Chapter Seven

The Québec Protestant Church

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Tucked away in the annals of Québec history is a fascinating yet little known story of the growth, death and now sudden surging rebirth of Protestant congregations among anglophones, francophones and allophones. After briefly reviewing the history of the movement through its stages, we will look at its present state and the primary reasons for this growth, particularly in the French-speaking population.

Preamble

A distinguishing trait of French Protestantism in Québec is its evangelicalism. Any liberal or high-church tendencies have been isolated and ephemeral. The movement, although it lacks a precise, universally accepted definition, includes congregations that can be described by four main characteristics:[1]

1. An emphasis of the new birth as a life-changing experience, referred to as conversion or being "born again."

2. A concern for mission, primarily referred to as "sharing one's faith."

3. A reliance on the Scriptures as the source of knowledge of the Creator and the guide to Christian living.

4. A focus on the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord.

To this list, we would also need to mention the role of the Holy Spirit and the importance of the Christian community. As numerous others have underscored, although evangelical believers are often identified with certain Protestant movements, such as the Christian Missionary and Alliance, the Pentecostals or the Fellowship Baptists, they can be found in mainline Protestant denominations and even in Roman Catholic parishes. This is certainly true in French Québec and among allophone congregations in the province.[2]

This chapter has five sections. The first section will provide an overview of the historical roots of Québec and the growth of her urban centres. The second section briefly traces the religious evolution of the province and helps the reader understand the place the Protestant church has played in Québec. In the third section, we will examine the rapid social changes that have affected life during the present period, often referred to as *La Révolution tranquille* (The Quiet Revolution). Although Québec society as a whole has undergone massive cultural shifts, we will examine four trends of significance for the future mission of the church. In the fourth section, we will examine how the Protestant church grew in this period by looking at the initiatives of the largest collective effort of the period, The Sermons from Science pavilion. In the final section, we will examine the state of the Protestant church in Québec.[3]

1. The Historical Context

Paul Chomedey de Maisonneuve arrived in 1642 at the confluence of the St. Laurent and the Ottawa, with some 50 people, 40 years after Samuel de Champlain joined with the native peoples of Stadacona (Québec City) to develop a community, a fur trading centre and a base for future explorations. Upon arriving, de Maisonneuve saw the hill that overlooks the plain from the river. Naming it Mont Royal, he climbed it with the help of the Indians he met that day and planted a cross that was to dominate the city ever since. Local folklore says that he prayed over the area and dedicated the new community to the glory of God. The origins of the city are found in the desire to establish a religious utopia on the new continent.[4]

Contrary to the popular myth about the province of Québec, it has historically been a rather urban state. Urban areas were growing four times faster than the rural regions. This, in part, was due to a massive economic plan initiated by Louis XIV at the beginning of his reign. Over one-third of the colonists to come to Québec during the French era came between 1665 and 1672.[5] Both Mirowsky and Fortin,[6] Lachance[7] and Dechêne[8] conclude that in the period up to the British Conquest (1767), better than 40% of the 65,000 people in the colony lived in the three main cities of Québec, Trois Rivières and Montréal. By 1765, Québec (with a population of 8,900) and Montréal (with a population of 7,736)[9] would have been only slightly smaller than the three principal American cities of the period—Boston, New York and Philadelphia.

From the conquest (1760) until Confederation (1867), Montréal was to continue to be an important commercial centre but stayed relatively small. In fact, it is during this time period that the province was to develop its rural reputation. In 1825, better than 83% of the people of Québec lived in a rural setting—defined in this country as communities that have less than 1,000 people. Considering that the majority of anglophones of the period were in Montréal, the number of French Québecois in rural areas would easily surpass the percentage just cited.

This urban exodus took place for three reasons. First, and most important, was the ultramontanist theology of the church. Because of the increasing anti-clericalism that touched France after the French Revolution, the Québécois held that France was apostate. As Latourette commented, "In few countries did the Roman Catholic church have so firm a hold on all phases of the lives of its members as it did on the French in Canada."[10] The clergy had absolute control of education and worship (part of the settlement after the conquest signed in the Québec Act of 1774) and encouraged people in the outlying regions to preserve the culture and language of Canadiens. Second, an agricultural survival culture was born that was to keep the province alive economically for generations. Farms produced better than 50% of the gross national product of the province well into the 20th century. And third, there was an immigration of significant proportions from the second half of the 19th century. This was controlled by the clergy to protect the culture. Many of these people went to New England to establish the French communities there or to Manitoba to create the community of St. Boniface which is now part of Winnipeg. Between 1870 and 1880, the francophone population of New England would grow from 103,000 people to 208,000.[11]

Since confederation, the city of Montréal has grown steadily, becoming not just the regional centre of Québec, but also the manufacturing capital of Canada. Up until 1980 it was the largest city in the country, and is now the second-largest city in the French-speaking world and a leader in its cultural/political/economic affairs. The comparative Table 32 from Census Canada plots the growth of Montréal since 1871, Canada's first census.[12]

Before embarking on a study of the role of the French-Protestant, it is important to underscore that French Québécois society up until 1960 was amazingly homogeneous. Numerous studies have been undertaken by Québécois

Table 32

The Growth of the Canadian Population in the Major Metropolitan Areas from 1871-1996

Table 32, Cont'd

scholars that address this issue. Dale Thomson,[13] Denis Monière[14] and Marcel Rioux[15] are only a few that have undertaken this study. But it is Fernand Dumont, sociologist and former director of *l'Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture*, who described this cultural ethos of years gone by where faith dominated the society.[16] This urban past, anchored in a religious world view is a particularity of Québec that is crucially important if one is to understand the mission of the church today. Until well into this century, being francophone was synonymous with being Roman Catholic.

Being Protestant meant one was an anglophone. Although the third section of this chapter will nuance this cultural trait, the ethos of society had been established.

Christian Dufour analyzed the same question and summarized the cultural context as an escape on the part of the *Canadien-Français* into a sort of religious imperialism because they had effectively been excluded from political and economical power as the result of both the conquest in 1767 and the defeat in the popular rebellion in 1837.[17]

2. Who Were the First Protestants in Québec?

Those annals of the history of Québec include the story of a people known as the Huguenots; they formed the first Protestant community in Canada.

The initial immigration of colonists to New France prior to the Conquest included at least 800 French-Protestants who were merchants, sailors and soldiers. They were an urban people who came principally from La Rochelle in France. They were entrepreneurs and contributed extensively to the good economic climate that existed during the first 60 years of the colony. Their spirit of initiative and enterprise, coupled with their ardent desire to found a colony loyal to the crown, greatly contributed to the establishment of Québec and francophone

Canada. New France certainly began with a Protestant collaboration.

Two significant histories of Québec written in the past decade make no mention of them at all. But, as one author has pointed out, "This is another example, however, of 'majoritarian history,' concentrating attention on larger elements or forces in history whose records are more readily available, and so overlooking smaller elements such as minority groups or movements."[18]

Interestingly, their arrival and integration into New France were part of both the Protestant and Roman Catholic reformation that swept France after 1550. An ardent spiritual renewal swept the country, resulting in bold initiatives to worship freely, to pursue mission in the New World and to found colonies loyal to the French crown. From 1540 until 1630 seven of the governors of the Québec colony were Huguenots.

But this Protestant presence was most evident in the founding documents of the city of Montréal. In 1627, in the Charter of the "One Hundred Associates Company," the colony was officially dedicated to the promotion of the Christian faith. Up to that time, the reformation spirit had prompted men and women to explore the New World in order to instruct the native people (called savages) "in the love and fear of God and the holy faith and Christian doctrine." No qualifying adjectives (the Reformed faith or the Roman faith) had been added. That spirit encouraged a strong Huguenot presence.

In 1640, La Société de Notre-Dame de Montréal was created. When those 50 people arrived in 1642 with Paul de Chomedey de Maisonneuve to launch the new city of Montréal, near the site of the Indian village Hochelaga, they carried a document called *Les Véritables Motifs de Messieurs et Dames de la Société de Notre-Dame de Montréal* (known in English as *True Motives*). Its opening lines underscore tenets of the

Protestant Reformation, in which a lay movement committed to the Scriptures would proclaim God's grace by faith. Their philosophy of ecclesiology was remarkably different from the hierarchical structures which marked Québec from the 18th to the 20th centuries.[19]

This cooperative spirit changed over time, however. The Huguenots' influence waned for four reasons. First, they were terribly disorganized in the new colony. In comparison with the strength of the Roman Catholic church, they were far too spread out to benefit from their numbers. Second, they suffered under a spirit of intolerance within the community, even if their presence was permitted. Gradually, the forbiddance against Huguenot child baptism and education, civil marriage ceremonies and attendance at non-recognized worship services was enforced, depriving the French-Protestants of their basic institutions. Third, in 1659, François de Montmorency-Laval arrived in the colony as its first bishop. Sent as part of the Jesuit world mission of the period, he dedicated himself to the return of the church to her Roman roots. His first mass included the abjuration of a Huguenot and he repeatedly called on the French government to stop sending Protestants to New France out of respect for the agreement signed with the trading company, the One Hundred Associates. Fourth, in 1685, when the Edict of Nantes was revoked in France, the French-Protestant presence declined quickly. By the advent of the British period (1763), there is little trace of them.

As these Huguenots were more interested in successful trade than settlement, we get a first glimpse into their theological practices. They rarely reacted to political measures taken against them as a group. Rather, many complied and became Roman Catholic in practice or simply in name. As well, discreet groups were formed and many Huguenots fled to New England for religious liberty.

It would be an exaggeration to call this first presence either the emergence of a sustained Church presence or a true Protestant mission. The lack of continuity and transformative action shows that this first wave of Huguenots in Québec was mostly an economic enterprise. They suffered immeasurably at the hands of restrictions that went into effect after 1627, and especially after Protestants were exiled from France in 1685. One must wait until the 1840s to see the birth of a permanent Protestant ecclesiological presence in Québec.

The next waves of the French-Protestant church in Québec are closely linked to the political upheavals that have marked this province over the past 150 years. After the virtual disappearance of the French Huguenots since the mid-17th century, it is not until 1835 that the growth of a Protestant presence in Québec reappears and begins to grow.

The Conquest, instead of facilitating the establishment of the French-Protestant church, strengthened the Roman Catholic church. The British government could not impose religion on the francophones while maintaining good relations with them which were necessary to prevent their forming an alliance with the Americans. How were they to convince the French people to abandon their faith and language? Opting for a French-Protestant faith was too difficult even for the government to conceive. More and more, the governors (even Lord Durham) respected the Catholic faith and tried to avoid unnerving the bishops.

When revival broke out in Lausanne, Switzerland, in the 1830s, a mission society was born and began sending missionaries to the Montréal area. Henri Olivier, Henriette Feller and Louis Roussy began these noble efforts. Little information exists as to the number or size of the French Protestant churches at this time. The Anglican church had moved away from the French work after the death of three

rectors near the turn of that century. Perhaps the report of the British and Foreign Bible Society best reveals the state of French Protestantism leading up to this period. They wrote, "It has been found impracticable to find suitable men for the office among the native Canadians who speak the French language; as this class is a very low condition…in regard to education and to religion."[20]

Therefore, God raised up a woman!

Much of the initial efforts of Madame Henriette Feller were geared to educating youth. The clergy of the period were so opposed to "heretical" education that they publicly ridiculed her efforts and those of the mission society. Yet both Feller and Roussy dedicated the majority of their time to this dimension of mission work. Feller stated that the evangelization of the French Canadian people should start with school. Hardy summarized these efforts in stating:

In its fight against ignorance, French Protestantism in Canada understood…that the education of the young should go hand in hand with moral and spiritual uplifting of the parents…The object of the French missionaries was not so much to teach knowledge as to enable the child to be in a better position than their elders to understand the Truth.[21]

But perhaps their most outstanding success came after the failure of the Lower Canadian Rebellion of the French Canadians against the British in 1837. Feller and Roussy were forced to flee their homes in November of that year and to spend the winter in Champlain, New York. Upon returning to their desecrated homes, they refused to prosecute the French patriots and, instead, used the money sent from Switzerland to feed and care for the poor who were left destitute after the uprising. Previously perceived to be a part of the British administration that was out to deprive the people of their morals and their religion, this new approach

changed all that. On May 4, 1838, Feller wrote, "In general, I believe that the spirit of the people is so changed toward us that there is no house that I cannot go into. They show as much respect and confidence now as they showed disrespect in the past."[22]

The response was overwhelming. Within 40 years a new mission society, the French Canadian Mission Society, had eight churches, 400 members and over 1,000 adherents. Soon after, the Methodists and Presbyterians began their missionary activities. In 1847, the Anglicans initiated their efforts. By 1900, there were over 100 French-Protestant churches. This period of French Protestantism illustrates a remarkable shift from the Huguenot period.

The French-Protestant convert was isolated from his family, his work, his school and, therefore, from his language and culture. Not many were ready to pay that price. However, the Swiss and French missionaries were almost entirely replaced by French-Canadians by 1880. The conversion of the well-known French Catholic priest Charles Chiniquy[23] in 1858 gave some confidence and a limited number of converts. As champion of a small band of persecuted Protestants, Chiniquy became indispensable. The English-speaking evangelicals used him worldwide either in person or through his writings to promote missions among the Catholics. In Québec, his efforts, however, helped increase the resistance of the ultramontanist view.[24] After the death of Chiniquy, the French-Protestant community had no social recognition at all.

Some of the English-Protestant leaders and inactive members wanted to avoid a conflict with the Catholics. Therefore, a shift occurred in the mission to the French-Canadians. This resulted in an emphasis on overseas mission to the detriment of local French-Canadian missions. A shift toward teaching a more liberal theology in the Protestant faculties was favoured (opposing the proselytization of

Catholics). Evangelical influence greatly decreased by the time of the First World War. The French mission lacked a *raison d'être* and the necessary structures to build on. In Québec, the absence of schools for French-Protestants was the last straw for the then small community. They were rapidly assimilated in english-Protestant schools (even the few French schools became bilingual) and in bilingual churches. Persecution, Catholic domination in education of all French professions, combined with mixed marriages, also helped reduce their numbers. The most talented French-Protestants left the province or remained to be assimilated by anglophones.

All the Protestant churches suffered. Even the founding of the United Church in 1925, which brought together two-thirds of the French-Protestant churches, didn't help matters. In fact, this closed the only French language seminary. Churches were stagnant and heavily dependent on outside financial help. Without local training, they had to rely more and more on European or English pastors. Apart from a few exceptional pastors from the United States, the Anglicans, the Presbyterians and *Grande Ligne* Baptists, a vision for evangelism was replaced by the simple goal of preserving what was left.

In the 1920s, new groups came to evangelize French-Canadians. The Brethren (since 1927) and the Fellowship Baptists (around 1950) chose Québec as a mission field, while the Pentecostals (since 1920) developed their ministries more from their English assemblies.[25] With an evangelical and even fundamentalist vision (as opposed to the mixed messages of older denominations), these three groups made slow progress in rural areas. They established the *Institut biblique Bérée* (Pentecostal 1941) and the *Institut biblique Béthel* (Brethren and Christian and Missionary Alliance 1948) to provide training for church leaders. Persecution followed. However, the incidents in Lac-St-Jean[26] in 1933, in Shawinigan in 1950[27]

and in Abitibi during the summers 1950-1953[28] inspired many anglophones. Such a denial of religious freedom required a stronger Evangelical response. Evangelicals contributed time, money and even entire ministries to French missions. The Mennonites, the Christian and Missionary Alliance and other groups sent missionaries in the 1950s, even before the Quiet Revolution.

During the fall of 1935, J. Edwin Orr, a great Church historian had just started a trip that would take him from one end to the other of Canada. Having come from England, he wanted to encourage people to prayer and renewal. He was anticipating with great eagerness what he would discover in the churches, but he left Canada deeply embarrassed by the materialism and the lack of prayer of Canadian Christians. His words about Montréal were stinging. He said of Montréal,

> The spiritual position of Montréal is tragic...and little is done by the Protestant minority to witness for Christ to the majority...One of the tragedies of the Protestant churches of Montréal is the dearth of prayer meetings. The ensuing spiritual poverty is a part of a vicious circle—lack of prayer, lack of power, indifference, worldliness.[29]

3. The (Not So) Quiet Revolution

The year 1960 is certainly an important date in the history of Québec, but it doesn't stand out as its turning point.[30] It was the year that the provincial Liberal Party was elected to power, with Jean Lesage as Premier. The Liberal slogan: *C'est le temps que ça change*, Lesage set in motion the process of secularization of the province (until then, the Roman Catholic church was the major decisive force in the province). With this major shift, Québec was entering into the era of modernity.

The Quiet Revolution—an expression coined by a journalist working at the Globe and Mail in Toronto—refers to the period characterized by the social development that Québec has been going through since 1960. From 1960 until 1968, Québec was rapidly changing in a remarkably peaceful atmosphere. In studying cultural revolutions elsewhere, especially in African and Asian countries where there were transitions from a colonized past to a more modern structure, rarely will one find a cultural revolution that was as quiet as the one in Québec. In 1961, Pierre Elliot Trudeau (then law professor at the *Université de Montréal* and soon to become Prime Minister of Canada) described the necessary changes that Québec needed. He stated that, "Québec needs to free its superstructures, to desacralize its civil society, to democratize politics, to make a mark in the world of economy, to relearn French, to rid its universities of narrow minds, to open wide the doors of culture and the minds of progress."[31]

The change, properly understood as modernity, brought about three new tensions to the Christian faith which had dominated Québec for 300 years: the marginalization of religion, the process of retreating into oneself and ideological pluralism. The Church failed to respond. Not having much sensitivity to social description and no skill in cultural analysis, it was undermined by the worldview that it had cleverly created at the time of the Reformation. Having abandoned, or excluded from, the public sphere of society, the Christian movement no longer had a voice.

Moreover, it is interesting to note that the discussion on "postmodernity" started in the French world through the works of French philosopher Jean-François Lyotard, after the universities in Québec had ordered its study.[32] In medieval Europe, a stable social order rooted in divine revelation gave way in the Enlightenment era to a rational, scientific and never-ending bureaucratic approach to reality.[33] The

consequences of modernity included unprecedented economic activities, the exponential growth of technical skill and knowledge, education, the exploding urbanization, rootlessness, mass-media communication and the separation of work from home, including mechanization of work. But this "metanarrative" came apart. In fact, Lyotard wrote,

What I am arguing is that the modern project (the carrying out of universality) was not abandoned, forgotten, but destroyed, liquidated. There are many modes of destruction, many names which figure as its symbols. Auschwitz can be considered as a paradigmatic name for the tragic incompletion of modernity.[34]

The consequences are more than evident. Multiple worldviews and manners of expression, tensions between order and disorder, symbols, the flux of life—all these define the new order. Life is being deconstructed. Ernest Gellner clearly states the reason, "Postmodernity would seem to be rather clearly in favour of relativism, insofar as it is capable of clarity, and hostile to the idea of unique, exclusive, objective, external or transcendent truth. Truth is elusive, polymorphous, inward, subjective..."[35]

Québec society, in general, and Montréal, in particular, began to evolve as postmodern cultures, and neither the Protestant nor the Roman Catholic churches were able to help the people face the changes that were occurring, four of which we will soon describe.

Yet what were the conditions—inherited from the past—which have been transformed in these last 30 years that help us understand its present state?[36] This is the fundamental question we need to explore if we are to understand the cultural soil in which the Protestant church has grown. Numbers of studies have been published on the subject. But our concern points in a further direction with a second

question: "How will the church reflect Biblically and pursue relevant mission in the Québec context in the years ahead?"

To answer these two questions, an attentive ministry practitioner can employ an ethnographic analysis of the culture so as to understand how social structures and human behaviour interact and influence the evolution of culture. The Christian practitioner who desires to study "the knowledge and practices of people on earth, the manner they use their liberty to dominate, to transform, to organize, to arrange and to submit space to their personal pursuit so as to live, to protect themselves, to survive, to produce and to reproduce"[37] will find in ethno-methodology an excellent tool. To do this one must master four "heavy" tendencies so as to grasp where we have come from and where we are going as a society and what mission in culture will look like.[38]

But what do they discover?[39]

A. The Decline of the Ecclesial System

The cultural shift in the urban milieu is most dramatically seen in the decline in the influence, power and presence of the Roman Catholic Church in the city. In the years leading up to the Quiet Revolution, the number of priests rose from 4,000 in 1930 to 5,000 in 1945 to 8,400 in 1960. Today, there are less than 3,000 and the average age is 63 years. Although Québecers still maintain the highest level of commitment to religious affiliation in North America (79% still consider themselves Christian and 50% identify themselves as profoundly committed to their faith), religious practice is the lowest on the continent. Only 15% go to a religious service once a week and 5% in the urban context.[40]

Compare this with France, for example. Joseph Moody has shown that from 1861 to 1905, the population of Paris grew by 100% but the number of parishes only grew by 33% and the number of priests by 30%.[41] Os Guinness describes the result:

The churches were neither ready nor able to cope with the explosion...There is no striking sight in the environs of Paris and other cities than the little church, intended for a village but now feebly serving a sprawling urban area. Inadequate by itself, it is marooned from the main currents of modern life and left to its own irrelevance.[42]

Gabriel LeBras, the founder of religious sociology in France studied rural immigration from outlying regions to Paris in the 19th century. Normandy, one of the most conservative Roman Catholic regions of the hexagon was a particular concern of his research. He often wondered if there was not a magical place in the Gare du Nord on which one would step, after getting off a train from the northwest of France, and be transformed from a practising Catholic into one who would have lost all interest in religious issues. His conclusions resonate with similar studies done among working classes in Victorian England. As one British clergyman wrote, "It is not as if the Church of God has lost the great towns; it has never had them."

Québec, on the other hand, had a rather dominant church in the cities well into this century. This has evolved, however.

Local parish studies illustrate the shift.[43] In the parish of Plateau-Mont-Royal, it was found that on any given weekend, some 7-10,000 people attended mass in 1960. Today, that number is 700, or 3%, of the total population of that parish. In a study undertaken in the parishes of St-Laurent, the figures are similar.[44] Even the Québec Assembly of Bishops in describing the church today have stated:

In the course of the past thirty years, the Church in Québec has undergone a rapid and considerable erosion of its membership. There has been a very widespread slackening of any sense of belonging. Driven by some sort of centrifugal force, the majority of the baptized have moved toward the outer circles. The central

nucleus has dwindled to such an extent that parishes can no longer count on anything but a reduced number of active members to assume pastoral responsibilities...Can we estimate the number of these active Christians? Perhaps only one percent of the total number of the baptized.[45]

This shift in a major institution of the culture also has implications for the world view and the ensuing contextualization of the Gospel. When initial attacks came upon the Church in the late 1950s, the intent was to restore the spiritual vacuum that existed because the Church was sterile. This included the "desacralization of civil society" to which Trudeau referred. But the end result has been otherwise. Because of the rejection of the religious past, Dumont refers French Québécois as "orphans."[46]

Québec, and more specifically Montréal, represents one of the clearest examples of the process of secularization.[47] Guinness, Gilbert,[48] Gilkey and Quek,[49] all emphasize the evolving nature of this trend on western societies. Far from a philosophy or conscious ideology (i.e., secularism), this process is conceived as "(1) the decline of religion; (2) conformity with this world; (3) the disengagement of society from religion; (4) the transposition of beliefs and patterns from the 'religious' to the 'secular' sphere; and (5) the desacralization of the world."[50] At a time when there is a great need to think theologically and missiologically, it is crucially important to understand the intricacies of this process, particularly in North-Atlantic French cultures. Montréal, Paris, Brussels, Lyon and Marseilles are world class metropolitan areas where religious beliefs and values for a large number of peoples and sub-cultures are no longer a means for integrating and legitimating all dimensions of life. The social significance of faith has been marginalized.[51]

Numerous authors attempt to define and to elaborate theories on the process of secularization—this intersection within modernity of an increasing industrialized and scientific society, religious faith and the decline of religious practices. Some link this process entirely to industrialization and urbanization. Others associate it more directly to the conflict between science and religion.

But a clear discussion of secularization must consider the relationship of religion to the "modern project." From a medieval framework where the social order was fixed and based on revelation, the Enlightenment was born with the hope of a rational, scientific and increasingly bureaucratic approach to reality (remember, we described the consequences of this "modern project" as unprecedented economic urbanization, rootlessness, mass media and communication, and the separation of work from the home, including the mechanization of work). Too often, religious faith is reduced to "human contact with the divine" or a denominational affiliation. This reductionism is another example of how our culture has divided the secular from the spiritual. The discussion of secularization is greatly enhanced when we link religious belief and worldview issues. Religion includes that which one holds to be of ultimate importance. As Paul Tillich said, "Religion is the substance of culture and culture the form of religion."[52]

From a Biblical point of view, no one can escape the religious aspects of life; God is ever present in the affairs of all people and cultures. One can do with the Creator what one wants—worship, love, hate or run, but God cannot be ignored. The sense of God is still what Calvin referred to as *semen religionis*, the seed of religion. Secularization implies a decline in the ability of traditional beliefs to bring meaning to life for large numbers of individuals and cultures as a whole. It includes the reshaping of the "religious components" of a worldview and initiates the transfer of beliefs and values from the religious sphere to the secular sphere. It leads to the desacralization of the world.

The past prestige of faith has lost out to technology and the modern economy. Certainly there are exceptions to this process and the extent of its influence. But it is real. Church structures have been increasingly marginalized.

In Québec, this phenomenon is in many ways relatively new. The message that Pierre Elliot Trudeau conveyed in 1961 was hardly a brave agenda; yet, contextually, it was a radical cry.

B. The Rise of the Educational System

In the election of 1960, Jean Lesage advanced the reform of the antiquated educational system as a major plank in his series of election promises. Stealing an image from the days of the conquest, when high birth rates were viewed as the way to protect the culture, he stated, "The revenge of the cradle is no longer enough, we need the reconquest of the brains."[53] This stands in stark contrast to the intervention of the Québec Solicitor General, Antoine Rivard, in the election of 1942, when he declared, "Education? Not too much! Our ancestors have passed on to us a heritage of poverty and ignorance and it would be treasonous to educate our children."[54]

It is little wonder that Lesage felt compelled to radically alter the state of affairs. By the mid-1950s, only 15.4% of boys completed grade 11. There were very distinct discrepancies along sexual and confessional lines. Male Protestants, by and large, were receiving 25% more funding than their counterparts on the Catholic side and 67% more than female Catholics. Female Protestants were funded 44% more than their Catholic counterparts. Montréal school libraries were in a terrible state and university enrolment was horrific on the Catholic side. In fact, one of the great

reversals of this reform is seen in this simple comparison: in 1961, only 23,000 students were in Québec universities. By 1988, that number had risen to 235,000.[55]

The process of reform within the existing educational act included free primary and secondary education for all, free school books and compulsory education up to the age of 16. The process was accelerated when the Parent Report was made public in April 1963. Within a year, the Ministry of Education was formed and the process of secularizing education began. As a former member of *le Conseil supérieur de l'éducation*, I can only salute the enormous and wonderful changes that have taken place in the past 25 years in spite of many of the shortcomings of the public school system.

- ✍ In 1965 only 57% of 14 year olds attended school— today 100%.
- ✍ In 1965 only 40% completed high school—today 72%.
- ✍ In 1966 only 45% started college—today 63%.[56]

This massive reform has had incredible implications on the French Québécois worldview. Today, education has become the avenue to advancement in the society. Although that might not be viewed as radical in the rest of the western world, it is again important to underscore the rapidity with which that principle has become axiomatic in this society. In article after article, the call to a better system of education is now viewed as the way to improve the culture.

C. The Impact of Urbanization

All theories of modernization chronicle the growth of cities. We have already seen the relevant historical data for Montréal. Yet there are three important issues to highlight in this important shift in city life.

First, it is crucial to understand the recent growth even of the city of Montréal. The rural mentality still manifests itself in the culture. This is most evident in the art forms that are uniquely French Québécois. The songs of the *chansonniers* evoke images of the St. Laurent plain, of islands in the great river and of life in rural Québec. Wood sculpturing, photography and tapestry often evoke these same images. Most sociologists today continue to chronicle this rural past. Bertin says that, "the attachment to the land"[57] is the principle pole of attachment for the Québécois. The political scientist, Léon Dion claims that the image of the Québécois as "habitant" dominates our history. Ever since the advent of industrialization, French Québécois writers who do write about life in the city rarely see it in positive terms. Dion pleads for new roots in this era for the French urban Québécois.

This is seen demographically when we realize the transitions that have come upon Montréal and the society at large in the past generation. Table 33 illustrates the urbanization of the province of Québec during this period.

The sudden growth in 1941 by 3% of rural inhabitants can be explained by the vigorous efforts on the part of the clergy for a "back to the land" movement. But with the increasing industrialization required by war efforts in the early 1940s, the trend is reversed forever.

It is important to grasp the recent nature of urbanization in the three distinct francophone societies of France, Belgium and Québec (Figure 20 serves as a point of reference). In each case, the urban population did not surpass its rural counterpart until the 1930s (as compared to 1850 in England, 1920 in the U.S. and English Canada). This has led to interesting national perspectives on urban issues.

In France, the predominance of Paris (now representing 20% of the total population[58]), the system of "departments" and the centralist policies of the national government (to the point where many mayors are also nationally elected officials) have all contributed to a cleavage between the city and the country, or more specifically between "Paris et Provence." In

Québec, the recent nature of urbanization is even more marked. Today, the Census Metropolitan Area of Montréal represents 48% of Québec's 7.2 million people.

Secondly, this urban shift was to open old wounds that have always existed in Québec society. As industrialization had drawn huge numbers of French Québécois to the city, it soon became obvious they did not have the same access to economic power that was held in the hands of the English Québécois.

**Table 33
Urbanization of the
Province of Québec**

Year	Rural	Urban
1931	42%	58%
1941	45%	55%
1951	33%	67%
1961	21%	74%
1971	20%	80%
1981	22%	78%
1986	21%	79%
1990	19%	81%
1996	19%	81%

To begin with, anglophones played a dominant role in politics, commerce, professional services and the development of natural resources. They trained francophones who would eventually succeed them. The progress of francophones allowed them to compete with and displace anglophones from certain areas of activity, such as municipal and provincial politics and administration, while creating a dual linguistic and religious structure such as exists in Montréal in education, hospital and municipal services. Other fields, such as finance, were preserved as ancient fiefs while new areas of activity were continually emerging.[59]

And finally, this very observable shift in both the structure of the city (its role in the lives of all peoples) and the underlying values it purports, has brought about a significant alteration in the worldview. In response to the essential tenets of a world and life perspective, the city has become the focus for the functions of that perspective. It is the Priorities Committee of the Québec Assembly of Bishops that has understood this best. Although there is an implicit anti-urban

**Figure 20
Urban Population in European Countries 1800-1950**
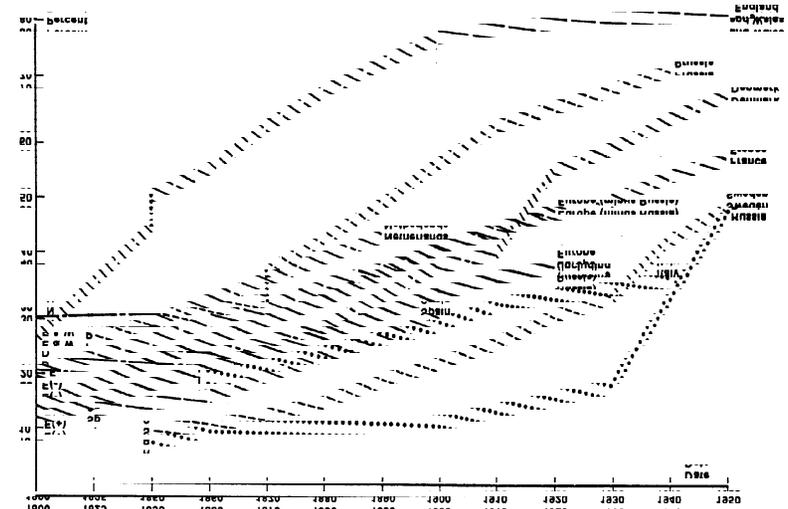
Percentages of urban population in European countries, 1800-1950. (Data from Bairoch 1977:7 for Europe; Berry and Horton 1970:75 for England and Wales, France, Sweden and Russia; W. Lee 1979:120, 231 for Denmark and Italy; Schmal 1981:173-174 for Prussia; and A. Weber 1899:115,119 for the Netherlands and Spain.)

flavour to their reflections, they understand the implications of the shift.

During the last fifty years, Québec society has changed considerably. Urbanization has entailed a dislocation of natural communities and traditional groupings. This society is looking for new forms of communal life; some new avenues are visibly opening up, but it is still impossible to foresee with any certitude which ones will prevail.

Ecclesial life is now suffering from the backlash of these social and cultural changes. It is a whole way of life— which used to be called la civilisation paroissiale

(parochial civilization)—that is now inexorably disappearing.

The most visible indicator is the considerable decrease in membership. Other signs exist—the absence of our young people, the difficulty of initiating the children, the very intermittent participation which has replaced for many people their former diligence, etc.[60]

Any effort to contextualize the Gospel in this culture must take into consideration the impact of urbanization on the culture.

D. Ideological Pluralism

That Christians in Québec face diversity on multiple levels is a fact that few individuals would contest. During the past 35 years, the percentage of peoples from different ethnic origins and with different religious beliefs and with varying styles of life or points of view, have come to live in our communities and share our public culture. The growth of this diversity in the years ahead, especially in cities in Québec, will continue.

Cultural diversity refers to the presence of an increasing nucleus of peoples from other countries or ethnic backgrounds. Although Canada has tended to define herself historically as two founding nations, today the image of a true mosaic reigns supreme. For example, among the some 200,000 students in the eight boards of the Montréal Island School Council, there are 168 countries represented. A former European immigration has shifted to a truly global movement.

Religious diversity is also the order of the day. The old paradigm of English being Protestant and French being Roman Catholic has fundamentally changed. Although 92% of Québecers still identify themselves as Christians, Table 34 illustrates the diversity in religious affiliation in Québec according to Statistics Canada.

Table 34
Québec's Religious Affiliations
(According to Mother Tongue)

Affiliations	French	English	Total	QC %	Canada %
Roman Catholic	5,259,145	249,005	5,861,205	86	46
Protestant	101,835	224,585	398,730	6	36
Eastern Orthodox	5,435	8,260	89,285	2	1
No religious affiliation	163,875	51,605	262,800	4	13
Other World Religions	11,705	10,910	100,500	1	3
Jewish	14,100	54,780	97,730	1	1

Source: Statistics Canada 1991 (Languages other than French/English and multiple choice of mother tongue not shown but included in totals.)

Much confusion exists in Québec between cultural and religious plurality. For example, the move to "get religion out of the school" is in large part driven by people who think that the increasing ethnic plurality necessarily implies religious diversity. Because of this pluralism, "religion should not be taught in school."

However, the demographics of Québec schools are a mirror of society. Of the province's 1,037,826 students 97% register as Roman Catholic or Protestant. Even in Montréal, with the ethnic diversity we have just described, 71% of the students register as Roman Catholic or Protestant.

Plurality also has a third dimension—often referred to as ideological pluralism. At the level of one's basic assumptions about the way the world operates, a former consensus of basic beliefs has given way to what we often refer to as relativism. Today, society encourages us to be "tolerant" and in all our thinking to see that there are several ways to believe and to behave and all are equally true. Recently a survey raised the question, "Is what is right and wrong a matter of personal opinion?" Table 35 illustrates the extent to which ideological pluralism dominates the society on this fundamental issue.

Table 35
"What's Right and Wrong is a Matter of Personal Opinion"

Percent Who "Moderately Agree" or "Agree Strongly"

By Region						
National	BC	AB	MB / SK	ON	QC	Atlantic
57	54	53	59	54	65	54

By Age			By Gender	
18-34 yrs.	35-54 yrs.	55+yrs.	Female	Male
65	52	54	61	54

By Church Attendance			
Weekly	Monthly	Occasionally	Never
49	52	63	59

By Denomination			
Roman Catholic	60	Conservative	46
Anglican	51	World Religion	59
United / Presbyterian	49	No Religion	64
Lutheran	60		

Angus Reid Group: July'94; N=1,502

Throughout much of history, most human beings have found themselves in a lifelong, very uniform cultural context. Today, we constantly encounter people of different cultures, religious beliefs and various lifestyles. The suggestion now is that this plurality of beliefs is justified in intellectual, cultural and religious life. To claim that one group has an exclusive claim to the truth is at best viewed as, *"That's a unique perspective!"* and at worst as "arrogant" and "imperialistic."

It is important for Christians to grasp the historical, philosophical move to this advocacy for diversity that we now call pluralism.

The roots of this approach to life came in the 18th century when European philosophy placed its confidence in the power of reason to provide a foundation for knowledge. This confidence is often referred to as *Rationalism*. The idea that divine revelation is essential was gradually discarded. For over two centuries the debate has raged on about how to rationally find "true-truth" and morality based on reason alone. This move created an implicit trust in science as the answer to all humanity's problems.

But in the last century cracks began to appear in the trust people were willing to put in Rationalism. A new movement appeared called *Romanticism* that tried to capture the God-consciousness in each of us. One philosopher wrote in reaction to the scientific-rationalism of his age, "Man is weak if he looks outside himself for help. It is only when he throws himself unhesitatingly on the God within that he learns his own power."[61] Even the painters and the poets of the movement called *Symbolism* depicted the despair of a world gone wrong in thinking and science. There was no hope within or without for them.

The "post-modern condition" of philosophers like Lyotard said that nothing can be known with certainty, history is devoid of purpose, universal stories or quests for truth had to be abandoned, everything is relative. As we saw, truth is elusive, inward, subjective, even polymorphous.

Therefore, it is not hard to see that pluralism, in this sense, is an ideology or philosophy of life. In this sense, it does not just describe a state of affairs (plurality) but prescribes a bias for a state of life where relativism reigns. This describes the net effect of the evolution of Québec in this period.

Yet to fully grasp how pluralism is advocated in Québec society, we need to see how issues get discussed. Increasingly, we make a distinction between the public world of facts and

the private world of values. In the former, we discuss "truth" and issues that are viewed as objective and verifiable. This is what we know. In the latter, we find beliefs and issues that are subjective.

Religion, therefore, is excluded from the "public world of facts" in the primary institutions of community building. But as human beings, we live out of a basic set of beliefs, core values or ideas which inform and guide our actions. We act in the world around us in terms of a "worldview" with which we make sense of life and which directs how we live. One's religious beliefs are an integral dimension of a worldview.

We would, therefore, disagree with those who view public reflection as religiously or ideologically neutral or private. Religion or ideology is the ultimate commitment, which provides personal and communal direction to life. It is what is of ultimate importance to a person, community, group or institution. It informs the worldviews, which are foundational to any political plan or, for that matter, any human enterprise in the public arena.

The Christian who wants to engage pluralism in the diversity of Québec's society has a huge task but a noble ambition. The process of engagement must begin with a commitment to contribute to the development of a common public culture. This means we will want to articulate that nucleus of values, those "rules of the game" and those crucial institutions that must be for all a source of profound inspiration for life in society and the glue for unity and social coherence in our culture. This common public culture obviously includes a commitment to the Québec Bill of Rights and the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. There are some fundamental values we will want to uphold, such as democracy, freedom, equality and solidarity. The "rules of the game" include civility and a respect for minorities. All Christians will be committed to the public good

because the Creator poured out His common grace on all the cosmos as part of His care for it.

But our task will include entering into dialogue with other partners in the diversity of today's educational system. We are not suggesting a mere exchange of ideas with those of various points of view, nor are we promoting some polemical engagement that would result in accusations of proselytism. Dialogue in today's pluralistic environment is a serious no-hands barred interaction between competing truth.

Such a dialogue is rooted in the development of full, mutual, intellectual understanding and a respect for differences of nuance and subtlety, particularly in the area of those diversifying "lived values" within a culture of many ethnic groups. It includes the development of attitudes and mentalities within the common public culture, which will welcome the variety of different cultures and lifestyles within a society and sees this as an enrichment of human life. But this dialogue is a process where respectful exchange about differences will take place, not merely a tolerant intellectual assent of opinions shared. In the years ahead, dialogue will be the operative form of evangelism.

4. A Protestant Initiative for the 1960s

The growth of the Church in the period 1950 to 1997 is illustrated in Tables 36 and 37.[62] Wesley Peach[63] and Donald Lewis[64] have done the most thorough studies, documenting the reasons for the growth.

First, there are several summary statements that can be made about the praxis of French Protestantism during this third wave. Although the efforts to be described document a high degree of cooperative evangelism, there has been an increasing sectarianism among the movement over the past 30 years. It is obvious that the success of the years 1976 to 1983 allowed each denomination to content itself with its own

endeavours. This is most obvious in an examination of the theological institutions of the movement. Prior to 1970 there were two schools reflecting a theological point of view on the charismatic gifts. By the mid-1980s, within a movement that represented perhaps 35,000 francophones, there were 12 evangelical schools with a total full-time equivalent student body of less than 200 students. This, in large part, reflected the incredible amount of money that came from outside Québec to fund these denominational schools. By 1997 only four schools remained but were more viable.

Second, the growth of the movement has been principally in the rural areas of the province. By 1987, 67% of the French-Protestant churches were in areas representing 33% of the population. This was seen in the Peach study undertaken by *Christian Direction* with *Vision 2000*. Only 28% of the respondents came from urban areas of 100,000 people or more. By 1997 the percentage of urban churches was to grow to 46%.

Third, although the movement has become more Québécois in leadership in the past 30 years, particularly at the pastoral level, at the present time the vast majority of denominational leaders are still males from outside the province. Although this leadership does have an increasing tenure (turnover seems to be decreasing at this level) and a growing sensitivity to the needs of the context (which was described in the previous section), it is obvious that we are still working on the Standard Missionary Model[65] described by Robert Burrows in his text, *New Ministries—The Global Context.* This will probably be reversed in the next decade unless nationalism disappears.

Finally, through the help of Wesley Peach's research, we have an accurate profile of the Protestant movement at this time. Better than 54% of the French-Protestant church is female, 10% having completed a university degree (in

Table 36, Cont'd

**Table 37
English-Protestant Churches in Québec**

comparison with 15% provincially). The occupation profile indicates the movement is largely blue collar. As we have already seen, it is a small city/rural phenomenon. The average person came to faith at the age of 30, having been baptized Roman Catholic as an infant. The vast majority were influenced in their spiritual pilgrimage by a close friend or relative (36% and 47% accordingly). It took an average of some eight presentations of the plan of salvation before a decision for Christ was made.

The rise of this third wave is closely linked with the Sermons from Science '67 pavilion. This particular form of outreach was the result of the vision of a group of lay persons who had a keen desire to have a clear presentation of the evangelical Gospel made at the International Exposition to be held in Montréal for Canada's Centennial Year, 1967. From the date of incorporation, November 24, 1964, until the day the Fair opened, April 29, 1967, a series of crucial decisions and events took place that brought to fruition this vision. In addition to raising the necessary finances to build the pavilion and to translate the Moody Science Films into French (a first for that organization), this strategy became the project of Québec and Canadian evangelicals during Canada's centennial. Over 60 local committees were formed across the country to train people to be counsellors and to do follow up, and over 8,200 people took the courses. During the years leading up to the Exposition and through 1967, $737,000 was raised.[66]

The pavilion showed a film 17 times a day, averaging for the six months of the Fair 5,000 people a day. Besides the films, there were four live scientific demonstrations a day. The purpose of the mission was clear, "Sermons from Science is a contemporary proclamation of the Good News of God for modern man. It is an evangelical outreach of the Church, non-denominational and non-sectarian, pointing men and women, boys and girls to Jesus Christ."

From late April to October 1967, 840,538 people saw one of the films and 261,308 went into the counselling room. But in the context of the Québec we described, it would be important to add the effect that this had on the city and the province. Initial estimates foresaw that 70% of the attendance would be anglophones, representing the some 50 million people that Mayor Jean Drapeau estimated would visit the city for Expo '67. The remaining 30% visiting would be francophones, native Québécois. This reflected the harsh realities of little dialogue between Roman Catholics and Protestants at this time and the extreme ultramontanist theology of Québec Catholicism that was only beginning to evolve by the mid-60s. But in God's providence, those percentages were inverted. It is estimated that one in four French Québecers visited the pavilion. In the climate of post-Vatican II, the pavilion became a context for dialogue and spiritual renewal.

An intricate part of the Directors' vision was a desire to equip Christians with the basics of Christian life. The thought was to both equip as many Christians as possible to serve through this form of evangelism and to then educate those who desired to grow in spiritual life as a result of a decision made at the Fair. As noted, 8,000 people received counsellor training, 1,500 served as hosts and hostesses, 19,000 Bible correspondence courses were distributed and 150 Home Bible Study leaders were trained.

Three remarkable things happened. After Expo closed, the mayor offered to buy the Sermons from Science '67 Pavilion, thereby saving Christian Direction the $12,000 demolition costs. He requested that the Board of Directors consider showing the films in the coming summer of 1968 as part of a new *Man and His World* festival. This decision was to give birth to a new organization, to be named on November 19, 1969, Christian Direction, Inc.[67]

As Table 36 indicates, there was immediate growth (the author attends a church that was planted as a result of the follow-up of the pavilion). This included a new excellence in materials. The French films, Bible courses and documentation were to bring a new calibre of instruction to the movement. Finally, new avenues of evangelism were suddenly available. French Roman Catholic schools and institutions were suddenly open to receiving Sermons from Science '67 personnel, films and materials for use in their classes. These arenas of ministry were to immediately expand the work of an organization that by its charter was to have wound down by the end of 1967.

Within a short period of time, the structure and purpose of the new organization was formed. Yet the summer outreach remained central to the mission. In the nine years that this specific dimension of the ministry went on, 2.5 million pepole saw the films, 500,000 went to the counselling room and 160,000 met for individual counselling.

The new openness in Roman Catholic sectors was to have a significant impact on the province and Christian Direction. Father Jean-Paul Regimbald marked his spiritual renewal at the pavilion in 1967.[68] During the succeeding years, he repeatedly invited Christian Direction personnel to present Biblical programs to the institution he directed, a home for delinquent boys, called École Mont-St-Antoine. Within two years, the ministry was involved in active ministry with the new Catholic Pentecostal Movement that swept Québec under Regimbald's leadership. By the mid-1970s, several rallies were jointly organized by Catholic charismatics and Christian Direction.

The reaction from the evangelical movement was quick and strident. Christian Direction was accused of compromise and lost the support of many people who had worked with it during the 1960s. By 1977, the Catholic Pentecostal Movement was able to attract 60,000 Québecers to the Olympic Stadium. By 1980, the movement had been eclipsed and Father Regimbald had retired to Mexico. With control by the archdiocese it lost its evangelical reformation spirit.

During the years 1974 to 1976, Christian Direction was actively involved in a new outreach planned for the Summer Olympics to be held in July 1976. *Aide Olympique* was born as a vision of Keith Price, Executive Director of the ministry, and Uli Kortsch, Québec Director of Youth With A Mission. It received the full support of the Canadian delegation at the World Congress on Evangelism in Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1974. On November 1, 1975, *Aide Olympique* became a subsidiary of Christian Direction because of funding problems. Eventually, over 50 denominations and organizations sent 3,900 people to do evangelism, to provide social services among the visitors to the Games and to serve the Church in Montréal during a summer of extensive outreach.

This initiative added a new dimension to the essential ethos of Christian Direction. The executive director was now an internationally recognized evangelical Bible teacher. Extensive travel and influence allowed him to speak across Canada and the globe on the needs in Québec. The ministry was called on to add to its purposes of evangelism and education a facilitating dimension, whereby it was helping agencies interested in work in Québec. *Aide Olympique* was the first example of this. Subsequently, Christian Direction organized the broadcast of several Billy Graham crusades on French television, organized a Leighton Ford Outreach for English Montréal and planned six French pastors' conferences that brought together over 50% of the Protestant ministers and their wives from across Québec.

In 1983, when Keith Price chaired the Commission on Cooperation for the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, he cited the example of this dimension of the work of Christian Direction:

The Christian activities of the 1976 Montréal Olympics were coordinated by an ad hoc organization known as "Aide Olympique." Some 55 evangelical denominations and organizations worked together in the areas of witness and service to make a much-felt impact on both the Games and the City of Montréal. It was no flash in the pan. At the time of writing this paper, six years later, several organizations with offices in the same building not only still meet together almost daily for prayer and sharing, but work like different departments of the same sodality.[69]

The autumn of 1976 was a crucial moment for the ministry for two reasons. First, on September 7, 1976, the Program Committee submitted a report that incited the ministry to consider its future now that the focus was away from "store-front ministries" like the pavilion and *Aide Olympique*. It resulted in very serious re-evaluation. Second, on November 15, 1976, the *Parti Québécois* was elected as the first separatist government in Canada. This event had immediate results on the province. In the following two years, 100,000 English Québecers left the province, including 350 companies. The social climate was charged with emotion. But, as Table 36 indicates, this was to be a time of unprecedented growth for the evangelical movement. Meanwhile, the Québec Assembly of Bishops reported that of the 5.6 million Roman Catholics in the province, only 25% now attended mass regularly, a drop from 60% in 1960. They added that only 18% of students in Catholic high schools attended mass.

5. The Protestant Church in Québec's 16 Regions

The province of Québec is divided into three administrative structures. Across the province there are 1,637 municipalities,[70] 102 *municipalités régionales de comté* (MRC)[71] and 16 administrative regions. The map at the

conclusion of this chapter outlines those regions. Table 38 gives specific data for each region.[72]

Table 38
Data on Québec's 16 Regions

Regions	Municipalities	Total Pop.	Surface km²	Churches Fr.	Churches Eng.
Bas Saint-Laurent	152	211,146	22,405,067	14	1
Saguenay-Lac-St-Jean	70	294,337	104,035,544	16	2
Québec	94	647,497	19,285,710	17	15
Mauricie -Bois-Francs	181	486,737	46,739,372	34	14
Estrie	115	278,703	10,112,600	18	53
Montréal	29	1,799,254	503,760	64	142
Outaouais	89	306,210	32,859,280	14	43
Abitibi-Temiscamingue	105	155,170	64,879,200	12	1
Côte Nord	57	106,674	300,281,630	7	13
Nord-du-Québec	48	36,832	840,178,090	3	2
Gaspésie - Îles-de-la	70	108,536	20,447,348	8	21
Chaudière - Appalaches	171	382,420	15,116,820	25	4
Laval	1	335,009	245,400	12	6
Lanaudière	83	371,649	13,510,040	13	4
Laurentides	110	415,258	21,554,170	26	36
Montérégie	218	1,273,452	11,066,959	65	83
Population		7,208, 884		348	440

The Quiet Revolution touched the very spiritual fibre of cities. If the urban scenario was discouraging to Edwin Orr in 1935, it is alarming on the eve of the 21st century. The most recent Canadian Census distinguishes five major metropolitan areas in Québec: Montréal (including Laval and the South Shore), Québec (the provincial capital), Chicoutimi/ Jonquière, Sherbrooke and Trois-Rivières. These five urban centres are the home of more than 60% of the 7.2 millions of Québecers. Today, more than 80% of Québecers live in cities

of 10,000 and more— it's the highest percentage in all the Canadian provinces.

In light of this recent urbanization, coupled with the nationalist crisis, cities today in Québec show a great spiritual vacuum. Table 39 reveals this in part. In the five cities already mentioned, we find 157 French-Protestant churches. In other words, only 46% of French churches serve 62% of the French population. The other 182 churches are found in cities of less that 100,000.

Table 39
French and English Evangelical Churches in the Five Major Urban Centres of Québec: 1997

City	1991 Population			Evangelical churches	
	F*	A*	E*	F*	A* E*
Montréal \ Metropolitan	2,200,000	400,000	500,000	115	180 109
Québec	585,320	10,750	5,425	16	3
Chicoutimi \ Jonquière	154,240	1,725	485	8	1
Sherbrooke	119,395	8,610	1,500	10	8
Trois-Rivières	126,410	1,620	650	8	1
F* = francophone; **A*** = anglophone; **E*** = ethnic					

The English-speaking population of Montréal, the third-largest English population in Canada, are not churchgoers. Despite the numerous churches that embellish the architectural scenery of the city, the English evangelical community of Montréal is one of the smallest of all the urban centres in North America. Moreover, we find 530,000 people from different ethnic groups in Montréal, representing 168 different linguistic and ethnic groups. Less than 30 of these groups have a church that serves them in their mother tongue. A ray of hope is, however, shining among the 50,000 Haitians—there are 75 Haitian churches, of which many have 200 to 300 members.

For over 25 years, Christian Direction attempted to study the state of the Church in Montréal. Table 40 illustrates the progression of the French-Protestant movement in the greater Montréal region.

Table 40
French-Protestant Churches in the Montréal Area from 1980 to 1997

	1980	1984	1993	1997
Island of Montréal	37	50	66	60
South Shore	12	26	29	23
Laval	8	7	11	12
North Shore	7	13	18	20
Total	**64**	**96**	**124**	**115**

A definite growth has been registered in the number of churches of the region. In the suburbs, the growth rate surpassed the 100% mark. On the Island of Montréal, though, the rate was less with only 78%; it is much lower on the Island of Laval. On both islands, the attendance remains low (for example, less than 1,400 persons in the 11 churches in Laval, of which 80% of the attendance is found in two of these churches). In the research, we found an average of 80 adults in the churches on the Island of Montréal. Also seen, a definite movement of closing down small churches (less that 30 persons) to be able to have more stable groups where the services offered will be more efficient. This trend exists also because a change in leadership has occurred. More and more, there is a growing need for a well-trained leadership for ministry in the urban context.

Today's largest Protestant and evangelical movements in Québec trace their roots to the post-World War I era. The *Union d'Églises baptistes françaises au Canada*, the descendants of Madame Feller's work and the *Grande Ligne Mission* is the only denomination from the 19th century that

has seen significant renewal. As one of the branches of the Canadian Baptist Federation, today it counts 24 churches, with 1,200 members and adherents. Although the denomination began to decline at the end of World War II, like all French denominations life returned in the 1960s and 1970s, when the social climate brought new questioning from the population at large. From six churches in 1963, the Union had 16 congregations by 1980.

The three largest French denominations—the Pentecostals, the Fellowship Baptists, and the Christian (Plymouth) Brethren—also have their roots in the post-World War I era, but find their greatest growth beginning in the 1960s.

The Eastern Ontario and Québec division of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC) has a long history of English work in Montréal. In 1921 ministry in French began and by 1941 the first French language Bible School *(Institut biblique Bérée)* was born. Although church growth was terribly slow, faithful workers plodded on. By 1970 there were 19 congregations. In 1974 a difference of opinion over strategy took place and the denomination split along administrative lines. Today the PAOC has reconciled these differences and has a new school, called *l'Institut biblique du Québec.*

The *Association d'Églises baptistes évangéliques* (Fellowship Baptist) traces its work to the 1950s. More than one Baptist pastor was jailed in the 1950s for door-to-door evangelism and church planting efforts. By 1980 there were 31 congregations. The Association launched a school of theological education by extension (*SEMBEQ*) in 1973. Today there are 70 churches with some 7,000 adherents.

The Christian Brethren have a rich history in Québec. The first French assembly began in 1927. Through the gentle, quiet leadership of people like Dr. Arthur Hill in Sherbrooke,

steady growth took place. By the 1960s there were 12 French Brethren assemblies and 12 English Brethren assemblies. Today there are still 12 English congregations but over 40 French assemblies. The lay initiatives of the Brethren were also seen in the parachurch ministries in Québec. They provided leadership in helping launch ministries like *Inter-Varsity, Groupes Bibliques Universitaires, Christian Direction* and the first interdenominational Bible school, *Institut biblique Béthel*, in Sherbrooke.

As Table 36 illustrates, the surge of French churches took place in the early 1970s at a time of great social upheaval, marked by the events of the October 1970 crisis and the election of the *Parti Québécois* in 1976. Church growth in the 1970s exploded as groups like the Christian and Missionary Alliance (begun in the 1950s), the Mennonite Brethren (started in 1963), the Associated Gospel Churches and the Evangelical Free Church planted scores of new churches.

The 1980s saw the arrival of French churches affiliated with the Nazarene Church and a renewal of French work with the Salvation Army.

Three very interesting trends began to take place. First, the mainline denominations saw a renewal in their French ministries. In 1988 the *Église Réformée de Québec* denomination was formed of various congregations affiliated with the Presbyterian Church and the Christian Reformed Church. The Anglican Diocese of Montréal, with five ethnic French parishes, has prioritized French mission for the 1990s.

But this data leaves one major question unanswered. What is the internal state of the Church? As we have not attempted to determine the size of these churches, is there anything we can learn about the inner dynamics of Protestant church life in urban ministry in the French western world?

Figure 21
Growth of the Protestant Church in Québec
1950 to 1994
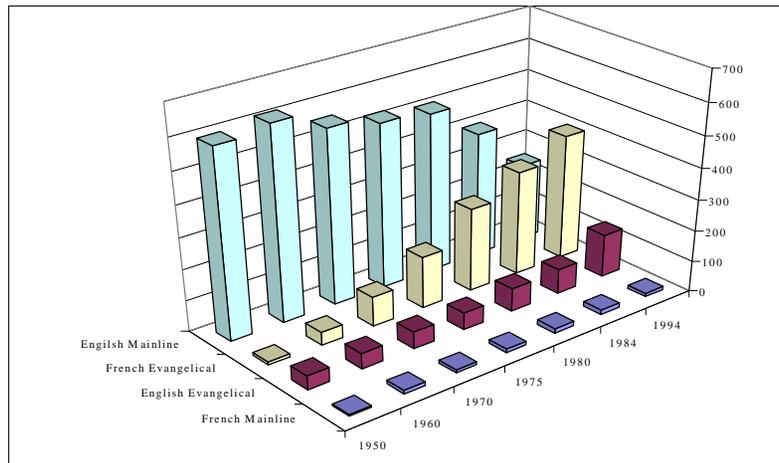
From personal visits to each of these cities and interviews with over 100 urban practitioners, six themes constantly resurface in work across Québec.

1. Monumental doctrinal tensions divide the Church in each of these cities. These divisions follow traditional parameters, yet are a major obstacle to joint initiatives in reaching the city. A major effort organized by the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association sought to bridge these issues. History will record if there was any long-term effect.

2. A diligent search for relevant evangelistic strategy dominates many discussions. There is a definite desire to rethink what evangelism is in Québec. French mission over the past decades has been dominated by traditional forms of evangelism that have had little effect on reaching people in a post-modern context. Most of the strategy has come from the English world.

3. There is a growing consensus of the need for a renewal of lay ministry. In discussion after discussion pastors complain about *"how they are forced to do everything"* and lay people feel disenfranchised from the work of service.

4. There is a massive dissatisfaction with the state of theological education. Very few people feel equipped to deal with the realities of the urban world or understand Biblical perspectives of the city. Theological education in the French world has been very traditional, unrelated to an orthopraxis.

5. Rising costs in Québec cities make renting space and finding property dominant concerns for church planting.

6. There is an increasing concern to understand the role of culture and the Gospel. To use Richard Neibuhr's paradigm, much of Protestantism in the French urban world has been "Christ against culture." For example, in reaction to Roman Catholicism, many church buildings are bare, if not ugly. Somehow, one is able to celebrate the dead from wars gone by on the walls of church structures, but not art.

In conclusion, let us look briefly at the religious landscape of Montréal and the greater Census Metropolitan Area. Québec's most populated region is the Island of Montréal. Table 41 and Figure 22 describe the region. There are 72,690 people who are not found in the linguistic data because they speak more than one language in the home.

Montréal represents one of the most unchurched populations in North America. We previously described the ongoing, rapid decline of the social significance of religion in a city that has deep Christian roots. This secularization is one of the greatest obstacles to the evangelization of the city. Today, it is estimated that less than 10% of residents of the island go to church once a month. This decline has resulted

Table 41, Cont'd

Figure 22
Map of Montréal's Island

in a massive privatization of belief. The result is that Montréalers are pursuing alternative spiritualities. For example, twice a year some 15,000 people attend the New Age Expositions held in a downtown convention centre. Interestingly, over 5% of residents on the Island of Montréal claim they have no religious affiliation. This is one of the lowest percentages for a Census Metropolitan Area in the country. The ongoing exodus of anglophones from the province is a crucial factor in evangelism among this population.

At present there are 60 French-Protestant churches for the French-speaking population of 971,425 and 142 churches for the 427,095 English-speaking population of the island. The state of ethnic churches is described in the description of the Census Metropolitan Area on the next page.

It is obvious that the renewal of the Church in the city and instilling a vision for holistic ministry when only 50% of the active population (15 years of age and older) is employed is a challenge. For the whole area, Outreach Canada estimates that Montréal needs 1,346 new churches. Populations that can be targeted include:

1. **Outremont.** The francophone population of this elite part of the city is largely unchurched.

2. **St-Henri.** This low-income part of the City of Montréal has seen many attempts at church planting, but the results are negligible.

3. **Single-parent families.** Some 20% of the families on the island are led by single mothers. Good initiatives have been launched by French and English congregations, but much needs to be done.

4. **People living alone.** It is estimated that one Montréaler in three lives alone because of divorce, death of spouse and an increasing social acceptance of this reality.

5. **The vulnerable.** The incredible number of people on some form of social assistance underscores that concrete action must be taken to bring the whole Gospel to the whole city.

6. **Youth.** Only a handful of Montréal's full-time workers in Protestant churches minister to university, CEGEP and high school students. These populations represent some 500,000 people living in this region.

Increasingly, the Census Metropolitan Area of Montréal is being considered a city/region by urban geographers and the residents of the area. At the present time, the provincial government is attempting to put structures in place to facilitate policy making and execution. But there is resistance to this from several sectors. Does the rest of the province want to see 48% of the population in one region? This region is presently divided into five administrative regions. Do those regions want to lose their population and power to the Greater Montréal region? Finally, do the residents of Greater Montréal want a city of 3.3 million people created?

The Montréal metropolitan census region includes 102 municipalities with a population of over 3.3 million people. Using socio-demographic criteria we have used for each administrative region, we learn the following information:

- ✍ Catholic — 2,398,960
- ✍ Protestant — 252,760
- ✍ Other religions — 272,330
- ✍ No religious affiliation — 167,065

There are 115 French churches and 182 English churches in this city/region. Using criteria established by Outreach Canada, this means that there is one (French) congregation for every 18,176 people. It is the same ratio for francophone Protestant churches in the five largest metropolitan areas of the province.

According to the 1996 census this city/region is home to 586,395 immigrants. Table 42 compares the populations for the major language groups in the census region.

Table 42
Mother and Spoken Tongues at Home Other Than French or English in 1986 and 1996 for the   Island of Montréal (Unique Answers)

	Mother Tongue		Language Spoken at Home	
	1986	1996	1986	1996
Italian	115,895	126,820	81,345	62,105
Greek	39,545	41,970	30,400	27,695
Spanish	22,465	60,035	18,015	43,800
Portuguese	20,815	28,420	16,075	16,470
Chinese	15,770	38,565	14,035	32,425
German	14,020	13,070	3,920	2,410
Polish	12,490	16,570	6,100	9,315
Arabic	12,340	53,665	7,300	33,275
Vietnamese	10,080	19,980	11,135	18,890
Hungarian	7,685	7,750	3,410	3,000
Ukranian	7,095	5,840	3,600	2,275
Others	66,770	168,855	44,735	230,350
Island of Montréal only Source: Statistics Canada (1986 and 1996)				

As we saw previously, cultural plurality refers to the presence in society of an increasing nucleus of peoples from other countries or ethnic backgrounds. Québec has historically been known for its two "founding nations." Today the mosaic image reigns. Some 168 countries are represented among the some 200,000 students in the eight school boards on the Island of Montréal. Tables 43, 44 and 45 illustrate this immigration over the past 50 years.

Identifying and counting ethnic churches in the city is not easy. According to the most recent study, the following

churches per language and ethnic group have been identified. Its obvious that a concerted effort in evangelism and church planting among all these people groups is a priority in the years ahead. Defining need is difficult.

First, we are comparing the number of congregations per population. But second, certain ethnic groups are more resistant to the Gospel. Special attention must be given to:

1. The Asian population of the city. Some of the highest rates of religious disaffiliation are seen in these ethnic groups. Although Protestant Chinese churches celebrated their centennial in 1996, much still needs to be done among the Vietnamese, Laotian, Cambodian and Chinese population;

2. The Portuguese population. Recently, new efforts have been launched. In spite of census figures, it is estimated that there are 65,000 Portuguese living in Montréal and three Protestant churches with about 100 members;

3. The Italian population. The Pentecostal Assemblies are doing fine ministry here but much is needed; and

4. The Arabic population in the city/region. It has a population of 100,000 people. Ninety percent of people speaking this language are Muslim. But there are another 10,000 Muslims in the Greater Montréal area who come from non-Arabic countries, mostly French-speaking countries in Africa.

Table 43
Churches Per Language and Ethnic Group

Arabs	3	Armenian	3	Cambodian	1	Chinese	7
Cree	4	Estonian	1	Filipino	1	Finland	1
German	1	Greek	3	Haitian	70	Hungarian	2
Italian	7	Jamaican	4	Japonnese	1	Corean	4
Latvian	1	Native	6	Portuguese	3	Romania	1
Spanish	80	Thailand	1	Tamil	2	Ukranian	1
Vietnamese	1	West Indies	3	Zairian	1	Sri Lanka	1

Table 44
Immigrants According to Country of Birth Québec
1990-1993

Country	Number	%
Lebanon	20,049	10.8
Hong Kong	11,713	6.3
Haiti	10,083	5.4
France	9,566	5.1
China	8,852	4.7
Vietnam	5,360	2.9
El Salvador	4,880	2.6
Morocco	4,610	2.5
Sri Lanka	4,560	2.5
Philippines	4,465	2.4
Total of ten countries	**84,138**	**45.4**
Other	**101,173**	**54.6**
Total	**185,311**	**100.0**

Table 45
Québec's Immigration 1946-1989

Table 45, Cont'd

Action Points

✍How can the rest of Canada come to better understand Québec and that which is needed to help its peoples come to be fully devoted followers of Christ?

✍The divisions between English and French Canada, from the Plains of Abraham to the present, seem so great as to constitute a spiritual stronghold. Would you join in repenting for this historic division and praying for God to bring down this stronghold so as no longer to be a barrier to the evangelization of Québec?

✍With 6 million people at less than .5% evangelical, French Québec is the largest unreached people group in North America. What can your denomination do to challenge this great need?

✍How can French communities in New Brunswick and other parts of Canada assist in evangelizing their countrymen through church planting?

Chapter Notes

[1]For an excellent overview of the question on how to define "evangelical" see Alister McGrath, *Evangelicalism & The Future of Christianity* (London: Hodder & Stoughton) and D.W. Bebbington, "Evangelical Christianity & The Enlightenment" in *The Gospel in the Modern World*, ed., M. Eden and D.F. Wells (London: IV Press, 1991), pp.66-78.

[2]A study undertaken by the polling firm, Angus Reid, using a 10 item evangelicalism scale based on Bebbington's four criteria, placed 13% of Québecers as adherents to those beliefs but only 2% who identified themselves as Protestant evangelicals.

[3]For a short but clear presentation of the Roman Catholic Church in Québec during this period see Gregory Baum, *The Church in Québec* (Ottawa: Novelis, 1991) and F. Dumont, *Une foi partagée* (Montréal: Bellarmin, 1996).

[4]F. Dumont, *Genèse de la société québécoise* (Montréal: Boréal, 1993), pp.46-54.

[5]C. Dufour, *Le défi québécois* (Montréal: Hexagone, 1989), p.38.

[6]Mirowsky and Fortin, *Urbanization of Poland and Québec, a Comparative Perspective* (Montréal: INRS-URBANIZATION, 1980).

[7]A. Lachance, *La Vie urbaine en Nouvelle-France* (Montréal: Boréal, 1987).

[8]L. Dechêne, *Habitants et marchands de Montréal au XVII siècle* (Paris: Éditions Plou, 1974).

[9]Dechêne, p.494.

[10]Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christianity* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), p.1281.

[11]Dufour, p.66. In the book, *Histoire du Québec contemporain Tome I, de la Confédération à la crise 1867-1929* (Montréal : Boréal, 1989, page 36) the authors note that net immigration from Québec from 1840-1930 was 925,000 people.

[12]Statistics Canada, *Census Canada 1871, 1901, 1931, 1961, 1986, 1996.*

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[13]D. Thomson, *Jean Lesage and The Quiet Revolution* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1984).

[14]D. Monière, *Développement des idéologies au Québec* (Ottawa: Québec-Amérique, 1977).

[15]M. Rioux, *Les Québécois* (Montréal: Hexagone, 1965).

[16]F. Dumont, *Le sort de la culture* (Montréal: Hexagone, 1987), p.269.

[17]Dufour, p.65.

[18]J.S. Moir, *Canada and The Huguenot Connection 1577-1627 -in Canada's Huguenot Heritage 1685-1985* (Toronto: Huguenot Society of Canada, 1987).

[19]Louis Rousseau, "Le va-et-vient entre le centre et la marge: trois siècles et demi de catholicisme franco-montréalais." Lecture given at the conference: *Société, culture et religion dans le Montréal métropolitain*, on May 20-21, 1992.

[20]René Hardy, "La rébellion de 1837-1838 et l'essor du protestantisme canadien-français", *Revue historique de l'Amérique française, 29.2* (September 1975), p.166.

[21]Hardy, p.156.

[22]J.M. Cramp, *A Memoir of Madam Feller* (London: Elliot and Stock s.d.), p.120.

[23]Richard Lougheed, "The Controversial Conversion of Charles Chiniquy," doctoral thesis at *Université de Montréal*, 1994, p. 435; "A Major Stimulant for both Québec Ultramontanism and World-wide Anti-Catholicism: the Legacy of Chiniquy," *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers*, 1994, pp.36-55.

[24]Whatever doctrine Chiniquy denounced, Mgr. Bourget the Bishop of Montréal upheld.

[25]Richard Strout, "Advance Through Storm Being the Story of French Evangelical Protestantism in Roman Catholic Québec 1930-1980," course paper, Bishop's University, Lennoxville, 1980, p.48.

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[26]C. Marcil, "Le schisme de la Saint-Valentin," *L'Actualité*, (February 2, 1977), pp.33-34; *News of Québec*, spring 1986, pp.19-24.

[27]*News of Québec*, Spring 1985, pp.22-23 and Summer 1987; *L'Aurore*, June 1950.

[28]Leslie Tarr, *This Dominion, His Dominion* (Willowdale: Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches of Canada, 1968), p.158.

[29]J. Edwin Orr, *Times of Refreshing* (London, Edinburgh, Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1936), p.45.

[30]At the time, other events stirred up Québec more: the Asbestos strike in 1948 and the riot at the Forum de Montréal in 1955 about hockey player, Rocket Richard. Without any doubt, the television program *Point de Mire*, with host René Lévesque, played a major role as early as 1956, as it allowed international events, explained by a dynamic personality, to come into the homes in Québec. The first two volumes of Lévesque's biography, *L'enfant du siècle et Héros malgré lui*, are an excellent description of the period.

[31]Pierre Trudeau, *Cité Libre*, March 1961, p.3. (Author's translation).

[32]For an excellent analysis see David Lyon, "Post-Modern Canada," *Ecumenism*, June 1997, pp.12-14.

[33]Fernand Dumont believes that the Quiet Revolution was in large part inspired by technocratic rationalism.

[34]J.F. Lyotard, *Le postmodernisme expliqué aux enfants* (Paris: Les Éditions Galilée, 1988), p.32. (Author's translation).

[35]E. Gellner, *Postmodernism, Reason and Religion* (New York: Routledge, 1992), p.24.

[36]F. Dumont, "Quelle révolution tranquille?" in *La société québécoise après 30 ans de changements*, éd. F. Dumont (Québec: INRC, 1990), p.14.

[37]Jean-Bernard Racine, *La ville entre Dieu et les hommes* (Genève : PBU, 1993), pp.296-297.

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[38] For a more detailed analysis of method, read Glenn Smith, "Doing Theology in the Canadian Urban Context: Some Preliminary Reflections," in *Studies in Canadian Evangelical Renewal - Essays in Honour of Ian S. Rennie* (Toronto: FT Publications, 1996), pp.81-103. Also see note 24 on p.225 of *Espoir pour la ville: Dieu dans la cité.* (QC: Éditions de la Clairière, 1994).

[39] The author would suggest supplementary reading of this section with two works by F. Dumont: *La genèse de la société québécoise* (Montréal: Boréal, 1993) and *La société québécoise après 30 ans de changements*, éd. F. Dumont (Québec: INRC, 1990).

[40] *How Unique is Québec's Religious Climate Anyway?* Study published by Christian Direction, Summer 1997.

[41] J. Moody, *Rechristianization of Religion in Modern European History* (New York: MacMillan, 1964), p.89.

[42] Os Guinness, *The Gravedigger File* (Downers Grove: IVP, 1983), p.59.

[43] See the series of articles in *La Presse*, "Les catholiques de Montréal," August 9-12, 1997.

[44] The study in St-Laurent included an actual head count of people attending all Protestant and Catholic weekend services during the month of February 1990.

[45] Québec Assembly of Bishops, *Towards a Fraternal and Communal Church* (1987), p.28.

[46] Dumont, p.259.

[47] Peter Berger, *A Far Glory* (Toronto: The Free Press, 1992), p.36.

[48] Gilbert, *The Making of Post-Christian Britain* (London: Longman, 1981).

[49] P. Quek, *The Promise or Peril of Religion in Modern Society: An Examination of the Secularization Theory*, Crux. June 1987, pp.26-36.

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[50] Ibid., pp.26-27.

[51] I think that this definition of the process goes a long way to respond to the questions of Harvie Conn in his article "Any Faith Dies in the City," *Urban Mission 3:5*, May 1986. Also see F. Dumont, "Du catholicisme québécois," *Une foi partagée* (Montréal: Bellarmin, 1996), Chapter 12 for an insider's view of the question of marginalization.

[52] Paul Tillich, *The Protestant Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), p.57.

[53] Thomson, p.290.

[54] P. Gérin-Lajoie, *Les combats d'un révolutionnaire tranquille* (Anjou: Centre éducatif et culturel, 1989), p.29 (Author's translation).

[55] Ibid., p.51.

[56] Ibid., pp.341-342.

[57] J. Bertin, *Felix Leclerc, le roi heureux* (Paris: Arlea, 1987), p.31.

[58] G. Desplangues, "La population francilienne", *Données sociales Île-de-France* (Paris: INSEE, 1989), p.8.

[59] M. Behiels, *Prelude to Québec's Quiet Revolution* (Montréal: McGill, 1985), p.14.

[60] Québec Assembly of Bishops, p.28.

[61] Michael Greene and Alister McGrawth, *How Shall We Reach Them?* Nashville: Nelson, 1995, p.175.

[62] This research was done by Christian Direction with the help of Edward Hoyer and Richard Lougheed, professor of Church history at the *Faculté évangélique théologique.* Beginning in 1984, Christian Direction asked each denomination to submit a list of congregations for the annual Christian Directory. Confirmation of all information was then done. This chart represents trends, exactitude especially prior to that date is virtually impossible.

Chapter Notes

[63]W. Peach, "Evangelism - Distinctly Québec," *Reclaiming a Nation*, edited by A. Motz (Richmond: Church Leadership Library, 1989), pp.153-176.

[64]Donald Lewis, "Evangelical Renewal in French Canada," *His Dominion,* Fall 1982, pp.3-11.

[65]Burrows defined this as, ".. a technical term describing the almost universal evangelization pattern utilized by Euro-American churches in the nineteenth century missionary movement. The centre of that model is an ordained clergyman who directs a mission 'station,' the basic unit in the organization of the conversion process. The source of inspiration is the standard and rural, European parish, either Protestant or Catholic; it is this parish structure which is modified for missionary purposes." p. x.

[66]All figures used in this analysis come from the archives of Christian Direction, Inc.

[67]See amendment to letters patents of Sermons from Science '67.

[68]Personal correspondence to Christian Direction.

[69]Keith Price, *Cooperating in World Evangelization*, (Wheaton: Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, 1983), p.42.

[70]For a complete list of these municipalities including population see, *Répertoire des municipalités du Québec*, 1996, tableau 3.3.3, pp.77-92.

[71]See list on page of *La situation démographique au Québec,* Édition 1995.

[72]*Répertoire des municipalités du Québec*, 1996, p.40.