

## **Canadian Protestants, the Sudan Expedition, and the New Imperialism**

GORDON L. HEATH  
McMaster Divinity College

---

“From that sacred sacrifice thousands on thousands have been inspired to live as heroes and die as martyrs in the cause of human freedom, so lived and so died General Gordon, his death was a sacrificial offering on the altar of humanity.”<sup>1</sup>

On a cold Sunday evening in February 1885, congregants in First Baptist Church, Montreal, listened as the Rev. Dr. Wheaton Smith waxed on about the life and heroics of General Gordon, the British leader and popular hero who had recently been killed deep in the Sudan in the hot and dusty city of Khartoum. The text was John 12:24 “Verily, verily, I say unto you, except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit” (KJV). The application being made was that Gordon’s death would spark an outpouring of imperial zeal that would lead to the eventual capture of the Sudan bringing in its wake the manifold blessings of British imperial rule. Smith proclaimed that “England had drawn the sword, and justice should be done to humanity. The talismanic name of Gordon would electrify the forces of mankind” and “regiments without number . . . could be enlisted to march to the Soudan and suppress the inhuman Madhi.”<sup>2</sup> That same month, over a thousand kilometers to the east, Dr. Burns delivered a sermon on Gordon at Fort Massey Presbyterian Church, Halifax, a man he called a “Hero of the Age.” Burns declared Gordon to be the “rarest incarnation of whatsoever things are true, honest, lovely and of good report,” and one who sacrificed himself for the good

*Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History (2020)*

of others. He had died “at his post alone amid raging foes and merciless fanatics, rather than desert those whom he has sworn to defend.”<sup>3</sup> Those across the Dominion who missed the Sunday sermons could learn about Gordon’s exploits and death in articles, editorials, poems, and maps in the denominational press.<sup>4</sup> But what was Gordon doing in Africa? And why did it matter to those among Canada’s Protestant churches?

When General Garnet Wolseley was faced with the daunting task of relieving Gordon in Khartoum, he was convinced that the best way to get there was to advance up the Nile. Remembering the aid he had received from Canadian voyageurs during the Red River Rebellion (1867-1870), he sent a letter to Canadian Governor General Lansdowne on 20 August 1884 requesting the assistance of voyageurs. The request was for boatmen, not soldiers, and the men were to take a strictly non-combatant role. Shortly thereafter, on 15 September 1884, 386 men departed Quebec City for Egypt. On 7 October 1884, the Canadians arrived in Alexandria, soon joined Wolseley and his 5,400 troops, and headed up the Nile.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the best efforts of the relief expedition, and the fact that they were just a few tantalizing days away from the besieged city, they failed to get to Gordon in time. On 26 January 1885, the defences of Khartoum were breached and Gordon was killed. The announcement of his death was a shock to people used to hearing about imperial victories and believing in the superiority of Anglo-Saxons over against supposedly inferior “natives.” The news of his death in Britain led to passionate denunciations of the Gladstone government for its lackadaisical support for Gordon, and eventually it led to the government’s downfall. His death also fueled war fever in Britain and parts of the empire. In Canada, there was a minor epidemic of volunteering for overseas service to recapture the Sudan and punish the Mahdi, but this abated relatively quickly when Britain decided to abandon the Sudan.<sup>6</sup>

While Britain had been involved in a number of imperial conflicts in the preceding years, this particular imperial engagement deep in Africa along the Nile was of special interest to Canadians due to the presence of the voyageurs. And reactions to their exploits on the home front in pulpit and denominational press indicate that the New Imperialism had support in the churches. What little has been written about Canada and the Nile Expedition deals primarily with either its political or military features, despite the fact that denominational figures had much to say about the venture,<sup>7</sup> and the reaction of the churches set a pattern and precedent for how they reacted to future imperial wars.<sup>8</sup>

### ***The New Imperialism***

Both Robert Page and C. P. Stacey assert that in the years immediately following Confederation English Canadians were loyal to Britain, but not at all excited about specific imperial ventures, and imperialism in general.<sup>9</sup> Yet a quick survey of post-Confederation reactions to events related to empire indicate a growing and passionate commitment to the New Imperialism among the churches. The South African War (1899-1902) may have led to the most ardent expressions of imperial zeal in Canadian history up that point in time, but, if the coverage and commentary in the religious press is any indication, New Imperialism had begun to capture the imagination of a number of Canadians more than a decade before Canadian troops embarked for their baptism of blood in South Africa.<sup>10</sup> And the rising sense of being Canadian in the new Dominion increasingly took on an imperial flavour in church rhetoric. While the Protestant churches had deep ties to Britain going back generations, the birth of the new nation coincided with the birth of the New Imperialism, and that confluence of births inevitably and inexorably intensified traditional loyalties and shaped imperial visions for the nation.

New Imperialism was marked by a dramatic intensification of imperial expansion and conflict between the end of the Franco-Prussian War (1870) and the start of the First World War (1914).<sup>11</sup> Its start date has often been linked to the Berlin Conference of 1884, where Europeans parceled out much of Africa. Protestant church commentary reveals a significant degree of support for the surging imperial vision and its assumptions regarding race, religion, civilization, and empire. As one commentator wrote regarding the conference:

The blessing of civilization long bestowed in rich abundance in Europe and North America, and in measure in Asia and South America, seem now destined to overflow, flood with a new life and light the long oppressed, dark continent, with its swarthy races so long victimized by every nation possessed of ships and colonies. Never before in the annals of history of our race, has such a hopeful prospect exalted for the inhabitants of an uncivilized region brought for the first time into contact with strong and civilized peoples.<sup>12</sup>

Hopes were high and optimism abounded, for it was believed that through the spread of European empires injustices were to end, slavery was to be abolished, and “black men and whites” were to be “equal before

the law.” For many Protestant Canadians, the empire most able to bring about such manifold blessings was the empire to which they already proudly belonged.

### ***Sudan Expedition***

The conflict in the Sudan was considered a fresh opportunity for the nascent nation to participate in the rapid expansion of empire, an exciting occasion to take part in a grand adventure of bringing the alleged blessings to the “natives” of Africa.<sup>13</sup> Or as the *Christian Guardian* portrayed it: “No military undertaking in ancient or modern times exceeds in romantic heroism the expedition for the relief of Khartoum.”<sup>14</sup> Initial events surrounding the call for the expedition, the advance and conditions of the relief force, various battles, and the final outcome of the conflict were all covered in the denominational press, with some papers providing weekly blow-by-blow accounts.<sup>15</sup> In fact, the nature and degree of coverage would set a pattern for the churches in the nation’s future wars.

Special services were offered by some churches, and formal prayers were prepared, offered, and published for the safety and success of arms in Africa.<sup>16</sup> As one local church reported: “Prayers were offered Sunday, 8<sup>th</sup> February, in the Mohawk churches for the success of the British forces in the Soudan, and allusions were made in the sermons to the Khartoum disaster.”<sup>17</sup> Familiar themes and assumptions related to imperial discourse were woven into such services and in the commentary on the expedition one can see themes and assumptions that would shape the churches’ discourse for the next two generations.

There were pragmatic political and military reasons for supporting the empire in general, and more specifically in the advance up the Nile, such as the loss of Britain’s prestige and the concomitant unrest in colonies such as India.<sup>18</sup> However, the notion of trusteeship undergirded the churches’ vision for imperial advance. More specifically, the British advance was deemed to serve a benevolent and higher purpose: the bringing of good government, the ending of injustice (especially the slave trade), and the advance of Christian missions. As one commentator confidently asserted,

To speak of England, as so many do just now, as fighting against native rights, is wickedly foolish. The natives call to us for deliverance from a grinding tyranny, and the cry of the slave goes up to

heaven for help against their infamous oppressors, a cry which Christian England, nay the Christian world, now hears ringing thro' the appeals of its hero, and so hearing, must answer by strong deeds for God and for freedom . . . From that sacred sacrifice thousands on thousands have been inspired to live as heroes and die as martyrs in the cause of human freedom, so lived and so died General Gordon, his death was a sacrificial offering on the altar of humanity.<sup>19</sup>

If Gordon had lived, the same author wrote, he would have been given "powers to suppress the slave trade, to stop the cruel oppressions under which natives suffered, and to establish the reign of justice and order, that is to give this region, so long full of the habitations of cruelty, the blessing of civilizations, by Christian laws and a Christian government."<sup>20</sup> As another commentator similarly declared:

They see in it more than the rescue of one brave man, or of ten thousand men; they discern in it the laying of the foundation for a new and better order of things. The slave trade, with all its attendant horrors and abominations, is to be cut up by the roots. The inalienable rights of men – life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness – are to be asserted and vindicated; and this is to be done for the subject as well as for the ruling races.<sup>21</sup>

The point seemed obvious at the time – how could one not support the British advance when it would lead to such blessings? The trope of benevolent rule is widely recognized today as fundamental to British imperialism, and clearly there were those in the Canadian churches who imbibed it during the events in the Sudan. While the notion of trusteeship certainly provided a motivation and justification for imperial advancement, it also served the purpose of defending British actions against the claims of critics and quelling any pangs of conscience about conquest.<sup>22</sup>

Providence was considered to be the ultimate explanation for the rise of the empire and the ongoing British global expansion.<sup>23</sup> Late nineteenth-century providentialist readings of history saw God's hand in human affairs, guiding Britain's meteoric rise to prominence. It was considered an exciting time to be a part of the empire, and a great opportunity for a newly-minted Dominion to be associated with a grandiose divine plan foretold by the prophet Isaiah (Isaiah 19:21-25).<sup>24</sup>

Temporal and spiritual blessings were conflated, with the advance of Christianity and Western Civilization proceeding in a symbiotic

relationship. It was acknowledged that missionaries played an important role beyond preaching, for they aided in the work of advancing “civilization.”<sup>25</sup> General Gordon himself acknowledged that fusion (for he believed the advance of empire and missions would help end the horrors of slavery), and he was praised at his death for making such a synthesis.<sup>26</sup> An integral - and arguably, for some, the most important - providential reason for the rise of the empire was the spread of Christian missions. The nineteenth century was the heyday of Protestant missions, what one historian calls the “great century of Protestant missions.”<sup>27</sup> British Protestant denominations were at the vanguard of this missionary movement, sending 9,014 missionaries out of a total of 17,254 Protestant missionaries from all countries.<sup>28</sup> In fact, “by the middle of the nineteenth century, the ‘missionary spirit’ was being hailed by contemporaries . . . as the ‘characteristic feature’ of the religious piety for which the Victorians were rightly renowned.”<sup>29</sup> Over the course of the nineteenth-century missionary societies were formed, funds were raised, and an increasing number of missionaries sent. The exploits of foreign missionaries and the call to missionary work were continually presented to the churches. Church life was marked by a vigorous commitment to personal conversion and evangelical missions, and the events of the late-nineteenth century fuelled that passion. One commentator supportive of the missionary work of the church pointed out what he deemed to be obvious during the British advance into the Sudan:

The Church sees, or ought to see, even more than this in the drama which is being played in the valley of the Nile; it discerns, or ought to discern in it, the opening of another great field for missionary enterprise; another call to heroic and self-sacrificing effort for the subjection of the world to the dominion of Christ. It was the conviction that he was preparing the way for the spread of the Gospel that sustained Livingstone in his labours and sufferings during his protracted and heroic work efforts to lay bare the heart of Africa. There is good reason to believe that Gordon has been supported by similar conviction, during all the dreary months that he has been shut up in Khartoum. It has been the settled belief that he is a factor in the accomplishment of the Divine purpose in respect to this vast equatorial region and the millions of its inhabitants. It is the conviction, too, that gives special interest, in our mind, to the fact that some of our own countrymen have the order of taking part in the Expedition ostensibly for the relief of Gordon and the garrison at Khartoum, but

having for its ulterior object, as we believe - whether so intended by its projectors or not - the accomplishment of a far more important purpose."<sup>30</sup>

The link between British missions and empire is complicated and often ambiguous.<sup>31</sup> Missionaries advanced in the wake of empire or criticized the empire from within for its mistreatment of its subjects. They saw the empire as established by God for the spread of the faith, but those same missionaries could launch into a jeremiad for the empire's failure to live up to its high calling. As the above quote indicates, however, during the advance into the Sudan it seemed to some in the churches that the "more important" purpose of the advance of missions made a British victory imperative. The participation of Canadians in the expedition - even in a non-combat role - was also an indication of a sense of Canada's participation in God's plan, and a forming of a national identity that was decidedly imperial, and Anglo-Saxon.

It has become a truism that the assumption of Anglo-Saxon racial superiority was intrinsic to the formation of late nineteenth-century national and imperial identity in both the metropole and peripheries. Myra Rutherdale declares that the late-nineteenth century was "an age of classification" and that the "discourse of difference" was an everyday occurrence.<sup>32</sup> Terms like "race," "breed," "stock," "native," and the like were quite common and, for most, were considered to be inoffensive. Andrew Ross notes that by the end of the nineteenth century the idea of trusteeship had become very influential and that the idea of trusteeship shaped attitudes towards race.<sup>33</sup> What is apparent during the crisis in Africa is that notions of race fueled perceptions in the churches of British superiority, as well as the need for conquest. The discourse of racial superiority and trusteeship in the religious press's commentary on the Sudan - with expressions such as "teeming masses,"<sup>34</sup> "savage tribes,"<sup>35</sup> "barbarous life,"<sup>36</sup> "Dark Continent,"<sup>37</sup> a war between "barbarism and civilization"<sup>38</sup> implied an inferiority that justified and even necessitated imperial advance.

A passion for what Duncan Bell calls a Greater Britain was stoked by the news coming from Khartoum.<sup>39</sup> The events in Egypt led to a growing sense of the bonds of empire and Canada's political, ethnic, familial, and linguistic ties to the "Mother" country. For instance, there was positive commentary and celebration of the spread of English settlers and civilization from the seventeenth century to the present.<sup>40</sup> However,

what exactly was Canada's relationship to that empire? And what was Canada's role when an imperial conflict arose, such as in Egypt? There was commentary surrounding various notions surrounding some sort of imperial federation, but there was no enthusiasm for losing what Canada had already gained by way of Dominion status.<sup>41</sup>

Although coverage of the Nile Expedition continued into mid-1885, the events with Riel in the Canadian West, as well as the looming British-Russian war, began to eclipse interest in the Sudan.<sup>42</sup> The British evacuation of the Sudan after Gordon's death was also a factor in references to the Nile Expedition eventually disappearing from the press and pulpits. However, the absence of commentary did not mean that concern for empire had vanished. In fact, the imperial assumptions revealed in the brief flurry of reporting and preaching on the Sudan remained deeply imbedded within the discourse of Canadian Protestantism for generations and through a number of wars. For many, Canada's future could not be conceived outside of an imperial connection with Mother England.

#### ***Post-Sudan Imperial Commentary***

The Sudan expedition ended, but passion for Britain's growing empire and Canada's imperial identity continued. The advance of mission work and church planting in western Canada was often couched, in part, with imperial aspirations and assumptions.<sup>43</sup> The progress of the Dominion was deemed to be an extension of the empire and a contribution to its growing strength. Racial assumptions associated with Anglo-Saxon superiority and empire were also an element of missionary discourse in the West. There is also evidence that during the domestic violence and unrest associated with Riel there were those in the churches that supported and propagated the alleged racial, religious, and cultural supremacy that was integral to Anglo-Saxon imperialism and civilization.<sup>44</sup> Yet it was during the two Jubilees that one can most clearly see the continued blooming of an imperial vision in the discourse of the churches.

#### ***Golden Jubilee 1887***

A cursory look at church commentary during particular international events reveals even more clearly an ardent identification with Britain and empire, as well as an embracing of the ideals of imperialism. Queen



Victoria's Golden Jubilee (1887) was cause for celebration and special services throughout the nation, and imbedded within the commemorative commentary, prayers, poetry, official statements, and loyal addresses to the Queen there are glimpses of commitment to monarchy, empire, and imperialism that foreshadowed the late-nineteenth century zeal for imperialism most often associated with the war in South Africa. Themes such as the advancement of missions during the reign of Victoria, the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the spread of justice under the Union Jack were endemic in the imperial discourse.<sup>45</sup> As one Methodist commentary wrote, "The flag that floats from yonder flagstaff is nothing but a piece of colored bunting, but it is that and very much more. It represents the wealth, the culture, the energy, the power, the Christian civilization of the mightiest empire the world has ever seen. May Queen Victoria long be spared health and strength to rule over this extended empire."<sup>46</sup> The fact that Queen Victoria was dearly loved by most of her subjects in Britain in her later years seems to be beyond dispute.<sup>47</sup> The reaction to her Golden Jubilee indicates that her English-Canadian subjects were also quite enamored with her - perhaps even more so - and with the empire associated with her rule.<sup>48</sup>

#### ***Diamond Jubilee 1897***

A decade later Britain had another opportunity to celebrate its greatness, despite a nagging sense of uncertainty and insecurity due to the rising power and ambition of nations such as Germany and the United States.<sup>49</sup> Between 19-24 June 1897 the empire was fixated on celebrating the sixtieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne. Tributes to the Queen flowed from friend and foe around the world, and Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier represented Canada during the festivities. The highlight of the Jubilee celebrations was on 22 June, when the royal procession, with 50,000 troops from the various regions of the empire, made its way from Buckingham Palace to St. Paul's Cathedral. The *Times* remarked: "History may be searched, and searched in vain, to discover so wonderful an exhibition of allegiance and brotherhood among so many myriads of men . . . The mightiest and most beneficial Empire ever known in the annals of mankind."<sup>50</sup> Poems, hymns, sermons, newspapers and new publications all extolled the virtues of the empire.

Canadian churches shared in the zeal for Queen and empire, with commentary and services surpassing the response to the Golden Jubilee.

Reporting of the Jubilee in the denominational press was extensive, providing readers with commentary, news, notes, and pictures of the celebrations.<sup>51</sup> Coverage in the *Wesleyan*, a Maritime-based denominational paper, is a good example of the lengths to which editors would go to satisfy public demand for news on the Jubilee festivities; the 23 June 1897 issue had eleven articles on some aspect of the Queen and Jubilee, not to mention numerous pictures to provide visuals for readers.<sup>52</sup> Poets created verse to praise the godly Victoria and her benevolent reign.<sup>53</sup> Special Jubilee church services were held across the country.<sup>54</sup> Denominations and clergy crafted loyal addresses, and prominent speakers exhorted the faithful to thank God for the reign of Victoria and the spread of empire under her rule.<sup>55</sup> For example, the Rev. Dr. Carman, General Superintendent of the Methodist Church, had paid tribute to Victoria during her Golden Jubilee, and a decade later was once again called upon to comment. He did not disappoint those who saw in her reign the providential blessing of God:

All the chronicles of all the nations record nothing else equal to it. There has been removal of many ills and ancient disabilities, and the attainment and enjoyment of innumerable advantages and improvements. The shades of old barbarisms disappear, and brighter civilizations set the skin all aglow, and flash upward to the zenith [...] A broadening and liberalized imperial policy, humanity, philanthropy, and religion shine forth with increasing radiance and strength, like the sun in the firmament [...] And in her sovereignty, revered of all, brightest star is Britain's Queen.<sup>56</sup>

As this example of Carman indicates, discourse surrounding the Diamond Jubilee abounded with late-nineteenth century optimism. And that optimism was in no small measure due to what was believed to be the benefits of a rapidly expanding British imperial rule.

Themes related to missions, race, and justice that were expressed during the Golden Jubilee were reiterated in the Diamond Jubilee. Prominent Canadian imperialist George R. Parkin argued that one aspect of British superiority was the ability to govern: a "special capacity for political organization may, without race vanity, be fairly claimed for Anglo-Saxon people."<sup>57</sup> The racial superiority assumed in Parkin's statement was echoed in the churches' commentary regarding the Queen's Jubilee. The empire under Victoria's tenure was understood to have brought progress in literacy, communication, science, social reform,

transportation, electricity, canals, trade, religion, music and arts, tax reform, criminal laws, photography, and home comforts (e.g., soaps, glassware, sewing accessories, washboards). There was more than just material progress, however, for under the rule of Victoria the spread of missions had dramatically expanded. For churches enthused with the late-Victorian passion for missions, the fusion of imperial growth and missionary expansion was further cause for celebration. In other words, the empire advanced justice through its countless benefits and benevolent rule, and furthered missions through the safe conduct provided to missionaries.

### ***Conclusion***

On 2 September 1898, almost a decade and a half after the fall of Khartoum, Gordon's death was avenged when the British under the leadership of Major-General Kitchener captured the city. This battlefield success that made Kitchener a household name allowed for the expansion of previously-thwarted British imperial rule in the Sudan. As the following announcement of the victory indicates, it was believed that British control would better the lot of the Sudanese:

Following the advance up the Nile and the capture of Khartoum and Omdurman, comes a proposition from the victorious General that a college and medical school be established at Khartoum in memory of General Gordon. The whole to cost about \$300,000, which General Kitchener thinks the British public would gladly provide. Such a memorial would avenge the murder of Chinese Gordon in a spirit akin to his own, and would show the barbaric tribes of the Nile tributaries the great difference between the religion of Christ and the cruel fetishism of the Mahdi.<sup>58</sup>

By 1898, the New Imperialism, with its potent mix of imperialism, missions, national destiny, jingoism, providence, racism, Social Darwinism, the creation of the Other, providence, and social justice, was commonly expressed in the discourse of the churches and in their activities related to domestic and international events. There was no one view of imperialism, and there was no official church position on empire. Nevertheless, the churches did not escape the impact of this welter of events, passions, and beliefs, and imperial assumptions regarding missions, race, and justice had captured the imagination of many: the acquiring of Khartoum was just one more event that fit quite nicely into

the paradigm and providence of British advances and blessings. The following year would see Canadians themselves embark for South Africa to wage war against the Boers, and at that time imperialism among English Protestants was palpable and potent. And Canadians ardent for empire would be able fight for its expansion.

### **Endnotes**

1. "General Gordon and the War," *Dominion Churchman*, 2 April 1885, 216-17.
2. "General Gordon," *Canadian Baptist*, 26 February 1885, 1.
3. "General Gordon," *Presbyterian Witness*, 21 February 1885, 60.
4. For instance, see "The Death of Gordon," *Christian Guardian*, 18 February 1885, n.p.; Rev. S. J. Douglass, "Khartoum," *Christian Guardian*, 4 March 1885, 138; "Chinese Gordon," *Christian Guardian*, 18 March 1885, n.p.; "Gordon's Letters," *Christian Guardian*, 18 March 1885, n.p.; "Another Voice from Khartoum," *Christian Guardian*, 15 July 1885, n.p.; Rev. M. R. Knight, "Gordon," *Wesleyan*, 2 April 1885, n.p.; "General Gordon," *Wesleyan*, 16 April 1885, n.p.; "General Gordon," *Presbyterian Witness*, 28 February 1885, 68; "Death of General Gordon," *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, March 1885, 281-83; "Ecclesiastical Notes," *Church Guardian*, 22 April 1885, 1; "Editorial Notes," *Evangelical Churchman*, 12 February 1885, 492; "British and Foreign News," *Evangelical Churchman*, 19 February 1885, 500; "The Late General Gordon," *Evangelical Churchman*, 19 March 1885, 559; "General Gordon and the War," *Dominion Churchman*, 2 April 1885, 216-17; "Tribute to General Gordon," *Dominion Churchman*, 9 April 1885, 231; "General Gordon Handkerchief," *Dominion Churchman*, 9 April 1885, 231; "General Gordon's Church Views," *Dominion Churchman*, 14 May 1885, 307; "Map of the Egyptian Soodan [sic] and Abyssinia," *Canadian Baptist*, 19 March 1885, 8; "A New Map of the Seat of the War," *Dominion Churchman*, 5 March 1885, 145.
5. For a discussion of the larger strategic position, especially in regard to India, see Adrian Preston, "Wolseley, the Khartoum Relief Expedition and the Defence of India, 1885-1900," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 6 (1978): 254-80.
6. Roy McLaren, *Canadians on the Nile, 1882-1898: Being the Adventures of the Voyageurs on the Khartoum Relief Expedition and Other Exploits* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978), 129; Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1999), 109; C. P. Stacey, "Canada and the Nile Expedition of 1884-85,"

*Canadian Historical Review* 33 (1952): 325ff. The *Christian Guardian* noted the move to send Canadian volunteers, but did comment one way or the other as to supporting the idea. See "The Situation in the Soudan," *Christian Guardian*, 11 February 1885, n.p.

7. For instance, see Stacey, "Canada and the Nile Expedition of 1884-85," 319-40; C. P. Stacey, "John A. Macdonald on Raising Troops in Canada for Imperial Service, 1885," *Canadian Historical Review* 38 (1957): 37-40; C. P. Stacey, *Records of the Nile Voyageurs, 1884-1885* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1959); Michael Bumsted, "From the Red to the Nile: William Nassau Kennedy and the Manitoba Contingent of Voyageurs in the Gordon Relief Expedition, 1884-1885," *Manitoba History* 42 (Autumn/Winter 2001-2002): 19-26; John Boileau, "Voyageurs on the Nile," *Legion Magazine*, January/February, 2004 (Accessed: July 2010); Anthony P. Michel, "To Represent the Country in Egypt: Aboriginality, Britishness, Anglophone Canadian Identities, and the Nile Expedition, 1884-1885," *Social History* 39 (May 2006): 45-77; Peter Pigott, *Canada in the Soudan: War without Borders* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2009); Roy McLaren, *Canadians on the Nile, 1882-1898: Being the Adventures of the Voyageurs on the Khartoum Relief Expedition and Other Exploits* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978). One article has been published on the churches and the Nile Expedition, see Gordon L. Heath, "The Nile Expedition, New Imperialism and Canadian Baptists, 1884-1885," *Baptist Quarterly* 44, no. 3 (July 2011): 171-86.
8. I have earlier argued that the churches' reaction to the South African War set such a pattern and precedent for Canada's future wars, but this reaction to the imperial advance up the Nile bumps that back to the conflict in the Sudan. See Gordon L. Heath, "The South African War: Prelude to the Great War," in *Canadian Churches and the First World War*, ed. Gordon L. Heath (Eugene: Pickwick, 2014), 15-33.
9. See Robert J. D. Page, *Boer War and Canadian Imperialism* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1987), 3; C. P. Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict, Volume One: 1867-1921* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 40-44. For French-Canadian views of imperialism, see A. I. Silver, "Some Quebec Attitudes in an Age of Imperialism and Ideological Conflict," *Canadian Historical Review* 57 (December 1976): 440-60. For Dutch views, see Timothy Nijhof and Catharina De Bakker, "The Dutch Community in the Kildonans (1893-1911): The English Churches and the War," *Canadian Journal of Netherlandic Studies* 26 (2005): 1-13. For Irish Catholic, see Mark G. McGowan, "The Degreening of the Irish: Toronto's Irish Catholic Press, Imperialism, and the Forging of a New Identity, 1887-1914," *Canadian Historical Association Papers* 24, no. 1 (1989): 118-45.

10. Perhaps not surprisingly, the Canadian response mirrored the Australian colonial response, although one important difference was that the Australians actually sent troops to the Nile. See K. S. Inglis, *The Rehearsal: Australians at War in the Sudan, 1885* (NSW: Rigby, 1985); and Malcolm Saunders, "A Case Study of Historical Inaccuracy: New South Wales and the Sudan Campaign of 1885," *Journal of Australian Studies* 8 (1984): 29-38.
11. Harrison M. Wright, ed., *The "New Imperialism," Analysis of Late Nineteenth-Century Expansion* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1961).
12. "The Results of the Berlin Conference," *Canadian Baptist*, 23 July 1885, 1. *The Wesleyan* printed an article a year later that described the scramble and what was taken in Africa and by whom. See "The Scramble for Africa," *Wesleyan*, 2 April 1885, n.p.
13. The bumbling - though very alarming at the time - invasions of Canada by the Fenians (1866, 1870) led to clerical rhetoric that extolled Canada's British and imperial connection. See James Tyler Robertson, "'A Very Present Help in Trouble': The Ontario Baptist Response to the Fenian Invasion of 1866," in *Baptists and Public Life in Canada*, ed. Gordon L. Heath and Paul R. Wilson (Eugene: Pickwick, 2012), 167-97; and James T. Robertson, "His Dominion VS New Ireland: The Ontario Protestant Churches and the Fenian Invasion, 1866," MDiv thesis, McMaster University, 2007.
14. *Christian Guardian*, 14 January 1885.
15. For instance, see "In the Soudan," *Dominion Churchman*, 5 March 1885, 157; "A Dry Land," *Dominion Churchman*, 12 March 1885, 164; "The Canadians in Egypt," *Dominion Churchman*, 28 May 1885, 339; "Return from the War in Egypt," *Dominion Churchman*, 2 July 1885, 428; *Evangelical Churchman*, 4 September 1884, 205; "A Ride in the Soudan," *Evangelical Churchman*, 18 September 1884, 223; "Khartoum," *Evangelical Churchman*, 19 March 1885, 505; "What Is a Mahdi?" *Evangelical Churchman*, 26 March 1885, 559; "Canadians on the Nile," *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, February 1885, 119-29; "The Week," *Presbyterian Witness*, 21 February 1885, 60; "The Soudan," *Presbyterian Witness*, 7 March 1885, 76; "The Week," *Presbyterian Witness*, 21 March 1885, 92; "War," *Presbyterian Witness*, 4 April 1885, 108; "Dominion of Canada," *Christian Messenger*, 26 November 1884, 5; "The Relief of Gordon," *Christian Guardian*, 3 September 1884, 294; "The Egyptian Exiles on the Madhi," *Christian Guardian*, 22 October 1884, n.p.; "Letters from General Gordon," *Christian Guardian*, 19 November 1884, n.p.; "The Situation In the Soudan," *Christian Guardian*, 11 February 1885, n.p.; "King Leopold and Gen. Gordon," *Christian Guardian*, 18 February 1885, n.p.; "The Soudan Troubles," *Christian Guardian*, 4 March 1885, n.p.; "The

Crisis in England," *Christian Guardian*, 4 March 1885, n.p.; "News of the Week," *Christian Guardian*, 3 September 1884, 295; "News of the Week," *Christian Guardian*, 10 September 1884, 303; "News of the Week," *Christian Guardian*, 17 September 1884, 311; "News of the Week," *Christian Guardian*, 8 October 1884, 335; "News of the Week," *Christian Guardian*, 15 October 1884, 343; "News of the Week," *Christian Guardian*, 5 November 1884, 367; "News of the Week," *Christian Guardian*, 12 November 1884, 375; "News of the Week," *Christian Guardian*, 19 November 1884, 383; "News of the Week," *Christian Guardian*, 26 November 1884, 391; "News of the Week," *Christian Guardian*, 3 December 1884, 401; "News of the Week," *Christian Guardian*, 11 February 1885, n.p.; "News of the Week," *Christian Guardian*, 25 February 1885, 124; "News of the Week," *Christian Guardian*, 18 March 1885, 172; "News of the Week," *Christian Guardian*, 25 March 1885, 188; "Cataracts on the Nile," *Wesleyan*, 12 September 1884, n.p.; "Gleanings Etc," *Wesleyan*, 4 October 1884, n.p.; "Gleanings Etc," *Wesleyan*, 30 October 1884, n.p.; "Gleanings Ec," *Wesleyan*, 20 November 1884, n.p.; "Gleanings Etc," *Wesleyan*, 4 December 1884, n.p.; "The Copts and Mohammedans," *Wesleyan*, 11 December 1884, n.p.; "Gleanings Etc," *Wesleyan*, 25 December 1884, n.p.; "Gleanings Wtc," *Wesleyan*, 1 January 1885, n.p.; "The Outlook-Secular," *Wesleyan*, 8 January 1885, n.p.; "Gleanings Etc," *Wesleyan*, 8 January 1885, n.p.; "Gleanings Etc," *Wesleyan*, 22 January 1885, n.p.; "Gleanings Etc," *Wesleyan*, 29 January 1885, n.p.; "Gleanings Etc," *Wesleyan*, 5 February 1885, n.p.; "On the Nile," *Wesleyan*, 12 February 1885, n.p.; "The Situation in the East," *Wesleyan*, 19 February 1885, n.p.; "Gleanings Etc," *Wesleyan*, 19 February 1885, n.p.; "The East," *Wesleyan*, 26 February 1885, n.p.; "The Nile Expedition," *Wesleyan*, 26 February 1885, n.p.; "Gleanings Etc," *Wesleyan*, 26 February 1885, n.p.; "Egypt and the Soudan," *Wesleyan*, 5 March 1885, n.p.; "The Troops in Egypt," *Wesleyan*, 9 April 1885, n.p.; "English and Foreign," *Religious Intelligencer*, 7 November 1884, 3; "English and Foreign," *Religious Intelligencer*, 23 January 1885, 3; *Religious Intelligencer*, 6 February 1885, 2; "English and Foreign," *Religious Intelligencer*, 27 February 1885, 3; *Messenger and Visitor*, 28 January 1885, 1; *Messenger and Visitor*, 4 February 1885, 1; "British and Foreign," *Messenger and Visitor*, 4 February 1885, 8; "News Summary," *Messenger and Visitor*, 11 March 1885, 8; "News Notes," *Canadian Baptist*, 26 March 1885, 8; "English and Foreign," *Religious Intelligencer*, 11 July 1884, 3; "English and Foreign," *Religious Intelligencer*, 8 August 1884, 3; "English and Foreign," *Religious Intelligencer*, 15 August 1884, 3; "English and Foreign," *Religious Intelligencer*, 21 November 1884, 3; "English and Foreign," *Religious Intelligencer*, 28 November 1884, 3; "English and Foreign," *Religious Intelligencer*, 5 December 1884, 3; "English and Foreign," *Religious Intelligencer*, 12 December 1884, 3; *Canadian Baptist*, 4 June 1885, 4; "Dominion of Canada,"

- Christian Messenger*, 24 December 1884, 5; "English and Foreign," *Religious Intelligencer*, 1 May 1885, 3; "News Summary," *Messenger and Visitor*, 11 March 1885, 8; *Christian Messenger*, 15 October 1884, 5; *Christian Messenger*, 29 October 1884, 5; *Christian Messenger*, 12 November 1884, 4; *Christian Messenger*, 12 November 1884, 4; "News of the World," *Christian Messenger*, 19 November 1884, 5; *Religious Intelligencer*, 27 February 1885, 2; and "News Summary," *Messenger and Visitor*, 11 March 1885, 8.
16. "News from the Home Field," *Church Guardian*, 15 April 1885, 2; "Montreal," *Dominion Churchman*, 19 February 1885, 118; "Ontario," *Dominion Churchman*, 5 March 1885, 180; "Montreal," *Dominion Churchman*, 9 April 1885, 284; "Niagara," *Dominion Churchman*, 9 April 1885, 285; "Seasonable Prayers," *Dominion Churchman*, 28 April 1885, 265.
  17. "Tyendinaga," *Dominion Churchman*, 5 March 1885, 150.
  18. "The Situation in the Soudan," *Christian Guardian*, 11 February 1885, 88.
  19. "General Gordon and the War," *Dominion Churchman*, 2 April 1885, 216-17.
  20. "General Gordon and the War," *Dominion Churchman*, 2 April 1885, 216-17.
  21. "Canadians on the Nile," *Methodist Magazine*, February 1885, 119-29.
  22. "The Relief of Gordon," *Christian Guardian*, 3 September 1884, 294; *Christian Guardian*, 14 January 1885, n.p.; and "The Canadians in Egypt," *Dominion Churchman*, 28 May 1885, 339.
  23. Stewart J. Brown, *Providence and Empire, 1815-1914* (Harlow: Pearson, 2008).
  24. "The Little Egyptian Boys," *Dominion Churchman*, 30 July 1885, 494.
  25. "Our Debt to Foreign Missions," *Wesleyan*, 4 December 1884, n.p.
  26. "Gordon on Missions," *Wesleyan*, 16 April 1885, n.p.
  27. Kenneth Scott Latourette, *The Great Century, A.D. 1800-A.D. 1914* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishing, 1941), 1. As Brian Stanley argues, however, numbers alone would make the twentieth century an even greater century for Protestant missions. See Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester: Apollos, 1990), 83-84.
  28. The next closest Protestant missionary-sending nation was the United States. Out of those 17,245 Protestant missionaries, the U.S. sent 4,159. See Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, 83.



29. Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 5.
30. "Canadians on the Nile," *Methodist Magazine*, February 1885, 119-29.
31. Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004); and Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*.
32. Myra Rutherdale, *Women and the White Man's God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002), 152-153.
33. Andrew Ross, "Christian Missions and the Mid-Nineteenth-Century Change in Attitudes to Race: The African Experience," in *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions, 1880-1914*, ed. Andrew Porter (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 85-105.
34. "The Gospel for Africa," *Wesleyan*, 9 October 1884, n.p.
35. "Our Debt to Foreign Missions," *Wesleyan*, 4 December 1884, n.p.
36. "The Death of Gordon," *Christian Guardian*, 18 February 1885, n.p.
37. "The Congo," *Christian Guardian*, 4 March 1885, 2.
38. "Khartoum," *Christian Guardian*, 21 January 1885, n.p.
39. Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).
40. "The English-Speaking Race," *Christian Guardian*, 25 March 1885, n.p.
41. "Helping the Mother Country," *Presbyterian Witness*, 14 March 1885, 84; James A. Froude, "England and Her Colonies," *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, August 1884, 165-77; "Imperial Federation," *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, August 1884, 279-81; "Imperial Federation," *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, October 1884, 378; "British Federation," *Christian Guardian*, 26 November 1884, n.p.; and *Canadian Guardian*, 18 March 1885, n.p.
42. Gordon L. Heath, "Traitor, Half-Breeds, Savages and Heroes: Canadian Baptist Newspapers and Constructions of Riel and the Events of 1885," in *Baptists and Public Life in Canada*, eds. Gordon L. Heath and Paul Wilson (Eugene: Pickwick, 2012), 198-217.

43. Sean Mills, “‘Preach the World’: Canadian Imperialism and Missionary Outreach at the Montreal Diocesan Theological College, 1892-1903,” *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 43 (2001): 5-38. For earlier years, see James Tyler Robertson, “Go Up and Possess the Garden of the World: The Ontario Baptist Mission to the North West Territories, 1869-1870,” *McMaster Journal of Theology and Ministry* 10 (2008-2009): 140-73.
44. Heath, “Traitor, Half-Breeds, Savages and Heroes,” 198-217.
45. “Her Majesty’s Coronation,” *Canadian Baptist*, 9 June 1887, 3; “The Year of Jubilee,” *Canadian Baptist*, 23 June 1887, 4; “The Queen’s Jubilee,” *Canadian Baptist*, 23 June 1887, 8; “British and Foreign,” *Religious Intelligencer*, 25 May 1887, 8; “A Waste-Basket Item,” *Canadian Baptist*, 16 June 1887, 5; *Canadian Baptist*, 23 June 1887, 4; “Fifty Years a Queen,” *Religious Intelligencer*, 22 June 1887, 4; “Manitoba’s Future,” *North West Baptist*, 1 June 1887, 2; “The Reign of Victoria,” *Religious Intelligencer*, 4 May 1887, 1; “The Year of Jubilee,” *Canadian Baptist*, 23 June 1887, 4; “Fifty Years a Queen,” *Religious Intelligencer*, 22 June 1887, 4; “The Jubilee,” *Religious Intelligencer*, 22 June 1887, 4; “God Save the Queen,” *Canadian Church Magazine and Mission News*, June 1887, 290; Rev. W. P. Walsh, “The Queen’s Jubilee,” *Canadian Church Magazine and Mission News*, July 1887, 314; I. F. Dickenga, “Africa’s Cry to America,” *Canadian Church Magazine and Mission News*, August 1887, 338; “Our Gracious Queen,” *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, June 1887, 506-11; Rev. Dr. Carman, “Our Queen’s Jubilee,” *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, June 1887, 512, 518; William Stewart, “Jubilee-1887,” *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, June 1887, 518; “To the Queen,” *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, June 1887, 530; Rev. W. Harrison, “The Victorian Era,” *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, June 1887, 531-37; “Charge of the Bishop of Toronto,” *Evangelical Churchman*, 23 June 1887, 79-81; “Correspondence,” *Evangelical Churchman*, 30 June 1887, 91-92; “Foreign Missions During the Reign of Queen Victoria,” *Evangelical Churchman*, 7 July 1887, 105-106; “Church News,” *Evangelical Churchman*, 14 July 1887, 111; “Diocese of Huron,” *Evangelical Churchman*, 14 July 1887, 112-13; “Jubilee Week,” *Presbyterian Witness*, 25 June 1887, 204; “Editorial Notes,” *Wesleyan*, 9 June 1887, n.p.; Rev. Dr. Carman, “Our Queen’s Jubilee,” *Wesleyan*, 16 June 1887, n.p.; Sadie O. Prince, “To Queen Victoria Upon the Celebration,” *Wesleyan*, 16 June 1887, n.p.; “Queen Victoria’s Jubilee,” *Wesleyan*, 16 June 1887, n.p.; “The Victorian Period,” *Wesleyan*, 30 June 1887, n.p.; “Jubilee Service in the City of St. John,” *Wesleyan*, 30 June 1887, n.p.; “Nova Scotia Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada,” *Wesleyan*, 30 June 1887, n.p.; and “Fifty Years of Queen Victoria’s Reign,” *Wesleyan*, 7 July 1887, n.p.
46. “The Victorian Period,” *Wesleyan*, 30 June 1887, n.p.

47. The books on Queen Victoria are too numerous to list here. For an ever-so-brief look at a few sources, see the following biographies: Elizabeth Longford, *Victoria R.I.* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964); Christopher Hibbert, *Queen Victoria: A Personal History* (Cambridge, MA.: Da Capo Press, 2001); and Carolly Erickson, *Her Little Majesty: The Life of Queen Victoria* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1997). For a discussion of the Queen's popularity, as well as contemporary criticisms of the Queen, see Richard Williams, *The Contentious Crown: Public Discussion of the British Monarchy in the Reign of Queen Victoria* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997). For reaction to her death, see Jerrold M. Packard, *Farewell in Splendour: The Passing of Queen Victoria and Her Age* (New York: Dutton, 1995).
48. For a brief survey of how Canadians in general have been loyal to the British monarchy, see Robert M. Stamp, *Kings, Queens and Canadians: A Celebration of Canada's Infatuation with the British Royal Family* (Markham: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1987).
49. See Denis Judd, *Empire: The British Imperial Experience from 1765 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), 136, 139; Lawrence James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire* (London: Abacus, 1995), 201-202; Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: 1500-2000* (New York: Random House, 1987), 226-32. For contemporary concerns expressed in the denominational press, see "British Decay," *Presbyterian Witness*, 25 May 1901, 164; "Is Great Britain Decaying?" *Presbyterian Witness*, 6 July 1901, 212; and "Twentieth Century Problems," *Canadian Baptist*, 3 January 1901, 8.
50. As quoted in Judd, *Empire*, 132.
51. E.G.A., "Jubilee Day in Winnipeg – The Children's Parade," *Western Churchman*, July 1897, 324; "The Diamond Jubilee," *Trinity Western Review*, May/June 1897, 70-71; "Victoria Day," *Trinity Western Review*, May/June 1897, 70; "Diamond Commemoration of the Victoria Diamond Jubilee," *Quebec Diocesan Gazette*, June 1897, 96-97; "Survey of the Month," *Westminster*, July 1897, 7-9; "Survey of the Month," *Westminster*, August 1897, 54-57; Mary Spencer Warren, "Sunday with Queen Victoria," *Methodist Magazine and Review*, May 1897, 406-408; Arthur H. Beavan, "Where the Queen Worships," *Methodist Magazine and Review*, May 1897, 408-10; E. S. Orr, "The Coronation of Queen Victoria," *Methodist Magazine and Review*, May 1897, 418-24; Sir Edwin Arnold, "Victoria, Queen and Empress," *Methodist Magazine and Review*, May 1897, 425-31; Rev. William Harrison, "The Victorian Era," *Methodist Magazine and Review*, May 1897, 431-34; "Our Gracious Queen," *Methodist Magazine and Review*, May 1897, 473-74; "Sixty Years," *Religious Intelligencer*, 16 June 1897, 4; "A Patriotic Sermon," *Religious Intelligencer*, 30 June 1897, 1; "Editorial Notes,"

- Canadian Baptist*, 15 July 1897, 1; "Editorial Notes," *Canadian Baptist*, 15 July 1897, 1; "What Victoria Has Seen," *Religious Intelligencer*, 16 June 1897, 1; BCOQ resolution, "The Victorian Order of Nurses in Canada," *Canadian Baptist*, 22 April 1897, 248; "Editorial Notes," *Canadian Baptist*, 27 May 1897, 1; "Editorial Notes," *Canadian Baptist*, 3 June 1897, 1; Peter W. Gordon, "The Victorian Era," *Messenger and Visitor*, 2 June 1897, 3; "Victoria's Reign," *Messenger and Visitor*, 23 June 1897, 4; "The United Empire," *Messenger and Visitor*, 30 June 1897, 4; "British Colonization," *Messenger and Visitor*, 28 April 1897, 1; and "Mr. Depew on the Jubilee," *Messenger and Visitor*, 28 July 1897, 1.
52. Rev. John Lathern, "God Save the Queen!" *Wesleyan*, 23 June 1897, n.p.; "Victoria's Jubilee," *Wesleyan*, 23 June 1897, 1; "Since Victoria was Crowned," *Wesleyan*, 23 June 1897, 2; "I Will Be Good," *Wesleyan*, 23 June 1897, 3; "The Child's Letter to the Queen," *Wesleyan*, 23 June 1897, 3; "Maritime Methodism in the Victorian Era," *Wesleyan*, 23 June 1897, 4; "Canada Under Victoria," *Wesleyan*, 23 June 1897, 4; "A Lesson from the Throne," *Wesleyan*, 23 June 1897, 4; "God Save the Queen," *Wesleyan*, 23 June 1897, 5; "How Farmer Smith Saw the Queen," *Wesleyan*, 23 June 1897, 6; "The Surprised Queen Victoria," *Wesleyan*, 23 June 1897, 6; "A Willful Princess," *Wesleyan*, 30 June 1897, 2; and Rev. J. W. Davies, "The Progress of Methodism During the Queen's Reign," *Wesleyan*, 19 July 1897, 1.
53. Clive P. Wolley, "Our Queen," *Trinity Western Review*, May/June 1897, 71; Clive P. Wolley, "The U. E. Loyalists," *Trinity Western Review*, May/June 1897, 71-72; "Jubilee-1897," *Methodist Magazine and Review*, May 1897, 405; "To the Queen," *Methodist Magazine and Review*, May 1897, 424; and Elizabeth B. Browning, "Victoria's Tears," *Methodist Magazine and Review*, May 1897, 413. Queen Victoria's death would provoke another round of such verse. See Gordon L. Heath, "'Were We in the Habit of Deifying Monarchs': Canadian English Protestants and the Death of Queen Victoria, 1901," *Canadian Evangelical Review* (Fall 2005-Spring 2006): 72-97.
54. "Brandon Notes," *Western Churchman*, July 1897, 314; "Alexander," *Western Churchman*, July 1897, 314; "Winnipeg-Holy Trinity," *Western Churchman*, July 1897, 314, 316; "Winnipeg-All Saints," *Western Churchman*, July 1897, 316; "Boissevain," *Western Churchman*, July 1897, 317; "Christ Church, Winnipeg," *Western Churchman*, July 1897, 317-18; *St. Paul's Parish Magazine*, June 1897, n.p.; *St. Paul's Parish Magazine*, July 1897, n.p.; and M.A., "The Jubilee," *Rouge et Noir*, June 1897, 8-9.
55. "The Lord Bishop's Address to Synod," *Quebec Diocesan Gazette*, June 1897, 94-95; "The Lord Bishop's Address to Synod," *Quebec Diocesan Gazette*, July 1897, 111; "Jubilee Address to the Queen," *Quebec Diocesan Gazette*, June 1897, 95-96; "The Queen's Message," *Quebec Diocesan*

*Gazette*, July 1897, 111; *Baptist Year Book* (1897), 19. See also report on convention, *Canadian Baptist*, 3 June 1897, 344; *North West Baptist*, 1 July 1897, 11; and The Loyal Address of the Nova Scotia Conference to the Queen," *Wesleyan*, 30 June 1897, 4.

56. Rev. Dr. Carman, "Our Queen's Jubilee," *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, June 1887, 512, 518; and Rev. Dr. Carman, "The Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria," *Methodist Magazine and Review*, May 1897, 395-98.
57. George R. Parkin, *Imperial Federation: The Problem of National Unity* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1892), 1.
58. "Editorial Note," *Canadian Baptist*, 22 September 1898, 1.

