Muted Mission:

An Interpretive Historical Essay on the Impact of Baptists in Western Canada

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Oh give me a home where the buffalo roam,
Where the deer and the antelope play,
Where seldom is heard a discouraging word,
And the skies are not cloudy all day.

People in Victoria, the western-most provincial capital in Canada, love to publicize their flower counts in February each year while reminding other Canadians of the wintry weather they still endure. The count runs into the billions. However, west coasters often neglect to mention the struggle of many with Seasonally Affective Disorder, in part the result of living with too little sunshine for too long. People on the Canadian Prairies could boast more that they often have beautiful winter sunshine. The skies are not cloudy all day. In the mid-nineteenth century there was rarely a discouraging word across the Canadian plains. Not only were there no Baptist business meetings yet, there were few people and few words of any kind in this vast expanse. The aboriginal community, though culturally very important, was not large in numbers. The deer, antelopes and bison roamed widely. Deer are abundant today too; especially noteworthy is the challenge they present to many urban centres in British Columbia. Beautiful animals, they also destroy food and flower gardens for frustrated homeowners. The bison are returning today. Brutal hunting methods practised by both whites and aboriginals, as witnessed by the appropriately named Head Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, had brought them to near extinction.

Horsemen stampeded the buffalo over a steep cliff; only the immediately usable parts of the animals were retrieved, leaving much behind among the broken animals. Other Europeans preceded Baptists into the harsh, open land of the Canadian Prairies. Still, the cowboy song above described the land the first Baptists encountered, though it would rapidly change.

Yet historian Jean Barman has placed her finger on an important reality for the Canadian psyche, including western Baptists. The Rocky Mountains form a formidable topographical
barrier, which influences culture, politics and the economy. Barmen called her history of British Columbia, *The West beyond the West*. There the skies were cloudy; the prominent animals were the salmon and orcas, the grizzly bears, cougars and bald eagles. Europeans came somewhat earlier here. Gold drew many adventurers to the province and made the national historic town of Barkerville in the centre of the province, with its population of 10,000 in 1863, the largest settlement north of San Francisco and west of Chicago. Both west and east of the Rockies newcomers were drawn by the abundant natural resources that provided income for those willing to face the challenges of the northern climate.

Baptists first entered Western Canada from the east. (I will refer mostly to stories from the Canadian Baptists of Western Canada [CBWC], because it is the history I know best. No slight is intended by this bias. For most of its history the CBWC was known as the Baptist Union of Western Canada.) Baptist movement from Ontario had been slowed by a difference between open communion frequently practised by the churches in the Ottawa and Montreal regions and closed communion practised by churches near Toronto. In the latter area only members of the local congregation were permitted to partake. These churches were largely born through the evangelistic work of preachers from upstate New York and took congregationalism very seriously. They hesitated to cooperate with the fellowships further east who had been influenced by British Baptists. Since Baptists were smaller in numbers than the major denominations and consequently had fewer resources available at the best of times, this hesitation had consequences that lasted. As Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians and Methodists focused attention on the open spaces to the west, Baptists were without visible presence until late, beginning in 1869. Some suggest this late start explains why the CBWC has remained a relatively small denomination.
Ontario Baptists, conscious of mission opportunities that were being missed, decided to send two “spies.” The terminology was theirs. In 1869 Thomas Baldwin and Thomas Davidson travelled west to assess the needs and came to two conclusions, somewhat at odds with one another: there were currently not enough Baptists to justify sending a worker, and it would be appropriate to send out a missionary anyway in anticipation of population growth. So, Alexander “Pioneer” McDonald came west to begin a prolific career of church planting, arriving in Winnipeg for the first time in 1873. A viable route through Canadian territory did not exist at the time, so McDonald, a widower with a young son, travelled across the Great Lakes by steamer and then headed north from Minnesota. When McDonald arrived, he found a welcome from the Presbyterian pastor in Winnipeg and within a week held a Baptist service in a run-down schoolhouse. No Baptists were present for that first service; the only Baptist couple in town was away. McDonald persevered. He headed back to Ontario later that year both to remarry and to shore up support for his fledgling mission work. Upon his return to Winnipeg, he established First Baptist Church in 1875, the initial Baptist congregation in Western Canada. He also formed a preaching circuit which included numerous stops he attended in often difficult weather. In 1879 he helped to start up Prairie College, the first training program for pastors in the west. It closed in 1883. By 1880 he had planted four churches and created the Red River Association. It grew to ten churches two years later and McDonald expanded its sights by forming the Regular Baptist Missionary Convention of Manitoba and the Northwest, effectively embracing all the Canadian Prairies.

McDonald shifted to church planting in North Dakota for a time, but returned to Canada in 1892. He continued his zealous evangelistic work near Fort Edmonton and founded First Baptist Church and Strathcona Baptist Church. He also helped to form another association of
seven Baptist churches in that region in 1899. Though Baptists shy away from creating a pantheon of saints, McDonald’s efforts were heroic and set a foundation for Western Canadian Baptist witness in the decades to come. He is quietly remembered in two ways today: the president of the CBWC is the custodian of the Pioneer McDonald Bible that is officially passed along to each successive holder of the office; and Dr. Jonathan Wilson of Carey Theological College is the current Pioneer McDonald Professor of Theology.

C. C. McLaurin followed in the Pioneer’s footsteps through diligent church planting efforts. First he became Missionary at Large for the Prairie Provinces in 1901. He once travelled four hundred miles from southeast Saskatchewan to Edmonton on horseback and saw almost no houses. He did plant First Baptist Church in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan on that journey. In 1907 he became Superintendent of the Alberta Convention and concentrated on the vast Peace River region in northern Alberta. He rarely slept in a regular bed, travelled on whatever modes of transport were available (including log rafts), preached constantly and planted churches.

The denomination owes much to the efforts of these shining stars. Overall, however, church planting was more anonymous, reflecting the priesthood of some believers. In 1876 a group of fifteen residents of Victoria formed First Baptist Church. Seven were black, but repeated interracial conflict led them in 1881 to move into rural areas north of the city. One, John Sluggett, is memorialized in the Fellowship Baptist Church that until recently bore his name. In the post-American Civil War period, we understand why these folk came to Vancouver Island. How disappointing that they were not welcomed by white fellow Baptists. This first Baptist congregation in British Columbia, young and not stable, remarkably soon allowed its pastor leave to go to the burgeoning port city of New Westminster on the Fraser
River. He helped establish Olivet Baptist Church in 1878. Olivet sent people through the dense rainforest that covered the Lower Mainland of British Columbia to help establish First Baptist Church of Vancouver in 1887, which became a pillar Baptist church for the province.  

There have been periods when the denomination funded church extension as a special focus. Bob Ball was sent to form Jasper Park Baptist Church in 1965. The congregation purchased, from the United Church of Canada, the affectionately called Little White Church in the Rockies, whose cornerstone had been laid by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, the creator of Sherlock Holmes. The building has no baptistery and so new believers are immersed in local lakes or hotel pools. Southside Community Church has been a church planting hub near Vancouver since the 1990s, having established six different campuses (including one in Albania)—four of which continue—and forming and leading a church planting training network called Forge Canada.

Sometimes new churches arose through quiet local efforts. The Mustard Seed Street Church in Calgary grew out of a coffee house at First Baptist Church. The pastor and a handful of lay people from now-defunct Bowness Baptist Church in Calgary helped to plant Mountain Baptist Church of Canmore, one hundred kilometres west in the Rockies in the late 1980s. Such geographic distances have often made church planting an uncertain venture.

Always, among all major Baptist groups, there have been opportunities to plant churches among ethnic communities new to Canada. In the early years, immigrants could arrive with few possessions. Practical care and assistance in dealing with the laws, schools and health facilities of a new homeland expressed Christian compassion and sometimes helped to form new churches. The North American Baptist Conference has a structure spanning Canada and the United States. Originally derived from German Baptist settlement in our southern neighbour, in
1902 they formed a poverty-stricken Northern Conference for churches in Canada. These churches benefitted from CBWC financial support and held dual affiliation. After World War I the CBWC asked for greater integration of these churches and they largely decided to embrace only the German-speaking conference. Swedish Baptists also came in sufficient numbers to become a visible presence in Canada, forming the Baptist General Conference of Canada.

More recently, efforts to plant new churches have found more success among immigrant populations than among native-born. Refugees from the Great Lakes region of Africa, Haitians, Karen folk from Burma, Japanese, Koreans and Chinese—both Cantonese- and Mandarin-speakers—have been welcomed into the churches of the CBWC in some fashion or as new churches welcomed into our denomination. Greenhills Christian Fellowship is a mainly Filipino church network that is planting new churches in several major Canadian cities, including Winnipeg, Calgary and the Vancouver area. Similar growth among immigrants is happening in the other major Baptist groups.

Church planting and evangelism have clearly been central to Baptist identity in Western Canada. Census figures from 2011 give us some idea of our success in this area. The population for Western Canada stood at 10,149,660. The number identifying themselves as Baptists—with no distinction between the various groups—was 195,590, just under two percent of the population. The importance of immigration for our churches stands out: the number of Baptists who had come to Canada as immigrants was 41,200, twenty-one percent of our numbers. A cautious conclusion would seem to be that we have done better at being a gathered community of believers, than in being effective evangelists—despite our many efforts.

The late start of Baptist witness in the west cannot account for much of this weakness. In Toronto in 1896 Baptists accounted for five percent of the city’s population; but in 2011 they
came in at just under 1.5 percent. Furthermore, national percentages are almost identical to those in the west. External factors such as secularization or non-Christian immigration could impact these declines in population proportion. In this paper, however, I wish to explore more internal, historic reasons that affected our growth.

Prominent is our dependence on the economics of natural resource extraction. On the Prairies a demographic trend has been the depopulation of rural areas. Like so much of the world, people are moving to cities. In Western Canada, the countryside empties somewhat. Agricultural industrialization is a factor: fewer people needed to produce more food. There are strong churches in small towns but they are fewer. Others shrink or close altogether. Similarly, in the Kootenay region of British Columbia, a railroad was built to keep mined resources there from transshipment by eager railway tycoons based in Spokane, Washington. The Kettle Valley Railway, completed during World War I, was an engineering feat through narrow, often snow-filled valleys and over sometimes dangerous grades. It passed eastward through the poor ranching and fruit-growing Okanagan region on its way to the wealth of the Kootenays. Baptist churches in the Okanagan often needed denominational financial assistance for several decades—until the valley became a haven for tourists and retirees, starting in the 1960s. In contrast Baptist churches in the Kootenays in the CBWC now number two—down significantly in numbers from a century ago, since mining no longer brings attention or major income. The Kettle Valley Railway closed in 1989—though its right-of-way has been reborn as a hiking and cycling attraction. With these economic dislocations people move. Sometimes being uprooted causes people to seek connection with a church community; but in our individualistic culture it is more likely people get engrossed in others aspects of life in a new locality and forget to seek a new congregational home. Economics can work for us, but often work against us.
The Kootenays point to another factor working against Baptists, disunity. In the same or a nearby town Baptist churches of different denominations exist. Institutional inertia often enough leads these churches to cooperate minimally. Baptists historically have regularly practised the associational principle. When membership lists are not long or when the number of churches in a region is small, the need to fellowship between churches and “spur one another on to love and good deeds” (Hebrews 10:25) has been keenly felt. The Convention of Baptist Churches in British Columbia arose from such cooperation. It was formed in 1897, a full decade before the CBWC united Baptists on both sides of the Rockies. It had depended on generous financial and structural support from the American Baptist Convention, who allowed the British Columbia churches to be one association within their structure. Lack of cooperation—overall more because of institutional factors than of ill-will—has curtailed Baptist effectiveness in outreach in Western Canada.

Ill will did prevail for a time. In the 1920s, as part of the fundamentalist-modernist rending of Christianity in North America, a clash between two Baptist emphases led to a division that noticeably weakened both parties. After concerns from some in British Columbia for several years about the teaching of a professor at Brandon College—at the time, the divinity school for Baptists in the west—a group of churches left to form the Convention of Regular Baptist Churches of British Columbia in 1927. They had wanted a binding statement of faith that reinforced biblical teaching. The majority remaining in the CBWC preferred the principle of liberty of conscience.

The bitterness of the split took decades to dissipate and it fractured Baptist witness. In 1953 several of these conservative regional fellowships came together as the national Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches. In Western Canada, the churches in this fellowship
number 129. The CBWC has 162 churches. The North American Baptist Conference also has 162, the Canadian National Baptist Convention—which derives from the Southern Baptist Convention—196, and the General Conference has 88. It is not difficult to intuit that greater cooperation and structural efficiency could significantly impact Baptist witness and that its failure historically has muted our voices.

Southern Baptists felt we were not doing evangelism well enough. Viewing the statistics, they may have a point. Originally invited into Canada by Regular Baptists in British Columbia in the 1950s, they found it difficult to connect with existing Baptist denominations. The CBWC protested the Southern Baptist perspective that Canada was a mission field. In response, the Southern Baptist Convention would not permit its Home Mission Board to pay salaries of personnel in Canada, but individuals furthered the Southern Baptist work anyway. Their churches formed a conference in 1957 and it began to grow significantly across the country in the 1970s. In 1985 the Canadian Convention of Southern Baptists was formed and two years later they opened a school, the Canadian Southern Baptist Seminary in Cochrane, Alberta, just outside of Calgary. Growth has continued; they have more churches in Western Canada than any other Baptist group. Yet the Southern Baptist brand also has drawbacks. Richard Gwyn, a noted Canadian political commentator, argued twenty years ago that Canada was the first postmodern country in the world. Extensive television coverage during the 1980s and 1990s of Moral Majority leaders in the United States, some of whom identified as Southern Baptists, created unease in Canadians with this sensibility. Responding to these concerns in 2008, the Canadian Southern Baptists changed their name to the Canadian National Baptist Convention. Its website still emphasizes the need for Baptist witness “unadulterated” by the “ecumenical”
efforts of other Canadian Baptist groups. While there is some local cooperation between various Baptist bodies, churches and individuals, stronger ties of unity remain elusive.

Another undercurrent also slows greater unity. In 1961 the CBWC ordained its first woman, Mae Benedict Field. It took some time for the second ordination of a woman. Myrna Sears, who directs the Carey Institute in Vancouver, was ordained in 1983. In recent years, however, one or a few women appear before the denomination-wide Ordination Examining Council annually. Though the strength of uneasiness with this practice varies in other Baptist bodies, the discomfort makes certain forms of cooperation awkward.

Theological education is a prominent area where disunity has caused weakness. I have mentioned the Canadian Southern Baptist Seminary in Cochrane, founded in 1987. North American Baptists formed Taylor Seminary in Edmonton in 1940 and the General Conference created Canadian Baptist Seminary in 1989, from its predecessor Vancouver Bible Institute. It is part of Associated Canadian Theological Schools (ACTS) in Langley, just outside Vancouver. Fellowship Baptists in the west also have a school that was a founding member of this consortium in 1987, Northwest Baptist Theological Seminary. It has a pre-history. Western Baptist Bible College in Calgary ran out of Westbourne Baptist Church from 1934 until World War II forced its closure in 1939. This church is part of the political lore of Alberta: its pastor was “Bible” Bill Aberhart, who became, first, a popular prophetic dispensationalist radio preacher, and then—accidentally—Premier of the province under the banner of the Social Credit Party from 1935 until his sudden death in 1943. He had led Westbourne out of the CBWC in 1922. A replacement school opened in British Columbia in 1945 as a college, later adding a seminary division. ACTS is an effort to pool resources for theological education. Its participants include Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary Canada, Master’s Pentecostal
Seminary and Trinity Western Seminary. The latter belongs to the Evangelical Free Church, which sponsors Trinity Western University. ACTS is the university’s theological division.

It is worth pausing to note that two other prominent politicians are part of the Baptist story in the west. Both were populists like Aberhart. John Diefenbaker, a lawyer from Prince Albert, Saskatchewan was Prime Minister of Canada from 1957 until 1963 under the Progressive Conservative banner. One of his achievements was the passing of the first Canadian Bill of Rights in 1960. Tommy Douglas had studied at Brandon College and became a Baptist pastor in Weyburn, Saskatchewan in 1930, at the height of the Great Depression. The suffering of the common folk led him into socialist activism and a career in politics. He became Premier of Saskatchewan, gathering momentum for the introduction of the first Medicare plan in Canada in 1962. It spread across the country. Douglas led the New Democratic Party nationally from 1961 to 1971. When the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation held a well publicized viewer poll in 2004 to name the Greatest Canadian, it was Douglas who won. Yet in postmodern Canada, his politics, not his faith received the credit.

Returning to theological education, my own Carey Theological College has a pre-history, too. Brandon College secularized and became a university with no ties to Baptists. Other attempts to train church leaders were short-lived. With some foresight and good fortune, the CBWC obtained a 999-year lease in the theological precinct of the University of British Columbia (UBC) for Carey Hall. It opened in 1960 as a men’s residence. In the 1970s it was noted many candidates for ministry left Western Canada for training and did not return, taking pastoral positions near the schools they studied at in eastern Canada or the United States. The original charter allowed Carey Hall to provide theological education and, in 1980, it began to offer a joint Master of Divinity with transdenominational Regent College, also on the UBC
campus. In 2008 Carey began to offer its own Master of Divinity. In a successful effort to reduce student debt and the cost of theological education, two thirds of its courses are delivered online and one third as hybrids, involving a three- or four-day intensive and some online interaction. Regent prefers a residential model for theological education. A key challenge Carey faces is to get pastoral candidates from CBWC churches to take their course work through us. Especially students on the Prairies choose to go to schools, Baptist or otherwise, physically near them. The online learning model seems foreign to some of them, and the barrier of the Rockies still casts its shadow.

Five schools—though two work in a consortium—for 737 churches. It is hard to maximize opportunities to equip students for ministry in a rapidly changing culture when faculty and administrative support are either stretched too thin or duplicating efforts from school to school.

There is another source for our muted witness, perhaps more for the CBWC, perhaps not. In the 1920s it could be argued that the theological differences between the CBWC and the Regular Baptists were less a matter of belief than of style: liberty of conscience for Christ followers versus a strongly stated allegiance to the Bible. Put another way, the majority leaned to an open and cooperative spirit with other Christians and other Canadians; the critics were more interested in unequivocal declaration of the fundamentals of the faith. Later, a landmark process for the CBWC, one this author participated in, illustrated this dynamic again. At the annual assembly in Kelowna, British Columbia in 1985, a motion was on the agenda that the CBWC join the growing Evangelical Fellowship of Canada. After the first three speakers had spoken against this possibility—one at great length—a motion to table was presented in fear of serious division in the denomination. I, as a young pastor in favour of clearly aligning our
biblical witness with other evangelical believers, stood to register my vote against the tabling motion. It did not seem right that no one in favour had yet spoken. The major concern of the speakers was that we could lose our identity as bridge-builders between the mainline denominations and the freer evangelical churches. The following year’s assembly was in Calgary. It was tightly regulated, with time limits on each speaker, and alternated between the microphones in favour or against the resolution. It quickly became apparent the number of speakers in favour was greater than those opposed, and the final vote overwhelmingly reflected this sentiment. A few who voted against told me they were not so much opposed to the Evangelical Fellowship as worried about division in our own ranks. These stories bring up the question: does the desire to be open in our biblical stance and quick to affirm what we can in others also have the consequence of softening our articulation of the gospel? At one time Fellowship Baptists said, “Yes,” and the website of the National Baptists would still seem to agree.

I have reflected on why our mission has been muted, giving historical perspective to these musings. Mission has not been absent, however. Church planting has continued through the years and sometimes thrived. Ministries of compassion have frequently been instituted. Out of the Cold programs are common; dinners to feed the community show Christ’s practical concern. Emmanuel Baptist Church feeds over four hundred students from the adjacent University of Victoria on Tuesday evenings during the academic year. Efforts to welcome newcomers to Canada, often arriving in and from difficult circumstances, have been made throughout our history, most notably during the flight of the Boat People from Vietnam in the 1970s and now during the Syrian refugee crisis. The Mustard Seed Street Churches in Victoria, Calgary and Edmonton were born in CBWC settings, though the North American Baptists now
support the Alberta ones. They have given powerful witness to the compassion of Christ in their cities. Pat Nixon, who did not finish high school, has been awarded the Order of Canada for his work at the Calgary Mustard Seed. A sizable residence for seniors, many of whom cannot afford regular rents in the very expensive city of Vancouver, forms part of the picture. Fellowship Baptists have been more ambitious in this regard, though, establishing a network of fifteen seniors’ homes in British Columbia under the banner Baptist Housing Society.

Baptists in Western Canada have been mission-minded regarding overseas witness. All groups actively support taking the good news of Jesus to other lands. As one example, Canadian Baptist Ministries—affiliated with the CBWC—have been leaders in developing integral mission work. They have emphasized cooperation with indigenous partners who take the lead in these joint projects. Since their mission work was reorganized in 1995, there have been four executive directors. The first three came from Western Canada. Still, the models of mission learned in overseas partnerships have translated into Canadian settings in more muted fashion.

One clear missional success story has been camping. Located throughout the west, camps have been effective in two significant ways since the 1920s. First, they introduce several thousand children and young people to Jesus Christ each year, though our churches often find it difficult to integrate these new believers. Second, they have been a wonderful place for identifying and training young people in Christian leadership. Their effect continues today.

In many ways I am proud of who we are as Western Canadian Baptists. I particularly affirm the openness of spirit of my own tribe, the CBWC, in its warm approach to other Christians and Canadians, in its attitudes to partnerships with churches in other cultures, and in its willingness to ordain women. I do share the worry of the National Baptists, however, that in our desire to reflect this openness we mute (not eliminate) our gospel witness and make it more
likely that the Baptist emphasis on witness to Jesus Christ will lose ground to our commitment to being gathered communities of his faithful followers. Continued dialogue on this point is worth having.

1 http://flowercount.com/
2 http://www.history.alberta.ca/headsmashedin/
4 http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/barkerville/
6 An opinion already expressed by Ontario Baptists as they first considered sending a worker west: see Margaret Thompson, The Baptist Story in Western Canada (Calgary: Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1974), 15. See, too, Renfree, 171.
7 Thompson, 15.
8 Thompson, 409-412.
9 Renfree, 172-177, 189.
11 The following details come from “Looking Back so we can Look Forward: An Outline of our Church History at First Baptist Church, Victoria, B.C.” (2001), 2-12.
12 It is now called Centennial Park Fellowship Baptist Church.
13 It closed in 1883 and was immediately reconstituted with a new name, Calvary Baptist Church. Its new covenant stated “no distinction shall ever be made in respect of race, colour, or class.” The church again took the name, First Baptist, in 1908.
14 Renfree, 182-183.
15 See Thompson, 214-222, for the challenges of the period 1950-1970.
16 The author was pastor in Jasper from 1982-1986.
17 http://www.southside.ca/; http://www.forgecanada.ca/
18 J. E. Harris, The Baptist Union of Western Canada: A Centennial History 1873-1973 (Saint John, NB: Lingley Printing, 1976), 90-94, tells some of these stories in Winnipeg and Vancouver during the 1920s and 1930s.
20 From the Statistics Canada website: http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/dp-pd/dt-td/Rp-eng.cfm?LANG=E&APATH=3&DETAIL=0&DM=0&FL=A&FREE=0&GC=0&GID=0&GK=0&GR=1&PID=105399&PRID=0&PTYPE=105277&S=0&SHOWALL=0&SUB=0&Temporal=2013&THEME=95&VID=0&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF=. Statistics were gleaned from the figures for British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Yukon and the Northwest Territories.
22 The author was surprised to learn of long-term denominational support into the 1960s for several CBWC churches in the Okanagan during his time as pastor of Penticton First Baptist Church, 1992-2003.
24 Thompson, 158, reflects on this disunity.
25 For a winsome description of the involvement of American Baptists from the Pacific Northwest region of the United States in encouraging the development of Baptist churches in British Columbia, see Poussett, chap. 1.
26 See Thompson, 155-158. For the wider Canadian perspective, including a similar division in Ontario, see Renfree, chap. 21, 23.
28 PDF file, Canadian Baptists of Western Canada Church Directory, Spring 2016.
The figure for the General Conference was obtained by a phone call to the conference office in Edmonton on June 14, 2016.


The words in quotation marks come from this webpage.


see also the undated historical summary, with no author, “Beulah Gardens Homes Society: Our History.”

A look at their publications will quickly confirm this point: [http://cbmin.org/resources/publications/](http://cbmin.org/resources/publications/)

Thompson, 468-472.