A NEW THING IN GOD:
THE SOCIAL GOSPEL IN THE NOVELS OF RALPH CONNOR

by Janet Scarfe

> . . . a more than typical Ralph Connor novel, compounded of eight-tenths melodrama, one-tenth railway folder scenery, a touch of young love, and about "as much religion as my William likes." The whole will not disappoint the high expectations of Mr. Connor's numerous and grateful readers.[1]

The novels of Ralph Connor were never particularly popular with literary critics, although that double-edged comment (from a review of The Gaspards of Pinecroft in the New York Tribune) was among the more sarcastic. Nevertheless, the grateful readers in North America were numerous enough to win Connor a place in the annual best-seller list on several occasions in the late 1890s, and he enjoyed enormous popularity for well over two decades.[2]

Such success is sufficient to assure Connor a place in the literary history of Canada, even of North America. However, reactions among modern readers could hardly be as enthusiastic. In the 1970s, the novels appear melodramatic, sentimental, rather monotonous in style and content and overly moralistic and sermonising. Moreover, to the sexually-oriented, post-Freudian mind, they are full of ambiguous, amusingly naïve double entendres and connotations.[3] They are easily dismissed by academics as second-rate from a literary point of view, although undoubtedly the dearth of popularity of Canadian studies (at least until recently) is a contributing factor here. This, together with their mediocrity, accounts for the fact that only one substantial article on Connor has appeared in Canadian Literature since 1959.[4] While there are many references in Klinck's Literary History of Canada, most are one line, fleeting comments. Recently reissued works, Sky Pilot, The Man from Glengarry, Glengarry Schooldays and Postscript to Adventure: The Autobiography of Ralph Connor have brief and not particularly illuminating introductions.

However, the significance of Ralph Connor's writings is too great to dismiss so easily: the size of the sales of the books (over three million in the first three decades of the twentieth century) testifies to that. Furthermore, the themes on which he wrote, reflecting many of the controversies in Canadian society of the time, make his writing a rich source of documentary material for social and intellectual historians. As Gordon Roper has said, their contemporary readers read them "in the spirit in which they

were written," and judged them differently.[5] Despite the feelings of asphyxiation engendered by the sentimentality and the melodrama, such novels are extremely valuable for, as has been observed by one American writer:

> For the historian second-rate novels often have more value than first-rate ones, for the mediocre ones may reflect ordinary contemporary opinion more accurately than do the great works of art.[6]

Ralph Connor wrote for nearly forty years, from the late 1890s to the 1930s. They were years of great change in Canada: of expansion, social and economic developments, urbanization, immigration, the war, the depression. Many of these issues are obvious in the novels. They touch on the importance of the railroad and its invasion of the West, national unity, Canada's participation in the war and the many consequences of peace for the individuals who had returned home and for society at large. Connor wrote too of times past (New Testament times, Quebec in the early nineteenth century, Ontario in the 1860s) and these novels, as well as those set in the twentieth century, are brimful of his ideas and aspirations for Canada.

The most persistent themes in Connor's novels are concerned with religion and morality. There are many clergy, saintly women, moral struggles, temptations, repentance and forgiveness, and not least, a vigorous, optimistic, dynamic and socially-aware interpretation of the Chirstian faith. He sees the economic expansion of Canada in terms of its profound moral consequences, the war in terms of its psychological impact on all Canadians, and the immigration question as one with immense import for the churches of the land.

"Ralph Connor" was convinced that the religious motif in his novels contributed significantly to their success.[7] The autobiography of Ralph Connor is, in fact, account of the life of the Rev. Charles William Gordon, Presbyterian clergyman, missionary, senior army chaplain mentioned in dispatches, supporter of the League of Nations, Church Union and industrial conciliation, breakfast companion of an American president and a British prime minister. He was also one of Canada's most vocal clergy on issues relating to the Canadian church in a rapidly changing society - on crises of faith, the unprecedented experiences of the influx of immigrants, urbanization, industrialization, unemployment -

in short, one of the exponents of the "social gospel."

Men and women of diverse social, religious and political views rallied around the flag of "social Christianity." In Canada, as in the United States, there were considerable differences between the radicals, conservatives and moderates. Gordon, like most Canadian social gospellers, was a moderate with a slight conservative bias. His most dramatic contribution to the movement was undoubtedly his evangelism through his novels, spreading the good news of the social gospel.

Connor was not Canada's only social gospel fiction writer; neither was he exclusively a novelist in that vein. As Mary Vipond notes, "Canadians read British and American social gospel fiction, and they also produced some of their own."[9] One historian of the American movement has described the proliferation of such novels as an "avalanche",[10] while another, Henry May, wrote that they were

> a distinct and peculiar literary form developed over quarter of a century by a series of lay and clerical authors . . . and the Social Gospel's most spectacular and eventually most successful medium.[11]

In Canada there has been no detailed study other than an article by Mary Vipond, but from her comments and those in essays in Klinck's Literary History, it is obvious that the area is a large and unexplored field.

Mary Vipond wrote that only one of Connor's novels deals "explicitly with the questions which preoccupied social gospellers," his novel entitled To Him That Hath.[12] Certainly, if the social gospel is defined as a movement concerned primarily with "the impact of the industrial revolution and its concomitants,"[13] then few of Connor's novels can be described in strict terms as "social gospel fiction." He wrote novels with a far broader range of settings than factories and slums, or even cities - they were set in the Foothills of Alberta, the Selkirks of British Columbia, small hamlets in Quebec and Ontario, a farming community in Cape Breton. However without any doubt, his novels do belong to the broad social gospel tradition; at the very least, they were products of a "Social Gospel permeated environment."[14] Moreover, his novels reflect the complex "combinations of ideas and impulses" which Richard Allen, major historian of the Canadian social gospel tradition, has argued comprise the movement for "social Christianity" - "many influences from the world of letters, science, religion and reform . . . held in solution . . . in varying proportions."[15]

Connor wrote nearly thirty novels, some of them historical (including several set in New Testament times) and the remainder concerned with contemporary events. This does not pretend to be an exhaustive study. Those novels related to the war of 1812 (such as The Runner and The Rebel Loyalist), and several with a marked similarity in content and style to other more popular works have also been ignored (such as Corporal Cameron of the North West Mounted Police). Selection has been made in such a way as to achieve a representative sample of Connor's pre-war writings, his novels on the war and those set in post-war Canada. Dividing them chronologically by date of authorship, a cross-section of backgrounds and types is achieved - novels about Ontario in the 1860s, more recent (1890s) writing about Alberta and British Columbia, novels on the war and on life in Canada after the war. His Biblical stories have also been included. The novels to which particular attention has been paid within these four categories are Glengarry School Days (1902) and Torches Through The Bush (written about Ontario in the 1860s from 1934): Black Rock (1898), Sky Pilot (1899), The Foreigner (1909) and The Doctor (1906): The Major (1917) and Sky Pilot in No Man's Land (1919): To Him That Hath (1919), Arm of Gold (1932), and his New Testament stories, The Friendly Four and Other Stories (1926) and He Dwelt Among Us (1936).

The format is to examine religious questions and issues as they appear in Connor's novels, with particular attention to the "Social Gospel permeated environment." The scope has been limited, by necessity, almost exclusively to fictional writings by Charles Gordon, with the exception of Postscript to Adventure: The Autobiography of Ralph Connor, published posthumously. Postscript to Adventure complements the novels very well indeed: many of the incidents described in the "fiction" appear in only slightly modified form in the autobiography, this in itself giving credence to the intimate connection between the views of Gordon, the clergyman and the reformer, and those of Connor the novelist. In short, concentration will be on the content of the novels, with attention in particular to the religious issues.

Ralph Connor's Concept of God

Connor's novels contain few direct references to God and His attributes (several thousand pages of his writing revealed only one mention of the Holy Spirit). Nevertheless, it is possible to extract from the novels and, in

particular, his biblical stories and a picture of God, of His son and of the relationship between the Godhead and man. Connor's perceptions are very much in the Christocentric liberal and social gospel traditions strongly in evidence in North America by the 1890s.[16]

There are two dramatically opposite concepts of God the first Person of Connor's essentially two Person Trinity. There is the God of wrath and vengeance, stern and wrathful, impatient with the failings and foibles of His people, and demanding their unswerving loyalty and obedience. This is the God in which the Rev. Daniel Maclennan believes in the early pages of Torches Through the Bush; He is also the God of the Jewish people in the time of the coming of Jesus, as portrayed in The Friendly Four and He Dwelt Among Us. There he is surrounded by a host of laws, ritual requirements, priests, sacrifices and Temple rites, remote from men.

This image of God Connor devotes all his energy to refuting. He gives several examples of characters transformed by their new experience of God, the Rev. Mr. Maclennan (TTB) being the most dramatic. He discovers that God's main concern is "not maintenance of the rectitude of Divine Justice, but the redemption of His own children by freeing them from the power and guilt of sin."[17] God is revealed as a Father, compassionate and loving. Connor's energy is devoted to showing forth this God of love and mercy, the ultimate in honour, justice, truth and pity.[18] In The Friendly Four, he interprets Christ's mission as presenting to the Jews

> a new thing in God, or at least a clearer shining out of what had often been limited or shadowed in Jehovah. In the tradition of this people the power of Jehovah was wont to be manifested in creative acts of majesty . . . In this work of healing, however, this mighty power of God was showing itself in a will to save the unrighteous, unhampered by regulation, unlimited in scope of application. Here, the Divine Love, reckless of convention and transcending all limitation went forth to the unclean, the unworthy, the sinful.[19]

The most important characteristic of God for the Christocentric liberals was His Fatherhood. Noting the Calvinistic background of many of these liberals, Smith has commented:

> For the Christocentric liberal, faith in the Divine Fatherhood was no minor matter; on the contrary, it was the root of his passionate concern to preach the Gospel to the whole world, and to bring all men into fellowship with God.[20]

This was equally true of Ralph Connor.

Many of Connor's characters come to realise and acknowledge

the Fatherhood of God. Those who die in the faith often see visions of God as a father, welcoming them home. John the Baptist dreams of his impending death:

> with the everlasting arms about me, and looking up, I saw a face, strong, pitiful and tender, and I knew it was the face of my Father. Ah! Then I discovered that God was my Father in Heaven and I was at peace.[21]

God is both the God of the "fighting psalms" and the Biblical heroes and of the tender Shepherd, the Shepherd who tears his hands in rescuing His wayward sheep.[22] With infinite patience, He is gathering all into His fold, all men into His Kingdom, "a Kingdom in which all races, all kindreds, all peoples will have equal privilege, because all are alike the children of the Heavenly Father."[23]

Moreover, God is immanent, another characteristic of the Divine Nature emphasised by both the Christocentric liberals and the social gospellers.[24] Unlike the remote God of the Old Testament, He is ever-present in nature, His creation, and among men and women always near. Nelson (in Black Rock), a member of a lumber camp in the Selkirks, experiences God as "someone that could be seen out at camp, that he knew well and met every day."[25] To Barry Dunbar, the young Presbyterian clergyman in Sky Pilot in No Man's Land, God is as close and familiar as his own father - "kindly, genial, true - like my dad."[25]

Most importantly for Connor and the like-minded liberals and social gospellers, God is seen in the Person of Jesus Christ: "In Jesus Christ, God had fully and finally revealed himself in his true nature."[27] In the novels, Jesus is given physical shape and there are many references to delineate Connor's perception. Since there are many more references to Christ than to His Father (in accord with Gordon's views and because of the Biblical stories which centre on the ministry of Christ), it is important to elaborate on the idea, for it is intimately related to his perception of the Godhead.

In the Bible stories entitled The Friendly Four, Charles Gordon's preface explained Connor's purpose: to make Christ "more real by helping men to see Him, not as a dim, mystical, if not mythical figure. . . but as a true man in a truly human environment."[28] Theologians, artists and others, he continued, had swathed Christ about in a maze of formularies, regulations and doctrines which created emotional and intellectual barriers between God and man. Connor's intention was to give a "little truer impression of Him as a brother-man."[29]

The essence of Christ's message was the "Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man." He is the model man: energetic, youthful, vital, cheerful. He is moved by the sickness, misery and poverty around him. He is an example to all men, essential in their lives: "men cannot live without Him and be men."[30] He is the model of compassion, gentleness and tenderness, of heroism, of suffering for righteousness sake - not unlike a knight of yore, a "strange, chivalrous young prophet."[31] Moreover, his mission is of divine origin - He read from the Scriptures in the synagogue, "the Spirit of God, Jehovah, is upon me . . . He hath sent me . . .to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord," and he added, "today is the Scripture fulfilled in your ears."[32]

According to Connor's novels, God is best revealed in His word, in creation and in particular, in His disciples and followers, especially clergymen and saintly women. God's Word, and the reading of it, has a special place and this undoubtedly accounts for the sky pilots' talents at story telling and reading, their ability to infuse the stories of two thousand years ago with vivid reality.

God is also revealed in his creation, in nature and in the countryside. The mystery of the woods and forests bring a sense of the presence of God. In Glengarry School Days, in the forests Hughie "felt as if he were in a church, and an awe gathered upon him."[32] The woods, too, can bring a sense of peace and consolation: deep in distress, Hughies found it "hard to resist the ministry of the woods."[34] In Sky Pilot, God is 'Master of the Prairie and of the canyon which crippled Gwen can no longer visit, but whose flowers as described by the Pilot bring her reconciliation to her loss and grace to persevere - a parable on the fruits of the Spirit. The canyon brings similar peace to Lady Ashley(SP): she finds solace and God's presence there as in a great Cathdedral.[35]

For Connor, God is also revealed by and experienced in His disciples, particularly ministers and saintly women. There are many comments throughout the novels such as these from The Doctor (here both referring to Barney Boyle): "Every time I think of God, I think of Barney"; and (from a dying but reformed gambler), "You're like Him, I think. You make me think o' Him."[36] Nelson, the tough tree feller in Black Rock, gasps out his dying breath to Craig, the minister: "Thank God - for you - you showed - me - I'll see Him - and - tell Him."[37] Women, too, have a special providential mission: like the sky pilots, they make God real for others. Craven, the dissolute cynical school tacher (Glengarry School Days) experiences the love of God

through the care and compassion of Mrs. Murray, the minister's wife;[38] the dying doctor in Torches Through the Bush says of Mrs. Maclennan, wife of that complex minister, "There is God because there is such a woman as that."[39] Sky Pilots and women bring men to God and God to men, as Moore (SP) did - he "made this world new to some of them, and to all he gave glimpses of the next."[40]

Although Connor's special agents of God's grace were ministers and women, all men and women were to participate in this work - indeed, hence his emphasis on the brotherhood of all men and especially their mutual responsibility. As Barry Dunbar (SPNML) told the soldiers in the camp: "God to them was like their fathers, their mothers, their brothers, their friends: only infinitely more loving, and without their faults."[41]

God is revealed both in the personal qualities of these committed disciples and their deeds and good works. Connor is emphatic that faith without works is dead: as Jock Maclennan discovers, "In deeds are the only invincible argument for any faith,"[42] The model is, of course, Christ, man of action, and His works of healing: "Every deed of power with Jesus was a preaching as well, every wonderful work proclaimed his new gospel."[43]

Connor's concept of God is firmly in the tradition of the liberal Christians of the late nineteenth century, the so-called Christocentric liberals. The doctrines they held pertaining to the nature of God, the person and mission of Jesus Christ and the Kingdom of God are those evident in Connor's novels. The Fatherhood and Immanence of God, Jesus' Ministry of reconciliation, and the living reality of the kingdom of God on earth - hallmarks of liberal Protestantistism at the turn of the century - are the dominant keynotes of God and his purpose as they are presented in Connor's writing. These emphases were shared and extended by the exponents of the social gospel: in Connor, the influence of Walter Rauschenbusch is evident in his strees on the prayer "Thy Kingdom come", on Jesus' ethical teachings and the Kingdom as the fellowship of righteousness.[44] Although precise theological formulations are few and far between in Connor's writings, clearly his views and perceptions of God are very much part of the "social gospel permeated environment."

Ralph Connor's Ministers of the Gospel

The Rev. Charles William Gordon was a minister of the Presbyterian Church for forty-seven years in a wide variety of circumstances - frontier mining towns and lumber camps, St. Stephen's Church in Winnipeg and trenches in France. His experiences there found their way into his novels, often only thinly disguised. Incidents recounted in Postscript to Adventure appear in even more vivid form in the stories he had written over the past thrity years. Since "he never ceased to regard himself primarily as a Christian minister",[45] it was inevitable that ministers of the gospel would play an important part in his "novels of purpose."

In some novels, ministers play only an incidental role. In Glengarry School Days, the Rev. Mr. Murray is a minor figure; in The Foreigner and The Major, clergy are peripheral to the story. On the other hand, a number of the novels are, in effect, highly personal and spiritual biographies of ministers of the gospel, and of the impact of the work on their flock, their families and above all on themselves. Connor's early novels, (Sky Pilot, The Prospector), several during his middle period (such as Sky Pilot in No Man's Land) and later writings (Arm of Gold, Torches Through the Bush) focus on the careers and personalities of an intriguing collection of men of the cloth.

Connor's pilots have been described as "oversize muscular Christians."[46] They were muscular Christians par excellence, symbolizing both the weakness and frailities of man and the heights to which he can aspire with the aid of grace, faith and love. Their strength for overcoming the difficulties confronting all men comes from their faith; they are models of the transforming effect of faith in God. This sets them apart from others: the Rev. Mr. Craig's (BR) spiritual convictions are his distinctive quality - "What a trump he is! and without his religion he'd be pretty much like the rest of us."[47]

The sky pilots are never paragons of virtue or endowed with superhuman talents. Most have some difficulty - physical, mental or spiritual - which must be wrestled with, always with stress on the helplessness of man without divine grace. Some struggles are physical. Barry Dunbar (SPNML) has a heart murmur; Craig (SP) dies early from what is probably tuberculosis. More often the difficulties are linked with their faith and the expression of it with members of their congregation, family, or with the interesting collection

of young women whom Connor uses as temptresses. Several of these ministers battle against the temptations of the flesh. Dick Boyle(TD) is found in the arms of Iola the opera singer, and a wedge is driven between him and his brother for years. Hector(AG), who has some difficulty relating to women, finds himself shipwrecked on an island with the alluring Daphne and momentarily - very momentarily - succumbs to her loveliness, to his utter mortification.[48] Others have suffered set-backs in their careers. Craig (BP) has been unsuccessful as a school teacher. Barry Dunbar (SPNML) is regarded as a failure by his flock because his sermons have nothing but an "overwhelming somnolent effect."[49]

Some of Connor's sky pilots have spiritual difficulties, their faith being somewhat more shaky than they dare to admit. Maclennan's (TTB) training and theological study had been in Scotland during the time of the Disruption (1840s) and the effects of his Free Kirk allegiance - a certain narrowness - had been worsened by distance, the demands on his time and the small stipend which prohibited travel or books:

> He had found it difficult to keep in touch with the best thought of the age. Except for a few volumes of sermons, his library consisted of the books which he had brought with him from Scotland. Of recent discoveries in the realm of either philosophy or natural science, he was quite ignorant, and indeed, suspicious . . . his preaching in consequence lacked the note of reality.[50]

Hector(AG), on the other hand, suffers from an over-abundance of up-to-date material. When he attempts a sermon to explain the latest trends in Biblical scholarship, he is overwhelmed by his collection of literature and by its inappropriateness for his congregation.[51]

The description of Hector(AG) is detailed. He is a veteran of the recent war, a young man whose physical and mental energies are divided between his flock and his brother who is fatally ill with a brain tumour. He worries about his lack of communication with his flock - his dislike of an elder who is an unpleasant mixture of "pagan fatalism . . . and an unctuous emotionalism", and his misunderstanding of the spiritual needs of his people to whom he delivers heavy, perplexing sermons.[52] Barry Dunbar (SPNML) also worries incessantly about establishing contact with his various congregations. He believes it is hindered by language and social barriers and to his presentation of his mission of the church. As an army chaplain, he feels awkward in the officers' mess and with the men in the field until he discovers that his role is not that of a moral policeman or a religious censor, but one of exemplifying the Good Shepherd's life of compassion and

practical aid.[53] Similarly, Hector(AG) realizes that that his faith has become absorbed in "books or creeds and rituals and not enough on the highway," and that his beliefs must be expressed in his way of life and not in erudite sermons. The effect on his congregation is instantaneous.[54]

Realization that the traditional stereotype of a minister is not necessarily effective for the church's mission is a common theme in the novels. Frequently, the young sky pilots discover that book learning, theological subtleties and up-to-date interpretations are quite inappropriate to their tasks. Without doubt, Connor was dissatisfied with education in theological fine-points to the neglect of pastoral concern and the compelling practical demands of the gospel as he read it. In Postscript to Adventure, Gordon referred to a conversation with the Rev. Dr. Alexander Whyte (Free St. George's, Edinburgh) which was firm in his memory: "You are to be a minister, see that you feed your people. Never mind your theological, your scientific, your higher critical problems. Keep them for your study."[56]

Creeds and dogma were inappropriate for the tough mining camps and shanties. Moore (SP) looks forward to taking on the local free-thinkers, but his experiences are different from his expectations. The men of the Foothills give him his first "near-view of practical, living skepticism. Skepticism in a book did not disturb him . . . But here it was alive, cheerful, attractive, indeed, fascinating."[56] Dick Boyle (TD), whose ordination is delayed by his "I don't know" reply to the question, "What is the correct theory of the atonement?" flourishes in the freer, less encumbered atmosphere of the West, where the urgency of bringing the Kingdom of God to fruition precluded dissection of theological fine points of doctrine. His superintendant reports:

> Heresy-hunting doesn't flourish in the West. There's no time for it. Some of the Eastern Presbyteries have too many men with more time on their hands than sense in their heads . . . What we want for the West . . . is men who have the spirit of the Gospel with the power to preach it and the love of their fellow men . . . Orthodoxy is my doxy, heterodoxy is the other fellow's.

Indeed, Dick "was helped by his touch of heresy. It gave him a kind of brotherly feeling with the heretics."[51] Craig (BR) speaks of the young, fresh ministers thus:

> In things theoretical, omniscient; but in things practical, quite helpless. They toss about great ideas as the miners lumps of coal . . . Some of them I coveted for the mountains . . . It does seem a sinful waste of God's good human stuff to see these fellows potter

> away their lives among theories living and dead and end by producing a book! . . . A good thing we don't have to read them.[58]

Gordon/Connor was emphatic that a clergymen should not be absorbed by airy, theological abstractions, and those in his fiction are portrayed as eminently practical, down-to-earth men. Craig's(BR) handling of the delirious Bruce is a fine piece of psychology and home-nursing;[59] Barry Dunbar (SPNML) is ever concerned about the comfort of his men at the front, organizing innumerable cups of cocoa for them, even at the expense of providing spiritual sustenance. Hector(AG) proves himself a skilled woodsman when he and Daphne are shipwrecked. Most of Connor's clergy are well-equipped with survival skills necessary in the rugged areas where they work. Travelling over large areas by horse and canoe was familiar to Gordon and he found such exercise exhilirating. Despite occasional weaknesses, the clergy in the novels are athletic and strong, revelling in the joy of physical fitness. It is a view that recurred constantly in Postscript to Adventure: Gordon's stories of cycling in the Alps, canoeing and sailing are testimonies to his passionate conviction that sound bodies should be the temples of sound minds, and that fitness is nothing less than a divine injunction, a step towards perfection.[60] Craig (BR), although a slight figure ("bantam chicken") turns out to be a baseball player of some merit (a reflection of Gordon's experience; at 135 lbs., he was too flimsy for football), and Barry Dunbar (SPNML) is introduced as an Adonis-like creature poised naked on a rock above a mountain pool.[61]

The sky pilots are not merely living hymns to physical strength and beauty, straight, virile and unashamedly muscular, they are also simultaneously tender and gentle. Something of their concern for their flocks has already been mentioned. Moore, the clergyman in Sky Pilot, is described by Connor as a "great man, tender as a woman and with the heart of a hero."[62] The care they give their flocks in the shape of shelter from the cold, cups of coffee and nursing is a reflection of this, and follows the example of Christ.

Apart from keeping fit, paddling around in canoes on their pastoral visitations, these ministers were always busy, and Connor presents a varied form of activities constituting their ministries.

First, they are often excellent story-tellers and readers. These skills recur constantly in Connor's novels, not surprisingly, as his own talents

as a raconteur are considerable. These talents win him the admiration of his congregations and others outside it, as he brings the familiar Bible stories to life - "a single sentence transferred them to the Foothills and arranged them in cowboy garb."[63]

Secondly, of course, they preached sermons. Few are quoted at length. Many of the preachers suffer great anxieties over their sermons. They are not to be sleeping draughts, such as those that annoyed Barry's congregation (SPNML); neither are they an opportunity for "merely eloquent talkers, uplifters, religious fakirs, emotional rhapsodists."[64] They are ideally the means by which men and women are stirred, provoked, into seeing and doing the message of God. This is most evident in pre-Communion sermons cited, for example, in Black Rock and Torches Through the Bush. Craig (BR) preaches on the prodigal son, a moving plea for his rather unusual congregation to return: "we must get the good, clean heart, the good, brave, clean, heart from our Father. Don't wait but just as you are come . . . Any man want to come . . .Oh! come on! Let's go back!"[65] In Torches Through the Bush, the sermon by the Rev. Mr. Murray has a powerful effect on the gathering as Pheemie (who has scandalised the parish by becoming pregnant without a husband) and some of her accusers experience the call to repentance and forgiveness. Barry Dunbar (SPNML) is the occasion for a number of comments about sermons: his own desire, "the gift of tongues, of flaming, burning, illuminating speech, of heart-compelling speech!" comes true when he is suddenly called upon to preach at the Parade service.[66]

Not all sermons are so successful. Hector(AG) preaches two which perplex rather than enlighten his flock. One, the evils of materialism (materialism being his pet aversion), he suddenly sees is inappropriate for his Cape Breton flock eking a subsistence existence from the soil, and altogether demoralising in its intellectual power, "clear-cut logic, the lofty idealism, the passion."[67] The other, on Biblical inspiration, is not quoted. Instead, Connor illustrated it impact by constructing a conversation between members of the congregation who "heard" it - a commentary on the wide range of reactions based on on half-hearing, pre-established prejudices and, occasionally, on perceptive understanding.[68]

The ministers are also to be models of Christ-like compassion. The impact of Moore (SP) on the rough cowboys illustrates this so aptly that it deserves to be quoted at length:

> To the rest of the community he was the preacher; to them he was comrade and friend . . . within the last few months they had come to count him as one of themselves . . .He was theirs, and they were only beginning to take full pride in him when he passed out from them, leaving an emptiness in their life new and unexplained. No man in that country had ever shown concern for them, nor had it occurred to them that any man could, till the Pilot came. It took them a long time to believe that the interest he showed in them was genuine and not simply professional. Then too from a preacher they expected chiefly pity, warning, rebuke. The Pilot astonished them by giving them respect, admiration and open-hearted affection.[69]

Significantly, much of Connor's emphasis is on work outside the church, away from the pulpit. The clergy win respect, even reverence, for their concern for the well-being of men whether they are in a factory, lumber camp or battlefield. Connor has clergy in all these settings. Not all of them are initially aware of the church's mission in these secular areas. Hector (AG), for example, had regarded the economic state of Cape Breton as outside his jurisdiction. Part of Connor's intention is to bring these fields of labour to the attention of church people, clerical and lay. Barry Dunbar (SPNML) has a reputation for meddling in politics,[70] while the Rev. Murdo Matheson (THTH) is as interested in political economy as he is in theology, indeed, for him the two are inextricably mixed.[71]

The constant theme of ministers as servants to both the spiritual and physical needs of men is closely related to Connor's perception and experience of God and to his convictions about the responsibilities of Christians, individually and collectively, to the world. Connor was determined to emphasise Christ's mission to the poor, the sick and rejected, the "outcast souls, forgotten by the religious leaders, by Scribes and Pharisees, by synagogue and Sanhedrin."[72] Jesus' love for his disciples is expressed, not without a smile at their astonishment, in washing their feet at the "Holy Memorial Supper" with the "pure water of humble and brotherly service."[73] This was His example, and consummated in dying for them, and among his people, none should be more aware of this than His ministers.

These clergy are also bearers of progress and civilization, a theme apparent from the very earliest novels. To Connor, the church had an immense responsibility in the development of Canada and the ministers were essential to that mission. In the novels, this role is presented as having both positive and negative effects. Some resent the intrusion of the church in the form of a clergyman, for he represents a way of life they have left behind and prefer to forget.[74] On the other hand, they are often won over,

even against their will, by the Pilot. The minister also delivers some of the accoutrements of civilization. He or his wife is always skilled in elementary hygiene (an obsession with Connor, especially in The Foreigner and Torches Through the Bush). He carries books, magazines and literature of an uplifting nature. He reminds them of home, often when home is rejected (as by Bruce in Sky Pilot) or when it is far away (Barry in SPNML), and of the heroic, saintly lives of their mothers.

Greig Nicholl's essay, "The Image of the Protestant Minister in the Christian Social Novel," an examination of the depiction of social gospel clergymen in such novels between 1865 and 1915, provides a useful background for a comment on Connor's portrayal of ministers in his fiction. His clerical characters are firmly within the tradition of the social gospel authors, exemplifying, in Nicholl's words, "a new kind of minister - physically rugged, intelligent, deeply religious, compassionate and above all a man concerned with the application of the gospel to social and economic problems."[75] He adds:"Christian social novels were written to inspire ministers with a vision of the social gospel in the modern world."[76]

While many of Connor's novels are not strictly within the "social gospel fiction" category, his treatment of clergy when set against Nicholl's study indicates the limitations imposed by narrow definition. The social gospellers were determined to destroy the complacent, soporific, aloof, materialistic image of clerics, remote from twentieth century problems, determined to demonstrate to churchmen, lay and clerical alike, the mandate given to the Church in which the clergy had a special role. This is also Connor's ideal. His clergy have much in common with those in other social gospel novels - several go through a conversion experience, their strict, narrow views giving way to more humanitarian, compassionate convictions based firmly on the example of the life of Jesus - Daniel Maclennan (TTB) and Barry Dunbar (SPNML), for example.[77] They are portrayed as individual ministers, vital to the preservation of true Christianity, more so than the institutional church with its creeds and formularies. They identify, like Christ, with the poor and rejected, showing them the love of Christ in words and deeds. They do battle for the Kingdom against its enemies in the shape of saloon owners, corrupt politicians, greedy stockbrokers - any exploiters of their flock.

As Nicholl notes, many of the failings of the social gospel - paternalism, middle class origins and leadership, and the fear of radicalism (i.e., the emphasis on individual and spiritual changes rather than social or economic

ones) are also evident in these clergy, including Connor's own (THTH). However, the positive side is also important. As Nicholl commented in assessing the place of these clergy in social gospel fiction: "These novels, however mediocre as literary efforts, were nonetheless a major manifestation of Christian efforts to restore the clergyman's traditional role as moral and spiritual leader of the public conscience."[78]

Ralph Connor's Women

For Connor, women performed a unique service in bringing about the Kingdom of God. The praise heaped upon them in the novels - they are often likened unto guardian angels and saints - and the influence they have on the outcasts and rough diamonds who comprise the "fictional" congregations raise them to a special place in Connor's writing.

The source of his convictions about the transforming, healing qualities of women was undoubtedly the memories of his mother. In Postscript to Adventure, Gordon described her saintly nature and her good deeds among the flock: "She demonstrated before their eyes how to live a saintly life. For what a saint she was . . . a gay and gallant saint . . . The inspiration for whatever small service I may have done for my fellow man came from her."[79]

These qualities in saintly women made them as Christ-like as human beings could be. In them were manifest Christ's compassion and pity, His love and mercy to all men and especially to those wounded physically, morally and spiritually. This is the obverse side of "muscular Christianity" - Christ is not only strong, virile and chivalrous, He is loving and merciful. It is woman's role to live and to proclaim this.

Connor's elevation of women to the ranks of saints or guardian angels relates very closely to his perception of the importance of the home. The home was the very cement that would bind Canada into one great nation, with the churches the mainstay and expression of civilized living. Hence, his concern about the men of the Foothills, of the Selkirks, and the trenches of France, all those "denied the gentler influences of home and the sweet uplift of a good woman's face."[80] In Torches Through the Bush, one of his last novels, he is even more emphatic: "Removed from the influences of home and church these men developed characteristics wild as those of their fellow dwellers in the forest, the wolf, the bear, and the wolverine."[81] As Gordon commented (PA) on the neglect of women in literature:

> Less colourful doubtless are the lives of mothers, wives and sisters, but more truly heroic and more fruitful in the building of human character and the shaping of a nation's history. At the very foundation of a nation's greatness is the home.[82]

Connor attempted to redress the balance in his novels. They include many significant women, mostly saintly, but sometimes fallen, so providing an opportunity for the latent saintly influences to be made manifest. The temptresses also provide stark contrasts to the lives and good works of "real" women. Daphne (AC), is an excellent example. She has unsubtle designs on Hector the minister and intends to jilt her fiancé, Dr. Wolfe. Capricious and flirtatious, she comes from New York with her stockbroker father and chauffeur. One passage contrasting the women of Cape Breton (where they are touring) with the young things in her social set in New York deserves to be quoted since it expresses something of Connor's views on women in general, the foibles of some and the potential of all for service:

> They are no hicks! They are better educated than I am. What do I know anyway? What have I read? Some damn fool rotten sex, murder, detective stuff. They have something - oh, I don't know - something fine, lovely, clean. . . When I think of my crowd, ugh! With their cocktails, with their cheap, loud, smart talk, with their night clubs, and their rotten heads and hearts, it makes me sick . . . They wouldn't know a real woman's heart if they met one.[83]

The doctor's reply is also indicative of Connor's convictions about the state of the world: "Nine-tenths of my patients are ennui-ridden females. The primary symptom of neurosis is extreme egotism, no interest in other people: the next, no interest in work."[84]

The arguments against seductresses in the novels are many and familiar: such women are immoral, they commit adultery with the heart if not the body,[85] and they lure men away from their work and callings (as Iola swayed Dick and Barney (TD)). Not least, they have abnegated their true vocations as women. They have rejected the God-given roles of "bringing to the world the wholesome fragrance of a pure heart and the strength and serenity of a life devoted to well-doing."[86]

Connor's temptresses rarely suffer damnation, however, for part of his intention was to show that these people, diseased in spirit if not in body, could be healed by faith and love, like the other outcasts, like all sinners. Iola (TD), for example, becomes ill in Scotland and is cared for by Lady Ruthven, another "angel from heaven." Pain and suffering as well as the end of her singing career transform her, and she dies quietly "with the airs of heaven breathing about her."[87] Barney is deeply moved by her death: "Heaven

had not snatched her away. She had brought Heaven nearer."[88] Daphne (AG), too is changed by the example of Hector, the noble devotion to good works and the faith of Logie and Vivien which give her an experience of a world where unselfish, altruistic motives are dominant. She is happy to marry Dr. Wolfe.

There are many more saints than seductresses; almost every novel has one woman whose qualities and characteristics, dedication and service make those around her praise her as an angel or saint. In The Doctor, the real heroine is Margaret, the "Lady of Kuskinook", who stands in stark contrast to Iola. In Black Rock, it is Mrs. Mavor, the "miners' guardian angel"; in Glengarry School Days, it is Mrs. Murray; in Torches Through the Bush, Mrs. Maclennan. These women are full of good works, "tireless in their ministrations to the halt, maimed and wounded."[89] They are motivated by their faith and their devotion to Christ, the "champion of all poor, broken, beaten folk."[90] Like the dedicated sky pilots and courageous soldiers, they represent God to those who have not experienced His healing mercy. Indeed, there are moments when God and mothers seem to stroll arm in arm.[91]

Like many of the sky pilots, most of the women have been tempered by pain and suffering. The most dramatic example is that of Gwen (SP), a "holy terror", the wild tempestuous girl crippled in an accident who, after much anger and despair, accepts her suffering with joy and gladness and transforms the lives of those around her.[92] Mrs. Mavor's tragic life is also recounted: widowed young when her husband was killed by a drunken miner, she overcame her sorrow and bitterness and remained to minister to the men - true forgiveness (BR). Mrs. Maclennan (TTB) bears for many years the cross of her husband's severe, even harsh religion and the break it causes with their son Jock. Mrs. Gwynne (TM), a Quaker, has long suffered the consequences of her husband's business ineptitude and of the privations of pioneering in Alberta, but she has a great serenity which comes from "triumph over the carking (sic) cares of life."[93]

Now labouring in these various vineyards - mining camps, farming groups in the Foothills, early Ontario - these women have often come from cultured refined backgrounds, sacrificing the comforts of civilization for work and service in remote areas. Mrs. Mavor (SP) has a great love of classical music, Beethoven, Mendelssohn and especially Wagner (she "soared upon wings of the mighty Tannhäuser," her model one assumes being Elizabeth rather than Iife in the Venusburg.) The Widow MacAskill, the extraordinary old woman in Arm of Gold, lives amid a collection of books, copies of the old masters

and gramophone records of Beethoven, Wagner, Brahms and Debussy.[95] Mrs. Maclennan was brought up in Montreal, in a family that appreciated culture and refinement.

The significance of Connor's emphasis on these refined, well-educated backgrounds is difficult to overestimate. It is part of his stress on noblesse oblige, the special responsibilities of service by those well-endowed with the refinements of life. It heightens the impact of the sacrifice. As John Craven(GSD) wrote to his confidant, he was especially moved by Mrs. Murray "throwing away her fine culture and her altogether beautiful soul . . . here, and with a beautiful unconsciousness of anything like sacrifice . . . now thanking God for the privilege of doing so."[96] Mrs. Maclennan left a world of fine books and music for "the black heart of the wild forest."[97] As Craig (BR) reminded Connor, since "Nazareth was good enough for the Lord of glory",[98] such sacrifice made these women even more Christ-like.

The sacrifice, however, is more than a literary device; it is closely related to the memory of his mother. As Gordon wrote in Postscript to Adventure, she was a woman of considerable intellectual talent who, shortly after a successful academic career at Mount Holyoake seminary was offered the principalship there. She refused it, preferring the hardship and privations of life as a minister's wife on the backwoods. She was the model for the Mrs. Murrays and the Mrs. Maclennans:

> The change from the life in her cultured home to that in the poorly furnished Lingwick manse among the struggling Gaelic-speaking emigrants of her husband's congregations can hardly be imagined by the people of this day.[99]

To Gordon/Connor, culture and the good things of life were not empty, fatuous and to be shunned (cf. the veneer of refinement of Daphne (AG)). These women become the medium of some degree of elegance within their spheres of influence. Lady Charlotte Ashley (SP) crosses her "canyon", and begins to influence the lives of those around her:

> Her home became the centre of a new type of social life. With exquisite tact, and much was needed for this kind of work, she drew the bachelors from their lonely shacks and from their wild carousals, and gave them a taste of the joys of the pure home life.[100]

The importance of educated refined women in the homes of the nation is foremost in Connor's mind. Peggy, grand-daughter of the Widow MacAskill (AG) is portrayed as one of the few among Hector's flock who understand his exposition on biblical inspiration.[101]

Not all women are saints or seductresses in the novels, nor intelligent paragons of virtue or later-day Eves. Not all are quick and perceptive like Peggy: Mrs McTavish, a fellow parishioner, rambles endlessly at Hector's bible study without contributing anything of substance.[102] Some of them have no appreciation of the importance of a clean home or elementary hygiene (Paula (TF) and the McKillops (TTB)). However, some do reform under the guiding influence of other women, and the rest are incidental characters.

It should be noted in passing that, in his writing on the vocation of women, Connor depicted little girls as embodying the qualities of womanhood. Jane cares for her father, a widower, with touching devotion (TM), reminding him very painfully of her mother. In The Foreigner, it is little Margaret Ketzel, through her contact with the school and the small but hardworking Methodist Sunday school, who brings her family into contact with the Canadian way of life. She brings home books, magazines and ideas to her Galician parents and the results are quickly evident:

> . . . it came to pass that from the Ketzel home, clean, orderly and Canadian, there went out into the foul wastes about, streams of healing and cleansing that did their beneficent work wherever they went.[103]

Without doubt, a reference to "a little child shall lead them."

The work that is undertaken by these women is often closely related to the work done by Connor's mother, and familiar to all readers of religious novels of the times. In Postscript to Adventure, he described how she visited the "poor little cabins, often evil-smelling" near Lake Megantic, taught the women about elementary hygeine, housekeeping and the care of their children, and organized Bible classes and sewing circles.[104] It is also a description of the work of Mrs. Maclennan (TTB) and is, of course, a combination of the significance of women and the home. In a chapter on Martha and Mary in The Friendly Four, he commented on the changes in the role of women in his lifetime, largely as a consequence of the positive force of education and the more ambiguous one of war. Referring to the new avenues of service now open to women, he concludes:

> . . . in spite of all the fine things she has done for the world in these spheres of service, the impressive fact remains unchallengeable that her natural sphere is that of the Home . . . only in the Home can the children of the race be rightly born and trained. Hence of all the fine arts, the finest is given into women's hands, the art of Home-making . . . the most difficult to which to attain perfection.[105]

The conviction that cleanliness is next to Godliness which pervades the novels is closely related to his perception of women. For those women not

involved in creating clean, orderly homes, nursing is a popular occupation. Margaret (TD) has spent her life serving others patiently, first her family on her mother's early death and then in the West where she becomes famous as the lady of Kuskinook. Others like Phyllis (SPNML) and Vivien (AG) are also examples of dedicated sacrifice and service. Hector's sister Logie is remembered with deep devotion by the troops she aided in the war, especially the lower ranks whom she treated like gentlemen. Evelyn (TTB) who has a thin veneer of Montreal social graces and dishonourable intentions on Jock Maclennan, is transformed by assisting Jock with his Home Nursing Project. The scheme is largely the work of Kassie, a childhood friend of Jock, once a wild tomboy and now a woman of deep convictions. Connor describes her presentation of the work accomplished at the Project meeting thus:

> in a thoroughly **business**-like manner, yet with the throb of a deep spiritual emotion through it all . . . In Kassie's presentation the work took on an aspect of immense practical value, of vast possibilities in the life of the community - the making and shaping of good, clean young Canadians, worthy in body, mind and spirit of the new nation which was just coming into being.[106]

In short, Connor has an elevated position for women in his scheme. They are portrayed as having (albeit latently) an almost limitless reservoir of love and mercy, compassion and patience, of awakening latent and noble sentiments in all men. As the Widow McAskill (AG) said: "the best men are like their mothers."[107]

Conclusion

Connor's experience and depiction of God and his presentation of ministers and women are only three of many approaches to his social gospel faith as set out in his novels. Other themes are just as striking, powerful and compelling. His continual insistence on the importance of the environment in the moulding of the character of the individual and the nation, and on the urgency of bringing the Kingdom of God to fruition on earth are convictions fundamental to the social gospel movement. The belief in the quality of the environment pervades Connor's writings more strongly perhaps than any other theme. Second only to his concept of God in importance, it is the foundation of his patriotism - Canada as a nation with a glorious destiny and a divine mission - but more significantly here, of his attitude toward the Church's mission in contemporary Canada.

His crusade is against the insidious dangers of materialism, against a selfishness, complacency and indifference by the supposedly respectable church folk who could not, or would not, see Lazarus at their gates - be he thinly disguised as a rough cowboy or an illiterate Galician - unkempt, dirty, perhaps drunken, and shunned by respectable society, but no less worthy and desirous of salvation and a place in the Kingdom than anyone else. This is the unavoidable implication of his experience and perception of God and explains his attitudes towards the work of ministers and women.

The nature of this paper reflects in part the difficulty of dealing with the way in which Ralph Connor treats religious issues in his novels. The plots, themes and arguments are common to many of his works, as are his convictions about Christianity, its source, its expression by the institutional churches of his time and by individuals, and current crises in theology and social mission. However, the complex interaction of his ideas, concepts and faith and his own experiences as a minister which are never far from the surface as well as their part in the wider social gospel movement in North America deserve more attention than this essentially descriptive and limited study can provide.

Ralph Connor, fiction writer, is undoubtedly the most prolific exponent of the social gospel in Canada. The popularity of his writings, if difficult to comprehend now, indicates considerable sympathy for his views. The sermonising and preaching take up far more space than the so-called "railway folder scenery" (eloquent though it is at times) and the love stories (touching though they are). Even if the reader skips the actual sermons and also the occasional descriptions of religious services, he can hardly escape the moral exhortations to truth, cleanliness, strength and courage - sermons which lose much of the impact with which he expresses them when they are coldly described as "muscular Christianity." It is impossible to read and enjoy Connor simply for his plots, travelogues about the Rockies, Ontario countryside and Cape Breton coast. Virtually every page resounds with his religious convictions, always fully orchestrated.

The studies of the social gospel in Canada - by Christie and Allen, for example - place Connor/Gordon as merely one of a number of influential advocates of social Christianity. Others have been portrayed as far more dramatic, outspoken or influential, both in and out of the Presbyterian Church. Nevertheless, Gordon's participation in the Social Service Council,

the Church union movement (a theme almost non-existent in the novels), his continual urging of the Church's acceptance of its social mission, his own energetic activity in all fields of concern - immigration, industrial relations, missionary activities, the war effort - make him an especially active exponent of the social gospel movement. When one considers the time taken to write the many novels as well as the large number of reports and non-fictional articles, his output was very impressive. Even accepting that his methods were, to say the least slapdash at times, that episodes are recognisable in one novel after another, that his convictions are firm and constant, and that he drew very heavily on personal experience, then the mission of Gordon/Connor to the reading public was a long and successful one.

Connor's religious novels are despite their settings social gospel fiction. The description "fiction" seems a misnomer when so many parallels can be found between Postscript to Adventure and the novels - in the mission area, war and industry. The semi-biographical nature of the writings deserve more attention. To gauge his effectiveness as a crusader for the social gospel, a more careful study of his writings as a whole, fiction and non-fiction, and of other social gospel writers in Canada is essential. Nevertheless, his books are a convincing demonstration of the power of the social gospel novel as a means of propaganda popularising the convictions of the author, and reflecting some important factors about contemporary fiction and public opinion. His novels are sentimental, didactic, polemical and at times, facile. They do however reveal what perturbed the minds of middle class North Americans (including Connor), their fears, aspirations, hopes and ideals.

Footnotes.

1. Isabel Paterson, "The Gaspards of Pinecroft," New York Tribune, 11 November, 1923, p. 21.

2. A.R. Rogers, "American Recognition of Canadian Authors Writing in English, 1890-1960," (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Michigan, 1964), pp. 69, 95-96.

3. A study entitled "Covert themes of homosexulaity and incest in the novels of Ralph Connor" has much material awaiting it. The novels are full of intense emotional relationships between men in particular (for example, Moore in Sky Pilot and Bill, between Barry Dunbar and his father Dick in Sky Pilot in No Man's Land), many with physical connotations.

4. Frank Watt, "Western Myth: The World of Ralph Connor," Canadian Literature 1 (1959).

5. Gordon Roper, New Forces, New Fiction, 1880-1920. In Klinck, C (ed) Literary History of Canada: Canadian Literature in English (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 260.

6. W.E. Davies, "Religious Issues in Late Nineteenth Century American Novels," Bull. John Rylands Library 41 (1958-59), pp. 328-329.

7. C.W. Gordon, Postscript to Adventure: The Autobiography of Ralph Connor (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), p. 150.

8. H.F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America (New York: Harper and Bros., 1949), pp. 163, 170. See A.R. Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform 1914-1928 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971).

9. Mary Vipond, "Blessed are the Peacemakers: the Labour Question in Canadian Social Gospel Fiction," J. Canadian Studies 10 (1975), p. 35.

10. C.M. Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism 1865-1915 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p. 140.

11. May, op. cit., p. 207. See also D.F. White, "A Summons for the Kingdom of God on Earth: The Early Social Gospel Novel," South Atlantic Quarterly LXVII (1968), pp. 469-485.

12. Vipond, op. cit., p. 37.

13. Hopkins, op. cit., p. 327. See also p. 319.

14. P.S. Boyer,"'In His Steps': A Reappraisal," American Quarterly XXIII (1971), p. 62. Gordon/Connor was, of course, very much part of the creation of that environment in Canada.

15. A.R. Allen, "The Social Gospel and the Reform Tradition in Canada, 1890-1928," Canadian Historical Review 49 (1968), pp. 384, 385.

16. H. Sheldon Smith, R.T. Handy and L.A. Loetscher, American Christianity: An Historical Interpretation with Representative Documents, Vol. II, 1820-1960 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963), pp. 255ff.

17. Ralph Connor, Torches Through the Bush (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1934), p. 222. (TTB)

18. Connor, The Arm of Gold (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1932), p. 276.

19. Connor, The Friendly Four and Other Stories (New York: George Doran and Co., 1926), pp. 68-69. (FF)

20. Smith et al, op. cit., p. 278.

21. Connor, He Dwelt Among Us (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1926), p. 27. Also Glengarry School Days (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 19750, p. 338. (HDAU) (GSD)

22. AG, p. 195.

23. HDUA, p. 113.

24. Smith et al, op. cit., p. 258. Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 123ff.

25. Connor, Black Rock: A Tale of the Selkirks (New York: A.L. Burt and Co., n.d.), p. 132. (BR)

26. Connor, Sky Pilot in No Man's Land (New York: George Doran and Co., 1919), p. 78, also p. 185. (SPNML)

27. Smith et al, op. cot., p. 257.

28. FF, p. v.

29. Ibid., p. ix.

30. Connor, Sky Pilot: A Tale of the Foothills (Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1970), p. 64.

31. HDUA, p. 116, also p. 124.

32. Ibid., p. 36.

33. GSD, p. 108.

34. Ibid., p. 199.

35. SP, pp. 177ff; pp. 246ff.

36. Connor, The Doctor: A Tale of The Rockies (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1906), pp. 292, 388. (TD)

37. BR, p. 233.

38. GSD, pp. 265-67, 279-80, 290.

39. TTB, p. 278.

40. SP, p. 292.

41. SPNML, p. 190.

42. TTB, p. 264.

43. FF, p. 67.

44. Smith et al, op cit., pp. 401-407. Hopkins, op. cit., p. 214.

45. J. King Gordon, PA, p. xviii. See also P. Berton, Klondike: The Last Great Gold Rush (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), p. 151.

46. G. Roper, R. Schleder and S.H. Reharriell, "The Kinds of Fiction (1890-1920)," in Klinck, op. cit., p. 304.

47. BR, p. 118.

48. AG, p. 160-172.

49. SPNML, p. 57.

50. TTB, p. 4.

51. AG, p. 191.

52. Ibid., p. 109.

53. SPNML, pp. 39ff.

54. AG, p. 189; also p. 243.
55. PA, p. 85.
56. SP, p. 56.
57. TD, pp. 225-26; also pp. 192ff.
58. SP, pp. 259-60.
59. Ibid, pp. 92ff.
60. PA, p. 53.
61. SPNML, pp. 9-11.
62. SP, p. 244.
63. Ibid., p. 73; also p. 267. His skill is apparent in EE and HDAU.
64. PA, p. 139.
65. BR, p. 128.
66. SPNML, pp. 22, 109, 111.
67. AG, p. 105.
68. Ibid., pp. 196ff.
69. SP, p. 291.
70. SPNML, p. 62.
71. THTH, pp. 119 et passim.
72. HDAU, p. 36.
73. Ibid., p. 150.
74. E.G., SP, p. 40.
75. G. Nicholl, "The Image of the Protestant Minister in the Christian Social Novel," Church History XXXVII (1968), p. 319.
76. Ibid., p. 320.
77. Ibid., pp. 321ff.
78. Ibid., pp. 333-34.
79. PA, p. 11.
80. SP, preface.
81. TTB, p. 1.
82. PA, p. 14.
83. AG, p. 228.
84. Ibid., p. 230.
85. TD, p. 211.
86. Ibid., p. 204.
87. Ibid., p. 353.
88. Ibid., p. 360.
89. AG, p. 10.
90. TTB, p. 199.
91. E.G. SPNML, p. 151.

92. Also PA, pp. 151-152.

93. Connor, The Major (Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild and Stewart, 1917), p. 113. (TM)

94. BP, p. 74. Also GSD, p. 288.

95. AG, p. 94.

96. GSD, pp. 289-90.

97. TTB, p. 5.

98. BP, p. 86.

99. PA, p. 9.

100. SP, pp. 261-62.

101. AG, pp. 199-204.

102. Ibid., pp. 211-212.

103. Connor, The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan (Toronto: Westminister Printing Co., 1909), p. 158. (TF)

104. PA, p. 9.

105. FF, pp. 239-240.

106. TTB, p. 264.

107. AG, p. 140. See also Bover, op. cit., pp. 69ff, 77 for a fascinating account of the place of women in social gospel fiction.

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