NY: Channel Press, 1962), 32-40.

²See William Stuart McBirnie, “A Study of the Bible Institute Movement” (D.R.E. Diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1952), 21.

³Brereton, *Training God’s Army*, 57-61, 203-204.

school, which was to become the leading school in the movement, set out to prepare “gap-men,” lay leaders who could relate to the unchurched in ways often not possible by more formally trained clergymen. Similarly, Gordon’s vision was to provide men and women with both biblical training and practical experience in preparation for ministry in neglected parts of Boston. These latter three schools served as models for dozens of other schools.⁴

Although the Bible school movement is predominately a North American phenomenon, there were several nineteenth-century European antecedents that helped shape the idea of Bible and missionary training schools in North America. The oldest Bible institute in Europe might well be St. Chrischona, near Basel, Switzerland, founded in 1840 by C.F. Spitteler. English antecedents included the famous Pastors’ College started by the well-known Baptist preacher, Charles Spurgeon, and the East London Institute for Home and Foreign Missions founded in 1872 by fellow Baptist H. Gratton Guinness. Within thirty years, Spurgeon’s school had sent out nearly 1,000 ministers, missionaries and evangelists. Similarly, the purpose of Guinness’s institute was to prepare missionaries, and in its first sixteen years, 500 young men completed their training to become workers at home and abroad. In Germany neither Johannes E. Gossnar (1773-1858), founder of the Gossnar Missionary Society in Berlin (1838), nor Louis Harms (1809-1865) ran a regular school, but both operated centres that offered brief and informal missionary training. Gossnar sent out over 140 missionaries from his centre in Berlin.⁵ Bible schools and training centres did not develop with the same rapidity or exercise the same influence as they did in North America.

The movement kindled in America quickly spread into Canada. The first Bible school in Canada, the Union Missionary Training Institute located on the Methodist conference grounds known as Wesley Park near Niagara Falls, Ontario, was started in 1885 by Lucy

⁴Other influential Bible schools included the Bible Institute of Los Angeles started by Kyman Stewart in 1908 and W.B. Riley’s Northwestern Bible and Missionary Training School in Minneapolis (see William Vance Trollinger, Jr., *God’s Empire: William Bell Riley and Midwestern Fundamentalism* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990).

⁵An early progenitor for the German missionary training centres was Kaiserwerth, a deaconess training institution founded in 1836 by a German Lutheran pastor (Brereton, *Training God’s Army*, 57). These served as a pattern for the Mildmay institutions in England that influenced D.L. Moody and his co-worker Emma Dryer. See also Harold S. Bender for a list of smaller Bible schools scattered throughout Europe during the early twentieth century (“Bible Institute,” *Mennonite Encyclopaedia* [Scottsdale, PA: Mennonite Publishing House, 1955], 1:331).

(Drake) Osborne, a Methodist missionary with experience in India. The school relocated to Philadelphia after several years and merged with another venture started in 1907 by Don O. Shelton. The second school was the Christian Institute in Toronto, founded by William Gooderham in 1888. However, under the direction of Alfred Sandham, a Methodist, it became insolvent in early 1893. The third school was also be a short-lived attempt, called the Toronto Missionary Training School, and founded by John Salmon (with the encouragement of Sandham) in late 1893 as an outreach of Bethany Church. (Salmon was the minister who befriended Rowland V. Bingham, a young Salvation Army officer who founded the Sudan Interior Mission.) All three schools had close links to the holiness group that became known as the Christian and Missionary Alliance.⁶ In 1894, Elmore Harris, pastor of Walmer Road Baptist Church and well-known conference speaker, initiated a transdenominational venture known as the Toronto Bible Training School. It had the backing of a much broader constituency than the first three schools; the school continues to operate today as Tyndale College.⁷ Although this school can claim that it is the oldest Bible school in Canada, it is often erroneously identified as the first Bible school in Canada.⁸ The first Bible school in western Canada was likely the Holiness Bible College that was located initially in Crystal City, Manitoba (1909-1911). After several relocations it eventually merged with a Free Methodist school (Aldersgate College) in Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan.⁹

⁶See Lindsay Reynolds, *Footprints: The Beginnings of the Christian & Missionary Alliance in Canada*, Vol. I (Beaverlodge, AB: Buena Book Services, 1981), 192-197.

⁷See Brian McKenzie, "A History of the Toronto Bible College (1894-1968): A Study in Canadian Fundamentalism," Unpublished doctoral paper, University of Toronto, 1982, 64-65.

⁸See Witmer, *The Bible College Story*, 87; Peter R. Gazard, "A Needs Assessment of Transfer Credit Procedures in Canadian Bible Colleges" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Calgary, 1980), 28; and Walter Unger, "Bible Colleges and Institutes," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, 5:73.

⁹See Zella Nixon Brown, *Aldersgate: The College of the Warm Heart* (N.p., n.d. [c. 1976]), 43.



Appendix Two: Bible Schools in Western Canada (1909-1960)

Mennonite Schools

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Name of School</i>	<i>Former Names</i>	<i>OP</i>	<i>CL</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>PR</i>	<i>Former Locations</i>
Mennonite Brethren	Alberta Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute	Morning Star Bible School (1929-37); Coaldale Bible School (1930-61)	1929	1965	Coaldale	AB	
"	La Glace Bible School		1933	1946	La Glace	AB	
"	Bethesda Bible School		1933	1957	Gem	AB	
"	Crowfoot Bible School		1935	1937	Crowfoot	AB	
"	Vauxhall Bible School		1937	1943	Vauxhall	AB	
"	Bible School (Grassy Lake)		1945	1946	Grassy Lake	AB	
"	Elim Bible School	Yarrow Bible School (1930-47)	1930	1955	Yarrow	BC	
"	Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute	South Abbotsford MB Bible School (1936-43); Bethel Bible School (1943-55)	1936	1970	Clearbrook	BC	Abbotsford, BC (1936-55)
"	Greendale Bible School		1938	1945	Sardis	BC	
"	Black Creek Bible School		1942	1945	Black Creek	BC	
"	East Chilliwack Bible School		1947	1959	Chilliwack	BC	
"	Winkler Bible Institute	Mennonite Bible School Peniel (1925-26); Winkler Bible School (1926-67)	1925	1997	Winkler	MB	
"	Winnipeg German Bible School		1930	1939	Winnipeg	MB	
"	Herbert Bible School		1913	1957	Herbert	SK	Herbert, SK (1913-19; 1921-30); Main Centre, SK (1930-32)
"	Bethany Bible Institute	Bethany Bible School (1927-45); Bethany Bible School and Bible College (1941-45)	1927		Hepburn	SK	
"	Tabor Bible School		1928	1954	Dalmeny	SK	
"	Glenbush Bible School		1932	1947	Glenbush	SK	
"	Bible School (Speedwell)		1937	1947	Speedwell	SK	
"	Aberdeen Bible School		1937	1937	Aberdeen	SK	
"	Hochfeld Bible School		1942	1944	Hochfeld	SK	
"	Concord College	Mennonite Brethren Bible College (1944-92)	1944		Winnipeg	MB	
"	Russian Bible School		1943	1947	Arlee	SK	
Conference of Mennonites	Rosemary Bible School		1931	1941	Rosemary	AB	
"	Wembley Bible School	Hoffnungsfeld Bible School	1934	1947	Wembley	AB	

"	Springridge Bible School		1935	1947	Springridge	AB	
"	Menno Bible Institute	Neu Bergthal Bibel Schule (1937-40)	1937	1966	Didsbury	AB	
"	Countess Bible School		1939	1947	Countess	AB	
"	Bethel Bible Institute	Coghlan Bible School (1939-44)	1939	1970	Clearbrook	BC	Coghlan (Aldergrove), BC (1939-43)
"	Religionsschule		1939	1944	Sardis, Yarrow, Abbotsford, Coghlan	BC	
"	Elim Bible Institute	Elim Bible School (1929-72); Elim Christian Education Centre (1972-75)	1929	1988	Altona	MB	Gretna, MB (1929-40)
"	Mennonitischen Religionsschule		1932	1947?	Winnipeg	MB	
"	St. Elizabeth Bible School		1937	1947	St. Elizabeth	MB	
"	Rosthern Bible School		1932	1957	Rosthern	SK	
"	Aberdeen Bible School		1930	1937?	Aberdeen	SK	
"	Swift Current Bible Institute		1936	1996	Swift Current	SK	
"	Bible School (Eigenheim)		1936	1945	Eigenheim	SK	
"	Canadian Mennonite Bible College		1947		Winnipeg	MB	
"	Drake Bible School		1939	1947	Drake	SK	
Mennonite Brethren in Christ	Edmonton Bible Institute	Beulah Mission Bible Training School (1977-??)	1913	1919	Edmonton	AB	
"	Mountain View Bible College	Mountain View Bible School (1926-49); Mountain View Training School for Ministers (1977-??)	1921	1992	Didsbury	AB	
Old Mennonite	Alberta-Sask. Winter Bible School		1934	1954	Itinerant	AB	
Mennonite (Joint venture)	Steinbach Bible College	Steinbach Bible School (Die Steinbach Bibelschule) (1931-47); Steinbach Bible Academy (1947-53); Steinbach Bible Institute (1953-79)	1931		Steinbach	MB	

Holiness Movement Schools

Denomination	Name of School	Former Names	OP	CL	Location	PR	Former Locations
Christian & Missionary Alliance	Great West Bible Institute		1924	1929	Edmonton	AB	
	Canadian Bible College	Canadian Bible Institute (1941-45); Western Canadian Bible Institute (1945-57)	1941		Regina	SK	
Church of God (Anderson, IN)	Gardner Bible College	German Bible Institute (1933-34); Alberta Bible Institute (1934-81)	1933		Camrose	AB	Edmonton (1933); Ferintosh, AB (1934-35)

Church of the Nazarene	Nazarene University College	Alberta Bible School (1921-22); Canadian Bible School (1922-24); Calgary Bible Institute (1925-27); Alberta School of Evangelism (1927-28); Northern Bible College (1928-40); Canadian Nazarene College (1940-99)	1921		Calgary	AB	Calgary (1921-27); Red Deer (1927-61); Winnipeg (1961-95)
Free Methodist Church	Aldersgate College	Moose Jaw Bible School (1940-57); Moose Jaw Bible College (1957-64)	1940	1995	MooseJaw	SK	
Holiness Movement Church	Holiness Bible College	Western Holiness Bible School (1936-1953)	1909	1957	McCord	SK	Crystal City, SK (1909-11); Swift Current (1915); Saskatoon (1928-30); McCord, SK (1936-51; 52-53); Winnipeg (1953-57)

Pentecostal Schools

Denomination	Name of School	Former Names	OP	CL	Location	PR	Former Locations
Apostolic	Alberta Bible College		1946	1977	Edmonton	AB	
Apostolic Church of Pentecost	Fundamental Bible College		1935	1945	Port Coquitlam	BC	Coronation, AB and Grenfell, SK (1935-39)
"	Grande Prairie Bible School		1940	1947	Grande Prairie	AB	
"	Apostolic Missionary Training Institute	Prairie Apostolic Bible Institute (1943-51)	1943	1953	Saskatoon	SK	
"	Full Gospel Bible Institute		1944		Eston	SK	
Church of God International (CL)	International Bible College	South Saskatchewan Bible Training School (1936-43); Church of God Bible Training School (1943-47)	1936		MooseJaw	SK	Consul, SK (1936-37); Robsart, SK (1937-43); Moose Jaw (1943-47); Outram (Estevan), SK (1947-62)
Fellowship of Christian Assemblies	Temple Bible Institute	Temple Bible School (1946-??)	1946	1990	Edmonton	AB	
Foursquare Gospel Church of Canada	Life Bible College of Canada		1928	1997	Burnaby	BC	Vancouver (1928-67); Surrey (1967-71)
Full Gospel Missions	Glad Tidings Bible Training School		1927	1930	Saskatoon	SK	
"	Bible School (Yorkton)		1932?	1934?	Yorkton	SK	
"	Queen City Bible School		1939	1940	Regina	SK	
Grace Gospel Mission	Berean Bible School		1947	1947	Tribune	SK	
Independent Christian Tabernacles	Bible School (Duval)		1947	1947	Duval	SK	
Independent Pentecostal	Living Word Bible College	Living Word Bible Institute (1977-??)	1952		Swan River	MB	
New Order of the Latter Rain	Sharon Bible School		1947	1952	North Battleford	SK	
Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada	Saskatoon Pentecostal Bible School		1924	1925	Saskatoon	SK	
"	Central Pentecostal College	Bethel Bible Institute (1935-61)	1935		Saskatoon	SK	Star City, SK (1935-37)

"	Faith Bible School	Evangelistic Bible School of British Columbia (1977-??)	1924	1925	Victoria	BC	
"	Western Pentecostal Bible College	British Columbia Bible Institute (1941-62)	1941		Abbotsford	BC	Victoria (1941-51); North Vancouver (1951-74)
"	Northwest Bible College	Canadian Northwest Bible Institute (1948-84)	1948		Edmonton	AB	
"	Western Bible College	Central Canadian Bible Institute (1925-27); Canadian Pentecostal Bible Institute (1927-32)	1925	1950	Winnipeg	MB	Toronto (1930-32)
Pentecostal Holiness Church	Foothills Bible Institute		1960		Winfield	AB	

Baptist Schools

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Name of School</i>	<i>Former Names</i>	<i>OP</i>	<i>CL</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>PR</i>	<i>Former Locations</i>
Baptist General Conference	Vancouver Bible College	Vancouver Bible Institute (1957-74)	1957	1978	Vancouver	BC	
"	Alberta Baptist Bible Academy	Swedish Baptist Bible Institute (1925-33)	1925	1946	Wetaskwin	AB	
Baptist Union of Western Canada	Baptist Leadership Training School		1949	1997	Calgary	AB	
"	Peace River Bible School		1937	1938	Peace River	AB	
North American Baptist	German Baptist Winter Bible Schools		1929	1943	See Chapter 4	AB	
"	German Baptist Winter Bible Schools		1930	1945	See Chapter 4	SK	
"	German Baptist Winter Bible Schools		1929	1948	See Chapter 4	MB	
"	North American Baptist College	Christian Training Institute (1939-68)	1939		Edmonton	AB	
Independent Baptist	Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute		1923	1948	Calgary	AB	
Fellowship of Evangelical Baptists (Regular)	Western Baptist Bible College		1934	1941	Calgary	AB	
"	Regular Baptist Bible Institute		1929	1930	Vancouver	BC	
"	Northwest Baptist Theological College	Northwest Baptist Bible College (1945-59)	1945	2000	Langley	BC	Port Coquitlam (1945-58); Vancouver (1958-88)
Ukrainian Baptist Conference	Ukrainian Bible Institute		1944	1958	Saskatoon	SK	

Other Denominational Schools

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Name of School</i>	<i>Former Names</i>	<i>OP</i>	<i>CL</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>PR</i>	<i>Former Locations</i>
Lutheran	Canadian Lutheran Bible Institute		1932		Camrose	AB	
"	Misc. Short-term Bible Schools		1937	1938	Various Locations	SK	Estevan, Torquay, Midale, Macoun, Admiral (1935), Frontier (1936)
"	Lutheran Collegiate Bible Institute	Saskatchewan Lutheran Bible Institute (1939-53)	1939	1986	Outlook	SK	
Church of Christ	Alberta Bible College		1932		Calgary	AB	Lethbridge (1932-37)

"	Western Christian College	Radville Bible School (1935-45); Radville Christian College (1945-58)	1932		Weyburn	SK	Ogema, SK (1932-34); Radville, SK (1935-36, 38-57); Punnichy, SK (1937)
"	Carman Bible School		1927	1927	Carman	MB	
Evangelical Church in Canada	Regina Bible Institute	Regina Bible School (1938-42)	1938	1947	Regina	SK	
"	Evangelical Bible Institute		1944	1953	Vancouver	BC	
"	Hillcrest Christian College		1947	1992	Medicine Hat	AB	
Evangelical Covenant Church	Covenant Bible College	Covenant Bible Institute (1941-??)	1941		Strathmore	AB	Norquay, SK (1941-45); Prince Albert (1945-95)
Evangelical Free Church	Prince Albert Bible School		1939	1942	Prince Albert	SK	

Transdenominational Schools

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Name of School</i>	<i>Former Names</i>	<i>OP</i>	<i>CL</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>PR</i>	<i>Former Locations</i>
Transdenominational	Prairie Bible College	Three Hills Bible School (1922-24); Prairie Bible Institute (1924-86)	1922		Three Hills	AB	
"	Peace River Bible Institute		1933		Sexsmith	AB	Berwyn, AB (1933-34); Grande Prairie (1934-35)
"	Berean Bible College	Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute (1927-48)	1948	1987	Calgary	AB	
"	Vancouver Bible Institute	Vancouver Bible Training School (1918-23); Vancouver Bible School (1923-50)	1918	1955	Vancouver	BC	
"	Providence College	Winnipeg Bible Training School (1925-28); Winnipeg Bible College (1928-29); Winnipeg Bible Institute (1929-48); Winnipeg Bible Institute and College of Theology (1948-63); Winnipeg Bible College (1963-91)	1925		Otterburne	MB	Winnipeg (1925-70)
"	Millar College of the Bible	Moose Jaw Bible Institute (1928-32); Millar Memorial Bible Institute (1932-89)	1928		Pambrun	SK	Moose Jaw (1928-32)
"	Saskatoon Bible College	North Saskatchewan Bible Institute; Beatty Bible School (1931-34); Saskatoon Bible Institute	1931	1957	Saskatoon	SK	Beatty, SK (1931-34)
"	Nipawin Bible Institute	Two Rivers Bible School (1935-59)	1935		Nipawin	SK	Carlea, SK (1935-57)
"	Briercrest Bible College	Briercrest Bible Institute (1935-82)	1935		Caron	SK	Briercrest, SK (1935-46)
"	Meadow Lake Bible Institute		1943	1957	Meadow Lake	SK	
"	La Ronge Bible School (NCEM)		1956	1977	La Ronge	SK	
"	Island Lake Bible School (NCEM)		1956	1977	Garden Hill	MB	

* Note: This list represents the information I have been able to confirm to date. While I am confident that all the major initiatives have been included, it is possible that there are still some other short-lived Bible schools that have been omitted.



SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Bible School Movement in Canada

1.1 Primary Sources

1.1.1 Books

40th Anniversary Fountain: Special Edition Yearbook. Edmonton, AB: Northwest Bible College, 1986.

A Burning Bush in the West: A 30-year Historical Review of Berean Bible College Commemorating the Thirtieth Anniversary, 1948-1978. N.p., n.d. [c. 1978].

A History of The Evangelical Covenant Church in Hvas and Norquay, Saskatchewan: Seventy-fifth Anniversary, 1908-1983. Norquay, SK: Anniversary Committee, n.d. [c. 1983].

Bestvater-Redekop, Anna Rose. "Amazing Grace: The Life Story of William J. Bestvater as written by his daughter Anna Rose Bestvater Redekop." Unpublished paper. n.d.

Brown, Zella Nixon. *Aldersgate: The College of the Warm Heart*. N.p., n.d. [c.1976].

Budd, Henry H. *Wind in the Wheatfields: A Pictorial History of Briercrest Bible College, 1935-1985*. Caronport, SK: Briercrest Bible College, 1986.

By His Grace To His Glory: Sixty Years of Ministry, Toronto Baptist Seminary and Bible College, 1927-1987. Toronto, ON: Toronto Baptist Seminary and Bible College, 1987.

Callaway, Bernice. *Legacy: The Moving Saga of our Prairie Pioneers*. By the author, n.d. [c. 1987].

Celebration of Covenant Bible College: Stories from CBI and CBC, 1937-1995. N.p., 1995.

Davidson, Roy. *God's Plan on the Prairies*. Three Hills, AB: By the author, 1986.

Ens, Gerhard J. *Die Schule Muss Sein: A History of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute*. Gretna, MB: Mennonite Collegiate Institute, 1990.

Epp, Margaret. *Into All the World: The Missionary Outreach of Prairie Bible Institute*. Three Hills, AB: Prairie Press, 1973.

Epp, Margaret. *Proclaim Jubilee*. N.p., n.d. [c. 1977].

Evenson, George O. *Lutheran Collegiate Bible Institute: Its Story*. Altona, MB: Friesen Printers, n.d. [c. 1990].

Evenson, George O. *Send Out Your Light: The History of the Canadian Lutheran Bible Institute*. Camrose, AB: Canadian Lutheran Bible Institute, 1997.

Fest Skrift: Decennial Celebration of Outlook College, 23 November 1921. N.p., n.d., [c. 1921].

- Friesen, John D. *Holding Forth the Word of Life*. Saskatoon, SK: By the author, 1989.
- From His Fulness: History of the Vineland Mennonite Brethren Church, 1932-1982*. N.p., n.d. [c. 1982].
- Gem Mennonite Brethren Church, 1929-1979*. Gem, AB: Gem Mennonite Brethren Church, 1979.
- Hann, Emma. *Reflections of Eastern Pentecostal College*. Peterborough, ON: N.p., 1982.
- Heffren, H.C. *Voices of the Pioneers*. N.p., n.d.
- Hildebrand, Henry. *In His Loving Service: Memoirs by Henry Hildebrand*. Caronport, SK: Briercrest Bible College, 1985.
- Hildebrand, Jerry. *Training Servant Leaders: A History of Steinbach Bible College*. Steinbach, MB: Steinbach Bible College, 1997.
- Isaac, Frank K. *Elim: 50th Anniversary, 1929-1979*. Winnipeg, MB: Conference of Mennonites in Manitoba, 1979.
- Jacobson, E. Camilla. *Days of our Years, Golden Jubilee of the Evangelical Mission Covenant of Canada: A History in Commemoration of Fifty Years: 1904-1954*. Prince Albert, SK: Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of Canada, n.d. [c. 1954].
- Jubilation: Five Decades in the Life of Western Pentecostal Bible College*. Abbotsford, BC: Western Pentecostal Bible College, 1991.
- Keller, Philip W. *Expendable! With God on the Prairies: The Ministry of Prairie Bible Institute, Three Hills, Alberta, Canada*. Three Hills, AB: Prairie Press, 1966.
- Kept By His Grace, Ebenezer 75: Trossachs Camp Meeting Association*. Pangman, SK: Trossachs Camp History Book Association, 1988.
- Klassen, A.J., ed. *The Bible School Story, 1913-1963: Fifty Years of Mennonite Brethren Bible Schools in Canada*. Clearbrook, BC: Canadian Board of Education, 1963.
- Kirk, Hector. *With God on the Prairies*. Three Hills, AB: Prairie Press, 1975.
- Lammiman, Boyd L. *Joy Comes in the Morning: Alberta Bible College Celebrating Sixty Years, 1932-1992*. N.p., n.d. [c. 1992].
- Links of Gold, 1932-1982: An Historical and Pictorial Review of Millar Memorial Bible Institute*. N.p., n.d. [c. 1982].
- Lynn, Carman W., ed. *Truth Aflame: Across the Nation and Around the World, A History of Eastern Pentecostal Bible College, 1939-89*. Peterborough, ON: Eastern Pentecostal Bible College, 1989.
- Marshall, A.D. *It Came to Pass: A Brief History of The Full Gospel Bible Institute, 1944-1969*. N.p., n.d. [c. 1969].
- Martin, J.B. and Newton Gingrich. *Mission Completed: History of the Ontario Mennonite Bible School and Ontario Mennonite Bible Institute*. St. Jacobs, ON: St. Jacob's Printery, 1969.
- Maxwell, L.E. *The Miracle of The Prairie Bible Institute: Hoping for Nothing*. Three Hills, AB: Prairie

- Bible Institute Book Room, 1945.
- Minnesskrift: Första Skandinaviska Kristna Missionsförsamlingen, Winnipeg, Canada. Femtio År, 1885-1935.* Winnipeg, MB: Minnesskrift Publikerad Till Femtioårs-Jubileet, 1935.
- Palmer, Bernard, and Marjorie Palmer. *Miracle on the Prairies: The Story of Briercrest Bible Institute.* Caronport, SK: Briercrest Bible Institute, n.d. [c. 1960].
- Palmer, Bernard, and Marjorie Palmer. *Beacon on the Prairies: The Men God uses in Building the Briercrest Bible Institute.* Minneapolis, MN: Bethany Fellowship, Inc., 1970.
- Peace River Bible Institute Alumni Association. "Holding Forth the Word of Life . . ." *Peace River Bible Institute, 1933-1977.* Altona, MB: Friesen Yearbooks, 1977.
- Peeler, Sarah J. *Links Make a Chain, 1932-1957.* N.p., 1957.
- Peeler, Sarah J. *The Story of Forty Years and Millar Memorial Bible Institute's Lengthening Chain, 1932-1973.* Saskatoon, SK: Western Tract Mission, 1973.
- Peters, Erna Alma. *The Contribution to Education by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada.* Homewood, MB: By the author, 1971.
- Prairie Fire: The Fifty Year History of the Full Gospel Bible Institute.* N.p., n.d. [c. 1994].
- Pries, George D. *A Place Called Peniel: Winkler Bible Institute, 1925-1975.* Altona, MB: D.W. Friesen and Sons, 1975.
- Purdie, J.E. *Concerning the Faith.* Toronto, ON: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1951.
- Rejoice: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Alberta and the Northwest Territories.* Edmonton, AB: The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, n.d. [c. 1984].
- SCBI '61-'62: 25th Anniversary Yearbook.* Swift Current, SK: Swift Current Bible Institute, 1962.
- The Torchbearer: The Coaldale Bible School Jubilee Yearbook, 1929-1954.* N.p., 1954.
- Thomson, Dorothy J. *Vine of His Planting: History of Canadian Nazarene College.* Edmonton, AB: Commercial Printers, 1961.
- Thunell, Sofie, ed. *50 Years of Blessing: A Brief History of Canadian Lutheran Bible Institute.* Camrose, AB: Gospel Contact Press, 1982.
- Twenty-fifth Anniversary Publication of Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 1944-1969.* Winnipeg, MB: Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 1969.
- Twenty-five Years: A Time to Grow.* Winnipeg, MB: Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 1972.
- Ward, Gerald. *Emergence of a Rather Special School.* N.p., n.d. [c. 1989].

1.1.2 Articles and Unpublished Papers

"101 Reasons to Prepare for Life and Ministry in Canada: Annual College Guide." *Faith Alive* (November

- 1985): 31-54.
- "1992 Christian Higher Education Guide." *Faith Today* (January-February 1992): 33-52.
- "1992 Christian Higher Education Guide." *Faith Today* (May-June 1992): 37-56.
- Anderson, Leith. "Bible colleges trying to keep pace with changing culture." *ChristianWeek* (12 March 1996): S5-S6.
- Badley, Ken. "Mixed Mood Among Christian Educators." *ChristianWeek* (18 March 1997): S12.
- Brown, Grace. "Do Bible Schools Really Prepare People for the Ministry?" *Faith Alive* 2, No. 1 (March 1984): 42.
- Budd, Henry H. "Minimizing the Shock." *Faith Alive* 2, No. 1 (March 1984): 43-45.
- "Christian Higher Education Strategy Group Report." Compiled by the National Leadership Consultation on Evangelism, Vision 2000 Canada, 1990.
- Currie, Dave. "Bible College does it all and other myths." *ChristianWeek* (4 October 1994): S2-S3.
- "Die Bibelschulen der Mennoniten in Kanada." *Mennonitsche Welt* 5 Jahrgang (Januar 1952): 5-6.
- "Die Deutsche Bibelschule zu Winnipeg." Unpublished paper., n.d.
- Enns, J.H. "Mennonitische Bibelschulen in Kanada." *Warte-Jahrbuch* 1 (1943): 32-36.
- Epp, Mary Konrad. "History of the LaGlace Mennonite Brethren Bible School, 1933-1946." Unpublished paper, 1987.
- Fuller, Clare. "Emmanuel Bible College--50 Years." Unpublished paper, 1989.
- "Historical Perspective." *Winnipeg Bible College Witness* (February 1975): 4-11.
- Geddert, George, ed. "'To God be all the Glory': 1927-1987 Historical Summary of Events, Buildings, Changes During Bethany's First Sixty Years." Program of Bethany Bible Institute's Sixtieth Anniversary Service, 10 April 1987.
- Guenther, Bruce L. "Bible College Movement has Strong Saskatchewan Roots." *ChristianWeek* (15 March 1994): 8-9.
- "Guide to Theological Colleges and Seminaries in Canada." *Faith Alive* 2, No. 1 (March 1984): 18-21; 28-41.
- Heinrichs, Leanne. "A General History of Elim Bible Institute." Unpublished paper, April 1993.
- Ingvoldstad, O. "The Lutheran Bible School." Paper presented at Lutheran Educational Conference of North America, 1920.
- Kliwer, Victor. "Elim Bible Institute, 1929-1988: Reflections on Terminating an Institution." Paper presented to the Elim Bible Institute Board, 28 April 1988.
- Kolden, Agnes. "Notes on Outlook College." Unpublished paper, n.d., [c. 1973].

- Klippenstein, Larry. "Higher Education Among the Manitoba Mennonites." Unpublished paper, n.d.
- Konrad, George G. *Is There a Future for the Bible Institute?* N.p., n.d. [c. 1960].
- Jantz, Hugo. "The Bible School and Today's Need." *Konferenz-Jugendblatt* (November-Dezember 1955): 5-6.
- Janzen, Robert. "A History of the Menno Bible Institute." Unpublished paper, April 1979.
- "Jubilee History of the Lutheran Collegiate Bible Institute." Unpublished paper, 1955.
- Koop, Doug. "Canadian Education Models Deserve a Serious Look." *ChristianWeek* (21 January 1992): 4.
- Koop, Doug. "Major University Recognizes Bible School Credits." *ChristianWeek* (18 February 1992): 2.
- Lohrenz, Mildred, and Myrtle Schmidt. "Historical Survey of the General Conference Mennonite High Schools and Bible Schools in Canada." Unpublished paper, 1965.
- Mayan, R. "The Lutheran Bible School Experience: Measuring the Value." Unpublished paper, 1990.
- Magnus, Paul. "Why Bible College?" *ChristianWeek* (15 March 1994): S1-S3.
- Martin, Alvin. "The Distinctive Features of Higher Education in Canada and the Goals of Canadian Bible College in Light of Them." Unpublished paper, 1968.
- Martin, Phyllis. "Is There a Need for a Mennonite Bible School in Ontario?" Unpublished paper, March 1982.
- "M.B. Bible Schools in Canada." *Konferenz-Jugendblatt* 11, No. 62 (November-December 1955): 9-18.
- McKinney, Larry J. "Ministering to Canadian college students at the end of the 20th century." *ChristianWeek* (17 October 1995): S8-S12.
- McKinney, Larry J. "Times Forcing Bible Colleges to Redefine their Mission." *ChristianWeek* (14 March 1995): S2-S14.
- Palmer, Gertrude. "The Independent Baptist Movement, 1930-1990." Unpublished paper, n.d. [c. 1990].
- Pankratz, Lydia. "An Historical Sketch of the Rosthern Bible School." Unpublished paper, 1950.
- Pendray, Harold. "50 Years of Growth: 1927-1977 [Western Pentecostal Bible College]." Unpublished paper, n.d. [c. 1977].
- Peters, Herbert. "The Rise and Development of Bible Schools in the Canadian Conferences." Unpublished paper, 1949.
- Redekop, John H. "Mennonite Brethren Schools in Canada: An Analysis of Institutional Objectives." Unpublished paper, 1975.
- Retzlaff, Rose. "The History of Bethel Bible Institute." Unpublished paper, April 1984.
- Russell, Kenneth C. "Catholic Bible Schools: The Catholic Bible College of Canada." *Canadian Catholic*

- Review 4, No. 1 (January 1986): 13-14.
- Schmidt, Karis. "Bethel Bible Institute." Unpublished paper, March 1989.
- Schroeder, David. "The Continuing Ministry of the Denominational Bible Schools." Paper presented to the Christian Education Conference, CMBC, 26-28 August 1964.
- Stagg, Robert C. "A Brief Concerning the Future of Vancouver Bible Institute in Relation to the Baptist General Conference." Unpublished paper, n.d.
- Stiller, Brian C. "Evangelical Higher Education in Canada: No Small Thing." *Faith Alive* 2, No. 1 (March 1984): 9-13.
- Sweeting, George. "Bible Colleges and Institutes: Chronicling the Vision of a Century." *Christianity Today* 26 (5 February 1982): 38-41.
- Szabo, Lynn. "Christian University Colleges: Gaining More Than a Christian Worldview." *ChristianWeek* (12 March 1996): S8-S9.
- Tangelder, J.D. "The Bible School Movement in Canada." *Calvinist Contact* (14 June 1968): 9-10.
- Tangelder, J.D. "The Bible School Movement in Canada." *Calvinist Contact* (21 June 1968): 9.
- Tangelder, J.D. "The Bible School Movement in Canada." *Calvinist Contact* (12 July 1968): 2.
- "The Bible School Movement in British Columbia." *MBBI Bulletin* 2, No. 1 (October-December 1963): 2-3.
- Unger, Paul. "The Value of Bible School Training." *Mennonite Brethren Herald* (31 August 1962): 6-7.
- Unger, Walter. "Bible colleges Not an Endangered Species." *Mennonite Brethren Herald* (24 January 1992): 13.
- Unger, Walter. "Building Better Bible Colleges." *ChristianWeek* (21 January 1992): 8-9.
- Unger, Walter. "Maintaining Priorities in Bible Institute/College Education." *Mennonite Brethren Herald* (24 June 1988): 11.
- Unruh, A.H. "Ein geschichtlicher Ueberblick der Bibelschulen der M.B. Gemeinden." *Konferenz-Jugendblatt* No. 62 (November-Dezember 1955): 7-8.
- Warkentin, Irwin. "The Mennonite Brethren Bible Institute, Clearbrook, BC." Unpublished paper, 1968.
- Wiens, Mel. "The Amalgamation of Menno Bible Institute and Swift Current Bible Institute." Unpublished paper, March 1986.
- Witmer, Safara A. "Bible College Education." *School and Society* 80 (16 October 1954): 113-116.
- Wismer, A.S. "Report on Canadian Bible Institutes and Bible Colleges." Unpublished paper, May 1960.

2.1 Secondary Sources

2.1.1 Books

- Allen, Richard, ed. *A Region of the Mind: Interpreting the Western Canadian Plains*. Regina, SK: Canadian Plains Study Centre, 1973.
- Airhart, Phyllis. *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism and the Methodist Tradition in Canada*. Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.
- Artibise, Alan F.J. *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development*. Regina, SK: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1981.
- Anderson, Wendall B. *The Covenant Church in Canada, 1904-1994: A Time to Remember*. Prince Albert, SK: Evangelical Covenant Church of Canada, 1995.
- Arden, G. Everett. *Augustana Heritage: A History of the Augustana Lutheran Church*. Rock Island, IL: Augustana Press, 1963.
- Badertscher, John M., Gordon Harland, and Roland E. Miller. *Religious Studies in Manitoba and Saskatchewan: A State of the Art Review*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1993.
- Bender, Urie A. *Four Earthen Vessels*. Kitchener, ON: Herald Press, 1982.
- Berry, J.W., and J.A. Laponce, eds. *Ethnicity and Culture in Canada: The Research Landscape*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1994.
- Blumhofer, Edith L. *Restoring the Faith: The Assemblies of God, Pentecostalism, and American Culture*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993.
- Blumhofer, Edith L., and Randall Balmer, eds. *Modern Christian Revivals*. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993.
- Bowie, Ian C. *Jack and Alberta Pickford: Builders of a Baptist Legacy*. Richmond, BC: Baptist Foundation of British Columbia, 1999.
- Boyer, Paul. *When Time Shall Be No More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture*. Cambridge, MS: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Brereton, Virginia Lieson. *Training God's Army: The American Bible School, 1880-1940*. Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990.
- Burkinshaw, Robert K. *Pilgrims in Lotus Land: Conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, 1917-1981*. Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queens University Press, 1995.
- Carpenter, Joel A., and Kenneth W. Shipps, eds. *Making Higher Education Christian: The History and Mission of Evangelical Colleges in America*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987.
- Carpenter, Joel A. *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of American Fundamentalism*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Christie, Nancy and Michael Gauvreau. *A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940*. Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996.

- Dick, C.L. *The Mennonite Conference of Alberta: A History of its Churches and Institutions*. Edmonton, AB: Mennonite Conference of Alberta, 1980.
- Eagen, L. John. *The Bible College in American Higher Education*. Fayetteville, AR: American Association of Bible Colleges, 1981.
- Elliott, David R., and Iris Miller. *Bible Bill: A Biography of William Aberhart*. Edmonton, AB: Reidmore Books, 1987.
- Eskridge, Larry and Mark Noll, eds. *More Money, More Ministry: Money and Evangelicalism in Recent North American History*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000.
- Larden, Robert A. *Our Apostolic Heritage*. Calgary, AB: Apostolic Church of Pentecost, 1971.
- Ens, Adolf. *Subjects or Citizens: The Mennonite Experience in Canada, 1870-1925*. Ottawa, ON: University of Ottawa Press, 1994.
- Epp, Frank H. *Education With a Plus: The Story of Rosthern Junior College*. Waterloo, ON: Conrad Press, 1975.
- Epp, Frank. *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940: A People's Struggle for Survival*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1982.
- Evenson, George O. *Adventuring for Christ: The Story of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada*. Calgary, AB: Foothills Lutheran Press, 1974.
- Ewert, David H. *Stalwart for the Truth: The Life and Legacy of A.H. Unruh*. Winnipeg, MB: Board of Christian Literature, General Conference of MB Churches of North America, 1975.
- Ewert, David H. *A Journey of Faith: An Autobiography*. Winnipeg, MB: Kindred Press, 1993.
- Ewert, David H. *Honour Such People*. Winnipeg, MB: Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1997.
- Francis, R. Douglas. *Images of the West: Responses to the Canadian Prairies, 1690-1960*. Saskatoon, SK: Western Producer Books, 1989.
- Fraser, Brian. *Religious Studies in British Columbia: A State of the Art Review*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1995.
- Friesen, Gerald. *The Canadian Prairies: A History*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1987.
- Friesen-Petkau, Irene, ed. *Just When We Were: The Story of the Conference of Mennonites in Canada*. Winnipeg, MB: The History Archives Committee of Mennonites in Canada, 1978.
- Froese, Walter. *Sounding Forth the Gospel on the Prairies: A History of the Church of God Reformation Movement in Western Canada*. Camrose, AB: Gospel Contact Press, 1982.
- Gauvreau, Michael. *The Evangelical Century: Creed and College in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression*. Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's Press, 1991.
- Gerbrandt, Henry J. *Adventure in Faith: The Background in Europe and the Development in Canada of the Berghaler Mennonite Church of Manitoba*. Altona, MB: D.W. Friesen and Sons Ltd., 1970.

- Gerbrandt, Henry J. *Enroute: The Memoirs of H.J. Gerbrandt*. Winnipeg, MB: CMBC Publications, 1994.
- Getz, Gene A. *MBI: The Story of Moody Bible Institute*. Chicago, IL: Moody Press, 1969.
- Goos, Ernest George. *Pioneering for Christ in Western Canada: The Story of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Manitoba and other Provinces*. N.p.: Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Western Canada, 1947.
- Hart, D.G., and R. Albert Mohler, Jr., eds. *Theological Education in the Evangelical Tradition*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1996.
- Hassey, Janette. *No Time for Silence: Evangelical Women in Public Ministry Around the Turn of the Century*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1986.
- Heppner, Jack. *Search for Renewal: The Story of the Rudnerweider/Evangelical Mennonite Mission Conference, 1937-1987*. Altona, MB: Friesen Printers, 1987.
- Jesske, Theodore E. *Pioneers of Faith: A History of the Evangelical Church in Canada*. Three Hills, AB: EMF Press, 1985.
- Klaassen, Walter. "The Days of Our Years": *A History of the Eigenheim Mennonite Church Community: 1892-1992*. Rosthern, SK: Eigenheim Mennonite Church, 1992.
- Kovacs, Martin L., ed. *Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education*. Regina, SK: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1978.
- Kuenning, Paul P. *The Rise and Fall of American Lutheran Pietism: The Rejection of an Activist Heritage*. Macon, GA: Mercer, 1988.
- Kulbeck, Gloria. *What God Hath Wrought: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada*. Eds. Walter E. McAlister and George R. Upton. Toronto, ON: Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, 1958.
- Larden, Robert A. *Our Apostolic Heritage*. Calgary, AB: Apostolic Church of Pentecost, 1971.
- Lehn, Cornelia. *Frontier Challenge: A Story of the Conference of Mennonites in B.C.* Abbotsford, BC: Conference of Mennonites in British Columbia, 1990.
- Light on the Horizon: Northern Canada Evangelical Mission's Fifty Years of Ministry to Canada's First People*. Prince Albert, SK: Northern Canada Evangelical Mission, 1996.
- Loken, Gulbrand. *From Fjord to Frontier: A History of the Norwegians in Canada*. Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1980.
- Maier, Clifford and Eleanor Maier. *A Journey of Faith: The NBI Story*, 2 vols. Marquette, WI: By the authors, 1994.
- Mann, William E. *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1955.
- Marsden, George M. *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Marsden, George M. *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism*. Grand

- Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987.
- Marsden, George. *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Marsden, George M., and Bradley J. Longfield, eds. *The Secularization of the Academy*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Marshall, D.B. *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1992.
- Masters, D.C. *Protestant Church Colleges in Canada: A History*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1966.
- McKinney, Larry. *Equipping for Service: A History of the Bible College Movement in North America*. Fayetteville, AR: Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges, 1997.
- McLaurin, C.C. *Pioneering in Western Canada: A Story of the Baptists*. Calgary, AB: By the author, 1939.
- Miller, Thomas William. *Canadian Pentecostals: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada*. Mississauga, ON: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1994.
- Mostert, John. *The AABC Story: Forty Years with the American Association of Bible Colleges*. Fayetteville, AR: American Association of Bible Colleges, 1986.
- Nadeau, David, ed. *Hildebrand of Briercrest: A Follower of God, A Leader of Men; A Christian Leader's Life and Impact as Told by Family and Friends*. Three Hills, AB: Bookmark & WordSmith Publishers, 1996.
- Nelson, E. Clifford, and Eugene L. Fevold. *The Lutheran Church Among Norwegian Lutherans*. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960.
- Nelson, Shirley. *The Last Year of the War*. San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1978.
- Neufeld, William. *From Faith to Faith: The History of the Manitoba Mennonite Brethren Church*. Winnipeg, MB: Kindred Press, 1989.
- Neufeldt, Ronald W. *Religious Studies in Alberta: A State-of-the-Art Review*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1983.
- Noll, Mark A., David W. Bebbington, and George A. Rawlyk, eds. *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1770-1990*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Nyvall, David and Karl Olsson. *The Evangelical Covenant Church*. Chicago, IL: Covenant Press, 1954.
- Olsson, Karl. *By His Spirit*. Chicago, IL: Covenant Press, 1962.
- Olsson, Karl. *A Family of Faith: Ninety Years of Covenant History*. Chicago, IL: Covenant Press, 1975.
- Parker, Fred. *From East to Western Sea: A Brief History of the Church of the Nazarene in Canada*. Kansas City, KS: Nazarene Publishing House, 1971.

- Penner, Peter. *No Longer at Arms Length: Mennonite Brethren Church Planting in Canada*. Winnipeg, MB: Kindred Press, 1987.
- Peters, Jake. *Mennonite Private Schools In Manitoba and Saskatchewan, 1874-1925*. Steinbach, MB: Mennonite Village Museum, 1985.
- Pickford, John H. *What God Hath Wrought: Sixty Years of God's Goodness in the Fellowship of Regular Baptist Churches of British Columbia*. Vancouver, BC: Baptist Foundation of British Columbia, 1987.
- Poettcker, Henry, and Rudy A. Regehr. *Call to Faithfulness: Essays in Canadian Mennonite Studies*. Winnipeg, MB: Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 1972.
- Priestley, David T., ed. *Memory and Hope: Strands of Canadian Baptist History*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1996.
- Proceedings of the Conference, "Educating for the Kingdom? Church-Related Colleges in English-Speaking Canada."* Waterloo, ON: University of St. Jerome's College and Conrad Grebel College, 1991.
- Quast, Kevin, and John Vissers, eds. *Studies in Canadian Evangelical Renewal: Essays in Honour of Ian S. Rennie*. Markham, ON: Faith Today Publications, 1996.
- Rasporich, A.W., ed. *The Making of the Modern West: Western Canada Since 1945*. Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press, 1994.
- Rawlyk, George A. *Champions of the Truth: Fundamentalism, Modernism and the Maritime Baptists*. Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queens University Press, 1990.
- Rawlyk, George A. *Is Jesus Your Personal Saviour? In Search of Canadian Evangelicalism in the 1990s*. Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996.
- Rawlyk, George A., ed. *Canadian Baptists and Christian Higher Education*. Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988.
- Rawlyk, George A., ed. *The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1760-1990*. Burlington, ON: Welch, 1990.
- Rawlyk, George A., and Mark Noll, eds. *Amazing Grace: Studies on Evangelicalism in the United States, Canada, Britain, Australia and Beyond*. Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.
- Rawlyk, George A., ed. *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*. Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.
- Regehr, Ted. *Mennonites in Canada, 1939-1970: A People Transformed*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- Reimer, P.J.B., ed. *The Sesquicentennial Jubilee: Evangelical Mennonite Conference 1812-1962*. Steinbach, MB: Evangelical Mennonite Conference, 1962.
- Rempel, J.G. *Die Rosenorter Gemeinde in Saskatchewan in Wort und Bild*. Rosthern, SK: D.H. Epp, 1950.
- Remus, Harold, William James and Daniel Fraiken. *Religious Studies in Ontario: A State-of-the-Art*

- Review. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1992.
- Renfree, Harry A. *Heritage and Horizon: The Baptist Story in Canada*. Mississauga, ON: Canadian Baptist Federation, 1988.
- Reynolds, Lindsay. *Footprints: The Beginnings of the Christian & Missionary Alliance in Canada*. Beaverlodge, AB: Buena Book Services, 1981.
- Reynolds, Lindsay. *Rebirth: The Redevelopment of the Christian & Missionary Alliance*. Beaverlodge, AB: Evangelistic Enterprises, 1992.
- Richards, John B. *Baptists in British Columbia: A Struggle to Maintain "Sectarianism."* Vancouver, BC: Northwest Baptist Theological College, 1977.
- Ringenberg, William C. *The Christian College: A History of Protestant Higher Education in America*. Grand Rapids, MI: Christian College Consortium, 1984.
- Riss, Richard. *The Latter Rain Movement of 1948 and the Mid-Twentieth Century Evangelical Awakening*. Etobicoke, ON: Kingdom Flagships Foundation, 1987.
- Schaefer, Paul J. *Heinrich H. Ewert, Lehrer, Erzieher and Prediger der Mennoniten, Züge aus seinem Leben und Wirken*. N.p.: Verlag der Manitoba Jugendorganisation der Mennoniten-Konferenz von Kananda, 1945.
- Sider, E. Morris. *Here Faith and Learning Meet: The Story of Niagara Christian College*. Nappanee, IN: Evangel Press, 1982.
- Sider, E. Morris. *The Brethren in Christ in Canada: Two Hundred Years of Tradition and Change*. Nappanee, IN: Evangel Press, 1988.
- Sigsworth, John Wilkins. *The Battle was the Lord's: A History of the Free Methodist Church in Canada*. Oshawa, ON: Sage Publishers, 1960.
- Smillie, Benjamin G., ed. *Visions of the New Jerusalem: Religious Settlement on the Prairies*. Edmonton, AB: NeWest Press, 1983.
- Solberg, Richard W. *Lutheran Higher Education in North America*. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1985.
- South Abbotsford Mennonite Brethren Church: A History from 1932-1982*. Abbotsford, BC: South Abbotsford Mennonite Brethren Church, 1982.
- Stackhouse, Jr., John G. *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to Its Character*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1993.
- Stauffer, Ezra. *History of the Alberta-Saskatchewan Mennonite Conference*. Ryley, AB: Alberta-Saskatchewan Mennonite Conference, 1960.
- Storms, Everek Richard. *History of the United Missionary Church*. Elkart, IN: Bethel Publishing Co., 1958.
- Tarr, Leslie K. *This Dominion His Dominion: The Story of Evangelical Baptist Endeavour in Canada*. Willowdale, ON: Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches in Canada, 1968.

- Tarr, Leslie K. *Shields of Canada: T.T. Shields, 1873-1955*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1967.
- The Bible College in Canadian Higher Education*. Didsbury, AB: Association of Canadian Bible Colleges, 1985.
- Thiessen, I.H., ed. "*He Leadeth . . .*": *History of the Ontario M.B. Churches, 1924-1957*. Virgil, ON: Niagara Press, 1957.
- Thompson, Margaret Ellis. *The Baptist Story in Western Canada*. Calgary, AB: Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1975.
- Threinen, Norman J., ed. *In Search of Identity: A Look at Lutheran Identity in Canada*. Winnipeg, MB: Lutheran Council in Canada, 1977.
- Toews, John A. *A History of the Mennonite Brethren Church: Pilgrims and Pioneers*. Fresno, CA: General Conference of Mennonite Brethren Churches, 1975.
- Toews, J.B. *JB: A Twentieth-Century Mennonite Pilgrim*. Fresno, CA: Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1995.
- Toews, John B. *A Pilgrimage of Faith: The Mennonite Brethren Church in Russia and North America, 1860-1990*. Winnipeg, MB: Kindred Press, 1993.
- Toews, H.P. *A.H. Unruh, D.D., Lebensgeschichte*. Winnipeg, MB: Christian Press, 1961.
- Toews, Paul, ed. *Pilgrims and Strangers: Essays in Mennonite Brethren History*. Fresno, CA: Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 1977.
- Toews Nafziger, Elfrieda. *A Man of His Word: A Biography of John A. Toews*. Winnipeg, MB: Kindred Press and Centre for MB Studies, 1992.
- Trollinger, William Vance, Jr. *God's Empire: William Bell Riley and Midwestern Fundamentalism*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990.
- Weber, Timothy P. *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875-1925*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1979; rev. ed., 1983. Expanded and revised by University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Westfall, William, et al., eds. *Religion/Culture: Comparative Canadian Studies*. Ottawa, ON: Association for Canadian Studies, 1985.
- Witmer, Safara A. *The Bible College Story: Education with Dimension*. Manhasset, NY: Channel Press, 1962.
- Wittlinger, Carlton O. *Quest for Piety and Obedience: The Story of the Brethren in Christ*. Nappanee, IN: Evangel Press, 1978.
- Woyke, Frank H. *Heritage and Ministry of the North American Baptist Conference*. Oakbrook Terrace, IL: North American Baptist Conference, 1979.

2.1.2 Articles, Chapters in Books, and Unpublished Papers

- Althouse, Peter F. "The Influence of Dr. J.E. Purdie's Reformed Anglican Theology on the Formation and Development of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada." Paper presented to the Society for Pentecostal Studies, Wycliffe College, Toronto, 7-9 March 1996.
- Anderson, Wendell B. "From Sect to Denomination: The Training of Clergy in the Covenant." *Covenant Quarterly* 49, No. 3 (August 1991): 8-24.
- Armerding, Carl E. "Evangelical Theological Education in Canada...Or, Are we Building an Apple." *Faith Alive* 2, No. 1 (March 1984): 14-17.
- Axtall, James. "Death of the Liberal Arts College." *History of Education Quarterly* 2 (Winter 1971): 339-352.
- Balmer, Randall. "We Do Bible Better." *Christianity Today* 35, No. 10 (16 September 1991): 22-26.
- Balmer, Randall. "Bible Schools." In *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory: A Journey into the Evangelical Subculture in America*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Baptista, Robert C. "The Christian College: An Endangered Species?" *Christianity Today* 24 (7 November 1980): 30-33.
- Barber, Marilyn. "Canadianization Through the Schools of the Prairie Provinces Before World War I: The Attitudes and Aims of the English-Speaking Majority." In *Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education*, ed. M.L. Kovacs, 281-294. Regina, SK: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1978.
- Bender, Ross T. "Private Mennonite Education in Ontario after World War II." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 6 (1988): 114-123.
- Benson, Clarence H. "The Menace of Bibleless Schools." *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 8, No. 2 (April 1934): 51-57.
- Bergen, John J. "Some Inferences Concerning the Impact of World War II on Education Among Mennonites in Canada." Paper presented at the "Symposium on Mennonites in Canada: The Influence of World War II, 1939-1945," University of Winnipeg, 21-23 May, 1987.
- Bergen, John J. "The Manitoba Mennonites and Their Schools from 1873-1924." Unpublished paper, 1950.
- Bergen, John J. "The World Wars and Education Among the Mennonites in Canada." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 8 (1990): 156-172.
- Boda, Rexford A. "Theological Education in Canada." *Thrust* 14, No. 2 (1982): 12-13.
- Born, H.C. "Reflections on the Mennonite Brethren Bible School Movement in British Columbia." *Mennonite Historian* 19, No. 3 (September 1993): 7-8.
- Brandt, Steven. "The Teaching of Anabaptist-Mennonite Studies in Mennonite Brethren Colleges." *Direction* 23, No. 2 (Fall 1994): 98-106.
- Braun, John. "Elim Bible School, 1929-1963." Unpublished paper, March 1985.

- Bredin, Mark. "An Early History of the New Brunswick Bible Institute." Unpublished paper, 1994.
- Brereton, Virginia Lieson. "American Women in Ministry: A History of Protestant Beginning Points," in *Women of Spirit: Female Leadership in the Jewish and Christian Traditions*, eds. Rosemary Ruether and Eleanor McLaughlin, 301-332. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1979.
- Brereton, Virginia Lieson. "The Bible Schools and Conservative Evangelical Higher Education, 1880-1940." In *Making Higher Education Christian*, eds. J. Carpenter and L. Shipps. 1110-1136. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987.
- Burkholder, L.J. "Bible Conferences and the Ontario Mennonite Bible School." In *A Brief History of the Mennonites in Ontario*. Markham, ON: Mennonite Conference of Ontario, 1935.
- Burkinshaw, Robert K. "Walter Ellis: Mainline Conservative Protestant." *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1983): 72-96.
- Burkinshaw, Robert K. "Pentecostalism and Fundamentalism in British Columbia." *Fides et Historia*, 24 (Winter/Spring 1992): 68-80.
- Burkinshaw, Robert K. "Conservative Evangelicalism in the Twentieth-Century 'West': British Columbia and the United States." In *Amazing Grace: Studies on Evangelicalism in the United States, Canada, Britain, Australia and Beyond*, eds. George Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll. 317-348. Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.
- Burkinshaw, Robert K. "Evangelical Bible Colleges in Twentieth Century Canada." In *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. George A. Rawlyk, 369-386. Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.
- Carpenter, Joel A. "A Shelter in the Time of Storm: Fundamentalist Institutions and the Rise of Evangelical Protestantism, 1929-1942." *Church History* 49 (March 1980): 62-75.
- Charlton, Warren. "Dr. John McNicol and Toronto Bible College." *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* (1977): 38-57.
- Churchill, G. Keith. "Educational Policy of the Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1873-1975." In *Canadian Baptist History and Policy: Papers From the McMaster Divinity College Baptist History Conference*, ed. Murray J.S. Ford. Hamilton, ON: McMaster University Divinity College, 1982.
- Clifford, N. Keith. "The Crisis in Canadian Theological Education." *Christian Century* 18 (12 July 1967): 897-899.
- Clifford, N. Keith. "Religion in the Thirties: Some Aspects of the Canadian Experience." In *The Dirty Thirties in Western Canada*, eds. R.D. Francis and H. Ganzevoort. 125-140. Vancouver, BC: Tantalus Research, 1980.
- Clifford, N. Keith. "The History of Protestant Theological Education in Canada." *SCHEC Sessions d'étude* 56 (1989): 85-95.
- Clifford, N. Keith. "Universities, Churches and Theological Colleges in English-speaking Canada: Some Current Sources of Tension." *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 19, No 1 (1990): 3-16.
- Davis, Kenneth R. "New Directions in Bible College Education." *Thrust* 12, No. 3 (1980): 10-11.

- De Valk, Alphonse. "Catholic Higher Education and University Affiliation in Alberta, 1906-1926." *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Study Sessions* 46 (1979): 23-47.
- Driedger, Leo. "Developments in Higher Education Among Mennonites in Manitoba." *Manitoba Journal of Educational Research* 3, No. 1 (December 1967): 1-11. Also in *Proceedings of the Sixteenth Conference on Mennonite Educational and Cultural Problems* (1967): 60-72.
- Dueck, Abe J. "Toward a Philosophy of Education at Mennonite Brethren Bible College." *Direction* 7, No. 4 (October 1978): 36-43.
- Dueck, Abe J. "MBBC and Theological Leadership Training in Canada." Paper presented at a Consultation on Mennonite and Brethren in Christ Pastoral Training and Graduate Theological Education, Conrad Grebel College, 24-25 May 1985.
- Dueck, Abe J. "The Changing Role of Biblical/Theological Education in the Mennonite Brethren Church." In *The Bible and the Church: Essays in Honour of Dr. David Ewert*, eds. A.J. Dueck, H.J. Giesbrecht, V.G. Shillington. Winnipeg: Mennonite Brethren College, 1988.
- Dueck, Abe J. "MBBC Antecedents: The Winnipeg German Bible School." *Mennonite Historian* 18, No. 2 (June 1992): 1, 5, 7.
- Dueck, Abe J. "Herbert Bible School--Some Historical Notes." *Mennonite Historian* 23, No. 1 (March 1997): 7.
- Durfee, Harold A. "Freedom, Truth and Commitment in the Christian College." *Theology Today* 11 (July 1954): 233-249.
- Dumbaugh, Donald F. "Sustainers or Seducers? The Rise and Meaning of Church-Related Institutions." *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 71, No. 3 (July 1997): 345-364.
- Dyck, Bruno. "Half a Century of Canadian Mennonite Bible College: A Brief Organizational History." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 11 (1993): 194-223.
- Edelmann, Fränzi. "Zur Gründung der Evangelischen Predigerschule in Basel." In *Basilea: Festschrift für Eduard Buess*, eds. Hans Dürr and Christoph Ramstein, 91-102. Basel: Edition Mitenand, 1993.
- Eichorst, William. "The Bible College in Canadian Higher Education." Paper presented to the Association of Canadian Bible Colleges, n.d.
- Elias, Linda. "A Look at Elim Bible School, 1963-1974." Unpublished paper, March 1979.
- Elliott, David R. "Antithetical Elements in William Aberhart's Theology and Political Ideology." *Canadian Historical Review* 59, No. 1 (1978): 38-58.
- Elliott, David R. "The Devil and William Aberhart: The Nature and Function of his Eschatology." *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 9, No. 3 (1980): 325-337.
- Elliott, David R., and Iris Miller. "Aberhart and the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute." *Prairie Forum* 9, No. 1 (1984): 61-77.
- Enns, James. "Creating a Community of 'the Called': The Development of Prairie Bible Institute, 1922-1947." Paper presented at the Canadian Historical Association, Edmonton, AB, May 2000.

- Ens, Adolf. "The Public School Crisis Among Saskatchewan Mennonites, 1916-25." In *Mennonite Images: Historical, Cultural and Literary Essays Dealing with Mennonite Issues*, ed. Harry Loewen, 73-82. Winnipeg, MB: Hyperion, 1980.
- Ens, Adolf. "Mennonite Education in Russia." In *Mennonites in Russia, 1788-1988: Essays in Honour of Gerhard Lohrenz*, ed. John Friesen, 75-97. Winnipeg, MB: CMBC Publications, 1989.
- Ens, Gerhard. "Heinrich H. Ewert and Mennonite Education." *Mennonite Historian* 9, No. 1 (March 1983): 1-2.
- Epp, Frank H. "Educational Institutions and Cultural Retention in Canada: The Mennonite Experience." Paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association, University of Western Ontario, 01 June 1978.
- Ewert, David. "Mennonite Brethren Bible College: Discovering its Theological Roots." *Mennonite Historian* 20, No. 4 (December 1994): 5.
- Feilding, Charles. "Twenty-three Theological Schools: Aspects of Canadian Theological Education." *Canadian Journal of Theology* 12, No. 4 (1966): 229-237.
- Findlay, James. "Agency, Denominations and the Western Colleges, 1830-1860: Some Connections between Evangelicalism and American Higher Education." *Church History* 50, No. 1 (March 1981): 64-80.
- Findlay, James. "Western Colleges, 1830-1890: Educational Institutions in Transition." *History of Higher Education Annual* 2 (1982): 35-64.
- Francis, R. Douglas. "In Search of a Prairie Myth: A Survey of the Intellectual and Cultural Historiography of Prairie Canada." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 24, No. 3 (Fall 1989): 44-66.
- Frank, Douglas. "Consumerism and the Christian College: A Call to Life in an Age of Death." In *Making Higher Education Christian*, eds. J. Carpenter and L. Shipps, 257-270. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987.
- Fretz, Clarence. "A History of Winter Bible Schools in the Mennonite Church." *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 16, No. 3 (June 1942): 178-195.
- Fretz, Clarence. "A History of Winter Bible Schools in the Mennonite Church." *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 16, No. 2 (April 1942): 51-81.
- Freitag, Walter. "Fundamentalism and Canadian Lutheranism." *Consensus* 13, No. 1 (1987): 23-39.
- Friesen, John W. "Studies in Mennonite Education: The State of the Art." *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 1 (1983): 133-148.
- Gangel, Kenneth. "The Bible College: Past, Present and Future." *Christianity Today* 24 (7 November 1980): 34-36.
- Gasque, W. Ward. "Christian Higher Education in Canada." *Thrust* 6 (July 1974): 14-15.
- Gauvreau, Michael. "The Taming of History: Reflections on the Canadian Methodist Encounter with Biblical Criticism, 1830-1900." *Canadian Historical Review* 65, No. 3 (1984): 315-346.

- Gauvreau, Michael. "Baconianism, Darwinism, Fundamentalism: A Transatlantic Crisis of Faith." *Journal of Religious History* 13, No. 4 (1985).
- Gauvreau, Michael. "War, Culture and the Problem of Religious Certainty: Methodist and Presbyterian Church Colleges, 1914-1930." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 29 (April 1987): 12-31.
- Gazard, Peter R. "The View from Mount Nebo: Autonomy or Interdependence for Canadian and American Bible Colleges." *Christian Librarian* (February 1983): 40-47.
- Giesbrecht, David. "Mennonite Schools in BC." *Mennonite Historical Society of British Columbia Newsletter* 5, No. 5 (1999): 5-7.
- Gooch, Paul W., Daniel Ostrovsky and David F. Walker. "Does Canada Need a Conservative Evangelical Liberal Arts College?" *Crux* 4, No. 1 (1966): 1-29.
- Guenther, Bruce L. "The Origin of the Bible School Movement in Western Canada: Towards an Ethnic Interpretation." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1993): 135-174.
- Guenther, Bruce L. "Living with the Virus: The Enigma of Evangelicalism among Mennonites in Canada." In *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. George Rawlyk, 223-240. Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.
- Guenther, Bruce L. "'Monuments to God's Faithfulness': Mennonite Brethren Bible Schools in Western Canada, 1913-1960." *Direction* 30, No. 1 (Spring 2001): 21-32.
- Gunther, Phil. "The Story of Bethel Bible Institute." Unpublished paper, 1985.
- Guthrie, Robert. "L.E. Maxwell and Dr. H. Hildebrand and the Institutes They Founded: A Comparative Study." Unpublished paper, 1994.
- Handy, Robert T. "The Influence of Canadians on Baptist Theological Education in the United States." *Foundations* 23, No. 1 (January-March 1980): 42-56.
- Handy, Robert T. "Trends in Canadian and American Theological Education, 1880-1980." *Theological Education* 18, No. 2 (Spring 1982): 175-218.
- Hanna, Kenneth G. "The Need for Evangelical Scholarship in Canada." Paper presented to the Association of Canadian Bible Colleges, 22 May 1968.
- Harder, Ben. "The Bible Institute-College Movement in Canada." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 22 (April 1980): 29-45.
- Hermann, Kenneth W. "Beyond the Hothouse: Higher Education outside the Christian College." *Reformed Journal* (November 1985): 19-23.
- Hiebert, Al. "How Differences in the Canadian and American Environments Affect Bible College Education: A Canadian Perspective." Paper presented at an AABC workshop, 17 February 1994.
- Hiller, Harry H. "Alberta and the Bible Belt Stereotype." In *Religion in Canadian Society*, ed. Steward Crysdale and Les Wheatcroft, 372-383. Toronto, ON: Macmillan, 1976.
- Hiller, Harry H. "Continentalism and the Third Force in Religion." *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 3, No.

2 (1978): 183-207.

Hindmarsh, D. Bruce. "Briercrest Bible College: An Analysis of its Formation in Interaction with its Environment." Unpublished Paper, 1988.

Hindmarsh, D. Bruce. "The Winnipeg Fundamentalist Network, 1910-1940: The Roots of Transdenominational Evangelicalism in Manitoba and Saskatchewan." In *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, 303-319. Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.

Jantz, Harold. "The Schools Students Choose (Part I)." *Direction* 8, No. 3 (July 1979): 33-40.

Jantz, Harold. "The Schools Students Choose: Why Young People Choose Mennonite Brethren Schools (Part II)." *Direction* 9, No. 3 (July 1980): 20-23.

Johansson, Carl J. "The Bible School and the Church." *International Review of Mission* 45 (1956): 396-400.

Kallgren, Robert C. "The Invisible Colleges." *Christianity Today* 35, No. 10 (16 September 1991): 27-28.

Kantzer, Kenneth. "To Build a Better Bible College." *Christianity Today* 26 (5 February 1982): 14-16.

Klippenstein, Alvin. "The Mennonite Brethren Bible College and College of Arts: A Critical Analysis of its History and Development." Unpublished paper, 1977.

Konrad, George K. "Bible Schools in Canada." In *A Century of Grace and Witness, 1860-1960*, eds. Walter Wiebe, Orlando Harms and Leonard J. Franz, 41-43. Hillsboro, KS: Mennonite Brethren Publishing House, 1960.

Krahn, Henry G., and Abe Dueck. "Mennonite Brethren Bible College: Reflections on its Philosophy of Education." *Direction* 4, No. 1 (January 1977): 29-31.

Kuenning, Paul. "Pietism: A Lutheran Resource for Dialogue with Evangelicalism." *Dialog* 24 (Fall 1985): 285-292. Also published in *Covenant Quarterly* 44, No. 2 (May 1986): 29-42.

Kydd, Ronald. "H.C. Sweet: Canadian Churchman." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 20, Nos. 1-2 (March-June 1978): 19-30.

Kydd, Ronald. "Pentecostals, Charismatics and the Canadian Denominations." *Eglise et Théologie* 13, No. 2 (1982): 211-231.

Kydd, Ronald. "The Contribution of Denominationally Trained Clergymen to the Emerging Pentecostal Movement in Canada." *Pneuma* 5, No. 1 (Spring 1983): 17-33.

Lewis, Stewart J. "Christian Higher Education in the Christian Churches of the Maritime Provinces--Past, Present and Future." Unpublished Master of Ministry paper, Cincinnati Christian Seminary, 1986.

Liefield, Walter L., and Linda M. Cannell. "The Contemporary Context of Theological Education: A Consideration of the Multiple Demands on Theological Education." *Crux* 27, No. 4 (December 1991): 19-27.

Link, Edward B. "North American (German) Baptists." In *Baptists in Canada: Search for Identity Amidst Diversity*, ed. Jarold K. Zeman, 87-103. Burlington, ON: Welch, 1980.

- Mackey, Lloyd. "Canada's Evangelical Schools Grow, Change." *Christianity Today* 33, No. 16 (3 November 1989): 60.
- Madson, T.B. "The Origin of the Bible Institute." *The Evangelical Beacon* 16 (19 November 1946).
- Mallea, John R. "Ethnicity and Canadian Education." In *Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education*, ed. M.L. Kovacs, 269-280. Regina, SK: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1978.
- Marsden, George M. "The Collapse of American Evangelical Academia." In *Faith and Rationality: Reason and Belief in God*, eds. Alvin Plantinga and Nicholas Wolterstorff, 219-264. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1983.
- Marsden, George. "The Soul of the American University." *Faculty Dialogue* 15 (Fall 1991): 83-118.
- Masters, D.C. "The Rise of Liberalism in the Canadian Protestant Churches." *CCHA Study Sessions* 36 (1969): 27-40.
- McKenzie, Brian A. "A History of Toronto Bible College (1894-1968): A Study in Canadian Fundamentalism." Unpublished paper, University of Toronto, June 1982.
- McKinney, Larry J. "The Fundamentalist Bible School as an Outgrowth of the Changing Patterns of Protestant Revivalism, 1882-1920." *Religious Education* 84 (Fall 1989): 589-605.
- Miller, Glenn T. "Professionals and Pedagogues: A Survey of Theological Education." In *Altered Landscapes: Christianity in America, 1935-1985*, ed. David W. Lotz. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1989.
- Moody, Barry M. "The Maritime Baptists and Higher Education in the Early Nineteenth Century." In *Repent and Believe: The Baptist Experience in Maritime Canada*, 88-102. Hantsport, NS: Lancelot Press, 1980.
- Mostert, John. "Bible College Movement: Past, Present, and Future." Paper given at the Fifth Canadian Conference of Christian Educators, 26-27 May 1964, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
- Mostert, John. "What You Should Know About the Bible College Movement." *Christian Librarian* (May/August 1982): 148-151.
- Murphy, Terrence. "Religion and Ethnicity in Canadian Historiography." *Studi Emigrazione/Etudes Migrations* 103 (September 1991): 305-318.
- Nelles, Wendy Elaine. "The Changing Scene of Christian Education." *Faith Today* (January-February 1992): 18-23.
- Neufeldt, Harvey. "'You've Changed Too': The Education of the Yarrow Mennonite Community, 1928-1960." *Historical Studies in Education* 7, No. 1 (1995): 71-95.
- O'Donovan, Kilian. "Catholic Bible Schools: John Paul II Bible School." *Canadian Catholic Review* 4, No. 1 (January 1986): 13, 15-16.
- Olsson, Karl A. "Covenant Higher Education." *Covenant Quarterly* 18 (1958): 3-23.
- Opp, James W. "The New Age of Evangelism: Fundamentalism and Radio on the Canadian Prairies, 1925-1945." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1994): 99-119.

- Penner, Ken. "The Leadership Roles of Canadian Bible College Presidents." Paper presented at the Association of Bible Colleges Annual Convention, Toronto, 1994.
- Percy, D.C. "'For Such a Time as This . . .': The Bible College Movement in Canada. *Canadian Gideon* (June 1967): 8-9.
- Peters, Frank C. "Problems of Accreditation in Canada." Paper given at the First Conference of Christian Educators of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, 31 May-2 June 1964, Regina, SK.
- Peters, Frank C. "A University Administrator Looks at Bible College Education." Paper presented to the Corporation of Ontario Bible College, 17 November 1977.
- Peters, Frank C. "General Education in the Bible College Context." *Christian Librarian* (February 1983): 37-39.
- Pousett, Gordon H. "Formative Influences on Baptists in British Columbia, 1876-1918." *Baptist History and Heritage* 15, No. 2 (April 1980): 14-23.
- Priestley, David. "Theological Education Among North American Baptists: An Interpretative Sketch." Study Paper prepared for NAB Theological Education Taskforce: Canadian Section, 1988.
- Priestley, David. "For God and Truth: The Life and Impact of North American Baptist College." Unpublished paper, n.d. [c. 1990].
- Priestley, David. "Planting Churches in Alberta: 1890-1920." *Baptist Herald* (November 1990): 6-7.
- Priestley, David. "Ethnicity and Piety Among Alberta's 'German' Baptists." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1994): 143-163.
- Rae, Peter. "Clearly Canadian: Church-Related Higher Education." Paper presented at With Heart and Mind Conference, May 1995.
- Rae, Peter. "Private Higher Education in Canada: A Review of the Literature." Unpublished paper. n.d.
- Ramstein, Christoph. "Der Basler Neutestamentler Eduard Riggenbach-Thurneysen (1861-1927)." In *Basilea: Festschrift für Eduard Buess*, eds. Hans Dürr and Christoph Ramstein, 31-38. Basel: Edition Mitenand, 1993.
- Rasporich, Anthony W. "Utopia, Sect and Millennium in Western Canada, 1870-1940." *Prairie Forum* 12, No. 2 (Fall 1987): 217-243.
- Rawlyk, George A. "Canadian Protestant Theological Education." In *Theological Education in the Evangelical Tradition*, eds. D.G. Hart and R. Albert Mohler, Jr., 255-271. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1996. Versions of this same article appeared as: "Canadian Protestant Theological Education in Canada: From Evangelical to Liberal to Evangelical," Chapter Two in *Is Jesus Your Personal Saviour?* Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 31-48; and "Canadian Protestant Theological Education." In *Studies in Canadian Evangelical Renewal*, eds. Kevin Quast and John Vissers, 10-33. Markham, ON: Faith Today Publications, 1997.
- Rawlyk, George A. "The Mission of the Canadian Protestant College: Past, Present and Future?" *Canadian Evangelical Theological Association Bulletin* 3 (Fall 1991): 1-10. Versions of the same article appeared as: "The Mission of the Canadian Protestant College: Past, Present and Future?" In *Proceedings of the Conference "Educating for the Kingdom? Church-Related Colleges in*

- English-Speaking Canada*, " 18-49. Waterloo, ON: University of St. Jerome's College and Conrad Grebel College, 1991; and "Protestant Church Colleges in Canada: Past and Future." In *The Secularization of the Academy*, eds. George M. Marsden and Bradley J. Longfield, 278-302. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Redekop, Benjamin W. "Germanism among Mennonite Brethren Immigrants in Canada, 1930-1960: A Struggle for Ethno-Religious Integrity." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 24, No. 1 (1992): 20-42.
- Redekop, Calvin. "Future Options for Mennonite Brethren Higher Education." *Direction* 7, No. 4 (October 1978): 12-21.
- Regehr, Rudy A. "A Century of Private Schools." In *Call to Faithfulness: Essays in Canadian Mennonite Studies*, ed. Henry Poettcker and Rudy A. Regehr. Winnipeg, MB: Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 1972.
- Reimer, Margaret. *The Crimea Bible School, 1918-1924*. Translated by Edwin Reimer. Kingsville, ON: By the author, 1972.
- Rennie, Ian S. "The Changing Church." *Christianity Today* (31 March 1967): 8-10.
- Rennie, Ian S. "Theological Education in Canada: Past and Present." Paper presented at the Conference of Canadian Evangelical Theologians, Ontario Bible College, Toronto, January 1974.
- Rennie, Ian S. "The Doctrine of Man in the Canadian Bible Belt." Paper presented at the Regent College Conference, Calgary, February 1974.
- Rennie, Ian S. "The Western Prairie Revival in Canada: During the Depression and World War II." Paper presented at the Oxford Conference on Revival, Oxford, 1978.
- Ringenburg, William C. "A Brief History of Fort Wayne Bible College." *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 54, No. 2 (April 1980): 135-155.
- Roset, Evelyn. "History of IBC [International Bible College]." Unpublished paper, n.d.
- Ross, Brian. "James Eustace Purdie: The Story of Pentecostal Theological Education." *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 17, No. 4 (December 1975): 94-103.
- Sawatsky, Rodney J. "Canadian Issues in Mennonite Theological Education." Paper presented at a Consultation on Mennonite and Brethren in Christ Pastoral Training and Graduate Theological Education, Conrad Grebel College, 24-25 May 1985.
- Sawatsky, Ronald G. "The Bible School/College Movement in Canada: Fundamental Christian Training." *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1986): 1-15.
- Schinkel, C. Mark. "James Eustace Purdie and Biblical/Theological Education in the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada: The Formative Years." Unpublished paper, 1986.
- Schmidt, George. "Columbia Bible College: Paradox of Brotherhood and Walls: An Examination of Social Change in an Ethnic Village Type of Community." Unpublished paper, 1977.
- Sheppard, Gerald T. "Pentecostals and the Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism: The Anatomy of an Uneasy Relationship." *Pneuma* 6, No. 2 (Fall 1984): 5-33.

- Schroeder, David. "The Continuing Ministry of the Denominational Bible Schools." Paper presented to the Christian Education Conference, 26-28 August 1964, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
- Sinclair-Faulkner, Tom. "Theory Divided from Practice: The Introduction of the Higher Criticism into Canadian Protestant Seminaries." *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 10 (1981): 321-343.
- Stackhouse, Jr., John G. "Women in Public Ministry in Twentieth-Century Canadian and American Evangelicalism: Five Models." *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 17, No. 4 (1988): 471-485.
- Stackhouse, Jr., John G. "The Emergence of a Fellowship: Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century." *Church History* 60, No. 2 (June 1991): 247-262.
- Stackhouse, Jr., John G. "Respectfully Submitted for American Consideration: Canadian Options in Christian Higher Education." *Faculty Dialogue* 17 (Spring 1992): 57-71.
- Stackhouse, Jr., John G. "More than a Hyphen: Twentieth-Century Canadian Evangelicalism in Anglo-American Context." In *Amazing Grace: Studies on Evangelicalism in the United States, Canada, Britain, Australia and Beyond*, ed. George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll, 375-400. Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.
- Stackhouse, Jr., John G. "'Who Whom?' Evangelicalism and Canadian Society." In *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. George A. Rawlyk, 55-70. Montreal, PQ: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.
- Stronstad, Roger J. "Dr. J.E. Purdie and Western Bible College." Unpublished paper, 1974.
- Synan, Vinson. "Pentecostalism: Varieties and Contributions." *Pneuma* 8, No. 2 (Fall 1986): 31-49.
- Threinen, Norman J. "Early Lutheranism in Western Canada." *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 47 (Fall 1974): 110-117.
- Toews, John B. "Mennonite Brethren Higher Education: Reflections and Observations." *Direction* 7, No. 4 (October 1978): 3-11.
- Toews, John B. "The Influence of Fundamentalism on Mennonite Brethren Theology." *Direction* 10, No. 3 (1981): 20-29.
- Toews, John E. "Mennonite Brethren Higher Education: Perspectives and Proposals." *Direction* 7, No. 4 (October 1978): 22-31.
- Toews, Paul. "Fundamentalist Conflict in Mennonite Colleges: A Response to Cultural Transitions?" *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 57, No. 3 (July 1983): 241-256.
- Trollinger, William Vance, Jr. "Riley's Empire: Northwestern Bible School and Fundamentalism in the Upper Midwest." *Church History* 57, No. 2 (June 1988): 197-212.
- Verge, Carl. "Pentecostal Clergy and Higher Education." *Eastern Journal of Practical Theology* 2 (Spring 1988): 41-47.
- Walker, Arthur L., Jr. "Baptists and Higher Education, 1814-1989." *Baptist History and Heritage* 24 (July 1989): 40-48.

- Waugh, Earle. "'The Almighty has not got so far as this yet': Religious Models in Alberta's and Saskatchewan's History." In *The New Provinces: Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1905-1980*, eds. Howard Palmer and Donald Smith, 199-215. Vancouver, BC: Tantalus Research Limited, 1980.
- Wilson, J. Donald. "Religion and Education: The Other Side of Pluralism." In *Canadian Education in the 1980s*. Calgary, AB: Detselig Enterprises, 1981.
- Wilson, Robert S. "'Evangelical, Missionary, and Christ-Centred': The Founding of Atlantic Baptist College." In *A Fragile Stability: Definition and Redefinition of Maritime Baptist Identity*, ed. David Priestley, 131-147. Wolfville, NS: Lancelot Press, 1994.
- Wilson, Robert S. "'Conservative But Not Contentious': The Early Years of the United Baptist Bible Training School." In *Revivals, Baptists and George Rawlyk*, ed. Daniel C. Goodwin, 133-151. Wolfville, NS: Acadia Divinity College, 2000.
- Witmer, Safara A. "A New Form of American Education." In *Christian Education in a Democracy: A Report of the N.A.E. Committee*, ed. Frank E. Gaebelein. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1951.
- Wolterstorff, Nicholas. "The Mission of the Christian College at the End of the Twentieth Century." *Faculty Dialogue* No. 10 (Winter-Spring 1988): 37-46.

2.1.3 Theses and Dissertations

- Barcalow, Douglas Allen. "Continuing Education in the Bible College Movement: A Historical Study of Five Institutions." Ph.D. Diss., Northern Illinois University, 1986.
- Boon, H.W. "The Development of the Bible College and Institute in the United States and Canada Since 1880 and its Relationship to the Field of Theological Education." Ph.D. Diss., New York University, 1950.
- Brereton, Virginia Lieson. "Education and Evangelism: Protestant Fundamentalist Bible Schools, 1882-1940." Ph.D. Diss., Columbia University, 1981.
- Budd, Henry Harold. "The Financial Future of Canadian Bible Colleges." Ph.D. Diss., University of Oregon, 1980.
- Buhr, Joanna R. "Pursuit of a Vision: Persistence and Accommodation Among Coaldale Mennonites from Mid-Nineteen Twenties to World War II." M.A. Thesis, University of Calgary, 1986.
- Burkinshaw, Robert K. "Strangers and Pilgrims in Lotus Land: Conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, 1917-1981." Ph.D. Diss., University of British Columbia, 1988.
- Carpenter, Joel. "The Renewal of American Fundamentalism, 1930-1945." Ph.D. Diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1984.
- Cobb, John M. "German Lutherans in the Prairie Provinces Before the First World War: Their Church Background, Emigration and new Beginning in Canada." Ph.D. Diss., University of Manitoba, 1991.
- Cook, J.W. "The Bible Institute Movement." Master's Thesis, Northwestern Evangelical Seminary, 1930.

- Craig, James Dunlop. "'Out and Out for the Lord': James Eustace Purdie, An Early Anglican Pentecostal." M.A. Thesis, University of St. Michael's College, 1995.
- Doerksen, John George. "History of Education in the Mennonite Brethren of Canada." M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1963.
- Doerksen, John George. "Mennonite Brethren Bible College and College of Arts: Its History, Philosophy and Development." Ph.D. Diss., University of North Dakota, 1968.
- Elliott, David R. "The Dispensational Theology and Political Ideology of William Aberhart." M.A. Thesis, University of Calgary, 1975.
- Elliott, David R. "Studies of Eight Canadian Fundamentalists." Ph.D. Diss., University of British Columbia, 1989.
- Ellis, Walter E. "Organizational and Educational Policy of Baptists in Western Canada, 1873-1939." B.D. Thesis, McMaster Divinity College, 1962.
- Ellis, Walter E. "Galboa to Ichabod: Social and Economic Factors in the Fundamentalist-Modernist Schisms Among Canadian Baptists, 1894-1934." Ph.D. Diss., Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, 1975.
- Engen, Harold. "A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada." B.D. Thesis, Luther Theological Seminary, 1955.
- Enns, James. "Every Christian a Missionary: Fundamentalist Education at Prairie Bible Institute, 1922-1947." M.A. Thesis, University of Calgary, 2000.
- Fretz, Clarence. "The Development and Present Status of the Winter Bible Schools in the Mennonite Church." M.R.E. Thesis, Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1941.
- Friesen, Isaac I. "The Mennonites of Western Canada with Special Reference to Education." M.Ed. Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1934.
- Gazard, Peter Robin. "A Needs Assessment of Transfer Credit Procedures in Canadian Bible Colleges." Ph.D. Diss., University of Calgary, 1980.
- Goertz, Donald Aaron. "The Development of a Bible Belt: The Socio-Religious Interaction in Alberta between 1925 and 1938." M.C.S. Thesis, Regent College, 1980.
- Hamilton, Michael S. "The Fundamentalist Harvard: Wheaton College, and the Continuing Vitality of American Evangelicalism, 1919-1965." Ph.D. Diss., University of Notre Dame, 1994.
- Hawkes, Paul. "Pentecostalism in Canada: A History with Implications for the Future." D.Min. Thesis, San Francisco Theological Seminary, 1982.
- Hildebrandt, Edward. "A History of the Winnipeg Bible Institute and College of Theology from 1925-1960." M.Th. Thesis, Dallas Theological Seminary, 1965.
- Jaenen, Cornelius J. "The Pentecostal Movement." M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1950.
- Klan, Donald T. "Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada Growth in British Columbia from Origins until 1953." M.C.S. Thesis, Regent College, 1979.

- Klassen, Peter G. "A History of Mennonite Education in Manitoba." M.Ed. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1958.
- Klassen, Peter G. "A History of Mennonite Education in Canada, 1786-1960." D.Ed. Diss., University of Toronto, 1970.
- Liefield, Waldemar C. "Lutheranism in Western Canada." B.D. Thesis, Capital University, 1935.
- Loewen, Patricia Janzen. "Embracing Evangelicalism and Anabaptism: The Mennonite Brethren in Canada in the Late Twentieth Century," M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 2000.
- Martin, Ruth Mildred. "The Canadian Bible College--History from 1941-1962." M.A. Thesis, Winona Lake School of Theology, 1962.
- McBirnie, Jr., William S. "A Study of the Bible Institute Movement." D.R.E. Diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1952.
- McKenzie, Brian A. "Fundamentalism, Christian Unity, and Premillennialism in the Thought of Rowland Victor Bingham (1872-1942): A Study of Anti-Modernism in Canada." Ph.D. Diss., University of Toronto, 1985.
- McKinney, Larry James. "An Historical Analysis of the Bible College Movement during its Formative Years." Ph.D. Diss., Temple University, 1985.
- Moncher, Gary R. "The Bible College and American Moral Culture." Ph.D. Diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1988.
- O'Neil, Leonard F. "A Survey of the Bible Schools of Canada." B.D. Thesis, McMaster University, 1949.
- Oke, Edward Lawrence. "A Philosophy of Bible College Education." M.Ed. Thesis, University of Calgary, 1972.
- Oke, Edward Lawrence. "A Descriptive Analysis of Evangelical Seminaries in Canada Based on and Comparing the Views of their Presidents and Deans and of the Canadian Leaders of Evangelical Denominations." Ph.D. Diss., Andrews University, 1985.
- Opp, James W. "'Culture of the Soul': Fundamentalism and Evangelism in Canada, 1921-1940." M.A. Thesis, University of Calgary, 1994.
- Rae, Peter S. "Unholy Alliance? The Church and Higher Education in Canada." Ph.D. Diss., University of Manitoba, 1998.
- Redekop, Benjamin. "The German Identity of Mennonite Brethren Immigrants in Canada, 1930-1960." M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1990.
- Reed, Lenice F. "The Bible Institute Movement in America." M.A. Thesis, Wheaton College, 1947.
- Reynhout, Jr., Hubert. "A Comparative Study of Bible Institute Curriculums." M.A. Thesis, University of Michigan, 1947.
- Ross, Brian R. "The Emergence of Theological Education within the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada." M.Th. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1971.

- Sawatsky, Aron. "The Mennonites of Alberta and Their Assimilation." M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1964.
- Sawatsky, Ronald George. "'Looking for that Blessed Hope': The Roots of Fundamentalism in Canada, 1878-1914." Ph.D. Diss., University of Toronto, Centre for Religious Studies, 1985.
- Siemens, Alfred Henry. "Mennonite Settlement in the Lower Fraser Valley." M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1960.
- Stackhouse, Jr., John G. "Proclaiming the Word: Canadian Evangelicalism Since the First World War." Ph.D. Diss., University of Chicago, 1987.
- Stone, Jeffrey A. "A Brief History of the Origin and Development of Certain Bible Colleges of the Christian Churches/Churches of Christ. M.A. Thesis, Cincinnati Bible Seminary, 1993.
- Talbot, Gordon G. "The Bible Institute Movement in the Christian and Missionary Alliance." Master's Thesis, Wheaton College, 1956.
- Talbot, Gordon G. "A Study of the Accrediting Association of Bible Colleges from 1947 through 1966." Ph.D. Diss., University of Oregon, 1978.
- Théorêt, Jean-Raymond. "Le changement radical dans une organisation d'enseignement supérieur de type missionnaire." Ph.D. Thèse, Université de Montréal, 1995.
- Tiffin, Gerald C. "The Interaction Between the Bible College Movement and the Independent Disciples of Christ Denomination." Ph.D. Diss., Stanford, 1968.
- Tysseland, Alfred. "Present-day Expressions of Haugeanism in America." B.D. Thesis, Luther Theological Seminary, 1954.
- Unger, Walter. "'Earnestly Contending for the Faith': The Role of the Niagara Bible Conference in the Emergence of American Fundamentalism, 1875-1900." Ph.D. Diss., Simon Fraser University, 1982.
- Voth, Gay Lynn. "Mennonites and Higher Education in the 1960s: The Story of Two Canadian Mennonite Colleges in Winnipeg." M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1999.
- Wells, Donald A. "D.L. Moody and His Schools: An Historical Analysis of an Educational Ministry." Ph.D. Diss., Boston University, 1972.
- Wiebe, Linda Jane. "A Study of the Current Status of Christian Education in the Church of God in Canada." M.R.E. Thesis, School of Theology, Anderson College, 1979.
- Yoder, Nathan Emerson. "Mennonite Fundamentalism: Shaping an Identity for an American Context." Ph.D. Diss., University of Notre Dame, 1999.