



Armstrong, Paul F.

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Maritime Institute for Civil Society

P.O. Box 8041, Halifax, N.S. B3K 5L8

www.mircs.ca

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Paul Armstrong
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Ronald Noble (2000) titled his Festschrift address in honour of George Alexander Rawlyk, “We Had a Giant in Our Midst”. At this distance now, some nineteen years after his death, it seems clear that Rawlyk’s corpus of scholarly publications on Maritime evangelicalism,¹ his teaching and graduate student supervision at Queen’s University for almost three decades,² and his editorship of the *McGill-Queen’s Studies in the History of Religion*,³ stimulated what can only be described as a school of thought.

At the centre of Rawlyk’s work is the role of Henry Alline, the great eighteenth century Nova Scotian evangelical. I want to concentrate, therefore, on Rawlyk’s analysis of Nova Scotian history. The course of his thought on Nova Scotia evangelicalism can be analyzed as having three stages: his first major thesis about Nova Scotia’s sense of mission; his revision of that thesis to put individual salvation at the centre of religious movement; and his final argument about the betrayal of that redemptive evangelicalism. Barry Moody (2000) provides a good analysis of the first two stages of Rawlyk’s thought. Noll (2000) offers a complementary account which adds a discussion of the third stage of Rawlyk’s thought.

¹ The bibliography compiled by Coops and Hessler (1996) shows some hundred and fifty items, of which at least half can be readily identified as concerning Maritime history. As a Baptist himself, it was not surprising that he should become “the leading historian of Canadian evangelicalism” (Stackhouse, 1995a: p. 494).

² Among his former graduate students active in research on Maritime evangelicalism are Barry Moody, D. G. Bell, Laurie Stanley-Blackwell, and Daniel Goodwin.

³ The McGill-Queen’s series was started in 1988 and twenty-six monographs were published under Rawlyk’s editorship. Following his death, a second series was started in his memory, and has published a further seventy-two volumes to date.

Nova Scotia's Sense of Mission

Rawlyk's first professorial appointment was at Mount Allison University in 1959, and he published his first paper two years later. However, the intellectual thread that became his life's work is first visible with a 1963 paper, "The American Revolution and Nova Scotia Reconsidered". It was followed in 1968 with a joint paper by Rawlyk with his graduate student, Gordon Stewart, and its expansion to a monograph in 1972, *A People Highly Favoured of God*. The following year, Rawlyk published his own study, *Nova Scotia's Massachussetts*. At this point, he stops further research in this vein, believing that he has exhausted the material.

The 1968 paper, "Nova Scotia's Sense of Mission", gives the flavour of this body of studies. Rawlyk and Stewart define their thesis at the outset:

During the American Revolution, New England's Outpost, Nova Scotia, suddenly attempted to appropriate the New England special sense of Christian mission. Almost overnight, the economic, social and political backwater that was Nova Scotia was transformed, in the minds of many inhabitants, into the actual centre of Christendom. (Rawlyk and Stewart, 1968: p. 5).

The Rawlyk-Stewart interpretation of the Allinite (New Light) revival – an evangelical movement which swept through Nova Scotia in the late 1770s and early 1780s – is contrasted with the interpretations within the existing literature: Maurice Armstrong's argument that the revival movement was "a retreat from the grim realities of the world" and Samuel Clark's argument that it was "a protest against traditionalism".⁴

Prior to the Acadian Expulsion in 1755, the population was, quite naturally, overwhelmingly Roman Catholic. Replaced by an influx of New England Planters, by the time of the American Revolution, "less than ten percent of Nova Scotia's estimated 20,000 residents were Roman Catholic" (Christie, 1990: p. 9),⁵ and a majority of the Protestants were New England Congregationalists.⁶ In Halifax, the

⁴ Armstrong (1946: p. 58) and Clark (1959: p. 7), both quoted in Rawlyk and Stewart (1968: p. 6).

⁵ At this time, "Nova Scotia" designated a region which includes what is now both the provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

naval centre for Nova Scotia, then as now, the Church of England was dominant, but the Congregationalists were strong elsewhere.⁷ With the outbreak of the American Revolution, difficulties in maintaining an adequate supply of Congregational ministers, something always difficult, became highly problematic. There were no facilities for theological training in Nova Scotia, and the Revolution stopped the supply from New England. Moreover, a number of the Congregational ministers were sympathetic to the American cause, and returned to the colonies with the outbreak of war (Clark, 1948: p. 33). The Congregationalists were, therefore, vulnerable in terms of leadership.

They were vulnerable also, perhaps more importantly, and this is the Rawlyk-Stewart claim, from an ideological point-of-view. Most of the Nova Scotian Congregationalists had lived in New England during the Great Awakening of the 1740s and 1750s before coming to Nova Scotia, and would have been exposed to, or familiar with, the last of the great Puritan evangelical preachers, Jonathan Edwards, who stressed regeneration and the New Birth. In this theology, religious revivals became the central mechanism for the redemptive work of God, and New England, as the site of his own revival movement, was “the location where God’s Kingdom on earth would be built” (Rawlyk and Stewart, 1968: p. 9). The outbreak of war between Britain and its colony was understood by the Nova Scotians as a calamity – both a practical catastrophe for family bonds and relationships of affinity with friends in New England, and a symbolic loss of God’s grace. The City on the Hill that was New England was no more. The Congregationalists were, therefore, vulnerable in terms of identity.

Growing up within the New England pietist tradition, Henry Alline had a powerful conversion experience at the age of eighteen years, and felt compelled to share this with others. He became an itinerant preacher, and travelled throughout the Nova Scotia colony. “He considered himself to be more than an evangelist or even a prophet; he was Nova Scotia’s and the world’s Messiah (Rawlyk and Stewart, 1968: p. 10). Drawing from the evangelical tradition, he argued that

⁶ Rawlyk and Stewart indicate that three-fifths of the population were New Englanders, and almost all of these would have been Protestants (Rawlyk and Stewart, 1968: p. 6).

⁷ Methodists and Presbyterians were the next largest denominations at this time. Irish Roman Catholics were present in Halifax, but sharp increases in immigration did not start until the 1780s (Murphy, 1984: p. 31). The first large contingent of Scottish Roman Catholics did not arrive until 1791 (Campbell and MacLean, 1974: p. 210).

“the Nova Scotia Yankees had a special predestined role to play in the crucial cosmic drama that was being played in the Revolutionary crisis”, “that the poverty and remoteness of the Nova Scotia Yankees had removed them from the then prevailing corrupting influences of Britain and New England”, that “it was the New England Church that had turned its back on God”, and that “the Nova Scotia revival showed them that God had ‘called’ them to lead all Christians to Paradise” (Rawlyk and Stewart, 1968: pp. 10-16).

In short, Alline provided an ideology⁸ that resolved the identity problem that the Nova Scotia Congregationalists were experiencing. As the authors conclude: “During the Revolution, the Nova Scotia Yankees discovered a world mission for their colony” (Rawlyk and Stewart, 1968: p. 17).⁹

Individual Salvation as the Evangelical Centre

Rawlyk and Stewart received mixed reviews to *A People Highly Favoured of God*,¹⁰ but nothing that had substantive bite until the

⁸ One could substitute the word ‘mythology’ for ‘ideology’, in the sense that Mircea Eliade used it: “The foremost function of myth is to reveal the exemplary models for all human rites and all significant human activities” (Eliade in *Myth and Reality*, quoted in McKillop, 1987: p. 10). In fact, Rawlyk and Stewart write: “Their [the Nova Scotian Yankee population] whole movement northward was now pregnant with significance and out of what had merely been a fortuitous communal experience of emigration there emerged a myth that their emigration had been ordained by God to fulfill his cosmic purposes” (Rawlyk and Stewart, 1968: p. 175, quoted in Moody, 2000).

⁹ Subsequent work has extended the analysis to the New England Loyalists who emigrated to Nova Scotia after the Revolution. MacKinnon (1973) reports a similar crisis of identity with those Loyalists who “came to Nova Scotia at the very flood of their anger” (MacKinnon, 1973: p. 43), although he does not relate it to their religious outlooks. Christie indicates that over fifty thousand American Loyalists emigrated to Canada, and “most of these Loyalists settled in the Canadian Maritimes” (Christie, 1990: p. 10). While she connects identity and disaffection among Loyalists to religious movements, she highlights the symbiotic relation between political and religious ideologies: “Tories in post-revolutionary Upper Canada and the Maritimes sought to root out ‘novel doctrines’ of liberty and equality not in the realm of political but in evangelical religious movements. In Upper Canada, they targeted Methodism while in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, Baptists, New Lights and some Methodists were the concern.” (Christie, 1990: pp. 14-15).

¹⁰ See, for instance, Jackman (1973), Nelson (1973), and Brown (1973).

review essay by Goldwin French, himself the author of an important study of the Methodists in the Maritimes. French argued that the focus of their study on Nova Scotia's sense of mission missed the main point of Henry Alline's evangelical work:

Certainly Alline believed that he had a divine mission, but his primary objective was to prevent souls from slipping into perdition: the opportunity had to be offered to as many as he could reach in the limited time left to him. His hearers may well have been searching for an explanation of events, for a vital community they might join, for status in a society which had few effective means of achieving social distinction; above all one suspects that, difficult as it is for our generation to grasp, they genuinely believed in the reality of salvation and damnation, and in the immanence of that God who so visibly preserved Henry Alline from diverse perils on land and sea. Hence they urgently sought individual salvation and the formation of new groups in which their religious awareness might flourish uncontaminated by the world. (French, 1975: p. 107)¹¹

In his 1983 article, "New Lights, Baptists and Religious Awakenings", and again in his Hayward Lectures at Acadia University that year (Rawlyk, 1984),¹² acknowledged this criticism and devoted his efforts to revising his account in terms of the intentions and mental world of the subjects themselves:

It would be quite wrong to stop at this precise moment – as I once did – in analyzing Alline's ideology and gospel. Henry Alline's preaching was certainly permeated with what has been called a peculiar Nova Scotia Sense of Mission. He was certainly concerned with the special place his fellow colonists had in the cosmic and secular drama then unfolding in the New World. But of greater importance, as far as Alline was concerned, was individual salvation – bringing Nova Scotians into a deep and personal spiritual relationship with Jesus Christ. (Rawlyk, 1983: pp. 53-54)

From this point on, Rawlyk defines evangelicalism internally, in terms of the lived experience of the evangelicals themselves. Indeed, Moody

¹¹ See French (1973) for an earlier review of the same book.

¹² Rawlyk had taken a first crack at revising his thesis in a 1976 address at McMaster, "Henry Alline and the Canadian Baptist Tradition" (published as Rawlyk, 1977). Rawlyk makes some discussion of this in the Preface to his monograph, *Ravished by the Spirit*.

suggests that Rawlyk's willingness "to stress without qualification, the central importance of the 'New Birth' for Alline" was itself conditional on his own internalization of the Gospel with his historical work: "It was only when [Rawlyk] reconciled his [own] Christianity with his historical profession that we see the flowering of his approach to religious history in Canada" (Moody, 2000: p. 65). By the time, Rawlyk wrote his final book on the subject of the radical evangelicalism of this period, *The Canada Fire*,¹³ he had incorporated the centrality of individual salvation into Bebbington's larger quadrilateral:¹⁴ "conversionism and revivalism largely defined this conceptual and theological core, which also included biblicism (a reliance on the Bible as the ultimate religious authority), activism (a concern with spreading the faith), and crucicentrism (a focus on Christ's redeeming work on the cross)" (Rawlyk, 1994: pp. xiv-xv).

However, Rawlyk also went farther in his 1983 work than he had done previously. He extended his discussion in time to examine the mechanisms which turned Allinite New Lighters into Baptists. He reports that the *critical event*, in 1800, turned on the right to conduct marriage. At that time, the Church of England had the legal monopoly on the right to conduct marriages. In October of the previous year, Enoch Towner a radical evangelical minister¹⁵ in Weymouth, married a couple, and did so again the following June. Roger Viets, the Church of England clergyman in nearby Digby, complained to Bishop Inglis in Halifax, and charges were laid against Towner. The trial was prosecuted with Richard John Uniacke, then Attorney General, acting for the Crown. The court rendered a

¹³ John Stackhouse refers to this monograph as Rawlyk's "decisive word on this key subject" (Stackhouse, 1995b: p. 628).

¹⁴ David Bebbington first provided this definition of evangelicalism in his 1989 study, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*.

¹⁵ Rawlyk indicates that Enoch Towner was a Baptist. However, he was in the radical evangelical tradition of the Allinites. Benedict, writing in 1813, gives us the flavour of Towner's pastoral work in nearby Argyle a few years later: "In this place, there was also a church established by that successful planter of churches, Henry Alline; but it had become broken or dissolved, before the present one was erected. About 1806, there was a very pleasing and extensive revival in this place, and the present church was gathered under the ministry of Mr. Enoch Tow[n]er, their present minister; their number is about 70. One Pedobaptist, who is a very old and pious person, is admitted to their communion. The church generally are convinced of the propriety of unmixed communion, but the old disciple is not inclined to go into the water, and they are waiting, (with patience, it is hoped) until some escorting angel shall bear him beyond the bars of communion tables, and thus complete the reformation which they have brought to such a hopeful period" (Benedict, 1813: pp. 297-298).

decision “adverse to the prosecution” and the “assumed clerical monopoly on marriage was judicially invalidated” (Bill, 1880: pp. 221-221).¹⁶ Rawlyk continues his account by detailing the events of 1800 at the annual “Conference of Allinite preachers”:

[The Rev. Thomas Handley] Chipman presented “a close Baptist communion plan.” Rev. John Payzant [brother-in-law of Henry Alline] was furious. When he confronted Chipman, the Annapolis preacher replied “that Mr. Towner had been sued for Marrying and in order to defend the suit he had adopted that plan, that they might be called by some name for they were looked upon as nobody.” As Baptists they would have some status in the community; they could stress their link with “the Danbury Association in New England” and with Stillman [the Rev. Samuel Stillman, “influential minister” of the First Baptist Church in Boston]. Without this link and without the name they were without power and influence and without prestige. It was proposed that the Association name be changed from “Congregation and Baptist” to “The Nova Scotia Baptist Association”. James and Edward Manning, Joseph Dimock, Thomas Handley Chipman, Harris Harding and Theodore Seth Harding, Enoch Towner, and the New Brunswicker Joseph Crandall – but not Payzant – accepted their certificates as members of the Baptist Association.¹⁷

Rawlyk comments that, with this event, “certain key Allinites” had become Baptists. I have focussed on the *critical event*, but Rawlyk embeds it in a larger explanation concerning tensions within the Allinite theology, the dynamics of ministry among the leadership group mentioned, the role of women and children in leading conversion experience, all within the frame of a resurgent revival movement in Nova Scotia at the turn of the century.¹⁸ Rawlyk is describing the institutionalization of the Allinite New Light movement, but he does so with the central focus on individual salvation: that is, within the frame of the “conversionism and revivalism” that defines the primary agency of radical evangelicalism during that period.

¹⁶ In addition to the main narrative line reported by Rawlyk, I have supplemented the account with detail from Vincent (1990), and Bill (1880).

¹⁷ Rawlyk, 1983: pp. 61-62), with quotes from J. M. Cramp’s *History of the Maritime Baptists*.

¹⁸ D. G. Bell (1984) subsequently explored some of this material in his book, *The Newlight Baptist Journals of James Manning and James Innis*.

The revitalization movement provided the means whereby the revivalistic paradigm first articulated and applied by Henry Alline was appropriated by the Nova Scotia Baptists. In other words, the New Light traditions, significantly shaped by new events and personalities, became the Baptist heritage. (Rawlyk, 1983: p. 61)

Betrayal of that Redemptive Evangelicalism

In the Preface to the publication of his 1987-88 Winthrop Pickard Bell lectures at Mount Allison, titled *Champions of the Truth*, Rawlyk flags a difference in the early twentieth century evolution of Baptist evangelicalism in Ontario, on the one hand, and Nova Scotia, on the other.

After 1985, however, my research interest shifted, this time to the religious history of the Maritimes in the 1920s and 1930s in general, and the Baptists in particular ... I was determined to try to discover why, during the interwar years, the Maritime Baptist Convention, unlike its mainline Baptist counterparts in Central and Western Canada, did not experience a bitter and personal fundamentalist-modernist schism. Rawlyk, 1990: p. vii)

That same year Rawlyk, together with Barry Moody, Walter Ellis, and J. R. C. Perkin, delivered the Hayward Lectures at Acadia,¹⁹ and Rawlyk was concerned with the same question there. His topic focussed on the fundamentalist/modernist controversy about the character of education at McMaster University²⁰ in the early years of the twentieth century.

The chief protagonists in the controversy were T. T. Shields, a “brilliant preacher” (Rawlyk, 1988b: p. 56) at the Jarvis Street pastorate, then “the largest Baptist church in Canada” (Priest, 2006: p. 71), and H. P. Whidden, the Chancellor of McMaster University. Since the early 1900s, there had been a series of conflicts involving the

¹⁹ Rawlyk delivered Hayward Lecture(s) in both 1983 and in 1987. The 1987 lectures were published as *Canadian Baptists and Christian Higher Education* (Rawlyk, 1988a).

²⁰ Rawlyk refers to Charles Johnston’s account of McMaster’s origins in 1887 as a merger of “historical segments from the Canada Baptist College in Montreal, the Canadian Literary Institute in Woodstock, and the Toronto Baptist College and Moulton College of Toronto” (Rawlyk, 1988b: p. 31).

University over the *essential attitude and commitment* of the faculty to the truth of Jesus Christ. Gerald Priest, in a recent article on Shields, explains why this was an issue:

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, conservative Christian leaders became alarmed over persistent attacks by liberal activists on the Bible as the inspired infallible Word of God and those fundamental teachings of Scripture which comprise the Christian evangel. Liberals were claiming to be evangelical, but fundamentalists believed this was only a subterfuge cloaking apostasy. To them, liberalism was not a modern form of Christianity; it was an entirely different religion altogether, as foreign to the Christian faith as Buddhism or Confucianism. (Priest, 2005: p. 69)²¹

Against a background of ongoing tension and continuing grassfires, the “Matthews Controversy” of 1910, the “Editorial Controversy” of 1919, and the “Faunce Controversy” of 1923, had laid the groundwork for a no-holds-barred confrontation. Things came to a head – the *critical event*, in my nomenclature – in the “Marshall Controversy” of 1925. That summer, the University Senate appointed Laurence H. Marshall to the Chair of Pastoral Theology. Priest reports: “Shortly after, Shields received correspondence from British pastor W. M. Robertson of Liverpool accusing Marshall of holding liberal sentiments. Robertson warned that ‘if this appointment is confirmed, Modernism has gained a great victory ... I ... sincerely hope that something may yet be done to frustrate such a colossal blunder’” (Priest, 2005: pp. 75-76). Shields, at that time a member of the Board of Governors, requested an investigation under the terms of McMaster’s bylaws before the appointment was confirmed. This request was refused by the University, the refusal was confirmed by the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, and “in late 1926 Shields and hundreds of supporters angrily quit the Convention” (Rawlyk, 1988: p. 54). Convention leaders subsequently obtained legal authority to expel dissenters, and Shields was purged from membership at the next Convention.²²

²¹ It should be noted in the above passage that *biblicism* is now the central plank for radical evangelicals, not the *conversionism* and *revivalism* of Alline. For discussions of religious liberalism, see Cauthen (1983) and Lofton (2006), and on the Baptist role in liberalism, see Hinson (2000).

²² In addition to Rawlyk’s account, I have used various details here from Priest (2005), Pinnock (1980), and Ellis (1977).

There have been several different studies of this Controversy, and each has used different forms of evidence to examine the case. Rawlyk's strategy is particularly effective. He compares the educational philosophy of H. P. Whidden, the Chancellor of McMaster (1922-1941) at the time of the "Marshall Controversy", with that of A. L. McCrimmon, the Chancellor of McMaster (1911-1922) who immediately preceded Whidden. Although members of the same cohort,²³ their attitudes to Christian education were radically different. McCrimmon maintained that "We desire not knowledge alone but that knowledge rightly articulated to the work of Christ" (McCrimmon, quoted in Rawlyk, 1988b: p. 46). Rawlyk uses this kind of testimony to devastating effect when comparing it to similar statements of Whidden: "Liberal education should seek to relate the individual to his universe. I refer more especially to the universe of things. Think of all that nature has in store for those who are willing to learn the simple yet sublime laws of nature" (Whidden, quoted in Rawlyk, 1988b: p. 52). Rawlyk's narrative strategy has the advantage of shifting the analysis to the level of ideology, up and away from the conflict of personalities and the messy details of particular claims during the Controversies. The immediate contention of Rawlyk that Whidden betrayed radical evangelicalism seems unavoidable.²⁴

To this point, Rawlyk uses the same interpretive strategy as he did with his revised interpretation of Alline. He is writing intellectual history which builds an interpretation out of the intentions and self-understanding of the historical subjects, and convicts those subjects – renders his judgements – using their own behaviour.

However, Rawlyk extends his analysis by embedding this narrative in a Gramscian explanation of class interest and the pressing requirement of the dominant classes to establish a culture of consumerism.²⁵ As I have done here, the empirical case – the fundamentalist/modernist controversy about the character of education at McMaster University – can be detached from its

²³ Whidden was born in 1872; McCrimmon was born in 1865.

²⁴ In his own review of the facts and circumstances of the affair, Clark Pinnock concluded that "the modernist impulse was present at McMaster from the first despite the efforts made to deny it. The conservative critics of the university were correct in the substance of their charges, even if not on target in each detail" (Pinnock, 1980: p. 203).

²⁵ "It was also Gramsci's contention that the new class of intellectuals, including, of course, the religious leaders, are locked into an integrative symbiotic relationship with a new social order thrown up by the fundamental changes affecting economic production" (Rawlyk, 1988: p. 35).

Gramscian architecture. The architecture is not convincing for me, and I am not even sure that it was convincing for Rawlyk. From a literary point-of-view, it stands as a rhetorical device to underline the depth of the betrayal that he was narrating. Mark Noll, a leading evangelical historian in the United States, and a friend of Rawlyk's, re-describes the Gramscian architecture in a moral language that would have, in my view, have been a better fit for Rawlyk's own sentiments:

As Rawlyk saw it, that change [in the first decades of the twentieth century] was to sacrifice a carefully nurtured sense of Christian community for the individualism demanded by consumerist capitalist society ... What matters is the common path away from spiritual authenticity and communal interdependence, which Rawlyk felt characterized much of nineteenth-century Canadian Baptist life, toward mechanistic spirituality and individualistic self-assertion ... [However] I do not think that Rawlyk ever worked out the implications of his socialist Baptist convictions into a coherent historiographical pattern. (Noll, 2000: pp. 43-44)

The Achievement of Rawlyk

In the end, the Gramscian interpretation is not the important point in Rawlyk's last story. What is important is what he is pointing us toward: a *critical event* in which there was a break with the religious formations that had been put in place during the Great Awakening at the end of the eighteenth century. And it is a break that happens in Upper Canada, but does not happen in the Maritimes. An unstable order in Upper Canada is contrasted to a stable order in the Maritimes. As Rawlyk emphasized later:

It is important to underscore some of the regional differences that shape the contours of Canadian religion in general and Canadian Christianity in particular. The real Bible Belt of Canada is not Alberta-Saskatchewan but Atlantic Canada. It is becoming increasingly clear that the region of Canada that is least affected by the forces of modernity, whether in a religious sense or political sense, is Atlantic Canada. (Rawlyk, 1995: p. 138)

The most powerful work of Rawlyk has been focussed on these historical moments of rupture, with Alline in the 1770 and '80s, and with Shields in the 1920s. Both Moody (2000) and Noll (2000), in their beautiful memorial addresses, note that Rawlyk did not address

the “middle”: did not explore the events and processes of the nineteenth century. In my view, the reason that Rawlyk avoided the “middle”, and why he was attracted to the margins was because he was attracted – even inflamed – by the raw experiential features of the historiography of *critical events*. The kind of intellectual history that drives those kinds of thick narratives gave him the imagery and the passion that he admired so much about radical evangelicalism. It matched his own desire to be ravished by the Spirit.

What happened in between these ruptures requires a different historiography, one in which recursive causation is fundamental to the explanation. It is the institutionalization and maintenance of routines that is important to that kind of story. It is not just a less passionate form of history, but also requires enormous amounts of contextual material and synthetic integrations. These are research tasks that require the collaboration of a whole community of researchers, not the brilliant theorization of a single individual. It is such a requirement which allows us to understand the pioneering significance of Rawlyk’s editorship of the *McGill-Queen’s Studies in the History of Religion*. Now at ninety-eight volumes by the leading Canadian researchers in the history of religion, this is the community that Rawlyk required to provide the raw material necessary to build the architecture of a more satisfactory explanation of the betrayal of redemptive evangelicalism. It does not seem an accident to me that this series was started in the same period that he began addressing the fundamentalist/modernist rupture.

This community – perhaps we can call it a school – has only recently begun to build the intellectual frameworks, from the bottom up, which allow us to understand the forces working to produce the historicism of Upper Canada at the beginning of the twentieth century, and the different forces working to maintain the historicism of the Maritimes.²⁶ In the face of the progressive collapse of Christianity in Canada during the second half of the twentieth century, there is no other task which would better honour the achievement of George Rawlyk.

²⁶ For the distinction between historicism and historicalism, see Krieger (1989).

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