

Protecting Christian Liberty: Mainline Protestantism, Racial Thought and Political Culture in Canada, 1918-1939

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There is no easy exit from the quandary. We have learned the hard way that while universal values offer a reasonable medicine against the oppressive obtrusiveness of parochial backwaters, and communal autonomy offers an emotionally gratifying tonic against the stand-offish callousness of the universalists, each drug when taken regularly turns into poison.¹

Canadian social and political historians generally have examined nativism, immigration, racial ideology and immigration policy without looking seriously at the churches' responses to them.² This neglect, although typical of Canadian historiography, should be surprising. It certainly is significant. As the American historian Mark Noll has argued recently, Canada has a better objective argument for having once been a "Christian nation" than the United States. Well into the twentieth century, arguably until after World War II, Canada was in all measurable ways a "Christian nation."³ The mainline Protestant churches, particularly, were among the largest and most pervasive institutions in Canada. The churches were powerful culture-shaping organizations, crucial sources of social welfare and reform, and prominent influences on government policy. For these reasons, their responses to immigrants deserve careful attention.

This essay will explore attitudes in the Protestant churches during the 1920s and 1930s towards immigrants and racial thought.⁴ English-

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speaking Protestants, arguably, were the dominant religious-cultural group in English Canada during the nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth centuries. The interwar period, specifically, was an era of both massive immigration and rigid immigration restriction in Canada. In addition, during the 1930s the onslaught of fascism in Europe put racial ideology and prejudice towards minorities in a new, highly-negative light. Though prejudice did not disappear, after World War II racial ideology never regained the respected cultural and intellectual place it once had in Canada.⁵ The interwar years thus were a crucial period of transition for racial thought and its place in Canadian religion and culture. It was a transition period for Canada's Protestant churches, as secular trends challenged the churches to reevaluate their place in Canadian culture.

A study of reactions to immigrants in the Protestant churches will uncover some of the connections between religion, moral impulses, social concerns and political culture. Liberal analysis, broadly defined, has emphasized that most native-born Canadians responded to social and economic change by asserting their cultural identity and promoting prejudice towards immigrants. They neglected democratic ideals like freedom and tolerance to regain a sense of stability in their cultural identity.⁶ Despite its explanatory power, this perspective overlooks fundamental ambiguities inherent in such concepts as tolerance and freedom. Contrary to liberal analysis, nativism and racial ideology were not simply reactionary assertions of self-identity by people suffering from socio-economic stress. Both racial ideology and nativism were based on an underlying conception of, and deep concern for, what Canadian society should be and both were promoted by progressives and conservatives alike. In an ironic and unintended way prejudice and ideals overlapped.

Context

In 1923, Salem Bland anticipated the formation of the United Church of Canada and described a glorious national vision that he believed might soon find its consummation. He wrote:

We are beginning to realize how great, how difficult, but how urgent, how inescapable and how glorious is the task of bringing in the Kingdom of God to Canada . . . When we think of the enthronement of Christ in the commercial and industrial and political life of Canada,

not in some indefinite, far-off time, but in our own generation, we cannot think denominationally, we can only think in terms of the United Church, or of that still grander union of Churches, which this union will make at once more easy and more imperative.⁷

It would be a mistake to read business boosterism or justification for the established political order into these words. Bland was a radical by the standards of his day and his language pointed to a new society in which the “wilderness of sin and injustice” would “become the dominion of the Lord.” For Bland, nation-building meant more than trains, tariffs and land. It meant creating a society that lived by the ideals of Christianity and democracy. In the Protestant culture of English Canada, the material and spiritual thus came together. The sacred was to uplift and transform the secular as the Dominion progressed toward the realization of God’s kingdom on earth.⁸

The historical literature on religious and intellectual developments during the first few decades of the twentieth century suggests that the theological underpinnings of this vision exhibited strains by the 1920s.⁹ The Protestant churches had adapted fairly successfully to biblical criticism and evolutionary thinking, but, ironically, they had also nurtured a new view of the world that competed with them and eventually outstripped their influence. The churches entered the twentieth century allied with progressive social reform, the growing state and social scientific explanations of the world.¹⁰ Legitimized by their association with Christianity, progressivism, social reform and the social sciences overlapped faith and reduced the role of the churches in the public sphere. Christianity eventually became primarily a matter of private belief as scientific knowledge increasingly won sway in public life.¹¹ The churches thus did not decline significantly during the interwar years, but their place in Canadian culture was changing.

It is difficult to assess the strength of religious views in the 1920s and 1930s. Church membership statistics are problematic indicators of religiosity, but in any case suggest no significant decline.¹² The idea of the Kingdom of God, as expressed in both individual and social terms, certainly co-existed with progressive reform during the interwar years and legitimized a greater role for the state. A good example of this was the triumph of Prohibition during the years after World War I. The state and social reform could not directly bring on the Kingdom of God, social gos-

pellers admitted, but they could help overthrow the power of the kingdom of the devil.¹³ The formation of the United Church in 1925 highlighted the continued power of Christian hopes and the potential for a more unified national identity.¹⁴

The best conclusion possible, given the limits of current historical research, is that in the 1920s and 1930s the progressive and Christian paradigms, or discourses, overlapped to a great extent. They both reinforced and competed with each other. In an era of change, the Protestant churches in English Canada continued to hold much of their cultural and spiritual influence, promoting a religious, progressive destiny for Canada. Responses to immigrants and racial thought clearly reflected this milieu.¹⁵ They also reflected the cultural and social pressures created by the experience of mass immigration during the 1920s.

After World War I, immigration to Canada from Europe increased rapidly, heading towards the massive pre-war levels of over a million a year. The federal government restricted immigration at first, but in response to pressure from various industries for more labour it opened the doors wide during the mid 1920s even allowing transportation companies to select and process immigrants. During the late 1920s, nativists began to campaign effectively for restriction. When the Great Depression began in 1929, the government quickly worked to cut the flow of immigrants off completely. By the early 1930s, the federal government began deporting immigrants seeking public welfare. Still, during the 1920s, more than a million people immigrated to Canada.¹⁶

Racial Thought in the WASP Imagination

Studies of racialism during the interwar years emphasize that racial concepts were fluid at that time. For instance, both popular and academic views of race typically displayed ambiguity over the possibility of “redeeming” so-called inferior racial groups. Academics on the “cutting edges” of the social sciences generally argued that racial concerns actually had social and cultural roots, while popular literature on race emphasized the biological roots of race to a greater degree. Practically, however, racial concerns never strayed far from such topics as immigration, assimilation, and citizenship. In 1920, Hugh Dobson expressed varied concerns:

The racial heterogeneity of our population is one of the most serious

conditions to be faced in any attempt at Canadianization, but wherever there exists high mortality, disease, illiteracy, low productivity, inefficiency, misunderstanding, suspicion, hatred, cowardice, selfishness or indifference, *there* is need of Canadianization. In immigrant settlements among mixed racial groups, there is apt to be found a greater prevalence of these conditions.¹⁷

Dobson clearly associated specific social problems and character traits with particular ethnic groups. But he found a solution in ideological assimilation. Groups that came to Canada unfit socially or morally could become legitimate members of society by assimilating “Canadian” ideals and values.

The language of race thus essentialized social and cultural differences and condemned certain groups as alien, foreign and unwanted. In this way, racial categories legitimized the social and cultural forms of native-born Protestants and defined other groups as illegitimate. Race was also an ideological medium through which power and dominance were played out.¹⁸ Racialism explained and justified social inequality and determined which immigrant groups’ morals, social values, faiths and political traditions would fit the Canada’s needs. Racial categories, in effect, separated the sheep from the goats.

For the interwar years, a variety of racial concerns can be distinguished and examined though they certainly overlapped. *Anglo-Saxonism*, as an ideology and simple pride in British inheritances, defined the ethnic identity of most mainline Protestants. Ideas associated with *Canadianization* programs were considered the programmatic solution to the problem of assimilating immigrant racial groups. Finally, non-Europeans (mostly Asians) received special attention as members of races particularly identifiable by the colour of their skin.¹⁹

Anglo-Saxonism

Both defensive attitudes and nationalist affirmations made up Anglo-Saxon ideology and language. This ideology typically had biological overtones, implied lineal descent from British stock, and was an expression of indigenous nationalism. Anglo-Saxonism and loyalty to the British Empire did not compete with expressions of Canadian nationalism. Canadians could be proud of their country, from this perspective, precisely because

of its British roots.²⁰ For example, the Anglican Bishop of Saskatchewan, George Exxon Lloyd, an English immigrant educated in Canada, founded the National Association of Canada and spoke of fears of a “mongrel Canada.” In response to the 1925 Railways Agreement – by which the Canadian government handed over the right to process immigrants to the railway companies – Lloyd accused the government of selling the “nation’s blood, character and future to make a railway dividend.”²¹ Lloyd’s unvarnished bigotry was seldom duplicated in religious periodicals perhaps out of a sense of propriety but also because of latent universalist assumptions in both Christianity and progressivism. Similarly, while the Ku Klux Klan garnered strong support in Canada among a few Protestants, especially in the west, the mainline Protestant periodicals condemned its actions.²² Despite the generally moderate tones of mainline Canadian Protestantism, Anglo-Saxon ideology and assumptions ran through much of the literature in church periodicals. As an expression of “national” pride, the language of Anglo-Saxonism brought together such concepts as race, people and nation.²³

The nationalist assumptions of Anglo-Saxonism unified its ideological, Romantic, moral and pseudo-biological characteristics. For example, in 1924 a writer in the *Canadian Churchman* asserted that Canadians “hold in trust for the newcomers of every race today that which we have inherited – the spirit which has made it possible for an alien to say of the British Empire that it is ‘the nearest approach on earth to power linked with justice, to might coupled with mercy.’”²⁴ Similarly, the *Christian Guardian* argued that despite the empire’s faults, “the fact remains that the English-speaking nations today are the hope of the world’s democracy, the bulwark of its freedom, the pioneers of its progress, and the leaders in world evangelism.”²⁵ These assumptions took on explicitly religious implications in British-Israel interpretations of biblical prophecies and millennialism, as the British races were identified as God’s new chosen people.²⁶ A 1934 defense of British-Israel theories contained a curious mixture of Darwinian and religious language: “Our national character has been forged in the furnace of affliction. Our national characteristics have been hammered upon the anvil of adversity and trial. But the breed of race which God has chosen for His purpose is today emerging purged and purified and will prove to its original type.”²⁷ This millennial ideology brought together religious, racial and political identities and influenced the conservative evangelical community in Canada.²⁸

In general, native-born Protestants believed that immigrants from continental Europe, even from the “Nordic” races of Northern Europe, challenged the ethnic identity of Anglo-Protestants and threatened the Dominion politically because they did not always carry the ideals and morals on which a democracy like Canada depended. Consequently, immigrants needed to be ranked according to how much they differed from the Anglo-Saxon ideal. American “cousins” and northern Europeans, with similar “racial” origins but different languages, did not present many problems. Immigrants from other parts of Europe and from Asia Minor came with different languages, cultures and ideals and were considered more racially distinct. They thus required more scrutiny. And though Asian immigrants deserved a fair chance, they had much greater odds to overcome.²⁹ Training in Canada’s national ideals (promoting loyalty to the British Empire and creating a new Canadianism) would best unify the races in Canada. “The task before the Christianity of Canada,” a writer asserted in 1928, “is that of taking the best that every racial group has inherent within it and weaving it into the warp and woof of our national fabric.”³⁰ Immigrants thus needed to be Canadianized. They, in turn, would add to the fabric of Canadian society.

Canadianization

The term Canadianization covered a broad range of social, ideological and religious concerns and articulated the practical, programmatic implications of racialism and nativism. In 1919, W.H. Pike described the goals of Canadianization:

The general notion “Canadianization” appears to denote the adoption of English speech, of Canadian clothes and manners, of the Canadian attitude of politics. It connotes the fusion of the various bloods, and a transmutation by the miracle of assimilation of Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, Germans, and others into beings similar in background, tradition, outlook, and spirit to the Anglo-Saxon stock that is the backbone of the country.³¹

The need to Canadianize immigrants was expressed strongly in the early 1920s especially, but it remained an issue throughout the decade.³² The goals of Canadianization focused on acculturation and assimilation.

Canadianization schemes thus typically involved teaching the immigrants Canadian ideals – civic, social, political and religious – and preventing pockets of immigrants from forming. Immigrants needed to be “naturalized” to become new Canadian people.³³

Not surprisingly, the need to prevent further growth of large pockets of foreigners, especially in the west, occupied the attention of social commentators in Protestant periodicals. Immigration should proceed slowly, critics argued, to allow time for immigrants to assimilate rather than force the issue with vast numbers and allow the creation of blocs of foreigners. Adelaide M. Plumtre, Convener of the Immigration Committee of the interdenominational Social Service Council, commented on settlement plans in 1924:

The social effects of settlement are closely connected with those of immigration. Immigrants of an alien race, speaking another language, governed by foreign customs, professing a religion with rites administered in an alien tongue, settling in a community of their own and mixing little with any group outside, present a serious social problem, although the same people may be most desirable settlers.³⁴

For groups that had already established separate pockets, the need of Canadianization through schools and churches was particularly important. Such seemingly inoffensive and harmless groups as Mennonites and Hutterites – though productive settlers – did not fit Canada’s needs if they refused to become part of the larger society.³⁵

The desire for a culturally homogenous society drove these concerns, as Canadian Protestants feared pluralism. “The problem which confronts our statesmen and all who have at heart the true welfare of our nation in the future,” worried the *New Outlook*, “is how to fuse these diverse elements in our population so as to form one great and homogenous community committed to the highest ideals of what is best in our modern Christian civilization.”³⁶ The American phrase “melting pot” was seldom used in Canada, but it does summarize the goal of the Protestant churches.

Foreign blocs could not be permitted because they would prevent immigrants from assimilating the English language and Canadian ideals. Though he was critical of too quickly identifying immigrants as enemy aliens or unfit, J. Russell Harris concluded that “So long as they remain alien in language, customs and modes of thinking they are a dangerous

element in our National life."³⁷ Immigrants should assimilate Canadian culture before they could have the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. The failures of the churches, a writer in the *Canadian Churchman* argued in 1929, were "resulting in the welding and consolidating of a large non-British group – said to be the third largest in Canada – into an exclusive body, fired with its own national and political aspirations, that will certainly militate against interracial assimilation and [may cause] serious political problems [in] the near future."³⁸

The churches and the public schools were central to the campaign to avoid the "balkanization" of Canada, according to writers in religious periodicals. The schools were expected to train children, both immigrant and native-born, in the ideals of citizenship. The task of the churches thus was religious in part, in missions to the unchurched, but also moral and political, to serve the nation. The editor of the *Canadian Churchman* articulated these mixed concerns in 1922 by asking: "First of all what do we mean by 'Canadianize?' What is the outstanding thing in your idea of a Canadian? Is it language, race, politics, creed, spirit, or what?" He concluded: "It cannot be race creed. The ability to use a common language (English) is a foundation, but not the outstanding feature . . . 'Christian' ought to be the hallmark of Canadianism, for that stands for everything worthwhile. And Christian and British are the traits we desire."³⁹ Immigrants provided the churches with a chance to exercise their overlapping duties to God and country. For example, writer in the *Presbyterian Witness* noted that "Christianity helps to fit citizens for enfranchisement and the use of liberty. Further, the type and methods of community life in the Christian fellowship will help to guide the reconstruction of the civic and political order."⁴⁰ The connections between the work of the churches and the needs of the nation were twofold: democracy was the product of Christian nations and, to be a positive force, liberty required adherence to Christian morality.

Advocates of Canadianization shared common assumptions about the need for immigrants to adapt to Canadian life. They differed significantly, however, in their attitudes towards immigrants on specific matters. Some displayed a glaring intolerance of particular immigrant groups, while others assumed the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race but allowed room for acculturation. But at a bare minimum, Anglo-Canadians identified their British heritage with Christianity and democracy. Foreign groups might benefit Canada with their labour or heritage, but immigrants should adapt

to Canadian conditions.

Canadianizers often expressed optimism about the progress of acculturation. In the *New Outlook*, the periodical most assertive of the need to develop a Canadian nationalism, Denzil G. Ridout wrote about a new Canadian people, based on the best of native-born Canadians and each immigrant group:

It is evident that Canada will not have a civilization that will be *entirely* Anglo-Saxon. There will ultimately be a new civilization as a result of the contributions of many peoples. It is our aim and hope to have a civilization in Canada which will be better than any that has preceded it. The supreme need is not that we develop a conglomeration of separated units – whether East or West – rural or urban – Slav or Teutonic – Scandinavian or Latin – Anglo-Saxon or non-Anglo-Saxon – but that through some process *all* peoples in Canada shall feel themselves Canadians, each contributing of his best for the betterment of the whole.⁴¹

Canadianization, he and other writers hoped, would lead to the formation of a new race with a character of its own.

Though the term “cultural pluralism” was rarely used, the idea found some support among mainline Protestants in Canada. A few writers recognized the merits of other cultures and argued that Canada might benefit from them. By the “multicultural” standards of later years, however, their pluralism was of a weak sort. Immigrants could benefit Canada by adding colour and spice to Canadian life, but still needed to assimilate Canadian political ideals, morals, religion and the English language.⁴² Furthermore, expressions of pluralism usually accompanied reflections on liberal internationalism and Canada’s relations with other nations. Foreign cultures were easier to admire when they flourished in their own lands, not in Canada.⁴³

Asian Immigrants

The optimism sometimes expressed about the Canadianization of immigrants and the formation of a new “race” did not include black and Asian immigrants. Few black immigrants actually came to Canada – immigration officials discouraged American blacks from coming or refused to

let them through the border. They consequently received almost no attention in Canadian religious periodicals.⁴⁴ Asian immigrants – Chinese and Japanese most often, but also Indian – sparked more interest. The morals, ideals and religions of immigrants from Asia concerned mainline Protestants, but more clearly than with European immigrants the physical characteristics of Asian immigrants stood out.

In 1922, Rev. N. Lascelles noted that perhaps the biggest problem with “Oriental” immigrants was assimilating them, given Anglo-Saxon “repugnance” over getting “the two races to mix and intermarry.” This problem did not occur with European immigrants, he believed: for “when Frenchmen, Italians, and even Germans come to British Columbia it is only a matter of time before they are absorbed into the Canadian commonwealth of the province.”⁴⁵ However, the recognition that differences were also the product of social problems usually blunted such blatantly racist concerns. The social issues associated with Chinese immigrants by writers in Protestant periodicals (drugs, white slavery, labour conflict, low standards of living and unsanitary housing) occupied much of the space devoted to Asian immigrants. Reflecting this, the *Christian Guardian* noted with Darwinian overtones in 1924 that “Racial characteristics are partly the product of environment, and partly the development of powers latent in the race but brought into vigorous play by the call of circumstances and the pressure of necessity.”⁴⁶ Environmental concerns thus did not so much explain away racial differences as confirm them.

Asian ideals and religions also concerned writers in the Canadian religious magazines. Some worried about the effect of Buddhism and Shintoism on British Columbia, while others reflected on the opportunity for mission work among Asian immigrants. The “Asian mind” was deemed inscrutable by one writer. But, as with European immigrants, ideological and religious questions generally revealed a high degree of ambiguity. While they were not considered desirable immigrants, church leaders emphasized that the civil rights of Asians immigrants already established in Canada had to be respected.⁴⁷ In addition, Japanese morals received high praise and a few commentators deemed the Japanese more desirable, assimilable and productive than Slavic immigrants. The reports of missionaries in Japan generally praised the Japanese people, describing them as a proud race. Missionaries also noted Japanese accomplishments and argued that they soon would be a political and economic force in the world.⁴⁸

As with European immigrants, the concerns expressed centred on the

impact of Asians on the social and political order. Because Asian racial differences were deemed greater, physically and ideologically if not in “race potential,” Asian immigrants were not acceptable. Though Japanese people received high praise for their morals and though Asian Christians earned the admiration of missionaries, most Protestant commentators felt that Asian immigrants could not fit into Canadian society because of their differences, Canadian prejudice and the inevitability of racial conflict. Reflecting these tensions, one writer maintained with stubborn defensiveness: “Now, no race has a monopoly of good qualities, so we have no right to assume that in all respects we are superior to other races, but we have the privilege of determining who shall be admitted to our country, and how many be allowed to share it with us.”⁴⁹

Not surprisingly, during the World War II, wartime hysteria cut through the ambivalent feelings Canadians had towards Japanese immigrants, even towards second and third generation Japanese-Canadians. As Ken Adachi has shown, though some Protestant leaders raised protests against the internment of Japanese-Canadian citizens and residents, did relief work with interned and relocated Japanese-Canadians, and thus displayed compassion and tolerance, most Canadians undoubtedly supported interning people their churches had been converting only a short time before.⁵⁰

Christian Universalism and Liberal Internationalism

Though dominant throughout the 1920s, the exclusiveness of racialism and concerns for socio-political stability were occasionally offset by universalist assumptions latent in both progressivism and Christianity. In addition, during the 1930s, liberal internationalism and Christian beliefs about a common humanity combined with the churches’ reactions against fascism to create hostility towards racial ideology. In this context, the mainline Protestant churches in Canada reexamined their stance towards immigrants.

Christian universalism stressed that all people are God’s children and emphasized that all found unity in Christ. Relating these themes to the treatment of immigrants, Jesmond Dene wrote in 1922 that “There is a problem of the foreigner, and it is one that needs solution, but the solution lies mainly with ourselves, and with our faith that God has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the whole earth.”⁵¹ Similar

ideas were expressed in the *Christian Guardian* in 1922: "No one attempts to assert that these differences of religion, and language, and race, and station, and culture are not real differences, but underneath them all there is a common humanity and everywhere that humanity bears the stamp of the Divine."⁵² This sense of the common bonds of humanity did not negate differences, but did in theory undermine their importance.

Christian ideas about the common roots of humanity combined with liberal internationalist ideology in Protestant periodicals. For example, H.J. Cody, a prominent Toronto Anglican, argued this 1927, when he preached in Geneva to delegates from the League of Nations. "As Christian citizens," he said, "we must translate into reality the distinctive Christian ideals of brotherhood and love and so make our contribution to the building of a city of God upon earth wherein all nations may in unity and freedom seek and attain 'the good life.'"⁵³ Another writer, similarly criticized the religious overtones of nationalism in 1932 arguing that

the World has far to go to achieve the international-mindedness of Christ, who, though born a Jew, made the Good Samaritan the hero of a parable, welcomed the Greeks who sought to see Him, the inscription of whose cross was in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, who said, "Other sheep have I" and "Go ye into all the world." The brightest hope for the world is the universalism of Christ.⁵⁴

The mainline churches supported the League of Nations, though not uncritically, throughout the interwar years, and consistently spoke of the family of nations viewing nationalism that was not balanced with internationalism as immature and dangerous.⁵⁵

Though often paternalistic in their assumptions about the leading role that nations such as Britain should play, the churches also recognized the integrity of other nations. A correspondent in the *Canadian Churchman* noted this, saying: "While loving our own land, we must at the same time honour and respect the feelings of others, remembering that while Canada is home to us, India is home to the Indians and Japan to the Japanese."⁵⁶ Similarly, a writer in the *New Outlook* argued that patriotism does not destroy the family ties existing between nations, it "enhances their significance. And internationalism in any proper sense of the word can exist only on the basis of an intelligent nationalism."⁵⁷

Though impressive-sounding, neither Christian universalism nor

liberal internationalism (progressivism in foreign policy) did much to stem the tide of racial thought and anti-immigrant sentiment during the 1920s. Foreign people and their cultures were easier to admire from afar than when they lived in Canada. But during the 1930s, some Canadian Protestants would self-consciously use these generally latent themes to criticize fascism in Europe. This would lead to the questioning of nativism and racialism at home.

Fascism and the Attack on Pagan Religion

During the 1930s, the social and political context surrounding immigration changed rapidly. When the Depression started, the government quickly slowed the flow of immigrants. And, while the deportation of immigrants who sought public welfare caused a small public stir, questions about the place of immigrants in Canadian society lost their immediacy to social and economic issues.⁵⁸ The development of fascism in Europe and the meteoric rise of Nazi Germany, however, soon heightened awareness of racial antipathy in the churches and put concerns about immigrants in a new light. Prejudice certainly did not disappear, but racial classification and ideology underwent heavy criticism. More than liberal internationalism or notions about Christian brotherhood, the ugly face of fascism forced the churches to reexamine themselves.

Condemnations of Nazi racial ideology by the Protestant churches in Canada in the 1930s inspired a generally more critical attitude towards western culture.⁵⁹ Missionaries, for example, denounced the pernicious influence of western civilization, describing it as an inhibitor of religion in Asia.⁶⁰ In church periodicals, observers condemned Nazism as “paganism” and the “deification of race” and argued that modern forms of materialistic paganism resulted from secularization.⁶¹ Along with Nazi racialism, writers in church periodicals described nationalism, materialism, the totalitarian state, and communism as pagan religions that made total claims on people’s lives. One person even argued that Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* and Marx’s *Das Kapital* had become modern competitors with the Bible for people’s souls.⁶² In the 1930s, leaders in the mainline churches reevaluated their relationship to modern culture and generally became more distant, or ambivalent, whereas before many had hoped that modern progress would lead to establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth.⁶³

Church leaders also generally became hostile towards racial ideology

in response to Germany's treatment of minorities – particularly Jews – and thus took a closer look at Canada's record with immigrants.⁶⁴ In this spirit, *Social Welfare* issued a manifesto regarding refugees from Germany:

Ours is a country which contains a great variety of minority groups, and we know full well the tensions and difficulties which may and do develop between minorities and the majority. Nevertheless, we believe that every civilized country can and should deal justly with its own minorities . . . We in the new world are confronted with problems of national unity, racial mixture and cultural disparity which are herculean compared with those of Germany. Nevertheless, should the flow of exiles from Germany not cease, we feel that Canada should share with other countries the responsibility of providing a safe haven for at least a reasonable number of selected refugees.⁶⁵

The manifesto reflected both traditional Canadian concerns about the impact of immigrants on Canadian society and a moral revulsion for Nazi oppression of Jews. The mainline churches in Canada thus tried to negotiate a tortured middle way by condemning racial ideology and promoting justice for Jewish refugees, on the one hand, and respecting the “needs” of Canadian society, on the other.⁶⁶

Clearly, however, a shift in thinking had taken place, as the churches consistently lamented the government's poor record of taking Jewish refugees. Claris Edwin Scott outlined the key issues for the churches in 1939: “The issues today are drawn; as a Christian people, it is ours to see that those whom the spirit of the anti-Christ has bruised, whether they be Aryans or non-Aryans, are healed by the compassionate spirit of Him, in whom there is neither Jew nor gentile, Greek nor Barbarian, bond nor free.”⁶⁷ Irving Abella and Harold Troper have shown that support for Jewish refugees was lukewarm at best in English Canada, though they highlighted the efforts of outspoken Protestant ministers.⁶⁸ In retrospect, Protestant leaders did earn a commendable record protesting government inaction and public anti-semitism during the 1930s. Their failure was not effectively mobilizing wider public support (in the churches and outside) for taking Jewish refugees. Marilyn Nefsky suggests, “Had Christian opinion in Canada been mobilized fully, it might have succeeded in extracting effective action from a reluctant cabinet. If Canada had offered the Jews sanctuary, perhaps other nations would have followed.”⁶⁹

Part of the problem was the ambiguity that leaders continued to express. They argued that Canada should do its part, but still worried about the social and cultural impact of a large group of immigrant refugees. They tried to balance concerns for the stability of Canadian society with internationalist commitments. A writer summarized this delicate dilemma in 1939, describing it as growing pains:

It may be that someone has noticed that the world is suffering rather badly at present from growing pains. In short, it is slowly waking up to the fact that it is a world. For a long time it has only thought of itself as a disjointed conglomeration of nations and races with a few clashing creeds thrown in . . . Indeed, isolation has meant even more than a passive neglect of human intercourse. It has actually made men feel often that intercourse is undesirable. By the mere lack of knowledge of each other, nations and races have built up barriers of prejudice and even hatred which are difficult indeed to break down.⁷⁰

While the churches continued to express a desire for a stable internal social order, and exhibit prejudice, developments in the 1930s had quickened Christian beliefs about the common roots of humanity and provoked moral and religious hostility towards racial ideology.

In short, prejudice had not been eradicated, by any stretch of the imagination, but racialism's association with Nazi terror and modern "pagan" religions had undercut its moral and ideological basis. The changes that took place in the 1930s were ideological more than behavioral or political. But they were a basis for further change later. This shift in ideology in the Protestant churches, as articulated in religious periodicals, undoubtedly contributed to post-war reevaluations of Canada's ethnic identity. In the long-run, it also likely prefigured the pluralist-multicultural political culture that has become Canada's "official" doctrine in the later half of the twentieth century.

Concluding Reflections

This study suggests that during the interwar years several crucial transitions began. The language of race and attitudes towards immigrants shifted in the 1930s and continued to do so in the 1940s. After World War II, as Reg Whitaker has argued, immigration policy in Canada focused on

political ideology (anti-communism) more than the racial and ethnic categories of the past.⁷¹ The mainline Protestant churches contributed to this broad cultural and political shift when they attacked racial ideology from Christian and progressive perspectives. By the beginning of World War II, racial thought no longer had the legitimacy it once enjoyed. Racial prejudice continued, but it had lost its ideological and moral underpinnings. Political culture, according to recent historians, also shifted significantly during these years. Although the piety of the past continued to be influential, social welfare, bureaucracy and government commissions increasingly superseded the social gospel and church-run programs.⁷² This change did not entail a decline in personal religiosity so much as a change in the public role of religion and the churches. Ironically, the churches had legitimized an ideology (progressive liberalism) and government institutions (the welfare state) that gradually overwhelmed their public role.

The driving force behind the Protestant churches' responses to immigrants, and the underlying motive for their attitudes towards racial thought, was a deep concern for an ordered, homogenous, moral society. This concern was based, in part, in Canadian political culture, which has emphasized peace, order and good government. It was also based in religion and piety, specifically in Canada's consensus-oriented mainline Protestantism.⁷³ From unvarnished bigotry to naive paternalism, stereotypes and prejudice pervaded racial ideology, but at the heart of racialism was a deeply-rooted desire for a stable, ordered Christian society. This motive shaped the way mainline Protestants in Canada understood the socio-economic and political issues discussed in religious periodicals. For example, in 1922 a University of Toronto professor defined society in typically moral terms. "From these fundamental conceptions of man as a moral being and by consequence of the state as a moral institution," he argued, "may be deducted the rights of man as a member of society, even with regard to those matters which are the concern of economics or of politics."⁷⁴

From this perspective, in a liberal society, self-restraint rather than legal controls, police power or communal bonds ultimately controlled people's actions. Liberty thus depended on families, churches, schools and other public institutions to teach morality, civic responsibility and political values. In 1923 Norman DeWitt defined liberty this way. "The steps are three," he said: "First, obedience to the Word, then knowledge of the truth, and last, freedom. Education for liberty is only through Christianity, and

the only liberty that is safe is Christian Liberty.”⁷⁵ Empowering in intent, this definition of liberty could easily become self-serving and coercive. Combined with a British ethnic identity, this concern for order inspired the racialism articulated in Protestant periodicals. It was this ambiguity that the churches wrestled with in the 1930s particularly.⁷⁶

This argument suggests that liberalism has not been and cannot be a secular ideology, free of religious and ethnic parochialisms. Such basic political notions as “liberty” have always and unavoidably carried religious, moral, and ideological baggage. As Norman DeWitt argued, liberty has meant more than mere freedom from injustice and protection against coercion. It could only truly be established by following a way of life that nurtured freedom. Liberalism thus has always included assumptions about what a good society is and what can and cannot be tolerated. Such values as tolerance and freedom thus are defined and defended in particular cultural contexts and with definite limits. Arthur Lower, the influential Canadian historian, equated liberalism with the “eternal spirit of man,” something that transcended history.⁷⁷ This essay suggests that rather than being an “eternal spirit,” liberalism has evolved within the clutter and disarray of history. Rather than seeing liberalism as secular, and pitting it against racialism or religion, historians should see them as intertwined.⁷⁸

Racial language merged with liberalism when Canadian Protestants associated particular morals, political ideals, and cultural identities with certain races. The ideology of “race” essentialized these traits as part of the make-up of some ethnic groups and not others. A comment in the *Canadian Churchman* reflected this pattern: “We ought to be more careful in the selection of the people we receive within our doors. We should desire to breed men and women of high standards; of strong bodies, sound minds and good morals.”⁷⁹ Canadianization programs, which stressed education and Christianization, were seen as the solution. This need was described clearly in *Social Welfare* in 1930:

Delicate questions of race and racial antipathy; sensitive matters of how religious freedom is to be united with religious tolerance and mutual cooperation in public enterprises . . . the inculcation of a Canadian temper that is sensitive to the past and eager for the future – all these and kindred others present some of the difficult problems with which a prospering people is faced.⁸⁰

The assimilation of immigrants remained a constant concern throughout the interwar years. The key shift, most evident during the 1930s, was in response to fascist racial ideology and violence. It involved a growing awareness of prejudice in Canada and a deeper understanding of the dangers to liberty, morality and religion that existed in racialism.

This transition suggests that the nature of liberal politics and culture needs to be reinterpreted. Ideas such as freedom and political philosophies like liberalism are value laden. Today, the values and objectives of feminism, Native self-determination, environmentalism, and Québécois separatism shape liberalism – as Protestant Christianity once shaped it during the early-mid twentieth century in English Canada. With the success of the Reform Party, and other “grass-roots” protest movements in the 1990s, conservative Christianity has also made a comeback. Although usually different in world-view and goals, the views of liberty expressed today closely resemble those found in Protestant church periodicals during the 1920s and 1930s. As in the past, for good and bad, conceptions of an ideal society shape liberalism in Canada today.

These conclusions are tentative. Scholars have not yet adequately analyzed the religious aspects of Canadian political culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, let alone after World War II. Canadian historiography is not a wasteland, but more work needs to be done on the relationship between religion, ethnicity and politics. Historians interested in political culture, in liberalism particularly, need to explore changing conceptions of the ideal Canadian society. Certainly until World War II, and probably for a time after that as well, liberal political culture in English Canada was inseparable from conceptions of an ordered, Christian, Anglo-Saxon society. Though no longer necessarily Christian or Anglo-Saxon, that search for order continues today.

Endnotes

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1. Zygmunt Bauman, *Postmodern Ethics* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1993), 239.

2. See, for example, Donald Avery, *"Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1979); Barbara Roberts, *Whence They Came: Deportation From Canada, 1900-1935* (Ottawa: Univ. of Ottawa Press, 1988); Howard Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1982), and "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century," in *Multiculturalism as State Policy* (Ottawa: Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism, 1976); Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1990); Irving Abella and Harold Troper, *None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1982). Other studies could be cited, but these are the most important ones. Three exceptions are Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1991); Marilyn Nefsky, "The Shadow of Evil: Nazism and Canadian Protestantism," in *Antisemitism in Canada: History and Interpretation*, ed. Davies (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press, 1992), 197-225; and Marilyn Barber, "Nationalism, Nativism, and the Social Gospel," in *The Social Gospel in Canada*, ed. Richard Allen (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), 186-226.
3. *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1992), 546-547.
4. I have made use of key Protestant periodicals: the Anglican *Canadian Churchman*, the United Church's *New Outlook*, the *Presbyterian Witness*, the Methodist *Christian Guardian*, and the inter-denominational *Social Welfare*.
5. The same is true of Anglo-American culture generally (see Elazar Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States Between the World Wars* [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992]). Barkan looks at intellectuals, whereas I look more at popular culture.
6. This perspective was defined by John Higham in *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1988). Canadian historians, such as Howard Palmer, largely follow Higham's model. I have criticized it in detail and proposed an alternative in "The Irony of Identity: An Essay on Nativism, Liberal Democracy and Parochial Identities in Canada and the United States," *American Quarterly* (September 1995).
7. "A Soul for this New Body," *Christian Guardian* (31 October 1923), 5.

8. See William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal: McGill-Queens Univ. Press, 1989), and A.B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal: McGill-Queens Univ. Press, 1979).
9. See N. Keith Clifford, "His Dominion: A Vision in Crisis," *Studies in Religion* 2, No. 4 (Spring 1973): 315-326; note also Robert Wright, "The Canadian Protestant Tradition, 1914-1945," in *The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1760-1990*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Burlington: Welch Publishing Co., 1990).
10. On progressivism see James T. Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870-1920* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1986). In Canada note W.L. Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1950); Richard Allen, *The Social Passion* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1970); Brian Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press, 1988); Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water*; Doug Owsram, *The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State, 1900-1945* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1986); and Phyllis Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queens Univ. Press, 1992). The CCF/NDP illustrates this mix of Christian and progressive thinking.
11. See Westfall, *Two Worlds*; and McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence*.
12. See studies by Reginald Bibby, *Fragmented Gods: The Poverty and Potential of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1987), and *Unknown Gods: The Ongoing Story of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1993).
13. See G. Elmore, "Agencies for the Incorporation of New Canadians into Our National Life," *Social Welfare* (April 1923), 146-147; Allen, *The Social Passion*, chapter 17. McKillop argued that philosophical idealism and Christian moralism retained their strength well into the twentieth century (*A Disciplined Intelligence*, 205-232). His arguments about the radical decline of religion at the beginning of the twentieth century are probably more accurate about academic culture than popular culture. The same goes for Ramsay Cook's *The Regenerators* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1985). David Marshall's much criticized *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1992) also argues for the decline of religion in the early twentieth century.

14. On the United Church and Canadian nationalism, see Mary Vipond, "Canadian National Consciousness and the Formation of the United Church of Canada," *Bulletin of the United Church of Canada* 24 (1975).
15. Mariana Valverde described how discourses can overlap in *The Age of Light, Soap and Water*, chapter 1. Note that this study will treat English Canada as a single entity. Obvious regional distinctions stand out – the Maritimes received comparably few immigrants, the west felt overwhelmed. Though the social gospel and Progressivism influenced the Maritimes, generally social Christianity there remained more concerned with traditional moral reform, whereas the west was strongly influenced by the social gospel and progressivism. Central Canada was very diverse. These distinctions do not negate the common assumptions displayed throughout English Canada over such issues as Anglo-Saxon identity and the need for an ordered Christian society.
16. For this period see the studies by Palmer, Avery and Roberts cited above. Note that the government severely curtailed the number of Asian immigrants, making it virtually impossible for them to come to Canada at the same time that it was opening the doors to Europeans. For an international perspective see Walter Nugent, *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870-1914* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1992).
17. "Canadianization and Our Immigrants," *Social Welfare* (1 January 1920), 95.
18. Barbara J. Fields has argued this effectively in "Ideology and Race in American History," in *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honour of C. Vann Woodward*, eds. Kousser and McPherson (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1982), 143-77. She views class as a material given, in contrast to race, which is an ideological construction. My view is that class, too, functions through an ideological medium and is not a given.
19. The "Jewish Question" will be dealt with briefly in a later section on changes in racial ideology during the 1930s.
20. The same is true of Americans (see Higham, *Strangers in the Land*).
21. Quoted in the *Canadian Annual Review* (1927-1928): 188-189; and (1928-1929): 163. Note also a quote in the *Canadian Churchman* (12 July 1928), 405.
22. Interestingly, Howard Palmer notes that fundamentalists in Alberta had little contact with the Klan and in fact protested against it (*Patterns of Prejudice*, 108-109). For the Protestant churches, note "The Ku Klux Klan Doffs Mask," *New Outlook* (7 March 1928), 18; "The Ku Klux Klan," *Presbyterian Witness* (5 March 1925), 1; "The Klan is Alive," *Christian Guardian* (10 December

- 1924), 3. The churches showed some ambiguity towards the Klan; they sympathized with some of its concerns and goals, but condemned its hoodlumism and secrecy.
23. For a general discussion of Anglo-Saxonism and Christian theology see Davies, *Infected Christianity*, chapter 4.
 24. Vera Martin, "Responsibility to the Foreign Girl," *Canadian Churchman* (10 July 1924), 441.
 25. "The British Empire," *Christian Guardian* (25 May 1921), 6.
 26. The theories of British Israelism underwent debate throughout the interwar years in the *Canadian Churchman*: note for example, "British Israelism" (Letter to the Editor), (17 January 1924), 43; W.G. Mackendrik, "British Israelism" (Letter to the Editor), (5 December 1929), 791-92; and "The Doctrine of the Chosen People," (12 April 1934), 233. British Israelism generally came under heavy criticism in the periodicals. For the theological context see Ernest Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1970).
 27. "The Doctrine of the Chosen People," 233.
 28. For the influence of British Israelism in Britain, see David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 225; in the United States, see Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 32. In Canada, this ideology seems to have most affected conservative evangelical Anglicans.
 29. For an explicit example of this type of ranking, see Vera Martin, "Responsibility to the Foreign Girl," 441. Seldom laid out explicitly, these categories generally existed and functioned tacitly.
 30. W.H. Pike, "Those Foreigners," *New Outlook* (5 September 1928), 8, 27.
 31. "Slavic Stock and the New Canadianism," *Christian Guardian* (3 December 1919), 11.
 32. Generally, see Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts." For Americanization programs, see ed. Stephen Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1980), s.v., "American Identity and Americanization," by Philip Gleason; and John F. McClymer, "The Federal Government and the Americanization Movement, 1915-1924," *Prologue* 10 (1978): 23-41.

33. See James Oakes, *Slavery and Freedom: An Interpretation of the Old South* (New York: Knopf, 1990), 26.
34. "The Social Consequences of Immigration," *Social Welfare* (July 1924), 192.
35. See, for example, "Our Mennonite Immigrants," *Christian Guardian* (23 October 1918), 4. Generally, religious communities which desired to remain separate and exercise communal-corporate rights have had problems in Canada (see William Janzen, *Limits on Liberty: The Experience of Mennonite, Hutterite, and Doukhobor Communities in Canada* [Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1990]). Janzen emphasizes legal concerns, such as defending communal rights in an individualistic, liberal country. He does not deal explicitly with questions of cultural identity.
36. "The Church as Melting Pot," *New Outlook* (2 December 1925), 4.
37. "Canadians All," *Social Welfare* (1 September 1919), 286.
38. "Immigration," *Canadian Churchman* (17 January 1929), 38.
39. "Notes and Comments," *Canadian Churchman* (23 March 1922), 183.
40. R.G. Welsh, "Why I Believe in Missions," *Presbyterian Witness* (24 February 1924), 7-8.
41. "The Central European Immigrant in Canada," *New Outlook* (13 August 1930), 778.
42. On the concept, see Philip Gleason, "Pluralism and Assimilation: A Conceptual History," in *Linguistic Minorities, Policies and Pluralism*, ed. John Edwards (London: Academic Press, 1984), 221-257. Gleason argues that the line between pluralism and assimilation is a vague one.
43. Note for example "Nationalism, Internationalism, and Christianity," *New Outlook* (2 February 1927), 4, 27; "Making the World Safe for Democracy," *Christian Student* (November 1918), 1; "The British Race," *Canadian Churchman* (16 May 1929), 311; and "Why I am a Missionary," *Canadian Churchman* (31 January 1929), 67.
44. On this subject see Bruce Shepherd, "Plain Racism: The Reaction to Oklahoma Blacks Immigration to the Canadian Prairies," *Prairie Forum* (Autumn 1985): 365-82. Note that black communities had lived in Canada from the days of the Loyalists in Nova Scotia and in Ontario since the early mid-nineteenth century.
45. Lascelles, "The Oriental Problem in British Columbia," *Canadian Churchman* (23 February 1922), 121-122.

46. "The Evolution of the Race," *Christian Guardian* (6 August 1924), 4. See also "The Evolution of the Oriental Situation in British Columbia," *Social Welfare* (1 April 1922), 153-56.
47. Lascelles, "The Oriental Problem in British Columbia," *Canadian Churchman* (23 February 1922), 121-122; Note also Lascelles, "Oriental Problem in British Columbia," *Canadian Churchman* (11 May 1922), 304-305; and John Nelson, "The Oriental on the Pacific Coast: A Survey of Unusual Differences," *Christian Guardian* (5 March 1924), 6.
48. F.W. Cassillis-Kennedy, "What Shall We do With Them? Some Thoughts on Immigration," *Canadian Churchman* (17 August 1922), 537; J.W. Saunby, "The Question of Japanese Immigration," *Christian Guardian* (24 April 1918), 7-8; and Dan Norman, "The Japanese Farmer, II – As He Lives," *Christian Guardian* (20 August 1924), 5. Foreign missionaries, to do their work more effectively, often "went native" and developed a deep appreciation of the culture they had move to. They often had a hard time going home and fitting in Canada.
49. F.W. Cassillis-Kennedy, "Some Thoughts on Immigration," *Canadian Churchman* (16 October 1924), 666.
50. *The Enemy that Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1991), 111ff.
51. "The Stranger Within Thy Gates," *Canadian Churchman* (23 July 1922), 478. Note also for the early years of the interwar period, T. Stuart, "Our Relation to Others: IV. Toward National and World Brotherhood," *Presbyterian Witness* (27 September 1919), 3; and S. Gould, "The Needs and Claims of Canada," *Canadian Churchman* (28 March 1918), 200-201, 210.
52. "The Other Side of the Fence," *Christian Guardian* (17 May 1922), 6.
53. Henry John Cody, "The Unfailing Christ," A Sermon Preached at Geneva, in the Cathedral of St. Peter, in connection with the 7th Assembly of the League of Nations, 26 September 1926 (typescript), 13, Cody Papers, Ontario Archives, Series D-3: Sermons (Subject), MU 7001. It was also published in a pamphlet version (see MU 7018) and printed in the *Canadian Churchman*. On the relationship between evangelical Protestantism and liberal internationalism see Robert Wright, *A World Mission: Canadian Protestantism and the Quest for a New International Order, 1918-1939* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1991).

54. "Will Nationalism Supplant Religion," *New Outlook* (3 February 1932), 104. Note similarly "British-Israelism," *Canadian Churchman* (29 March 1934), 197; and "Nationalism and Canada," *Canadian Churchman* (23 May 1929), 332.
55. "A National Church," *New Outlook* (24 February 1926), 5; "The Higher Imperialism: A Poet's Vision of It in terms of Brotherhood – Canada's Great Opportunity," *Christian Guardian* (6 October 1920), 8; "Nationalism as a Menace," *Christian Guardian* (7 May 1924), 4; and "Encyclical Letter from the Bishops," *Canadian Churchman* (2 September 1920), 571.
56. "The British Race," *Canadian Churchman* (16 May 1929), 311. Note also Jesmond Dene's praise of Polish nationalism in "The New Poland," *Canadian Churchman* (14 February 1924), 104.
57. Egerton R.M. Bracken, "Nationalism, Internationalism, and Christianity," *New Outlook* (2 February 1927), 4. See also Cody, "The Unfailing Christ."
58. For the churches views of deportation, see "Unemployment Relief: Memorandum of Resolutions passed by the S.S.C.C. to be Submitted to the . . . Prime Minister. . . and Minister of Labour," *Canadian Churchman* (11 June 1931), 379. See also "Deportation," *Canadian Churchman* (12 January 1933), 23; "The Work of the Council for Social Services," *Canadian Churchman* (21 September 1933), 569; and "Deportation," *Canadian Churchman* (29 December 1932), 822-823. The churches generally criticized deportation. The issue of encouraging immigration to combat the Depression received some attention but was generally rejected on economic grounds.
59. This also occurred in the United States (see Donald Meyer, *The Protestant Search for Political Realism, 1919-1941*, 2nd. ed. [Middleton: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1988]).
60. See, e.g., "Western Civilization vs. Christianity," *New Outlook* (4 February 1931), 100-101.
61. R. Inge, "Substitutes for Religion, V. – Nazism," *Canadian Churchman* (7 May 1936), 292; and F.H. Cosgrave, "The Christian Faith in the World of Ours," *Canadian Churchman* (20 May 1937), 307-308. With the rejection of a transcendent God, they argued, people projected "god-like" ideas and loyalties to race, nation or class.
62. "The Anti-Christian Menace," *New Outlook* (14 January 1931), 27; "The New Paganism," *Presbyterian Record* (January 1936), 12; and "The Bible and Its Competitors," *Canadian Churchman* (17 February 1938), 103-104.

63. The Canadian, American and European literature that could be cited is vast: instead I will simply point to David Lyon's *The Steeple's Shadow: On the Myths and Realities of Secularization* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1985). I consider "secularization" a change in the relationship of religion and society in modern world. It does not necessarily mean decline. It certainly does not be *the* decline of religion, as a result of science, human evolution, etc. (à la Compte).
64. For critical views of racism see "The Race Purity Myth," *New Outlook* (23 September 1936), 867; and "Patriotism and Hatred," *Canadian Churchman* (5 January 1933), 5.
65. "Canadian Christians and German Refugees: A Manifesto," *Social Welfare* (March 1936), 25-26.
66. For example, see Conrad Hoffman, "The German Refugees," *Canadian Churchman* (26 January and 2 February 1939), 55, 71; J.E. Bennett, "The Open Door for Refugees" (Letter to the Editor), *Canadian Churchman* (16 February 1939), 100; David Booth, "Canada and the Refugee," *Canadian Churchman* (7 September 1939), 489; "Wake Up, Canada!" *New Outlook* (22 April 1938), 385; and "Without a Country," *Presbyterian Record* (March 1939), 67-68.
67. Scott, "Canadian Post-Mortem on Refugees," *Social Welfare* (Spring 1938), 84.
68. Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*.
69. See Nefsky, "The Shadow of Evil," 215. She criticizes Abella and Troper for not distinguishing the efforts of church leaders from the response of members.
70. J.E. Ward, "Democracy," *Canadian Churchman* (9 February 1939), 83.
71. *Double Standard: The Secret History of Canadian Immigration* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1987), 1-9. Prejudice continued to influence policy, but official rhetoric and real concerns shifted towards anti-communism and political ideology.
72. See Owsram, *The Government Generation*; and Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water*. Valverde stresses that the late 1920s and 1930s were the key era of transition. See also Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (Montreal: McGill-Queens Univ. Press, 1991).

73. Note, for example, McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence*. This emphasis on order is in contrast to the more flamboyant American emphasis on life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. American Protestantism, too, has been more sectarian and dissenting than in Canada.
74. T.R. Robinson, "The Foundation of Social Ethics," *Presbyterian Witness* (6 April 1922), 7.
75. "The Truth Shall Make You Free: Dare We Stake Everything on Liberty?" *Christian Guardian* (28 November 1923), 21.
76. See Rogers M. Smith's "The 'American Creed' and American Identity: The Limits of Liberal Citizenship in the United States," *Western Political Quarterly* 41 (1988): 225-251. Smith argues that liberal ideology has never satisfied people; they have always added ethnic and religious identities. My view is that ethnic and religious identity are an inherent part of liberalism. Liberalism never developed in a vacuum, always in particular historical cultures.
77. *This Most Famous Stream: The Liberal Democratic Way of Life* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954), x. For a useful overview of liberalism, see Anthony Arblaster, *The Rise and Decline of Western Liberalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984). Arblaster also defines liberalism in secular terms.
78. By "secular" I mean free of parochialisms like religion, ethnicity, and morality.
79. W.F. Cassillis Kennedy, "Some Thoughts on Immigration," *Canadian Churchman* (16 October 1924), 666.
80. W.G. Smith, "Canadian Immigration," *Social Welfare* (February 1930), 113.