The Genesis and Evolution of A New Creed in the United Church of Canada

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In its brief history, The United Church of Canada has tried to articulate its theology in four official statements of faith: the Basis of Union (1925), the Statement of Faith (1940), A New Creed (1968) and A Song of Faith (2006). A noteworthy element of the most recent, A Song of Faith, is the deference it shows to just one of its predecessors: A New Creed. The Committee on Theology and Faith, which wrote A Song of Faith, claimed that "This statement is not intended to be in any way a replacement of the beloved New Creed," which, they added, that "[p]eople in the United Church love." Michael Bourgeois, chairperson, has said that the Committee on Theology and Faith encountered many individuals while drafting A Song of Faith who "thought that 'A New Creed' so perfectly summarized the faith of the church that nothing else was necessary." Similar testimonies abound. Mardi Tindal, the fortieth and current Moderator of the United Church's General Council, once said of A New Creed, "It's the one thing I've made sure my children know. We say it as a grace at meals because I really want them to know it." David Bruce wrote in 2008 that "the beautiful words of the much-loved 'A New Creed" are "the Christian faith as talked about by people in The United Church of Canada."4

Although A New Creed is widely esteemed in the United Church, its story is not well known. Gretta Vosper, for example, has referred recently to a "mysterious process" by which it was composed and authorized for use in the United Church.⁵ Having concluded from an extensive survey of United Church literature that indeed its origin and development remain

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a mystery for many, the primary purpose of this paper is to shed light on the little-known story of A New Creed. A secondary purpose will be to reflect on the significance of this text and its use in the United Church. In contrast to the kind of glowing descriptions already cited, A New Creed will be shown to represent a striking lack of consensus about what it meant in the 1960s, and still means today, to be a Christian within the United Church. By the clear and insightful admission of its original authors, A New Creed does not, nor was intended, to reflect a spiritual consensus in the United Church. Rather, it was crafted as a strategy to manage the breakdown of the United Church as a Christian community.

The Story of A New Creed

Although A New Creed now reflects revisions approved by the General Council Executive in 1980 and 1995, its basic formulation was made in the mid-1960s in preparation for the 23rd General Council, 1968. The impetus for the creation of a new creedal statement for the United Church, according to the Committee on Christian Faith, came in 1965. At the beginning of that year, the committee had designated a group of individuals to approach the Presbyterian Church in Canada with a view to producing a joint statement of faith.⁶ While this never materialized, a better and more important opportunity soon arrived. In May 1965 the committee was studying a draft baptismal liturgy that had been proposed by the Committee on Church Worship and Ritual for inclusion in the upcoming Service Book. Uncomfortable with the suggested rubric "The Apostles' Creed shall be said by all," committee members sought and gained permission from the General Council Sub-executive to write a "profession of faith, suitable for liturgical use, as a possible alternative to the Apostles' Creed." Following the 22nd General Council, 1966, in time for which such a task had not been possible, the Committee on Christian Faith asked for and received an enlarged mandate from the Sub-executive:

- 1. To examine the status and authority of the classical creeds in The United Church of Canada today.
- 2. To collect and examine representative modern statements of faith.
- 3. To attempt to formulate a modern credal statement suitable for use in the liturgy, with special reference to the new order for the administration of the sacrament of baptism.⁸

Beginning in October 1966, the group met monthly at Church House

in Toronto to analyze a variety of modern confessions and to write one for the United Church. Despite tremendous effort and lengthy discussion, the committee made no progress on writing a creed for several months, as there was complex debate and intense disagreement on virtually every issue before it – if and how to use and/or interpret the Apostles' Creed, what sort of confession was needed as well as what status a newly created text could or should have. Surviving committee members remember a "deep divide," that "We fought a lot" and even that, months into the process, "things seemed hopeless."

A period of creativity and productivity was sparked, however, in October 1967 when Mac Freeman, of Victoria College, submitted a text that became the committee's prototype:

I believe that

Man is not alone.

- God has created and is creating us.
- God has worked in history and is working to liberate us for true humanity in community.
- God has come among us in the true man Jesus and comes among us today in the Spirit of our risen Lord to deliver us from alienation from God, our fellows and ourselves.
- God has called and is calling us into the company of Jesus with whom we are chosen to be servants, by whom others are also set free.

Man is not alone.

- In life, in death, in life beyond death we are in the presence of God.

Believing that we are offered life and liberation from beyond our human resources, I trust God and commit my existence to his purpose. 10

For the next meeting, Richard Delorme, a minister from Valleyfield, Quebec, had been commissioned to revise Freeman's creed in light of committee discussion and submitted an influential second draft:

We believe that:

Man is not alone; he lives in God's world.

We believe in the God of this world and other worlds.

- In God Who has created and is creating us.
- In God Who has come among us in the True Man, Jesus.

- In God Who, in Jesus, reconciles us to himself and others.
- In God Who, by His Spirit, liberates us to serve.

We believe in this God.

Therefore:

Man is not alone; he lives in God's world.

- In life, in death, in life beyond death, we are in his presence.

We believe in the God of this world and other worlds.

We commit our existence to Him. 11

This version introduced the trademark phrase, "Man is not alone; he lives in God's world," and signalled a lasting move towards a more poetic confession.

From that point onward, the committee spent its efforts essentially tinkering with what came to be known as the "Freeman-Delorme Creed." In February 1968, for example, Toronto-based minister Gordon Nodwell submitted a revision on behalf of a small group – including Alex Farquhar and Dorothy Wyman – which is strikingly like A New Creed as it first appeared in the *Service Book*:

Man is not alone; he lives in God's world.

We believe in God:

Who has created and is creating,

Who has come in the True Man, Jesus,

Who works within us and among us by his Spirit.

We believe in Him.

He calls us into his Church, to love and serve our fellow men, and to share in his kingdom.

In life, in death, in life beyond death, he is with us.

We are not alone; we believe in God.¹³

Notably, this draft begins without "I/We believe." Another lasting change was that "God has created and is creating" but not necessarily "us." Despite the progress being made, the creed and its contents continued to be a source of fierce debate among committee members who differed on many issues of form, style, and theological content. Farquhar, for example,

also offered a dissenting revision and spoke strongly against the phrase, "In life, in death, in life beyond death . . ." because he considered it "redundant." By the March meeting, however, former chairperson Donald Mathers of Queen's Theological College, told the committee that they had to finish the creed at the next meeting in April in order to present it to the 23^{rd} General Council that summer.

The committee's difficulty with the Apostles' Creed also persisted. In March 1968, Dorothy Wyman presented a variety of possible rubrics for the ancient baptismal confession. After discussion, secretary Hugh Rose wrote to the Church Worship and Ritual Committee that his committee was requesting of their counterparts, "that the following introductory formula be recommended for use with the Apostles' Creed: 'Let us repeat the historic expression of the Christian faith known as the Apostles' Creed ... "15 When the Committee on Church Worship and Ritual responded that it was unhappy with this phrase, proposing "say together" rather than "repeat," it renewed debate at the Committee on Christian Faith. "At least one . . . member of the committee," for example, "wanted a stronger statement than is implied with 'say together' and indicated we should seek an unambiguous statement." Donald Evans and Donald Mathers were content with "Let us say together . . ." and moved its adoption. Wyman and Mac Freeman, however, pleaded for "repeat," arguing that "say together" meant "confess" and that this was impossible for the Apostles' Creed. In a vote, "say together" carried 6-5. Mathers then left the room and visited the Committee on Church Worship and Ritual that was also meeting at Church House that day. He reported that one member was totally opposed to "say together" and that this phrase left the group "badly split." The Committee on Church Worship and Ritual then suggested "Let us repeat together . . ." a revision with which the Committee on Christian faith concurred. 16 Before adjourning, the committee agreed on the text of a creed that would be presented to the twenty-third General Council. In light of final group discussion and a letter from Ralph Chalmers, of Pine Hill Divinity Hall, the committee revised and expanded reference to the work of Christ:

Man is not alone; he lives in God's world.

We believe in God:

Who has created and is creating,

Who has come in the true Man, Jesus, to reconcile and renew,

Who works within us and among us by his Spirit.

We trust him.

He calls us to be his Church:
To celebrate his presence,
To love and serve others,
To seek justice and resist evil.

We proclaim his kingdom.

In life, in death, in life beyond death, He is with us. We are not alone; we believe in God.¹⁷

A New Creed was presented to the 23rd General Council, meeting at Sydenham Street United Church in Kingston, Ontario. On the morning of August 29th, Donald Mathers presented the committee's report and then Hugh Rose spoke to the report.¹⁸ Rose recalled:

I remember being suitably intimidated standing before council and even more so when Ernie Howse, former moderator and minister of Bloor Street, and George Johnston, prof of New Testament at Emmanuel, neither of whom had the reputation of being conservatives, poured scorn on a creed that didn't begin with I believe and then went on to dare to pretend to keep company with the "Historic Statements of the Church Catholic."¹⁹

For some time, the proposed creed was discussed on the floor and possible revisions were bandied about.²⁰ Ralph Chalmers,²¹ a corresponding member of the committee for Maritime Conference finally,

Moved that the new Creed be referred back to the Committee on Christian Faith with the request that it be re-drafted in a manner that will give more adequate expression of the Christian Gospel for our time, and that the Committee report to the Executive of General Council which shall have power to issue.²²

Approving the motion, the General Council sent the creed back for further revision.

In late September, the committee reconvened and made the creed an "immediate priority." For it to appear in the *Service Book*, changes would

have to be made quickly. Hugh Rose reported his experience in Kingston, saying that, "[t]here appeared to be no opposition to the effort to write creeds, but considerable concern as to the form and content of the Creed." Correspondence was read highlighting the view that the creed featured "inadequate Christology" and that it "lacked depth." Ralph Chalmers, in particular, sent a list of ten detailed criticisms, including:

The New Creed is very weak in Christology. Jesus is only "true Man." Could not a Hindu say this of Gandhi, or a Buddhist of Buddha? We are Christians and this would appear to make it necessary to use the title Christ. Further, since the earliest confession was about Jesus being LORD, and the Church's reference to Him as Saviour, should not these terms or titles also be used? Since Christology is the very heart of any Christian Creed it would seem that we require at least a second line in it to sum up Christ's Incarnation, His ministry and teachings, death and resurrection, ascension and parousia.²³

After discussion, minutes note the "lack of any reference to historic events of crucifixion and resurrection was recognized." Rose, now chairperson, asked the others to send suggestions for distribution at the next meeting.²⁴

When the committee met on 21 October 1968, it was made clear that they would have to finish the creed that day for it to be approved by the General Council Executive and included in the Service Book. The University of Toronto's Donald Evans had prepared a thorough commentary on each line of the creed, based on the committee's September discussion as well as feedback from prominent Canadian Catholic theologian Gregory Baum.²⁵ The trademark opening line should remain unchanged for, as Evans' noted, "[t]here was again general agreement within the committee, that the creed should start with man; the agreement was supported by Gregory Baum's article." Another suggestion was to acknowledge God's presence outside the church – "who works within men and among men by his Spirit." Most significant was his expansion of the phrase "We proclaim his kingdom" to include "to proclaim the risen Jesus, our judge and our hope." Reference to "the risen Jesus," he argued, "is more explicit in expressing the conviction that Jesus is alive." "Our judge and our hope," finally, introduced the elements of divine judgment and of eschatological hope. Evans also noted that "My proposal leaves open the possibility of various interpretations of the resurrection" and "is open to various interpretations as to the way in which the risen Jesus is our hope."

Having added further a reference to Jesus' crucifixion and the closing "Thanks be to God," the committee sent its final text to the General Council Executive:

Man is not alone, he lives in God's world.*

We believe in God:

who has created and is creating,
who has come in the true Man, Jesus, to reconcile and make new,
who works in us and others by his Spirit.

We trust him.

He calls us to be his church:

to celebrate his presence,

to love and serve others,

to seek justice and resist evil,

to proclaim Jesus, crucified and risen, our judge and our hope.

In life, in death, in life beyond death, God is with us. We are not alone.

Thanks be to God.**

- * This line may be used as a versicle, with the rest as a response.
- ** This line is still under consideration as a possible addition. 26

On November 5th, Hugh Rose presented the revised text to the Executive, which approved it for use in congregations and for publication in the *Service Book*.²⁷

A decade later, A New Creed was formally revised to reflect principles of inclusive language. In March 1977, it was reported to the General Council Executive that the Committee on Christian Faith had become too large, met too infrequently and was paralyzed by theological diversity. In its place was created the Committee on Theology and Faith, consisting of twelve people and based in Toronto. Rome Of its first tasks was to examine A New Creed. In late 1979, it suggested to the General Council Executive that the first line be changed to read, "We are not alone, we live in God's world." The Executive then asked the committee "That the [whole] Creed be revised to make it inclusive in its language." A year later, a new version was presented and approved:

We are not alone, we live in God's world.

We believe in God:
who has created and is creating,
who has come in Jesus, the Word made flesh,
to reconcile and make new,
who works in us and others
by the Spirit.

We trust in God.

We are called to be the church:
to celebrate God's presence,
to love and serve others,
to seek justice and resist evil,
to proclaim Jesus, crucified and risen,
our judge and our hope.

In life, in death, in life beyond death, God is with us.

We are not alone.

Thanks be to God.30

One further change has since been made. In 1994, the Toronto Conference petitioned the thirty-fifth General Council to revise A New Creed in light of growing environmental concerns, citing "a need for our confessional language to reflect this awareness." In 1995, the Theology and Faith Committee proposed the phrase "to live with respect in creation" and the General Council Executive approved its insertion immediately following "We are called to be the Church: / to celebrate God's presence." 32

Conclusions and Significance

A New Creed often inspires strong feelings in the United Church as it has done from its inception. An early critic, Kenneth Hamilton of the University of Winnipeg, told a visiting journalist at the twenty-third General Council that A New Creed was "tendentious," "extremely superficial," and "slightly ridiculous." More recently, N. Keith Clifford

argued that it was "a product of the 'culture of narcissism." Others have lamented the corresponding dismissal of the classical creeds within the United Church. Edwin Searcy has confessed a personal "conversion" on this issue engendered by his "growing engagement with the historic and contemporary ecumenical church." Paul Scott Wilson said bluntly in 2009 that should the denomination "discard" the truths of the Apostles' Creed, "we would cease to be ecumenical, we would become a cult."

Conversely, many complimentary voices have always been heard. Moir Waters, of Robinson Memorial United Church and the Committee on Christian Faith, preached on A New Creed from his London, Ontario, pulpit on the Sunday following the twenty-third General Council. After reciting the text in his sermon, he said in disbelief, "This is the creed that was rejected!" Despite its rejection by the General Council, however, Waters commended A New Creed to his congregation for liturgical use and even encouraged his parishioners to memorize it. ³⁷ In 1969 *Observer* columnist John Burbidge offered a nearly identical evaluation. In commenting on the text that had just appeared in the *Service Book*, his only criticism was that it had been modified, since the twenty-third General Council, by the addition of reference to such "dead old things" such as the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus. ³⁸

In light of such contrasting opinions, it is difficult to make a normative statement about the view, or views, of A New Creed held by the people of the United Church, either in the late 1960s or today. What should we make, then, of the hyperbole we read, for example, in the "Appendix" to A Song of Faith? An answer becomes clear when we see the origin of A New Creed in the context of the cultural and spiritual discord which characterized "the sixties." As John Webster Grant described, this period was for the Canadian churches "A decade of ferment."39 As many others also have noted, the cultural changes of the era have had a profound and lasting impact on the church.⁴⁰ In the 1960s, Canadian and other Western societies experienced an increasingly rapid loss of cohesion. Among the many proposed causes of this decline, Robert Putnam has convincingly identified three which stand out: first, pressures of time, money and work; second, sprawl, suburbanization and commuting; and, third and most importantly, television. 41 Together, they contributed to a culture of privacy in which people had much less opportunity, need or even desire for social engagement. In a complimentary way, Arthur Marwick concluded that "the sixties" saw the wilful overthrow of the former social order and its replacement with a vast collection of much

smaller sub-cultures.42

United Church historian Phyllis Airhart once said A New Creed "sounds sort of '60sish to me." In what ways might an appreciation of "the sixties" inform our understanding of A New Creed? It seems that while society as a whole was losing consensus and breaking down, the same thing was happening to the United Church and even to the Committee on Christian Faith. As meeting minutes indicate and as the memories of former participants confirm, there was deep disagreement among committee members on virtually every aspect of their mandate.⁴⁴ Even after years of work on A New Creed, they declared in their final report that, "The impulse that has driven us to discuss new creeds is not so much a sense that we have a new consensus to express as a dissatisfaction with the consensus we have inherited."45 In the context of a diverse denomination, and without a consensus of its own, how did the committee proceed to write a creed for the United Church in "a decade of ferment"? It did so by crafting a text that replaced the goal of corporate confession with that of private profession. "The words and statements used," we read elsewhere in its report, "are suggestive rather than definitive, allowing for them to be filled with personal content by those who say the creed."46 To this day, it is this "suggestive rather than definitive" element of A New Creed that has sustained its popularity in the United Church. The authors of A Song of Faith, who noted a widespread love for A New Creed, also described it as "concise and usefully open-ended." Just as society was breaking down and being replaced by smaller sub-cultures in "the sixties," the same thing was happening in the United Church. A New Creed, which was first crafted in response to this cultural crisis and which continues to be popular today, represents in actuality a lack of spiritual consensus in the United Church. It represents a strategy to manage the breakdown of the United Church as a religious, specifically Christian community. The "Appendix" to A Song of Faith, numerous products from the United Church Publishing House⁴⁸ and especially the current liturgical resource – tellingly titled Celebrate God's Presence – each demonstrate the use of A New Creed by various elements in the denomination for this very purpose.

Endnotes

1. A Song of Faith, 17. Emphasis in the original.

- Michael Bourgeois, "Awash in Theology," a lecture given at West Hill United Church, Toronto, 25 February 2007. http://www.vicu.utoronto.ca/AssetFactory.aspx?did=720 (accessed 17 December 2009).
- 3. Marion Best, Will Our Church Disappear? Strategies for the Renewal of The United Church of Canada (Winfield, BC: Wood Lake Books, 1994), 54.
- 4. David Bruce, *Jesus 24/7: A Short Course in Faith for the Questing Christian* (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 2008), 1-3.
- 5. Gretta Vosper, With or Without God: Why the Way We Live Is More Important than What We Believe (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2008), 96. The few histories of A New Creed are brief and part of a broader topic: N. Keith Clifford, "The United Church of Canada and Doctrinal Confession," Touchstone 2, no. 2 (May 1984):6-21; William S. Kervin, The Language of Baptism (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2003); Peter Gordon White, "Introductory Note" Reformed Witness Today, ed. Lukas Vischer (Bern: Evanglische Arbeitstelle Oekumene Schweiz, 1982), 194-95; and Kevin Flatt, "The Evangelical Identity of The United Church of Canada" (Ph.D. diss., McMaster University, 2008), 179-86.
- Meeting Minutes, 11 January 1965, Standing Committee on the Christian Faith fonds, 82.204c-2, United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto, ON (UCCA).
- 7. By 1965, at least two former moderators were publically opposed to reciting the Apostles' Creed. See, for instance, Ernest Howse, *Roses in December: The Autobiography of Ernest Marshall Howse* (Winfield, BC: Wood Lake Books, 1982). In February, *The Observer* published an editorial, "Don't make us recite the Apostles' Creed," 1 February 1965, 10.
- 8. *Creeds: A Report of the Committee on Christian Faith* (Toronto: The United Church of Canada, 1969), 5.
- Personal conversations with Mac Freedman (first and last quotes) and Richard Delorme, 7 December 2009.
- 10. Meeting Minutes, 16 October 1967, Standing Committee on the Christian Faith fonds, 82.204c-2, UCCA. Freeman remembers getting the "Man is not alone" idea from a magazine article by John C. Bennett, of Union Theological Seminary, although Donald Evans always assumed that it came from Abraham Heschel's 1951 book of the same title. Personal conversations with Mac Freeman and Donald Evans, 7 December 2009.

- 11. "A Revised Creed by R. DeLorme based on the original by M. Freeman, November, 1967," Standing Committee on the Christian Faith fonds, 82.204c, 3-41, UCCA. Underlining in the original.
- 12. "Revision of Freeman-DeLorme Creed, by Rev. Angus J. MacQueen," Standing Committee on the Christian Faith fonds, 82.204c, 3-41, UCCA.
- 13. "Some Modern Creeds Discussed: A Preliminary Draft, by R.G. Nodwell," Standing Committee on the Christian Faith fonds, 82.204c, 3-41, UCCA.
- 14. Meeting Minutes, 12 February 1968, Standing Committee on the Christian Faith fonds, 82.204c-2, UCCA.
- 15. Hugh A.A. Rose to Richard H.N. Davidson, 19 March 1968, Standing Committee on the Christian Faith fonds, 82.204c, 1-3, UCCA.
- 16. A similar formula of introduction for A New Creed, "Let us repeat together a contemporary expression of Christian faith . . ." was adopted as well.
- 17. Meeting Minutes, 8 April 1968, Standing Committee on the Christian Faith fonds, 82.204c-2, UCCA.
- 18. Record of Proceedings, 23rd General Council (Toronto: The United Church of Canada, 1968), 56.
- 19. Personal correspondence from Hugh A.A. Rose, 12 December 2009.
- 20. Record of Proceedings, 23rd General Council, 56.
- 21. Never happy with the text, he called the new creed "theologically thin" before going on to say that, "It will have no authority in the church, so we're not getting very excited about it. I wouldn't use it." Ralph Chalmers, "Vague New Creed for Canadians," Christianity Today, 30 August 1968, 43.
- 22. Record of Proceedings, 23rd General Council, 56.
- 23. "The New Creed' submitted by R.C. Chalmers," Standing Committee on the Christian Faith fonds, 82.204c, 3-41, UCCA.
- 24. Meeting Minutes, 23 September 1968, Standing Committee on the Christian Faith fonds, 82.204c-2, UCCA.
- 25. "A Possible Revision of the Creed' by Donald Evans," Standing Committee on the Christian Faith fonds, 82.204c, 3-41, UCCA. Months before, Evans had shown an early draft to Baum who then reviewed it in *The Ecumenist*. Though complimentary, Baum was disappointed that it did not refer to divine judgment and seemed to allow Canadian Christians go on living, "a comfortable life, possibly in a nice suburb." Baum, "A New Creed," *The Ecumenist*

- (July-August 1968) or in Committee on Christian Faith fonds, 82.204c, 3-41, UCCA. Since the September meeting, interestingly, Hugh Rose had written Baum to ask "if he would care to make specific suggestions regarding revision in the proposed creed." Baum replied, however, that he could not, "as he felt it would be inappropriate in his position." Meeting Minutes, 21 October 1968, Standing Committee on the Christian Faith fonds, 82.204c-2, UCCA.
- Meeting Minutes, 21 October 1968, Standing Committee on the Christian Faith fonds, 82.204c-2, UCCA. A French translation was thought better left to the National Committee on French Work.
- 27. Meeting Minutes, 5 November 1968, General Council Executive, United Church of Canada General Council Office fonds: correspondence of the Executive and Sub-Executive, 82.001c, 3, UCCA. Also see *Service Book for the Use of the People*, 310.
- 28. This change was affirmed by the 27th General Council later that year; see *Record of Proceedings*, 27th General Council (Toronto: The United Church of Canada, 1977), 187-89.
- 29. Meeting Minutes, 21 November 1979, General Council Executive, United Church of Canada General Council Office fonds: correspondence of the Executive and Sub-Executive, 82.001.c, 34, UCCA.
- 30. Meeting Minutes, 19 November 1980, General Council Executive, United Church of Canada General Council Office fonds: correspondence of the Executive and Sub-Executive, 82.001.c, 34, UCCA.
- 31. *Record of Proceedings*, 35th General Council (Toronto: The United Church of Canada, 1994), 526-27.
- 32. A French translation, *Confession de foi de l'Église Unie du Canada*, was prepared by the *Consistoire Laurentian* and published in *Voices United* (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1996), 919.
- 33. Christianity Today, 30 August 1968, 43.
- 34. Clifford, "The United Church of Canada and Doctrinal Confession," 18.
- 35. Edwin Searcy, "The Story of My Conversion," *Touchstone* 27, no. 1 (2009): 38.
- 36. Paul Scott Wilson, "Let Go and Let God," a sermon preached at Eglinton-St. George's United Church, Toronto, 22 November 2009.
- 37. See the text of his sermon in Standing Committee on the Christian Faith fonds, 82.204c, 3-41, UCCA.

- 38. John Burbidge, "The Creed," *The United Church Observer*, 1 February 1969, 18.
- 39. John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Burlington, ON: Welch, 1988), 184-204. In any case, there is no debating the decline in "temporal" measures of success for the United Church in others, a decline which began in the 1960s and has continued unchecked since a point made by Sandra Beardsall, "And Whether Pigs Have Wings': The United Church in the 1960s," in *The United Church of Canada: A History*, ed. Don Schweitzer (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2011).
- Mark A. Noll, "What Happened to Christian Canada?" *Church History* 75, no. 2 (2006): 245-73; and Hugh McLeod, "The Crisis of Christianity in the West: Entering a Post-Christian Era?" in *World Christianities*, c.1914-c.2000, ed. Hugh McLeod (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 323-47.
- 41. Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), 277-84.
- 42. Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy and the United States, c.1958-c.1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 10-11.
- 43. Best, Will Our Church Disappear? 54.
- 44. William Kervin also noted such divisions in The Language of Baptism, 185.
- 45. Creeds, 10.
- 46. Creeds, 18.
- 47. A Song of Faith, 11.
- 48. See, for instance, Patricia Wells, "Welcome to The United Church of Canada: A Newcomer's Introduction to A New Creed" (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1986-2006).