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1.The paper presented by Lawrence Nixon, "Changing Trends in Manitoba Religion," is forthcoming in *A Geography of Manitoba: Its Land and People*, eds. John Welsted, John Everitt and Christoph Stadel (Winnipeg: Univ. of Manitoba Press).

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

WILLIAM H. KATERBERG

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

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

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

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

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

Context

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Racial Thought in the WASP Imagination

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

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

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

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

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

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

Anglo-Saxonism

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

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

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

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

Canadianization

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

to Canadian conditions.

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

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

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

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

Asian Immigrants

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

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

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

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

As with European immigrants, the concerns expressed centred on the

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

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

Christian Universalism and Liberal Internationalism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Though impressive-sounding, neither Christian universalism nor

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

Fascism and the Attack on Pagan Religion

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

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

Church leaders also generally became hostile towards racial ideology

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Concluding Reflections

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Endnotes

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

2. See, for example, Donald Avery, *"Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1979); Barbara Roberts, *Whence They Came: Deportation From Canada, 1900-1935* (Ottawa: Univ. of Ottawa Press, 1988); Howard Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1982), and "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century," in *Multiculturalism as State Policy* (Ottawa: Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism, 1976); Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1990); Irving Abella and Harold Troper, *None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1982). Other studies could be cited, but these are the most important ones. Three exceptions are Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1991); Marilyn Nefsky, "The Shadow of Evil: Nazism and Canadian Protestantism," in *Antisemitism in Canada: History and Interpretation*, ed. Davies (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press, 1992), 197-225; and Marilyn Barber, "Nationalism, Nativism, and the Social Gospel," in *The Social Gospel in Canada*, ed. Richard Allen (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), 186-226.

3. *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1992), 546-547.

4. I have made use of key Protestant periodicals: the Anglican *Canadian Churchman*, the United Church's *New Outlook*, the *Presbyterian Witness*, the Methodist *Christian Guardian*, and the inter-denominational *Social Welfare*.

5. The same is true of Anglo-American culture generally (see Elazar Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States Between the World Wars* [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1992]). Barkan looks at intellectuals, whereas I look more at popular culture.

6. This perspective was defined by John Higham in *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1988). Canadian historians, such as Howard Palmer, largely follow Higham's model. I have criticized it in detail and proposed an alternative in "The Irony of Identity: An Essay on Nativism, Liberal Democracy and Parochial Identities in Canada and the United States," *American Quarterly* (September 1995).

7. "A Soul for this New Body," *Christian Guardian* (31 October 1923), 5.

8. See William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal: McGill-Queens Univ. Press, 1989), and A.B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal: McGill-Queens Univ. Press, 1979).

9. See N. Keith Clifford, "His Dominion: A Vision in Crisis," *Studies in Religion* 2, No. 4 (Spring 1973): 315-326; note also Robert Wright, "The Canadian Protestant Tradition, 1914-1945," in *The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1760-1990*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Burlington: Welch Publishing Co., 1990).

10. On progressivism see James T. Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870-1920* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1986). In Canada note W.L. Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1950); Richard Allen, *The Social Passion* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1970); Brian Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press, 1988); Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water*; Doug Owram, *The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State, 1900-1945* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1986); and Phyllis Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queens Univ. Press, 1992). The CCF/NDP illustrates this mix of Christian and progressive thinking.

11. See Westfall, *Two Worlds*; and McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence*.

12. See studies by Reginald Bibby, *Fragmented Gods: The Poverty and Potential of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1987), and *Unknown Gods: The Ongoing Story of Religion in Canada* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1993).

13. See G. Elmore, "Agencies for the Incorporation of New Canadians into Our National Life," *Social Welfare* (April 1923), 146-147; Allen, *The Social Passion*, chapter 17. McKillop argued that philosophical idealism and Christian moralism retained their strength well into the twentieth century (*A Disciplined Intelligence*, 205-232). His arguments about the radical decline of religion at the beginning of the twentieth century are probably more accurate about academic culture than popular culture. The same goes for Ramsay Cook's *The Regenerators* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1985). David Marshall's much criticized *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1992) also argues for the decline of religion in the early twentieth century.

14. On the United Church and Canadian nationalism, see Mary Vipond, "Canadian National Consciousness and the Formation of the United Church of Canada," *Bulletin of the United Church of Canada* 24 (1975).

15. Mariana Valverde described how discourses can overlap in *The Age of Light, Soap and Water*, chapter 1. Note that this study will treat English Canada as a single entity. Obvious regional distinctions stand out – the Maritimes received comparably few immigrants, the west felt overwhelmed. Though the social gospel and Progressivism influenced the Maritimes, generally social Christianity there remained more concerned with traditional moral reform, whereas the west was strongly influenced by the social gospel and progressivism. Central Canada was very diverse. These distinctions do not negate the common assumptions displayed throughout English Canada over such issues as Anglo-Saxon identity and the need for an ordered Christian society.

16. For this period see the studies by Palmer, Avery and Roberts cited above. Note that the government severely curtailed the number of Asian immigrants, making it virtually impossible for them to come to Canada at the same time that it was opening the doors to Europeans. For an international perspective see Walter Nugent, *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870-1914* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1992).

17. "Canadianization and Our Immigrants," *Social Welfare* (1 January 1920), 95.

18. Barbara J. Fields has argued this effectively in "Ideology and Race in American History," in *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honour of C. Vann Woodward*, eds. Kousser and McPherson (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1982), 143-77. She views class as a material given, in contrast to race, which is an ideological construction. My view is that class, too, functions through an ideological medium and is not a given.

19. The "Jewish Question" will be dealt with briefly in a later section on changes in racial ideology during the 1930s.

20. The same is true of Americans (see Higham, *Strangers in the Land*).

21. Quoted in the *Canadian Annual Review* (1927-1928): 188-189; and (1928-1929): 163. Note also a quote in the *Canadian Churchman* (12 July 1928), 405.

22. Interestingly, Howard Palmer notes that fundamentalists in Alberta had little contact with the Klan and in fact protested against it (*Patterns of Prejudice*, 108-109). For the Protestant churches, note "The Ku Klux Klan Doffs Mask," *New Outlook* (7 March 1928), 18; "The Ku Klux Klan," *Presbyterian Witness* (5 March 1925), 1; "The Klan is Alive," *Christian Guardian* (10 December

1924), 3. The churches showed some ambiguity towards the Klan; they sympathized with some of its concerns and goals, but condemned its hoodlumism and secrecy.

23. For a general discussion of Anglo-Saxonism and Christian theology see Davies, *Infected Christianity*, chapter 4.

24. Vera Martin, "Responsibility to the Foreign Girl," *Canadian Churchman* (10 July 1924), 441.

25. "The British Empire," *Christian Guardian* (25 May 1921), 6.

26. The theories of British Israelism underwent debate throughout the interwar years in the *Canadian Churchman*: note for example, "British Israelism" (Letter to the Editor), (17 January 1924), 43; W.G. Mackendrik, "British Israelism" (Letter to the Editor), (5 December 1929), 791-92; and "The Doctrine of the Chosen People," (12 April 1934), 233. British Israelism generally came under heavy criticism in the periodicals. For the theological context see Ernest Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1970).

27. "The Doctrine of the Chosen People," 233.

28. For the influence of British Israelism in Britain, see David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 225; in the United States, see Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 32. In Canada, this ideology seems to have most affected conservative evangelical Anglicans.

29. For an explicit example of this type of ranking, see Vera Martin, "Responsibility to the Foreign Girl," 441. Seldom laid out explicitly, these categories generally existed and functioned tacitly.

30. W.H. Pike, "Those Foreigners," *New Outlook* (5 September 1928), 8, 27.

31. "Slavic Stock and the New Canadianism," *Christian Guardian* (3 December 1919), 11.

32. Generally, see Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts." For Americanization programs, see ed. Stephen Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1980), s.v., "American Identity and Americanization," by Philip Gleason; and John F. McClymer, "The Federal Government and the Americanization Movement, 1915-1924," *Prologue* 10 (1978): 23-41.

33. See James Oakes, *Slavery and Freedom: An Interpretation of the Old South* (New York: Knopf, 1990), 26.

34. "The Social Consequences of Immigration," *Social Welfare* (July 1924), 192.

35. See, for example, "Our Mennonite Immigrants," *Christian Guardian* (23 October 1918), 4. Generally, religious communities which desired to remain separate and exercise communal-corporate rights have had problems in Canada (see William Janzen, *Limits on Liberty: The Experience of Mennonite, Hutterite, and Doukhobor Communities in Canada* [Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1990]). Janzen emphasizes legal concerns, such as defending communal rights in an individualistic, liberal country. He does not deal explicitly with questions of cultural identity.

36. "The Church as Melting Pot," *New Outlook* (2 December 1925), 4.

37. "Canadians All," *Social Welfare* (1 September 1919), 286.

38. "Immigration," *Canadian Churchman* (17 January 1929), 38.

39. "Notes and Comments," *Canadian Churchman* (23 March 1922), 183.

40. R.G. Welsh, "Why I Believe in Missions," *Presbyterian Witness* (24 February 1924), 7-8.

41. "The Central European Immigrant in Canada," *New Outlook* (13 August 1930), 778.

42. On the concept, see Philip Gleason, "Pluralism and Assimilation: A Conceptual History," in *Linguistic Minorities, Policies and Pluralism*, ed. John Edwards (London: Academic Press, 1984), 221-257. Gleason argues that the line between pluralism and assimilation is a vague one.

43. Note for example "Nationalism, Internationalism, and Christianity," *New Outlook* (2 February 1927), 4, 27; "Making the World Safe for Democracy," *Christian Student* (November 1918), 1; "The British Race," *Canadian Churchman* (16 May 1929), 311; and "Why I am a Missionary," *Canadian Churchman* (31 January 1929), 67.

44. On this subject see Bruce Shepherd, "Plain Racism: The Reaction to Oklahoma Blacks Immigration to the Canadian Prairies," *Prairie Forum* (Autumn 1985): 365-82. Note that black communities had lived in Canada from the days of the Loyalists in Nova Scotia and in Ontario since the early mid-nineteenth century.

45. Lascelles, "The Oriental Problem in British Columbia," *Canadian Churchman* (23 February 1922), 121-122.

46. "The Evolution of the Race," *Christian Guardian* (6 August 1924), 4. See also "The Evolution of the Oriental Situation in British Columbia," *Social Welfare* (1 April 1922), 153-56.

47. Lascelles, "The Oriental Problem in British Columbia," *Canadian Churchman* (23 February 1922), 121-122; Note also Lascelles, "Oriental Problem in British Columbia," *Canadian Churchman* (11 May 1922), 304-305; and John Nelson, "The Oriental on the Pacific Coast: A Survey of Unusual Differences," *Christian Guardian* (5 March 1924), 6.

48. F.W. Cassillis-Kennedy, "What Shall We do With Them? Some Thoughts on Immigration," *Canadian Churchman* (17 August 1922), 537; J.W. Saunby, "The Question of Japanese Immigration," *Christian Guardian* (24 April 1918), 7-8; and Dan Norman, "The Japanese Farmer, II – As He Lives," *Christian Guardian* (20 August 1924), 5. Foreign missionaries, to do their work more effectively, often "went native" and developed a deep appreciation of the culture they had move to. They often had a hard time going home and fitting in Canada.

49. F.W. Cassillis-Kennedy, "Some Thoughts on Immigration," *Canadian Churchman* (16 October 1924), 666.

50. *The Enemy that Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1991), 111ff.

51. "The Stranger Within Thy Gates," *Canadian Churchman* (23 July 1922), 478. Note also for the early years of the interwar period, T. Stuart, "Our Relation to Others: IV. Toward National and World Brotherhood," *Presbyterian Witness* (27 September 1919), 3; and S. Gould, "The Needs and Claims of Canada," *Canadian Churchman* (28 March 1918), 200-201, 210.

52. "The Other Side of the Fence," *Christian Guardian* (17 May 1922), 6.

53. Henry John Cody, "The Unfailing Christ," A Sermon Preached at Geneva, in the Cathedral of St. Peter, in connection with the 7th Assembly of the League of Nations, 26 September 1926 (typescript), 13, Cody Papers, Ontario Archives, Series D-3: Sermons (Subject), MU 7001. It was also published in a pamphlet version (see MU 7018) and printed in the *Canadian Churchman*. On the relationship between evangelical Protestantism and liberal internationalism see Robert Wright, *A World Mission: Canadian Protestantism and the Quest for a New International Order, 1918-1939* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1991).

54. "Will Nationalism Supplant Religion," *New Outlook* (3 February 1932), 104. Note similarly "British-Israelism," *Canadian Churchman* (29 March 1934), 197; and "Nationalism and Canada," *Canadian Churchman* (23 May 1929), 332.

55. "A National Church," *New Outlook* (24 February 1926), 5; "The Higher Imperialism: A Poet's Vision of It in terms of Brotherhood – Canada's Great Opportunity," *Christian Guardian* (6 October 1920), 8; "Nationalism as a Menace," *Christian Guardian* (7 May 1924), 4; and "Encyclical Letter from the Bishops," *Canadian Churchman* (2 September 1920), 571.

56. "The British Race," *Canadian Churchman* (16 May 1929), 311. Note also Jesmond Dene's praise of Polish nationalism in "The New Poland," *Canadian Churchman* (14 February 1924), 104.

57. Egerton R.M. Bracken, "Nationalism, Internationalism, and Christianity," *New Outlook* (2 February 1927), 4. See also Cody, "The Unfailing Christ."

58. For the churches views of deportation, see "Unemployment Relief: Memorandum of Resolutions passed by the S.S.C.C. to be Submitted to the . . . Prime Minister. . . and Minister of Labour," *Canadian Churchman* (11 June 1931), 379. See also "Deportation," *Canadian Churchman* (12 January 1933), 23; "The Work of the Council for Social Services," *Canadian Churchman* (21 September 1933), 569; and "Deportation," *Canadian Churchman* (29 December 1932), 822-823. The churches generally criticized deportation. The issue of encouraging immigration to combat the Depression received some attention but was generally rejected on economic grounds.

59. This also occurred in the United States (see Donald Meyer, *The Protestant Search for Political Realism, 1919-1941*, 2nd. ed. [Middleton: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1988]).

60. See, e.g., "Western Civilization vs. Christianity," *New Outlook* (4 February 1931), 100-101.

61. R. Inge, "Substitutes for Religion, V. – Nazism," *Canadian Churchman* (7 May 1936), 292; and F.H. Cosgrave, "The Christian Faith in the World of Ours," *Canadian Churchman* (20 May 1937), 307-308. With the rejection of a transcendent God, they argued, people projected "god-like" ideas and loyalties to race, nation or class.

62. "The Anti-Christian Menace," *New Outlook* (14 January 1931), 27; "The New Paganism," *Presbyterian Record* (January 1936), 12; and "The Bible and Its Competitors," *Canadian Churchman* (17 February 1938), 103-104.

63. The Canadian, American and European literature that could be cited is vast: instead I will simply point to David Lyon's *The Steeple's Shadow: On the Myths and Realities of Secularization* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1985). I consider "secularization" a change in the relationship of religion and society in modern world. It does not necessarily mean decline. It certainly does not be *the* decline of religion, as a result of science, human evolution, etc. (à la Compte).

64. For critical views of racism see "The Race Purity Myth," *New Outlook* (23 September 1936), 867; and "Patriotism and Hatred," *Canadian Churchman* (5 January 1933), 5.

65. "Canadian Christians and German Refugees: A Manifesto," *Social Welfare* (March 1936), 25-26.

66. For example, see Conrad Hoffman, "The German Refugees," *Canadian Churchman* (26 January and 2 February 1939), 55, 71; J.E. Bennett, "The Open Door for Refugees" (Letter to the Editor), *Canadian Churchman* (16 February 1939), 100; David Booth, "Canada and the Refugee," *Canadian Churchman* (7 September 1939), 489; "Wake Up, Canada!" *New Outlook* (22 April 1938), 385; and "Without a Country," *Presbyterian Record* (March 1939), 67-68.

67. Scott, "Canadian Post-Mortem on Refugees," *Social Welfare* (Spring 1938), 84.

68. Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*.

69. See Nefsky, "The Shadow of Evil," 215. She criticizes Abella and Troper for not distinguishing the efforts of church leaders from the response of members.

70. J.E. Ward, "Democracy," *Canadian Churchman* (9 February 1939), 83.

71. *Double Standard: The Secret History of Canadian Immigration* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1987), 1-9. Prejudice continued to influence policy, but official rhetoric and real concerns shifted towards anti-communism and political ideology.

72. See Owram, *The Government Generation*; and Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water*. Valverde stresses that the late 1920s and 1930s were the key era of transition. See also Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (Montreal: McGill-Queens Univ. Press, 1991).

73. Note, for example, McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence*. This emphasis on order is in contrast to the more flamboyant American emphasis on life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. American Protestantism, too, has been more sectarian and dissenting than in Canada.

74. T.R. Robinson, "The Foundation of Social Ethics," *Presbyterian Witness* (6 April 1922), 7.

75. "The Truth Shall Make You Free: Dare We Stake Everything on Liberty?" *Christian Guardian* (28 November 1923), 21.

76. See Rogers M. Smith's "The `American Creed' and American Identity: The Limits of Liberal Citizenship in the United States," *Western Political Quarterly* 41 (1988): 225-251. Smith argues that liberal ideology has never satisfied people; they have always added ethnic and religious identities. My view is that ethnic and religious identity are an inherent part of liberalism. Liberalism never developed in a vacuum, always in particular historical cultures.

77. *This Most Famous Stream: The Liberal Democratic Way of Life* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954), x. For a useful overview of liberalism, see Anthony Arblaster, *The Rise and Decline of Western Liberalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984). Arblaster also defines liberalism in secular terms.

78. By "secular" I mean free of parochialisms like religion, ethnicity, and morality.

79. W.F. Cassillis Kennedy, "Some Thoughts on Immigration," *Canadian Churchman* (16 October 1924), 666.

80. W.G. Smith, "Canadian Immigration," *Social Welfare* (February 1930), 113.

My Brother's Keeper:
A Preaching Poet in Hitler's Germany

DAVID D. STEWART

My paper has a bifocal character. First I rehearse the inner crisis of the Protestant state churches during the fleeting moment of truly confessional opportunity following Hitler's accession to power, the "post-Constantinian" dilemma of a self-absorbed institution. Second, I turn to the later war years, 1941-45, and to the story of one man and the agony of contrition which led him to make a remarkable contribution within that part of the struggle of the church in Nazi Germany 1933-1945 which has never been so well known as that of martyrs such as Bonhoeffer.[1]

My Brother's Keeper?

In the turbulent weeks following the Nazis' accession to power in 1933, the Protestant churches in Germany failed to recognize the challenge and opportunity of the hour. They remained mute in the midst of palpable and violent injustice done to fellow-Germans of suspect political conviction, such as Social Democrats and Communists, or those of non-Aryan race. 1 April 1933 witnessed the minutely orchestrated boycott of Jewish businesses, and on 7 April the infamous "Law for the Restoration of the Civil Service" was promulgated, of which §3, henceforth known as the "Aryan Paragraph," had been framed expressly to sweep Jews out of public influence even those whose families had been Christian for generations. It was the first step toward Auschwitz.

This law unveiled, for all who would see it, the heart of Hitler's plan

for the purging of the *Volk*. It did not arise in a vacuum but rather focused one of the most powerful elements at work in the thinking and feeling of many of the Protestant laity and clergy of the day. Not only were slogans about "the Jew as our national disaster" common coinage among church people of all theological complexions, but also increasingly strident and aggressive as the spring weeks of 1933 passed the *Glaubensbewegung "Deutsche Christen"* (literally "Faith Movement 'German Christians,'" hereafter GC) preached the need to eliminate the Old Testament from the life of the church and to defuse the power of Pauline (i.e., "Jewish"!) teaching in the New Testament. These notions, along with a conviction that the German people occupied a special nook close to the heart of the Creator, left the GC, by their own lights at least, well-positioned to become the midwives – and functionaries – of a new German Protestant church which would gather into itself all the powers hitherto vested by ancient Reformation/Confessional tradition in the presbyteries and consistories of the churches in each of the *Länder*, or states, which made up the Reich, each church independent but loosely federated up to that point in time. The GC were aflame with the *Führer*-idea, to be fulfilled through the office of a Reich Bishop with massive powers. Many "mainline" church leaders who were later to throw in their lot with the Confessing Church movement, were initially beguiled by this move toward one German Protestant church consolidated under a Reich bishop, while they for the most part would have no truck with the GC.[2]

The story of the Protestant church during the Hitler era is, on one level, the saga of the ways in which the non-GC Protestant people saw themselves being supplanted, disenfranchised as church people, theologically evacuated and handed over to a deadly mixture of surrogate *völkisch* theology and Nazi authority structure. The success or failure of that usurpation, from one state church to another, marks the subsequent history of each state church through to 1945.[3] With the "Aryan Paragraph" in place in the "New Germany," true patriot love could be construed as requiring that it be applied to root out the handful of Jewish Christian members of both clergy and laity employed within the Protestant state churches, which were after all part of the civil service. Those state churches, such as Saxony, Thuringia and Old Prussia, which GC zealots had most swiftly taken over by way of rigged synod elections (July 1993), also moved to implement this further work of "cleansing the temple." "The church must enter completely into the Third Reich, it must be coordinated

into the rhythm of the National Revolution, it must be fashioned by the ideas of Nazism, lest it remain a foreign body in the unified German [National Socialist] community."[4] It is well worth musing on the metaphors which drive this statement: we must be *inside*, not outside; we must *get in step*, not be at odds, we must be clay in the hands of the potter. It evokes a community of fear, and a collective and ugly narcissism of the blood.

In retrospect it seems clear that there was offered to the Christian churches in the first weeks of the Nazi regime a slender lancet window of opportunity to be the Good Samaritan, to act on the solemn warning contained in the Matthew 25 scenario of the Last Judgement upon the nations. This would have involved, as we shall later develop, a willingness to recognize their Lord in every person, of whatever background or race, presented to their senses, but most especially if that person were a victim of oppression. It would have required a clean line of vision, that form of "purity of heart" which makes it possible to see God, people and issues in terms not of institutional status or survival but rather of compassion and costly love. At that moment, however, the churches betrayed, in clergy and laity alike, how far they had become intertwined with the racist and nationalistic agendas of their Fatherland. This was no less true of the free churches than of the state churches.[5] The brief, precious moment of resolute action was forfeited.

Early responses to the "Aryan Paragraph" from within the conservative, we might loosely say "evangelical," fold were muted, cautious, fearful of showing disloyalty. Moreover, the initial papers prepared by the Office for Apologetics in Berlin approached the "Aryan Paragraph," if applied to the country at large, as a harsh but necessary step if the body politic was to be relieved of the "disproportionately strong Jewish presence" in the professions, media and cultural life of Germany.[6] Walter Künneth, just as much as Bishop Otto Dibelius of Berlin, Karl Heim of Tübingen and Paul Althaus of Erlangen, found nothing amiss in the notion of the state using its power to take drastic steps against one group or another in its pursuit of restored national integrity and cultural identity.[7] Even Dietrich Bonhoeffer, surely one of the most discerning and compassionate of German churchmen, dallied at an early stage with a view of the churches' proper posture toward the state which would leave any decisive action ("jamming the wheels of the state") to hinge on the consensus of a national synod.[8]

To the GC forces busily dismantling the state church governments,

nothing was clearer than that the "Aryan Paragraph" must be rigorously applied throughout the clergy and laity in the employ of the churches. It is true that the non-GC forces generally rallied to attack this notion as a violation of the churches' *status confessionis*. But the tragedy of this response to the initial GC-engineered successes in Saxony, Thuringia and Prussia lies in the fact that, to a man (and they were, so far as I can observe, all men) the church leaders allowed the battlefield to be determined by their adversaries. There is something hauntingly ironic about the efforts to fence the church establishments about with a carefully argued appeal to Bible and Confession, resting on the distinct character of the faith community within the body politic.[9] For all the while the great mass of Jewish Christians out in the *secular* branches of the Civil Service, the products of centuries of gradual assimilation to the majority religious institution (Protestantism), were being left to fend for themselves – in spite of their being members of the several state churches! It is sobering to conjecture where Felix Mendelssohn might have figured in this scheme of things.

Beguiled by the care for their institutional survival, the churches were found derelict in their duty to be the Good Samaritan. This major betrayal of her "marching orders" left the church open to a steadily rising pitch of cocky truculence on the part of the GC, including voices calling for the new *Deutsche Evangelische Kirche* to affirm Hitler as the German people's saviour.[10] Such was the backdrop for the formation of the Pastors' Emergency League (*Pfarrernotbund*) by Martin Niemöller in September 1933, and then the birth of the *Bekennende Kirche*, the Confessing Church, in the months following. It was to gather clergy and laity from across Germany, seeking, with no little difficulty, to bring together the several state church traditions, Lutheran, Calvinist and United, in affirming the Reformation confessions in face of the competing Nazi and GC claims upon the allegiance of the whole man.

The first convocation was held in May 1934 in Wuppertal-Barmen in the Rheinland, one of the state churches that had been most thoroughly *zerstört* ("destroyed," as one came to describe it) by the GC assault. So it is that its founding affirmation came to be known as the Barmen Declaration, in which the fundamental distinctness of the Christian's personal and the church's collective obedience to God and to the God-established orders of society was proclaimed.

Barmen was a bold drawing of frontiers, a warning to the Nazi state

not to violate the kerygmatic, confessional identity and *polity* of the church. And yet, Barmen almost completely failed to apprehend the far more fundamental assault being launched upon the church's *inner* integrity. The church tragically failed to "see her Lord" in the face of her Jewish neighbour, thus substituting institutional continuity for costly obedience. There were motions presented aiming at securing the prospects of Jewish Christian theology students. Although discussed, they were never incorporated in the Barmen Declaration or other statements issuing from the synod.[11] The Confessing Church, while affirming its Hebrew roots and the oneness of Old and New Testaments, was not willing to raise a prophetic voice against the savage acts of the state toward specific groups of people any more than she was prepared to cry out when the synagogues across Germany went up in flames in May 1938 in a concert of minutely orchestrated terror.

"*Nur wer für die Juden schreit, darf auch gregorianisch singen*," Bonhoeffer was later to say; only those who cry out for the Jews have the right to sing Gregorian chant. We have to remind ourselves that nowadays especially, by an unholy reflex, many of us see everything German through the lens of Auschwitz, and this can horribly magnify our self-righteousness and distort the history of that remarkable people. Thus this paper is not conceived as a stinging rebuke to German church leaders of a half-century past as though the churches in Canada had nothing to repent of when surveying the history of Canada's response to the plight of the Jews during the Nazi years.[12] But the matters discussed here may help trace the path of an evil enchantment by which the churches, in the midst of their defence of the Truth, were found to be evading the very acts of obedience by which their truth-claims might have been stunningly vindicated and richly fruitful.

A Nation of Victims

In reflecting on this most of us would cry out for a sense of context: how are we to explain the double enigma of the church's failure of vision and of speech? One strong thread leading us through the labyrinth is the presence of a sometimes more, sometimes less, virulent grade of anti-Semitism within European society. This did not begin with Hitler, or with Luther, as the Nazis might claim with glee, or with St. John Chrysostom of Constantinople, but is the sombre and not unprovoked *obbligato* to the song of the church from the New Testament period onwards.[13] With the se-

cularization of German society in the last century or two the ancient and explosive charge of "Christ-killers" had been replaced by an equally potent wrath against the Jew as exploiter and conspirator as reflected in the bogus *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* (ca. 1903). Anti-Semitism is to remain an available and privileged focus of discontent in Germany. But this is not our topic. Instead we remember the hectic euphoria of the German Reich as it finally, toward the end of the colonial day, became a nation-state in 1871 over the ruins of the pride of a stunningly defeated France, and a diligent rooter after colonial truffles in Africa and farther afield. We remember the foreboding voices of Pan-Germanic groups, calling at the end of the nineteenth century for a nation purged of Jews.[14] We remember the devastation of the German Protestants' (and hardly less the German Catholics') sense of self in face of an abolished monarchy in 1918, in a country which had seen the Kaiser as the ultimate earthly point of reference for one's temporal existence and value.

The Protestants were especially orphaned for they had no international dimension and seat of authority. Orphans are vulnerable, and doubly so those who see themselves as victims of perfidy within and without the body politic. The Weimar Republic was seen as an engine of international, liberal, parliamentary democratic influence and despised to boot as the product of machinations by Social Democrats, in their eyes hardly better than rank Communists.[15] Not a heady prospect for the future of the Protestant church. Even during the Great War, German theologians embarked upon beguiling speculations on the role of the *Volk* within the Creation and Salvation mandates of God.[16]

Where the ethical point of reference in theology had been the family, culture and the state, younger Lutheran theologians were discovering the *Volk*.[17] In it they descried something which transcended the worn-out individualism of the recent past and which seemed to put them in contact with the ancient desire for community and solidarity, dedication and sacrifice, always seen against the sinister background of foreign envy. Where with the Treaty of Versailles almost all seemed lost, the *Volk* alone seemed to have survived. Piety and patriotism had defeated Napoleon a century before; now holding fast to Germanhood could be seen as a matter of character, of duty. And in many formulations of this new *völkisch* theology the obligation of dedicating oneself to the Fatherland and preserving the race effectively supplants the commandment to love one's neighbour, whoever he or she may be, as the parable of the Good Sama-

ritan is seeking to point out.[18] For Paul Althaus of Erlangen, however, *Volkstum*, "peoplehood" rather than statehood, as the deliberate creative mandate of God, is the law of life. While Althaus remains otherwise an orthodox theologian, given the explosive historical moment, and coming from within a Lutheran theological faculty, such a notion must be seen as seductive to the unbalanced imagination of a generation craving satisfaction for wrongs genuine and imagined.[19] With the sinew of the new political theology being provided by an exalted sense of the *Volk* finally regaining its identity and purity against a sea of adversaries, it is no surprise that anti-Semitism, in suitably bourgeois diction, is available once again, with heightened potency, to the imaginative life of the church almost as part of her mandate.[20]

Thus it is impossible to assess the mood of the Protestant church in Germany on the eve and in the early years of the Nazi regime without registering just how deeply, at some level of potency or other, this *völkisch* theology had impregnated the spirit of clergy and laity. (But then we remember another national vision, another language: "Wider still and wider, shall thy bounds be set; God, who made thee mighty, make thee mightier yet . . ," words made even more beguiling by Elgar's grand instrumentation, and this may help us to retain perspective.)

The unfolding tragic failure to "see" Christ in the face of her Jewish neighbour is no vicious erratic lunge of a deranged leadership, but rather the slow harvest of centuries of Protestant anti-Semitism. The Community of Blood, as the Nazi theorists would have it, had obscured the Community of Grace, and *völkisch* identifications of race and divine election in the public theologizing of men such as Paul Althaus had left both clergy and laity vulnerable to manipulation by the Regime. If one adds to this potent force the sense of victimization of the German people by the outside world in and following the Great War ("The West wanted the war not we!"), and the dizzying prospect of restored national greatness under Hitler, it becomes clear how easily the sobering voice of a shared human frailty (e.g., the German share in the guilt of the Great War) was drowned out and how readily the churches could make their peace with the violation of the civil rights of their Jewish neighbours. The same reflections will make it evident how difficult it was for Germans within Germany to entertain any thought of opposing the "New Germany"; resistance could always be interpreted as a form of treason upon which Germany's adversaries would be quick to pounce for propaganda purposes.[21]

Germany under Arms: The Hour of the Laity

Thus largely unchallenged, the state in due course would proceed along the parallel lines of euthanasia applied to the mentally and physically "unworthy" within Germany, and genocide for the Jews within and without Germany. This same sense of *carte blanche* left the Nazis confident that without risk they could bleed the Protestant churches white by drafting their pastors and deaconesses into the war effort, the former usually as common soldiers, and the latter in munitions factories. The crisis which at its height saw fully half of the Protestant pastors torn from their charges, gave rise to the army of lay readers (and in rare cases, lay preachers) ministering to the ravaged congregations.

Lay ministry is hardly a novel idea. It had emerged with vigour in the early Reformation under Luther as a means to handle the sheer volume of work; it had played a central role in the thinking of Calvin, himself perhaps the most distinguished layman of recent centuries, but had lost out to the relentless power of orthodox clericalism during the Enlightenment period. As we turn again to the *Kirchenkampf*, the struggle of confessing church people with the combined power of GC and the Nazi system, one test of strength came in March 1935 between the Confessing Church leadership and the GC-dominated governments of the so-called "destroyed" state churches, backed up by the Police. A Confessing Church declaration challenging recent state incursions by way of the GC authorities was prepared for reading from the confessing pulpits throughout Germany; the Police moved in, threatening pastors with incarceration if they did in fact read it. Seven hundred and fifteen of those who declared themselves unwilling to back down were placed under house arrest or put into protective custody.[22]

The hour of the lay reader, ordained by the congregation for service under the Heidelberg and Augsburg Confessions, had again come. It is a moving and often humorous story, but can only be sketched here. The humour tended to arise at the point of an inevitable friction between the clergy, labouring under the burden of both traditional status and overwork, and the laymen who were discovering the excitement of a share in the ministry. One hilarious file in the Bavarian Church Archives in Nürnberg speaks of a lay reader who, together with the other elders, declared "We don't need a pastor any more; I'll do the whole thing myself!"[23] But in general there was a careful weighing of the relative importance of the

rights and duties of the church members on the one hand, and the call for an ordered administration of Word and Sacraments on the other. As to the share of lay readers in the work of the church, statistics from just one urban deanery (*Kirchenkreis Ansbach*) in Bavaria speak for themselves; by 30 January 1942 there were 45 lay readers ordained; by the end of March there were 115, and by the end of 1943 the numbers had swollen to 192. These were all *men*; a directive of Bishop Meiser of December 1943 observes tersely that "Women are not accepted as lay readers. It would be a bad sign for a congregation if not a single man were to be found for this service."[24]

R.A. Schröder: The Community of Contrition

From a safe distance, as it were, we have been picking our way through aspects of the story of the churches which offer individual cases of valour but an overall pattern of institutional faint-heartedness. So in the final stretch of my paper I wish to focus on one remarkable German in whose experience of the Hitler years we are able to touch the anguish, inner conflict and deepening contrition of the masses of ordinary "decent" people who came to see themselves duped and their most precious spiritual and cultural values betrayed by the state. In his case, as in that of countless other, less prominent but politically equally powerless Germans, we can trace the awakening of a sense of measureless guilt in relation to their Jewish neighbours, and the steps he took to face it by way of the spoken and written word.

So the final section of my paper tells the story of one of the most distinguished German men of letters in this century, Rudolf Alexander Schröder (1878-1963), poet, architect, publisher, artist and literary translator, whose person and *oeuvre* were of such stature that T.S. Eliot put his name forward for the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1958. This celebrated public figure found himself, with the advent of the Nazi "millennium," a stranger in his own country. We pick up his story in the autumn of 1941. As the agony of the Jews grew and the deportations to the East gathered momentum, Schröder was faced with the struggle of his Jewish friends, for whose "reprieve" he laboured in vain. His vision of his share in the collective guilt against these people, condoned by the silence of the church, led him to assume a remarkable public role as lay preacher in the Lutheran Church in Bavaria.

Schröder lived by his pen during these years in his cottage facing the Bavarian Alps. But as the war dragged on a pattern of very public activity was emerging; for several weeks each year he was underway throughout Germany lecturing, reading his poetry, visiting the theological faculties and speaking at weekend conferences of various cultural and literary associations. I have copies of many of his manuscripts of those years; the common strand in all of them is an attempt to give back to his people a spiritual-cultural heritage which was being systematically prostituted by the Nazi state. But gradually it became more and more difficult to speak in public, as the local Party officials repeatedly stepped in and prohibited any public appearance. Accordingly he shifted his base to the relative freedom of gatherings under church auspices, placing himself at the disposal of the local expression of the Confessing Church.

By the autumn of 1941, we remember, the invasion of Russia was in full spate; the assault on the life of inmates of mental and epileptic asylums within Germany, such as the Bodelschwingh institutions in Bethel, was abating in the face of an outcry from isolated church leaders notably Count Galen, Roman Catholic Bishop of Münster. But also in the autumn of 1941 the decree was promulgated which required all Jews of a certain age to wear the Star of David, and the "Final Solution" was unfolding in the waves of deportation to the death-camps in the East. This was the point at which the enormity of collective guilt was brought home to Schröder.

One of his literary collaborators was the poet and historical writer Jochen Klepper. His diary, later published in English as *Under the Shadow of Thy Wings*, records the struggle during the months following September 1941 to ward off the forced deportation of his Jewish wife and daughter. When all hope was lost, all three committed suicide in December 1942. During these same months Schröder was sharing as well in the agony of other Jewish friends closer to home, amongst them the artist Lina Borchardt in Munich. His unpublished letters tell the story of his attempts, during the autumn and winter of 1941, to mobilize such influence as he had, or thought he had, in hopes of effecting a "reprieve" for his old friend. While this correspondence with Lina Borchardt is poignant, the written exchanges with church leaders are much more revealing of the temper of the moment.

"Am I my brother's keeper?" "Who *is* my neighbour?" On 28 September 1941, four weeks after promulgation of the new measures against the Jews, Schröder preached for the first time known to us in the

parish church in Wankheim by Tübingen. In spite of the constant threat of Gestapo agents listening to every word spoken during a church service, Schröder sets aside the convention of cautious "cipher language" to speak from the heart:

> Do we not see how today, out of the very ranks of the Christian churches and their teachers . . . enemies of Christ rise up; how in our Christian, German people, which still has kept the old *Gott mit uns* on the belt-buckles of its sons and defenders, naked godlessness is making room for itself by violence? But that is not the main thing: In us this antichrist lurks . . . poor, miserable creatures, issuing from the evil of this world, enmeshed in all the evil of this world.[25]

The pastor in whose church Schröder delivered this first sermon was Richard Gölz, leader of a centre of liturgical renewal and of church music. Given Schröder's deep interest in both translating early Latin hymnody and writing fresh hymns for the German church, his connection with Gölz is not surprising. But it also turns out that Gölz was deeply involved with the clandestine network of temporary asylums maintained by a number of German pastors and members of their congregations for Jews who had managed to "drop out of sight." After he had given refuge and help in escaping to Switzerland to several of them, he was sent to Welzheim concentration camp in December of 1944 and only released by the advent of the Allies the following spring.

It is persuasive to picture this Württemberg pastor sharing his burden for the Jews with his distinguished visitor, and to find here the "other Germany" at work. At any rate in these same autumn days of 1941 Schröder was visiting and writing to church leaders in Munich on behalf of Lina Borchardt. A letter of 2 November 1941 reports that she is to be "resettled," i.e., deported to a death camp, a fortnight later. He goes on to ask his senior church official whether it is really impossible for the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, *together*, finally with *one* voice to speak out for the victims (which, of course, never did happen):

> I should have thought that in such a matter touching all Christians it would be an easy thing to reach agreement with the central Roman Catholic authorities upon steps to be taken in common . . . If only our [German] people could be spared the ignominy of having taken not a single step to ward off even the most grievous of the wrongs being

> done, and of having failed to accept our responsibility before God and Christendom . . . What church can demand of her members that they remain true to her when she has not even raised a finger to help or raised her voice in public protest? . . . If action is not taken soon, in my view our church [the Lutheran Church in Germany] will lay such guilt upon herself as to strip her of all claims and rights as shepherds of the flock.[26]

In a letter to another (unnamed) Munich clergyman, also dated 2 November 1941, he is more stringent still:

> What awaits her is a hell of indeterminate duration, over against which a swift death would be compassion itself . . . If the church . . . takes no initiative in this matter, if the most one can do is to express one's regrets, as you yourself did, Reverend Sir, for this poor old woman, that would be an especial catastrophe . . . within the general catastrophe of the church's failure. I hope to God that in these days he will grant his church courage and wisdom to do war duty, and that it must not again be said of our Lord, who stands before us in the form of these, the most wretched of his brethren, "then all his disciples forsook him."[27]

It staggers the imagination that even on 17 December 1941 the bishops of the eleven GC-dominated state churches found nothing more compassionate to do than to cut adrift from the fellowship of their congregations any Jewish parishioners still attached to them.[28] What process of the deadening of the imagination is at work when people refuse to "see" the suffering caused or condoned by their callous hearts – should we perhaps call it an invited blindness? (The record of the Confessing Church leaders and bishops such as Meiser of Bavaria, and especially Wurm of Württemberg, eventually showed them to be courageous in challenging the state on some issues, including, very cautiously, the Jewish question. And here and there synods took a bold and risky stand toward the end of the war, as the horrendous nature of the Holocaust gradually became known.)[29]

We return to Schröder. In a letter of those same autumn days of 1941 he confesses to his young pastor-poet friend Stehmann, soon to die on the front in Finland:

> This business of Frau Borchardt has been going on for weeks now and

> has absolutely finished us off, and we are merely fellow-sufferers . . . Since the order has come "from the top" everyone here is helpless – so we just stand by and ask God for grace and mercy for this one who must bear the brunt of it, but also for us all in this time of judgement . . . Dear friend, all those who have been allowed to cross over without having to go through this are to be envied. But that is not quite right; we must not grumble about the school in which we have been deservedly "enrolled," and we must now, in spite of all our fear and all the dread, learn to spell, letter by letter, the great "Fear not," and then to put it into practice. But how despairing, and of little faith, and *hard* is the heart of man![30]

Much of the intoxicating power of the jingoist verse produced at the beginning of the Great War on the part of both groups of belligerents had lain in the fact that it offered a meretricious national transfiguration in place of a moral encounter. It had tragically foreshortened the moral universe just as the behaviour of the men in power across Europe had done so that there seemed to be no gap whatever between "what we are" and "what we ought to be," offering a sort of frantic idyll.[31] Church leaders had fallen into the same trap in 1933 as they vigorously defended what was happening in Germany against the foreign press and ecumenical bodies.[32] But the model that can now be seen to occupy Schröder's entire imaginative space in 1941 and thereafter is rather that of an encounter with his own self through the mirror of his neighbour's and his Lord's broken body. At this point, as he was to develop in a very "personal" 1949 sermon, for him the central spiritual paradigm of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10) and the awesomely practical criteria involved in the Last Judgement (Matthew 25) converge in the words "When *saw* we thee . . ."[33] It is surely not an idle exercise to wonder what might have happened if the churches had taken this question seriously in 1933.

At any rate Schröder had begun to see something of the toll that centuries of condoned European anti-Semitism were now exacting before his gaze – but also his own thoughtless "bourgeois" share in that community of wrong. These experiences led him to do two things. Firstly, after a full year's anguished hesitation he had himself ordained as a lay reader which in his case meant a lay preacher in the Lutheran Church of Bavaria. This gave him the status necessary for his increasingly frequent appearances under the auspices of the church, the only context in which he could now have any reliable expectation of raising his voice. And secondly he turned

to writing poems of so unequivocally anti-Nazi character that most of them could only be circulated clandestinely from hand to hand. Of one song cycle he reported in 1943 that there were a good thousand handwritten or typed copies in circulation throughout Germany.[34]

The soil in which Schröder's preaching activity was rooted came to light a few years ago through his still unpublished literary remains comprising his correspondence during the Nazi period. We have thousands of letters to him, and carbon copies of many of his replies. Predictably many letters concern publications and arrangements for lecture tours, but an astonishing number from writers, publishers, theologians, pastors and the wives of pastors out on the battle front, call for an essentially pastoral, counselling response to the acknowledged anguish of conscience on every hand. These papers show him in a helping role that he, being financially dependent on his writing, could scarcely have coveted.

Given the pastoral situation as the war approached its end in 1944-45, it is not surprising that apart from preaching engagements elsewhere, even as far as East Prussia – until the Russians came – Schröder began holding worship services in his home above the village of Bergen in the Bavarian Alps. Deeply spiritual, yet marvellously urbane in a sense reminiscent of C.S. Lewis, and full of dry humour and mother wit, these wartime sermons are collected for the most part in the 700-odd pages of Vol. 8 of his *Gesammelte Werke*, cheek by jowl with his poems, learned essays, translations of Homer, Virgil, Shakespeare, the French Classics and T.S. Eliot. Again and again we are arrested by his ability to relate Scripture to both the immediate political-military moment and the spiritual situation of his hearers. Here national guilt is called by its name, and even in the last weeks of the war one sermon describes respect, justice and compassion for the Enemy as a matter of Christian obedience and discipleship.[35]

It was known that Schröder had important, powerful friends in Switzerland; it would have been tempting to leave Germany for the duration. But he stayed, in a frame of mind that echoes the words of his author-friend Reinhold Schneider:

> I can only live with my people; I would like to walk, and I *must* walk on the same path as they do, step for step. However high my regard for those who emigrated out of conviction, I have never considered for a moment leaving Germany. As events have shown, it is scarcely possible to exercise intellectual leverage upon a country subjected to

dictatorship if one is on the outside.[36]

On a day-to-day level, then, the evidence is cogent: Schröder's presence and his extraordinary involvements contributed to the creating of something like a "Hitler-free zone" in people's dealings with one another, a refusal to accept the state's total control, and a certain obstinate determination to continue seeing the landscape of the European spirit as still being *Home*. As one who accepted the consequences of being a German in Hitler's Germany, he became a prophetic figure in spite of himself, and a vivid reminder of the power of the Word, the ministry of the laity, and the redemptive role of the "servant heart" in the inner transformation of society.

Endnotes

1. All translations other than those appearing in English editions were prepared by me.

2. John S. Conway, *The Nazi Persecution of the Churches* (New York: Basic Books, 1968), 45ff offers a brief but reliable treatment of the GC in English.

3. See Klaus Scholder, *A Requiem for Hitler* (London: SCM, 1988), 135-139.

4. Cited in Conway, *Nazi Persecution of the Churches*, 46.

5. For the role played by the free churches and associations see Erich Günter Rüppel, *Die Gemeinschaftsbewegung im Dritten Reich* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969); and Karl Zehrer, *Evangelische Freikirchen und das "Dritte Reich"* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986).

6. I well remember the sheepish sense of connivance with which one learned of quotas for Jewish students of medicine at the University of Toronto and elsewhere in Canada during the 1950s.

7. The key document in this connection is the collection of essays *Die Nation vor Gott* (*The Nation before God*) first published in the spring of 1933 and edited by Walter Künneth, then a young and brilliant *Privatdozent* in Systematic Theology in Berlin, and Helmut Schreiner, Professor of Practical Theology in Rostock. This bulky work of over 500 pages attempted to place the issues convulsing the churches into the context of Protestant theology: race and eugenics; the Jewish question and the churches; German *Volkstum* in the light of history and biblical anthropology; and finally the challenge of the GC and other racially-based theologies claiming the imagination of the

German church people of the day. One is amazed at the ease with which Künneth and his collaborators, all serious Protestant clergy or lay people, could give hospitality, in highly civil formulations, to much of the Nazi arsenal of ideas regarding Germany's victimhood, western parliamentary traditions, the blight of the Jews, and the need for radical review of traditional views of the care of the mentally defective. The book was enormously influential, and by 1937 had been reprinted five times. Klaus Scholder summarizes the argument of Künneth's pivotal contribution with a balanced assessment of the confusion that it helped to foster (*The Churches and the Third Reich* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988], 1:274ff).

8. Bonhoeffer's argument, developed in an April 1933 article "The Church and the Jewish Question" is succinctly summarized and critiqued, perhaps a bit too gently, in Scholder, *The Churches and the Third Reich*, 1:275-277.

9. Künneth reminds us that in the medieval period Jews were customarily received into the host nation in consequence of being baptized (*Die Nation vor Gott*, 3rd ed. [Berlin: Wichern Verlag, 1934], 132). He couples this observation with the reminder, commonplace even in the non-GC Protestant statements of the time, that the Jews, since their repudiation of the Messiah, are no longer a people but live under a divine curse (*Die Nation vor Gott*, 128). It is especially sad then that he fails to reflect in print on what it means for Jews, Christian or not, to be forsaken by the "host" people.

10. See Conway, *Nazi Persecution of the Churches*, 48.

11. Günther van Norden, in a careful study of Barmen in relation to the Jewish Question offers (without a direct allusion to it) a poignant example of the failure of the "Good Samaritan-Principle." A Jewish Christian hospital chaplain in Cologne had recently been dismissed in keeping with the "Aryan Paragraph," but the leaders gathered at Barmen did not find any way to speak out in solidarity on his behalf. Van Norden wonders whether his not being associated with the Confessing Church may have been a cause of their silence ("Die Barmer Theologische Erklärung und die Judenfrage," in *Das Unrechtsregime: Internationale Forschung über den Nationalsozialismus*, eds., Ursula Büttner, et al [Hamburg: Hans Christians, 1986], 1:315ff).

12. See Irving Abella and Harold Troper, *None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews 1933-1948* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1983).

13. A standard scholarly work on the antiquity of the question is still James Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue* (New York: Meridian 1961).

14. For a brief account of these pre-1914 rumblings see Gordon A. Craig's *The Germans* (New York: Meridian, 1982), 135ff.

15. The works of prominent churchmen such as Otto Dibelius, Wilhelm Stählin and Walter Künneth abound with examples of this view. For a more general review of attitudes to the Weimar Republic see Peter Gay's recent but already standard study, *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1968), 23ff.

16. See Scholder, *The Churches and the Third Reich*, 1:99ff; Robert P. Ericksen, *Theologians under Hitler: Gerhard Kittel, Paul Althaus and Emanuel Hirsch* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1985), 98ff; Karl Hammer, *Deutsche Kriegstheologie 1870-1918* (München: DTV, 1974), 146ff; and Wilhelm Laible, ed., *Deutsche Theologen über den Krieg* (Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke, 1915), especially the article by Paul Althaus, "Der Krieg und unser Gottesglaube," 221ff.

17. Scholder offers the only broadly-based, sensitive and thoroughly scholarly account of the subject known to me (*The Churches and the Third Reich*, 1:99ff), complemented in the case of Paul Althaus by Ericksen's *Theologians under Hitler*, 79ff, note 15.

18. See Scholder, *The Churches and the Third Reich*, 100ff.

19. Found in his 1937 lecture at the University of Leipzig, *Völker vor und nach Christus: Theologische Lehre vom Volke*, published under the same title as Volume 14 of the series *Theologia militans* (Leipzig: A. Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1937). Paul Althaus (1888-1966) was one of the most prominent Lutheran theologians of the period; his voice carried far within Germany at least, and was widely listened to. Ericksen analyses this important paper in *Theologians under Hitler*, 102ff.

20. This strand of the story is carefully elaborated in Scholder, *The Churches and the Third Reich*, 1:115.

21. This crucial difference between the case of (at least privately) dissenting Germans in Germany and that of the resistance movements in subjected countries is cogently developed in Klemens von Klemperer, "Reflections and Reconsiderations on the German Resistance," *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* 1 (1988): 13-28.

22. See Albert Stein, *Evangelische Laienpredigt: Ihre Geschichte, ihre Ordnung im Kirchenkampf und ihre gegenwärtige Bedeutung,* Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Kirchenkampfes [Publications on the History of the Churches' Struggle] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 27-29.

23. Letter of 29 October 1943 from the deanery of Naila, Bavaria, Landeskirchliches Archiv Nürnberg (LkAN), IV, 572a.

24. In "Official Reports of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bavaria, 5.21, 21 March 1941," LkAN IV, 572a.

25. *Gesammelte Werke* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1965), 8:631ff. This volume of his collected works contains about two-thirds of the sermons from 1941 to 1953.

26. Letter to Pastor Friedrich Langenfass, Dean of Munich, Deutsches Literaturarchiv (German Literature Archive), 1987 accessions.

27. Also Deutsches Literaturarchiv 1987 accessions. The recipient, as is clear from the Langenfass letter, was a Pastor Hofmann of Munich.

28. See Günther van Norden, "Die Barmer Theologische Erklärung und die Judenfrage," 327; and Kurt Meier, *Kirche und Judentum: Die Haltung der evangelischen Kirche zur Judenpolitik des Dritten Reiches* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968), 35 for the heartless GC-inspired prelude to this callous action.

29. Scholder, *A Requiem for Hitler*, 131ff, sketches the diplomatic context of these developments for both Roman Catholic and Protestant leaders. The initiatives of the synods are recorded in Meier, *Kirche und Judentum*, 38-41; and Günther van Norden, "Die Barmer Theologische Erklärung und die Judenfrage," 325-328.

30. Rudolf Alexander Schröder and Siegbert Stehmann, *Ein Freundeswort: Ein Briefwechsel aus den Jahren 1938 bis 1945* (Berlin: Eckart, 1962), 124.

31. I am thinking here of the war poetry generated during the first weeks and months of the hostilities by otherwise gifted poets such as Rupert Brooke, Laurence Binyon and Thomas Hardy, to be found in the anthology edited by Brian Gardner, *Up the Line to Death: The War Poets 1914-1918* (London: Magnum Books, 1977).

32. See Scholder for an account of the role played by Otto Dibelius and others (*The Churches of the Third Reich*, 262ff).

33. *Gesammelte Werke*, 8:596ff.

34. Schröder and Stehmann, *Ein Freundeswort*, 269. The cycle in question, "Wintertrost," is found in Schröder's *Gesammelte Werke* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1952), 1:1017ff.

35. *Gesammelte Werke Bd.8*, 683.

36. Reinhold Schneider, *Verhüllter Tag* (Köln: Hegner, 1956), 98.

The Role of the Death-Bed Narrative in the Conception Bay Revival of 1768-69

S. DAWN BARRETT

How do you initiate a religious revival? This is a question which plagued Laurence Coughlan who was the missionary at Harbour Grace in Conception Bay, Newfoundland, from 1766 to 1774, during an era when revivalism was endemic in both the British Isles and North America.

Coughlan had served for nine years as one of John Wesley's itinerant lay preachers,[1] during which period he had successfully led revivals in such disparate places as Colchester in Essex,[2] and Waterford in Ireland.[3] Following a breach with Wesley, Coughlan established himself as a "Preacher of God's Word" at an independent meeting house registered in his own name at Bermundsey, Surrey.[4] His reputation as an evangelical preacher was well-established when overtures were made to him by George Davis, a Newfoundland merchant, and George Welch, a banker with connections to the Newfoundland trade.[5] Both these gentlemen were members of the Skinner Street Independent Church in Poole, Dorset, where a revival had taken place during the early 1760s.[6] It was through the influence of former members of this congregation then living in Conception Bay that the movement to establish a church there, and to seek an evangelical minister, received its momentum.[7] Laurence Coughlan was chosen and called. Davis and Welch then approached William Legge, the second Earl of Dartmouth, who was Chairman of the Board of Trade of England, and had oversight of the fishery in Newfoundland. Through his influence, Coughlan was speedily ordained deacon and priest in the Church of England, and, now legitimized with the label if not the doctrine

of the established church, was sent immediately to Conception Bay.[8]

Given his background and experience as an evangelical preacher, there was every reason to believe that the newly-ordained Laurence Coughlan would succeed in initiating the religious revival his supporters expected of him.

Factors Influencing Religious Revivals

Social scientists have long contended that religious revivals coincide with periods of social, economic and political unrest. Elie Halévy's hypothesis identifies pauperism, economic crisis, political ferment and social despair as the underlying conditions for which revivalism provided a religious solution in eighteenth-century working-class England.[9] R.B. Walker's study of Victorian revivals in England acknowledges that economic depression and other adversities favour religious consolations, but finds a period of prayerful expectation and the influence of charismatic revivalists more important in initiating a revival.[10] Richard Carwardine's comparison of early nineteenth-century revivals in Wales and on the American frontier identifies isolation, a socially unsettled population, the absence of a large educated middle-class, the precarious nature of life and a common social and intellectual background between preachers and their audience as common factors predisposing revivalism in both locations.[11] William Sweet notes that migration results in a lessening of social pressure, a decline in institutionalism and a corresponding growth in the sort of individualism which favours revivals that are personal and emotional in nature.[12] The anxiety of social upheaval is also acknowledged by Timothy Smith as the cause of the exaggerated emotions which characterized congregational life in the New World. He points out that revivalism in American history has generally served communal purposes such as the need to belong to a community and have status within it, and the need for an authority to stabilize behaviour when social disorder threatens.[13] Kenelm Burridge's morphology of conversion emphasizes an ambience of general dissatisfaction and an expectation of transformation as necessary preludes to the effectiveness of a prophet figure who articulates a program of action sanctioned by threats from the transcendent.[14] David Luker's study of the 1814 Great Revival of Wales, indicates that, while external circumstances of isolation, social dislocation and externally controlled trends of boom and depression predisposed that the revival would be

emotional and ecstatic, the course of the revival was influenced more by unexpressed needs for indiginization and the transfer of power.[15]

By all these criteria, mid-eighteenth century Conception Bay must be considered a region ripe for revival. As in other frontier communities, there was isolation, social dislocation and absence of extended family support. There was also pronounced social stress. The Conception Bay population, overwhelmingly male,[16] had increased from 1,000 at the beginning of the century to a winter population of nearly 6,000 souls, which during the six months of the fishing season increased to 10,000.[17] There had also been a dramatic shift in ethnic balance. At the beginning of the century 90% of the inhabitants had been English; by mid-century a wave of Irish immigration had left the English forming only a slight majority in the colony.[18]

Economic and political stress was also evident. The fishery-based economy was uncertain; its success depended upon the vagaries of foreign markets as well as uncertain weather, unstable fish stocks and migrant servants of unknown character. Economic control remained in the hands of merchants from the English West-country. Political control was exercised by governors appointed from England, usually from the ranks of the naval commanders.[19] The authority of the Justices of the Peace, established by an Order in Council in 1729, was challenged by Fishing Admirals, whose authority rested in a prior Act of Parliament.[20] These Fishing Admirals, who received their appointments annually by virtue of being the captain of the first English fishing ship to reach each respective harbour, were uneducated in legal matters, and notorious for promoting the interests of the West-country merchants who hired them.

Thus in mid-eighteenth century Conception Bay there were needs for community-building, power-sharing and self-affirmation. In the social stress and economic and political unrest there existed potential for the eruption of religious fervour. Religious expectations had been raised by the presence in Carbonear of converts from Poole's Skinner Street Independent Church which had recently experienced a revival. Only one ingredient was missing – the presence of a charismatic preacher. The advent of Laurence Coughlan supplied this missing ingredient.

According to the criteria established by the social scientists, Conception Bay was ripe for revival. Yet several years passed, and nothing happened.

Coughlan's Initial Failure

Laurence Coughlan himself found it difficult to understand why the religious revival so eagerly anticipated did not occur. In his book, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland, North America*, he noted that wherever he had gone in England, Ireland and Scotland, religious revivals had occurred soon after the evangelical gospel began to be preached. In Newfoundland three years passed, and there was not the least sign that the hearts and souls of the people were being stirred by his preaching![21] Utterly discouraged, he questioned whether it was indeed through God's will that he had ever been called to so desolate a place, and made plans to return to England. He wrote in despair: "None can tell the Affliction which a Minister of Jesus Christ feels, when he has the Care of a Parish, and very little Fruit of his Labour . . ."[22]

Suddenly, during the winter of 1768-69, the long-anticipated manifestation of God's saving grace occurred in conjunction with an emotional outpouring from the congregations at Harbour Grace and nearby Carbonear. The emotions were so extreme that the curious, hearing rumours that the inhabitants of these two communities had gone mad, travelled many miles to see for themselves what was transpiring.[23] From then until his departure from Newfoundland in 1773 Coughlan's ministry was marked by an emotional intensity which led many individuals to experience the despair of conviction and the joy of conversion.

> Under almost every Sermon and Exhortation some were cut to the Heart and others rejoiced in loud Songs of Praises . . . that the mighty Power of God came down was very Manifest . . . God was daily adding to the church such as should be eternally saved . . .[24]

The Pivotal Sermon

What was the catalyst which set this long-awaited revival in motion? Two of Coughlan's earliest converts, in their conversion narratives, made reference to the effect that one particular sermon had on bringing them to the stage of conviction:

> I heard you preach often, before I was convinced that your Preaching concerned me: I did not see my need of a Saviour: I thought my own

> Righteousness was sufficient for me: at last, it pleased God to open my Eyes, by means of your preaching from these Words, *Let the Wicked forsake his way, and the Unrighteous Man his thoughts; and return to the Lord, and he will have Mercy on him, &c*. The Words were directly applicable to my State. I saw clearly, that if I was not Wicked, yet I was Unrighteous.[25]

> . . . at last, it pleased God to awaken me, under a remarkable sermon of yours, in Carbonear, on these Words, *Let the Wicked forsake his Way, and the unrighteous Man his Thoughts, &c*. The Word came with Power to my Soul; I saw myself wicked and abominable, and wondered that my God was so kind, as to offer Pardon to such a Rebel as I had been. The Conviction followed me, and increased more and more, till my sins became a Grief and Burden too heavy for me to bear.[26]

This sermon, on the theme "Let the Wicked forsake his Way, and the unrighteous Man his Thoughts," contained two death-bed narratives which together contrasted the blessed condition of one who had experienced the grace of God before death, with the eternal anguish which awaited an unrepentant sinner. Based on the recent deaths of two individuals well-known in the church community, it elicited the intense emotions that were instrumental in stirring the hearts of the people to make a religious response.

The first narrative depicts a man who, having previously experienced conviction of sin, suddenly on his death-bed sensed the grace of God testifying "I am thy Salvation," and was comforted. He witnessed to his family, beseeching them too to seek the Truth which he had experienced. Then Coughlan described the touching death-bed scene. With his parents on one side of the bed, and his wife and six small children on the other, he gave his final testimony, saying to his wife:

> My dear, I am now going out of a poor miserable World, and I can now tell you where I am going; and I shall be soon crowned with a Crown that fadeth not away: As a husband, I hope, I loved you; and as a Father, I laboured under God for my dear Children; but they are no more mine; I give you and them up to my dear Jesus, who gave them me, and he will be a Father to the Fatherless, and a Husband to the Widow.[27]

Then, affirming that Christ was more to him that anything in the world, and asserting that death was not to be feared but eagerly anticipated, he died in a state of blessed assurance.

The second death-bed narrative described an unrepentant sinner, an alcoholic who had frequently attended church, but opposed Coughlan, and denied the necessity of being born again on the grounds that the clergy in England did not preach that doctrine. His death served as a terrible example of the end that awaits the unredeemed. On his death-bed he realized that he had sinned away the day of grace and was damned to all eternity. When his little one begged him to pray for salvation before it was too late, he cried out in anguish:

> Oh! my child, your poor Father cannot pray; he soon will be tormented in the Flames of everlasting Burnings; all is over, it is too late . . . Oh! I already feel the Torments of the Damned; none can tell what I feel: Oh! I see thousands of Devils in this Room; could you see them, you would not stay in this place: Oh! everlasting Burning! Oh! Eternity![28]

The anguish of spirit that could be awakened by a consideration of death was enhanced in those of Coughlan's congregation who believed themselves unredeemed by the certain knowledge that they too would face such an agonizing end. Persons hovering on the point of death were portrayed as already experiencing the fate that would be theirs after death. Coughlan used proof texts to demonstrate that experience proves Scripture to be true. Those who die "in the Lord" are blessed.[29] On the other hand, the unredeemed are destined to die in fear, distress and anguish.[30] A final quotation was used by way of admonition: "Seek the Lord, while he may be found; call ye upon him, while he is near. Let the wicked forsake his Way, and the Unrighteous Man his thoughts; and let him return to the Lord, and he will have Mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon."[31]

Coughlan indicated in his "brief account" that the testimony of these experiences did much in "establishing the Word of his Grace among this people."[32] The death-bed scenes presented in this sermon provided for many proof that Coughlan's doctrine was borne out by experience. But more than that, it was an occasion of great emotional upheaval for the

community. Coughlan's vivid description of the dying father's tender farewell to his family could leave no one unaffected. Vicarious participation in a death experience elicits "anguish of spirit," an emotion which is closely related to the state of conviction and can indeed stimulate it. The sermon succeeded in awakening in Coughlan's congregations a religious response that was emotive and ecstatic, and set in motion the Conception Bay revival of 1768-69.

Coughlan's Use of Death-Bed Narratives

Coughlan was to find that death-bed narratives also proved effective in other ways. In addition to the two quoted above, he chose five others to record in his book.

A group of three represent young women who at the onset of their death are in the beginning stages of spiritual growth – the unthinking girl who used to joke that "it was too soon, when she grew old she would be religious, and become a Convert;"[33] the youth who had been too much with "the Allurements of the World" but when faced with death recognizes her sinfulness and cries for mercy;[34] and the young mother, a backslider, who thought her present intimations of eternal suffering could be used as an example to others.[35] All three young women, who died within four months of each other, experienced the grace of God before their death.

These death-bed experiences have been carefully crafted according to a set form. Each begins with an epitaph, indicating the name of the deceased, followed by the phrase "who departed this life" and indicating the date and age at time of death, and occupation if any. Next follows an applicable Bible verse. Coughlan shows a preference for the Old Testament. The body of the narrative typically opens with the cliché, "as to her person." This is followed by a description of the deceased in which the most positive aspects of her character and her family are mentioned. No disparaging remarks are made. For example, a young woman pregnant out of wedlock is presented as "this poor deluded young Lady," and the full responsibility for the pregnancy is placed on the man. She is not the sinner, but the betrayed innocent, the victim of "this horrible Sin;" the sympathy rather than the scorn of the reader is elicited.

The description of the deceased is followed by Coughlan's account of the death experience itself. It is presented in the form of journal entries showing the daily progress towards both death and salvation. He describes

the situation as he finds it on each visit, or as it has been related to him by those participating in the death-watch. Coughlan visits daily. He plays the role of interrogator, questioning the dying as to the state of their soul. He prays for them. He offers the sacrament of the Lord's Supper after first assuring himself that the dying person is sufficiently aware of her own sinfulness and unworthiness. The dying progress swiftly through all the stages of the conversion experience – awakening (an intellectual awareness of sinfulness), conviction (an emotive response to sinfulness), justification (the moment of conversion experienced as a "flow of joy"), and finally, to the peace of full assurance. Coughlan takes no credit himself. The actual moment of conversion in all cases happens in his absence, and he finds evidence of it on his next visit. It has been the work of God alone.

Evidence that conversion has taken place is found in the mood of the dying person. No longer afraid of death, she looks forward eagerly to it. She feels Jesus present, and has the sense that her sins have been forgiven. She testifies about her experience to her family and friends. She breaks into spontaneous prayer and praise. Physical suffering is eased especially during times of prayer and hymn-singing. As death approaches there is a foretaste of the peace and joy to be experienced in life after death.

The death-bed narrative ends with a description of the death itself, expressed in euphemistic imagery such as "She clapped her glad Wings, and tower'd away, And mingled with the Blaze of Day,"[36] or "She then gave up her Breath, and fell asleep in the Arms of her dear Jesus."[37]

Taken cumulatively, the message Coughlan gives is clear. Conversion does not occur unless the sinner experiences the burden of sinfulness and reacts with repentance, sorrow and humility. This is the only active role the sinner plays. The rest is up to God who moves in his own good time to lift the burden of sin and reconcile the sinner to himself. But God is merciful never permitting the convicted sinner to die unreconciled.

Another of Coughlan's death-bed narratives presents his answer to the question of theodicy.[38] It describes the final illness of Mrs. P. who suffers great pain, and strives to interpret that pain theologically. In her weaker moments she does not understand why God allows her to suffer and prays for a speedy death. Then she begins to realize that God has afflicted her body for the sake of her soul; in his goodness he is answering her prayers by not allowing her, through a premature death, to die before she has attained full assurance. Finally she resigns herself to his will saying "I must wait my Lord's leisure."[39] The more agony she feels the louder is

her praise. She dies praying that her example will convert the poor hard hearts of her children.

The parallel with the Book of Job is obvious in this narrative. Did Coughlan deliberately re-write this book replacing the culturally remote Job with someone the congregation knew well and could more readily empathise with, and changing Job's restoration motif to a more dramatic ending in which death itself becomes the final restoration? Or has the Old Testament become so much a part of his thinking that he unconsciously reproduces its thoughts? A more likely explanation may be that he was using a narrative form that was common among Methodist preachers; although I have been unable to locate other examples the form may have been popular in the oral tradition.

The final death-bed narrative in Coughlan's book was in the form of a letter from lay preacher Thomas Pottle of Carbonear, who experienced for himself the "strange Metamorphose! the Conscience, but a moment or two before wounded, loaded; the Sinner, just ready to despair, now instantly, with a loud Voice, proclaims the Salvation of his Redeemer, and cries out, with Ecstasies of Joy, I have found a pardoning God."[40]

The experience led Pottle to attempt to understand why so many were converting on their death-beds. He acknowledges that the whole process is the work of God. He believes that the purpose of the illness is to bring the sinner to the state of conviction. Pain is God's way of humbling us, of preparing us to recognize our own sinfulness. God does not afflict pain in anger, but in his tender compassion for us, as a way of bringing us to himself. Faced with pain and impending death we begin to repent of our sins. The repentance is preparative, "softening the stony Heart, making it capable of receiving the Grace of God, even as soaking Showers prepare and mollify the Earth, to receive the Seed."[41] God then moves in his own time to bring the repentant sinner to conversion.

Dying: A Community Event

These death-bed narratives inadvertently paint for us a picture of community life in mid-eighteenth century Conception Bay. Dying is a community event; friends and neighbours gather in the house and keep watch day and night. The minister is sent for and visits daily. The friends and neighbours join him in prayer sometimes standing round the death-bed to sing hymns. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper is administered to the

dying. As the moment of death approaches the nearest relatives are called into the room to receive the last words. In this type of setting every symptom and every word of the dying person are shared with those in the house, and repeated over and over again to others in the community. The tales gain in dramatic appeal as they are retold. Then, from the pulpit, Coughlan gives the events a religious interpretation, and the listeners begin to see the events through his eyes.

One can imagine the stentorian tones in which he enumerates the spiritual agonies of the damned, the rising hopefulness in his voice as he indicates the first signs of conviction in the repentant sinner, the blast of triumph in which he recounts the moment of saving grace, and then the hush of the congregation punctuated by the sound of muffled sobbing as he recounts the last words of the dying saint, the special messages from one whose soul has already begun to experience the blessedness of heaven. The members of the congregation recognize in the dying an enactment of their own deepest fears and an answering hope. Then, punctuating his statements by reference to Scripture, Coughlan draws a lesson from the experience, a lesson the listeners will never forget.

Conclusion

Laurence Coughlan's purpose in relating death-bed narratives from the pulpit was primarily didactic. However, the impact on the congregation of hearing them was instrumental in eliciting the intensely emotional responses that characterized the Conception Bay revival of 1768-69.

In the years previous to 1768-69, factors identified by social scientists as predisposing revivalism were present in Conception Bay, including social stress, an uncertain economic situation, political disempowerment, the personal dysphoria normally associated with relocation, the needs for community-building and power-sharing, and heightened religious expectation. All these factors were not enough in and of themselves to incite a religious revival. Through his experience in Conception Bay, Coughlan learned the value of stimulating the emotions of his audience through incorporating death-bed narratives into his sermons.

Endnotes

1. Luke Tyerman, *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A., Founder of the Methodists*, 3 vols. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1973 [1872]), 3:25.

2. Journal entry for 28 November 1758, in John Wesley, *The Works of John Wesley*, 3rd ed., 14 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1986), 2:462; Journal entries for 3 March 1759 and 5 March 1759, in Wesley, *Works*, 2:468; John Wesley to Ebenezer Blackwell, 12 March 1759 in Wesley, *Works*, 8:326; and John Wesley to Lady Huntingdon, March 1759, as quoted by Tyerman, *Life and Times*, 2:324.

3. C.H. Crookshank, *The History of Methodism in Ireland, Vol. I, Wesley and His Times* (Belfast: R.S. Allen, Son & Allen, 1885), 1:148ff.

4. "Late Eighteenth-Century Dissent in Surrey," *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society* 17, No. 4 (November 1955): 128-135, as quoted by Hans Rollmann, "Laurence Coughlan and the Origins of Methodism in Newfoundland," in *The Contribution of Methodism to Atlantic Canada*, eds. Charles H.H. Scobie and John W. Grant (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1992), 57.

5. Geo. Davis and George Welch to the Earl of Dartmouth, 16 April 1776, Fulham Papers, Lambeth Palace, London.

6. Bernard C. Short, *Poole: The Romance of its Later History* (London: Hunt, Barnard & Co., Ltd., 1932), 101.

7. Samuel Greatheed, "The Life of the Rev. John Jones, Late of St. John's, Newfoundland," *Evangelical Magazine* (November 1800), 441ff.

8. The Earl of Dartmouth to the Bishop of London, 18 April 1766, Fulham Papers, Lambeth Palace, London. Also, Coughlan to the Earl of Dartmouth, Harbour Grace, 25 October 1772, Dartmouth Originals, MG 23, A1/2:2497, National Library, England.

9. *The Birth of Methodism in England*, trans. Bernard Semmel (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1971).

10. "The Growth of Wesleyan Methodism in Victorian England and Wales," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 24, No. 3 (July 1973): 267-284.

11. "The Welsh Evangelical Community and `Finney's Revival,'" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 29, No. 4 (October 1978): 463-480.

12. *Revivalism in America: Its Origin, Growth and Decline* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944).

13. "Congregation, State and Denomination: The Forming of American Religious Structure," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series 3, 25 (April 1968): 155-176.

14. Mircea Eliade, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), s.v. "Revival and Renewal," by Kenelm Burridge.

15. "Revivalism in Theory and Practice," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 37, No. 4 (October 1986): 603-619.

16. Coughlan's annual report of 1767 to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel noted 408 families among a total population in Conception Bay of 5621 (Laurence Coughlan to SPG Secretary, 20 October 1767, SPG Papers, B.6/170. Available on microfilm at the Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University, and National Archives, Ottawa.

17. C. Grant Head, *Eighteenth-Century Newfoundland: A Geographer's Perspective* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976), 56.

18. Head, *Eighteenth-Century Newfoundland*, 83. See also Thomas Nemec, "The Irish Emigration to Newfoundland," *Newfoundland Quarterly* 4, No. 4 (July 1972): 15-24.

19. Christopher English, "The Development of the Newfoundland Legal System to 1815," *Acadiensis* 20, No. 1 (Autumn 1990): 89-119.

20. An account of this legal dilemma may be found in Frederick W. Rowe, *A History of Newfoundland and Labrador* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill-Ryerson, 1980), 178ff.

21. Laurence Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland, North America* (London: W. Gilbert, 1776), 7.

22. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 8.

23. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 16.

24. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 12.

25. J.P. to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 4 November 1774, in Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 102.

26. J.M. to Coughlan, Harbour Grace, 4 November 1774, in Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 116.

27. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 21.

28. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 23.

29. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 22. The quotation is from Rev. 14:13.

30. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 23. Coughlan quotes "Because I have called and ye refused; I have stretched out my Hand, and no Man regarded; but ye have set at naught all my Counsel, and would have none of my Reproof: I also will laugh at your Calamity; I will mock when your Fear cometh as Desolation, and your Desolation cometh as a Whirlwind; when Distress and Anguish cometh upon you; For that they hated Knowledge and did not choose the Fear of the Lord." From this quotation, which Coughlan indicates is found in Proverbs 1:24-29, he (or perhaps the editor of his book) has omitted two lines of verse 28: "Then they will call upon me but I will not answer; they will seek me diligently but they will not find me." While the thought expressed here fits perfectly with the situation being described, it is inconsistent with Methodist theology which proclaims that God's mercy is for all and is eventually revealed to all that are sincere in seeking it.

31. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 24.

32. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 20.

33. "The Experience of C.G., Who departed this Life, on the 9th of May, 1773," in Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 25-33.

34. "The Experience of Miss N.G., Who departed this Life, on the 24th of June, 1773, in the 20th Year of her Age," in Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 34-39.

35. "The Experience of Mrs. W., Who departed this Life, on the 9th of September, 1773, in the Twenty-First Year of her Age, Who was a Wife and Mother of Two Children," in Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 40-46.

36. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 33.

37. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 46.

38. "The Experience of Mrs. P., When lying on her Death-Bed," in Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 47-49.

39. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 48.

40. T.P. to Coughlan, Carbonear, 28 July 1772, in Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 52.

41. Coughlan, *An Account of the Work of God in Newfoundland*, 51.

Disraeli and Gladstone in the 1840s: The Influence of the Oxford Movement on Young England and the Board of Trade

BRAD FAUGHT

> Each knew his place – king, peasant, peer or priest – The greater owned connexion with the least; From rank to rank the generous feeling ran and linked society as man to man.[1]

As the chief exemplars of Victorian conservatism and liberalism, Benjamin Disraeli and William Gladstone stand as the twin towers of nineteenth-century British politics. Since their deaths, respectively a little more and a little less than a century ago, neither man has suffered for lack of historiographical monuments.

One area, though, that has not received very much historical scrutiny is the way in which the Oxford Movement greatly influenced the two as young men.[2] Gladstone's deep religiosity, the guiding feature of his life, was the product of a youthful evangelicalism[3] mixed with a later-in-life Tractarianism.[4] Disraeli, as is well-known, was baptized into the Church of England on his thirteenth birthday, thus rejecting the more obvious features of his Jewish heritage. Of course, in spiritual terms Disraeli wore his Anglicanism lightly, in stark contrast to Gladstone's agonizing journey within the national church. But this intersection did yield to the two budding politicians a shared interest in the Oxford Movement's defence of the church. Each man interpreted the Movement in different ways, just as each one's apprehension of the state of the Church of England in the 1830s and 40s differed. The advent of modernity was a thing to be both

welcomed and feared. The Oxford Movement generally took the latter stance, as did Disraeli and Gladstone. For the purposes of this study, it is the influence of the Movement on the political and social thinking of each man in the 1840s which provides the focus. In Disraeli's case, its expression is found in his novels *Coningsby* (1844) and *Sybil* (1845), and in Gladstone's, in his two books on church-state relations.

Disraeli was the leading figure in Young England, a group of disaffected Parliamentary Conservatives under Peel in the 1840s. Culturally, medievalism's presence in Victorian Britain marked out the boundaries of Young England.[5] Medievalism manifested itself in various ways, the chief one being for our purposes the resurrection of the idea of organicism. The Gothic revival in architecture led by A.W. Pugin[6] and Gilbert Scott,[7] and, later, William Morris' Arts and Crafts movement, were expressions of the anti-industrialism and anti-modernism characteristic of medievalism. Likewise, the writings of Walter Scott, Coleridge and Southey, as well as others, helped to give medievalism a prominent place in the consciousness of many Victorians. But it was the organic idea of society embodied by medievalism that most animated Disraeli and his colleagues.

Young England's brand of romantic Toryism was grounded in a deep reverence for the past which found expression in a philosophy of history controlled by the organic idea. As Young England's leading light Disraeli gave expression to this idea by constructing his novels as paradigms of "modern medievalism." The organic nature of medieval society, in which church and state were closely entwined, corresponded with Disraeli's belief in the social efficacy of the contemporary church as, in the words of Richard Levine, society's "model and guide."[8] A reinvigorated church, sure of its pedigree and mission, would provide the social anchor for nineteenth-century British society: ". . . it is by the Church . . . by the Church alone that I see any chance of regenerating the national character," writes Disraeli in *Coningsby*.[9] The church was the moral storehouse of the unchanging Law, the dialectical expression of Hebraeo-Christianity, which embodied the idea of "being and becoming" in history. This idea powered Disraeli's belief in providentialism and his parallel rejection of the cyclical view of history.

Disraeli acknowledged no difference between the interests of the church and those of the people: "The estate of the Church is the estate of the people, so long as the Church is governed on its real principles."[10] The qualification is undoubtedly reflective of the Oxford Movement's

insistence on a pure and apostolic church, untainted by the ties to the state "which tend to its danger and degradation."[11] Tractarian influence on Disraeli and his youthful band was deep and Blake is not exaggerating when he says that "Young England was the Oxford movement translated by Cambridge from religion into politics."[12] But Disraeli's political acuity was such that this translation was in accord with both his own restrained religiosity and that of the greater part of the English population. No popery! (a suspicion that the Tractarians were closet Roman Catholics was of course the popularly-held belief) had to be assiduously maintained if the Young Englanders were to have any practical political effect. Though moving in the world of the Oxford Movement, Disraeli was not of it. As Smythe perceptively and humorously observed: "Dizzy's attachment to moderate Oxfordism is something like Bonaparte's to moderate Mohammedanism."[13]

Frederick Faber, an early disciple of Newman's, became something of a spiritual adviser to the Young Englanders. Faber was handsome, articulate, extremely devout, poetic, and a bit dreamy. He was theocratic in ecclesiastical outlook which fit his increasingly Catholic spirituality. And he was an unabashed restorationist when it came to the "old England" of perceived organic unity.

Faber[14] epitomized for Disraeli the "younger priests . . . men whose souls are awake to the high mission which they have to fulfil, and which their predecessors so neglected; there is, I think, a rising feeling in the community, that parliamentary intercourse in matters ecclesiastical has not tended either to the spiritual or the material elevation of the humbler orders."[15] Accordingly, Disraeli fictionalized Faber in *Sybil* as Aubrey St. Lys, vicar of Mowbray. St. Lys is a cleric whose heart has been greatly moved by the poverty and social upheavals caused by the Industrial Revolution and has come among the "hundred thousand heathens" of Mowbray "to preach `the Unknown God.'"[16] He disputes with the factory-owning Lord Marney, the unappealing brother of Disraeli's protagonist, Charles Egremont, over the wages and living standards of the labouring classes: "how they contrive to live is to me marvellous."[17] An unresponsive and frivolous aristocracy is taken to task by St. Lys, as the inherent gravity of noblesse oblige should be obvious to any responsible member of that order. But he saves his greatest incredulity and denunciation for the church. "The church deserted the people," he says,

> and from that moment the church has been in danger, and the people degraded. Formerly religion undertook to satisfy the noble wants of human nature, and by its festivals relieved the weariness of toil. The day of rest was consecrated, if not always to elevated thoughts, at least to sweet and noble sentiments. The church convened to its solemnities, under its splendid and almost celestial roofs, amid the finest monuments of art that human hands have raised, the whole Christian population; for there, in the presence of God, all were brethren. It shared equally among all its prayer, its incense, and its music; its sacred instructions, and the highest enjoyments that the arts could afford.[18]

St. Lys is no self-satisfied, girthy prebendary. He is out to lighten the load of the working man and woman by offering them a church that is moved at least as much by their plight as it is by the requirements of high society. As Egremont says of him: "St. Lys thinks it is duty to enter all societies. That is the reason why he goes to Mowbray Castle, as well as to the squalid courts and cellars of the town. He takes care that those who are clad in purple and fine linen shall know the state of their neighbours."[19]

St. Lys also embodies the verities of Disraeli's organic view of history by commenting extensively on the Jewish and Christian traditions.[20] It is their melding together which, in Disraeli's estimation, has given English society its normative modes of civilized interaction. It is religion which is the fount from which flows all that nourishes civil society and therefore Hebraeo-Christianity is bedrock and not shifting shale. As part of that Disraelian bedrock Levine observes, "the Middle Ages and the Roman Catholic Church become but segments . . ."[21] If that be true then the Church of England, according to Disraeli, is freed from obeisance to Rome because the latter did not invent "forms and ceremonies" but inherited them from the prophets. "Was Moses then not a churchmen? And Aaron, was he not a high priest? Ay! greater than any pope or prelate, whether he be at Rome or Lambeth."[22]

For Disraeli, social problems could only be solved by a rejuvenated aristocracy acting on the eternal principles laid down by the traditions of Hebraeo-Christianity. Leaders of the people could only spring from their exalted ranks. The "New Generation" would confront the "Two Nations." In Harry Coningsby and Edith Millbank we see this high view of the aristocracy exemplified. In their marriage at the end of the novel Disraeli unites religion with aristocracy and asks: "[w]ill they maintain in august

assemblies and high places the great truths which, in study and in solitude, they have embraced?"[23] Likewise, in *Sybil* the union of Charles Egremont and Sybil Gerard symbolizes the larger union between the separated peoples of England necessary to alleviate their grossest disparities. Can England resurrect community in the face of "modern society [which] acknowledges no neighbour[?]" Can the rich and poor, "[t]wo nations . . . inhabitants of separate planets,"[24] be drawn into one? Yes, Disraeli thinks they can, but only if the aristocracy recognizes its divine purpose in providing responsible leadership for the rest of society. And the vanguard of such a regenerated aristocracy are its youth, the "trustees of Posterity."[25] And the members of Young England are these trustees.

Young England briefly captured the imagination of the country and in the process made popular the more inaccessible, and necessarily more religious, message of the Oxford Movement. *Coningsby* and *Sybil* were the two main reasons for this popularity.[26] "Young England, like Tractarianism . . . was the reaction of a defeated class to a sense of its own defeat – a sort of nostalgic escape from the disagreeable present to the agreeable but imaginary past."[27] The two novels spoke powerfully to this desire for an idealized past transplanted to an equally ideally receptive present. But none of the Young Englanders, like the Tractarians (with the possible exception of Hurrell Froude!), *really* thought that the supposed splendour of medieval times was going to miraculously reappear in early-Victorian England. What they wanted was to assert the necessity of a public recognition of their agenda for church-based social reform – an agenda that categorically rejected the utilitarian tone of the age.

If we have suggested some of the areas where Disraeli and Young England intersected with the Oxford Movement, what of Gladstone, perhaps the prototypical "political Tractarian," during his time at the Board of Trade? At Peel's highly persuasive invitation[28] Gladstone arrived at the Board of Trade as its vice-president in 1841. His election to the Commons as M.P. for Newark in 1832 had heralded the arrival of a bright new light amongst the Conservatives (their "rising hope," as Macaulay would later write) and throughout the 1830s Gladstone had held a couple of junior portfolios. Constantly engaged by questions of church and state, these years had also seen Gladstone publish two books on the subject.[29] "Gladstone," in a familiar refrain, "was always in need of causes to which he could fully commit himself."[30]

As is well-known, for the duration of Gladstone's as yet brief Parlia-

mentary career he had been a protectionist. He continued to be so in 1841 and campaigned on the necessity of retaining the Corn Laws.[31] Peel, buffeted by the conflicting intra-party pressures of commercial interests and landed wealth, was gradually coming to the logical conclusion that Free Trade and the Corn Laws were incompatible. In the meantime, however, he maintained an intermediate position between the "Scylla of ultra-protection and the Charybdis of total repeal."[32] The organic nature of society that the all-embracing Corn Laws represented was, as we earlier saw in our discussion of Disraeli, the historic ground upon which rested the Tory party, and Peel was not yet ready to abandon it. As a youth Gladstone had shared the precepts of the organic view, of which stern opposition to the reform bill and a lively defence of the Corn Laws were a part. And he carried these Liverpool, Eton, and Oxford views with him into Parliament where they sustained him through until at least the end of the 1830s. They were crystallized in *The State in its Relations with the Church* in which Gladstone defined the state as an "organic body" where individuals were "constituents of the active power of that life . . . the state is the self-governing energy of the nation made objective."[33]

The nature of Gladstone's interest in this "organic body," or, more broadly speaking, social questions often has been the province of those who seek to understand his motivations for his well-known "rescue work" among London's prostitutes. Gladstone's engagement with the great city's "fallen" women was in part brought about by a financial inheritance that was in want of an uplifting outlet. And Colin Matthew has written perceptively about Gladstone's psycho-sexual tensions which were apparently soothed by his nocturnal peregrinations amongst the denizens of London's districts of ill-repute.[34] But, it may be argued, this most notable of Gladstonian good works offers only a very superficial view of his commitment to ameliorating the social needs of Victorian society.[35]

The organicism of which Gladstone wrote so assuredly in his first book, *State and Church*, was much the same as that written about by Disraeli in his novels. The assumption that a revitalized church could act as society's main regenerative agent is a shared one, as is the idea that the church has a grave responsibility to act in such a capacity. Gladstone's belief in a unified society was one that he never surrendered[36] and it intersected with Disraeli's promulgation of the same. Both men saw the state, in Aristotelian fashion, as a moral actor.

Gladstone argued for the recognition of the state's moral agency

flowing from its inherent conscience.[37] His exalted view of the state was articulated thus: ". . . the highest duty and highest interest of a body politic alike tend to place it in close relations of cooperation with the church of Christ."[38] The relationship between politics and religion is necessary, argues Gladstone, "because it is the office of the State in its personality to evolve the social life of man." Religion's job is to tutor the state in its function as law-giver and, by extension, also those to whom the law is being given. The state's telos is religious, Gladstone continues, in that "religion is directly necessary to the right employment of the energies of the State as a State."[39] In practical terms, such a teleology meant that "Benefit Societies" (here, Gladstone is referring to hospitals, poor houses, and other forms of social relief) usually "solemnise all their meetings with public and common worship,"[40] so as to demonstrate the centrality of religion to the social life of the nation.

In Gladstone's second book this idea is further elaborated. If, as Perry Butler observes, Gladstone's first book was written in order "to vindicate the idea of a National Church established by law . . ,"[41] then *Church Principles Considered in their Results* gave the idea corporeal form. In it, Gladstone makes the assumption that "a national Church is the centre of the national life of a country."[42] As the Tractarians were finding out, such an assumption bore little relation to reality, but Gladstone forged ahead anyhow. He makes the claim that the church is responsible "for the social condition at large," and by doing so offers a glimpse of his considered view on social questions. Gladstone's private beneficence intersected with what he thought to be the proper end of the unity of church and state in this regard. He had earlier attributed in part to the state "the foundation of our moral habits, our modes of thought, and the state of the affections,"[43] and the church, as its tutor, was the natural conveyor of these standards. Accordingly, it was the unified society which provided the best hope of social regeneration. And in this conviction Gladstone and Disraeli did not vary. They shared a belief in the necessity of Christianizing the nation.

Nevertheless, by the time Gladstone took up the vice-presidency of the Board of Trade he had modified his intellectual commitment to the "organic" position. He had come to recognize the impossibility of his ideal view being realized in England. As he wrote, the "conditions of the age upon which it has pleased God to cast my lot" were such that "[s]hould England nationally repudiate the Catholic Church, it is not, I apprehend,

by Parliamentary evangelisation that she can be recalled to a sense of her duty because what is done in Parliament must be evolution of its own recognized laws & constitutive ideas . . ." Gladstone reminded himself that "the direct mission of Christianity is to the individual heart, not to the mixed bodies by which the affairs of vast human combinations are directed."[44] He would, therefore, act in concert with Peel and party, even though neither one impressed him as being truly concerned about the future of the English church in the same dogmatic and clerical way that he was. But he would use Peel's government as a "testing ground"[45] for his theory – and the theory failed.

How then are we to assess the impact the Oxford Movement had on their lives and politics in the 1840s? For Disraeli, the Oxford Movement embodied much that he championed in *Coningsby* and *Sybil*: medievalism, the "old" faith, organicism, a preference for the virtues of rural life, a Church of England cleansed of its erastian compromises, and so on. Yet he never for a moment considered himself a Tractarian, and he certainly never attempted to think through fully the abstractions of the Tractarians' theory of society. Gladstone, on the other hand, was too practical, too caught up in the daily task of setting and carrying out government policy, to be captured by the romance of the Oxford Movement. To him, the Movement was deadly serious, its leaders were fighting for the soul of English religion. He read their books and tracts and pamphlets,[46] participated in the "Engagement," and *State and Church* owed not a little to the influence of Newman and Pusey. But the religious certitude demanded by Newman and those who followed him to Rome (such as Frederick Faber) was alien to Gladstone's intellect and spirituality. Christianity was the "fixed point"[47] for Gladstone, but human fallibility "disinclined him to accept as ultimate any human authority, papal or episcopal."[48] For the more extreme Tractarians, such a stance was incompatible with the logical conclusions of their ecclesiology. But for Gladstone, it safeguarded his membership in the Church of England.

While the Movement helped Gladstone clarify the historical lineage of the English church, it obscured the means by which a growing industrial and pluralist state could be governed. It seemed to have a somewhat different effect on Disraeli, though, confirming in his mind the socially salvific role of the church, and giving force to his romantic prose. In the end, it would seem fair to say that while both Gladstone and Disraeli were, in different ways, defenders of the church the Oxford Movement's com-

plex influence on them in the 1840s contributed to each of them espousing social, economic, and political views that in sum were closer together than if apprehended separately. Nevertheless, no one would say of Gladstone what Russell Kirk has said of Disraeli, that "he succeeded in diverting the torrent of progress into the canal of tradition."[49]

Endnotes

1. Lord John Manners quoted in Daniel R. Schwarz, *Disraeli's Fiction* (London: Macmillan, 1979), 82.
2. E.g., this line of enquiry was totally ignored by D.C. Somervell in *Disraeli and Gladstone: A Duo-Biographical Sketch* (London: Jarrolds, 1925).
3. See Peter J. Jagger, *Gladstone The Making of a Christian Politician: The Personal Religious Life and Development of William Ewart Gladstone 1809-1832* (Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publications, 1991).
4. See Perry Butler, *Gladstone: Church, State and Tractarianism: A Study of His Rideas and Attitudes, 1809-1859* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).
5. For an excellent study of medievalism see Alice Chandler, *A Dream of Order: The Medieval Ideal in Nineteenth-Century English Literature* (Lincoln, NB: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1970).
6. See Phoebe Stanton, *Pugin* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971).
7. David Cole, *The Work of Sir Gilbert Scott* (London: Architectural Press, 1980).
8. Richard A. Levine, *Benjamin Disraeli* (New York: Twayne, 1968), 100.
9. Benjamin Disraeli, *Coningsby, Or the New Generation*, ed. Thom Braun (Markham, ON: Penguin, 1983), 378.
10. Disraeli, *Coningsby*, 377.
11. Disraeli, *Coningsby*, 376.
12. Robert Blake, *Disraeli* (London: Methuen, 1969), 171.
13. Quoted in Charles Whibley, *Lord John Manners and His Friends* (London: W. Blackwood, 1925), 153.
14. Ronald Chapman, *Father Faber* (London: Burns and Oates, 1961), 45.

15. Disraeli, *Coningsby*, 378.

16. Benjamin Disraeli, *Sybil, Or the Two Nations*, ed. Sheila M. Smith (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1991), 107.

17. Disraeli, *Sybil*, 109.

18. Disraeli, *Sybil*, 110-11.

19. Disraeli, *Sybil*, 150.

20. See Disraeli, *Sybil*, 111-12.

21. Levine, *Benjamin Disraeli*, 109.

22. Disraeli, *Sybil*, 112.

23. Disraeli, *Coningsby*, 495.

24. Disraeli, *Sybil*, 64-66.

25. Disraeli, *Sybil*, 422.

26. *Young England*, a weekly, ran from January to April 1845. It was published in London by Henry George. None of the Young Englanders were involved, and given the coverage they were receiving in the mainstream press Smythe, at least, thought a special journal to be "absurd" (*Benjamin Disraeli Letters* [Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1982-1989], 4:161, footnote #1).

27. Blake, *Disraeli*, 171.

28. "I think we shall be very strong in the House of Commons," Peel told Gladstone, "if . . . you will accept the post of Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and conduct the business of that Department in the House of Commons with Lord Ripon as President. I consider it an office of the highest importance, and you will have my unbounded confidence in it" (quoted in F.E. Hyde, *Mr. Gladstone at the Board of Trade* [London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1934], 3).

29. *The State in its Relations with the Church* (London: J. Murray, 1838); and *Church Principles considered in their Results* (London: J. Murray, 1840).

30. E.J. Feuchtwanger, *Gladstone*, 2nd ed. (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989), 14.

31. Philip Magnus, *Gladstone* (London: J. Murray, 1954), 57.

32. Hyde, *Mr. Gladstone*, 32.

33. *The State in Its Relations with the Church*, 4th ed. (London: J. Murray, 1841), 1:77-78 (hereafter, *State and Church*).

34. H.C.G. Matthew, *Gladstone 1809-1874* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 89-95.

35. Interestingly, Gladstone's "rescue work" was initially part of the social service he performed in accordance with the requirements of "the Engagement," a lay Tractarian brotherhood he helped organize in 1844 on the advice of Keble (Matthew, *Gladstone 1809-1874*, 90). As Gladstone noted in his diary early in 1845: "Worked on the contemplated applic[atio]n of the Engagement to myself: which may God guide and prosper" (M.R.D. Foot, ed., *Gladstone Diaries* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968], v. iii, 435-6).

36. See Richard J. Helmstadter, "Conscience and Politics: Gladstone's First Book," *The Gladstonian Turn of Mind*, ed. Bruce L. Kinzer (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1985), 3-42.

37. *State and Church*, 1:86-87.

38. *State and Church*, 1:4.

39. *State and Church*, 1:93.

40. *State and Church*, 1:97.

41. Butler, *Gladstone: Church, State and Tractarianism*, 79.

42. *Church Principles Considered in their Results* (London: J. Murray, 1840), 374.

43. *State and Church*, 1:86.

44. *Gladstone Diaries*, v. iii, 9 May 1841.

45. Butler, *Gladstone*, 93.

46. Volumes ii and iii of *The Gladstone Diaries* contain numerous references to having "read Newman" or "read Pusey."

47. Matthew, *Gladstone, 1809-1874*, 1.

48. Agatha Ramm, "Gladstone's Religion," *The Historical Journal* 28, No. 2 (1985): 330.

49. Russell Kirk, *The Conservative Mind from Burke to Eliot* 7th rev. ed. (Chicago: Regnery Books, 1986), 279.

Richard Roberts: A Case Study in Liberal Protestantism in Canada During the Interwar Years[1]

CATHERINE GIDNEY

During the nineteenth century powerful intellectual currents and changing material conditions resulted in a mounting challenge to the theological underpinnings of mainstream Protestantism in Canada. Ideas such as Darwin's theory of evolution, the higher criticism and the rise of social science, on the one hand, and the debilitating social effects of industrialization, on the other, encouraged clergymen to explore new ways of combining faith and reason, and to re-conceptualize the relationship between Christianity and the social order. While historians generally agree that together these two broad forces transformed mainstream Protestantism, the nature and effect of this transformation is greatly contested.[2] Two interrelated questions have polarized the debate. First, did clergymen subvert the message of mainstream Protestantism by embracing liberal theology, or did liberal Protestantism maintain a continuity between traditional tenets and new developments within modern society? Second, did liberal theology promote a shift from religious activism to secular social action, or did it embrace the notion of service as an integral part of one's religious commitment?

In this article I want to explore these issues through a case study of Richard Roberts, an influential clergyman and religious leader in the United Church of Canada during much of the interwar period.[3] Born in Wales in 1874, Roberts was trained as a minister in the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church and went on to preach in several Methodist and later Presbyterian churches in London, England, and then at the Church of the

Pilgrims in New York.[4] By the time he was called in 1921 to the American Presbyterian Church in Montreal, he was already an internationally renowned preacher, religious activist and pacifist.[5] But from 1927 to 1938, the main period under consideration in this article, Roberts preached at Sherbourne St. United Church, one of the most prestigious and wealthy churches in Toronto, counting among its congregation such men as Sir Joseph Flavelle, Sir Edward Kemp and H.H. Fudger of the Robert Simpson Company.[6] Having read broadly in nineteenth and twentieth-century literature, philosophy and scientific thought, moreover, he not only attracted university and theological students in both Montreal and Toronto by the quality of his sermons but was also frequently asked to speak to local branches of the Student Christian Movement.[7] He helped train ministerial candidates, lecturing at Emmanuel College in 1927 and again in 1933. Between 1925 and 1937 Roberts wrote a weekly devotional column in the United Church's official organ, the *New Outlook*. During the interwar years he also wrote over a dozen articles, pamphlets and books, on subjects ranging from pacifism and social reform to the reformulation of liberal Protestant theology. Finally, Roberts was also a prominent and highly respected figure in the United Church's Toronto conference as well as on such national committees as the Commission on Evangelism and the Commission on Christianizing the Social Order; indeed, from 1934 to 1936 he served as Moderator of the United Church.[8]

Case studies, of course, have their limitations, above all in focusing on an individual rather than the larger context. In the first half of the twentieth century, mainstream theologians and preachers were involved in a transatlantic debate over how to rearticulate theology in the face of modern thought. As a result, by the 1920s evangelical Protestantism had been transformed into three broad varieties of faith: fundamentalism and its opposite, modernism, both of which have received attention, and in the middle a liberal Protestantism of which currently little is known.[9] While a comprehensive study of the United Church and its leaders does not as yet exist, historians have suggested that it was formed in 1925 within this middle strand of faith. Indeed, they argue, leaders of the United Church such as John Baillie and George Pidgeon followed thinkers like Nathanael Burwash and George Munro Grant, who consistently worked to reconcile evangelical beliefs with the demands and concerns of a new social order.[10] Roberts' thought, then, must be understood within the broad context of theological reformulation of the times and within the particular tradition

of rearticulation inherited by the United Church.

In the absence of a larger synthesis, however, a case study is not without its advantages. First, such an approach can provide a detailed portrait of one prominent clergyman's attempt to rethink liberal Protestantism in light of his understanding of the relationship between religion and scientific thought, and between society and Christianity. Secondly, it provides an opportunity to explore, admittedly on a limited scale, developments in a period that have either been neglected by historians primarily interested in mainstream Protestantism around the turn of the century, or which have been treated as a mere epilogue to the pre-war years.[11] In the pages that follow I will pursue both of these issues by examining Roberts' theological ideas, his views on religious and social reform, and his understanding of evangelization, a central notion in his conception of the ministry.

During the early 1920s, as Roberts was settling in to minister to his Canadian congregation, he began to realize the extent to which late nineteenth-century intellectual and social changes within western society had not only called various tenets of classical Protestantism into question, but had also resulted in their alteration. In Roberts' view it was especially Darwin's theory of evolution that had fundamentally challenged Protestants' conception of God. Traditionally, God had been thought of as the focal point of the universe, a supernatural being transcending human history who had not only created the human species but also intervened in the human sphere of existence. Evolutionary theory, however, suggested an entire universe in the process of development and thus an immanent God not only present and involved in the improvement of humanity within the natural world, but as such, also limited by its processes. The widespread acceptance of the theory of evolution, Roberts argued, had led to the dominance, among late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century mainstream Protestants, of a liberal theology emphasizing God's immanence at the expense of the evangelical understanding of God's transcendence.[12]

By the late 1920s, Roberts had become critical of this pre-war theology primarily on the grounds that it did not provide a basis for understanding central concepts of traditional Protestant belief. The thought of liberal Protestants was fundamentally inconsistent: they believed in traditional doctrines, such as the Incarnation or Resurrection, and practised religious exercises such as prayer, all of which suggested a transcendent God, while at the same time fundamentally changing these doctrines by

interpreting God's nature as immanent. Thus, the Incarnation had come to be understood as Jesus "coming up from the ranks," while God was understood to work within or through individuals and society.[13]

Roberts' critique was no vague yearning for a return to traditional Protestantism or for a shift to fundamentalism, for neither of these, he claimed, could incorporate new scientific discoveries. Nor was it a repudiation of the immanent God conceived by liberal Protestants to incorporate evolutionary theory. Rather, he believed that neither the concept of a transcendent God nor that of an immanent God could, on its own, provide a sound theological base for modern Protestantism.[14] What was needed, he argued, was a synthesis of these two theological notions.

In his concern during the 1920s and 1930s to reconcile a God completely within the process with one also reaching down towards humankind, Roberts drew selectively on the thought of A.N. Whitehead.[15] This eminent philosopher and mathematician conceived of God as having two poles, the physical and the mental. He described all existence, from God to the smallest organism, as "actual entities" and contended that the "world process consists in the becoming of these actual entities."[16] While God's physical pole was limited and in the process of becoming such an entity, God's mental pole was "unchanging, complete, the source of all ideas and possibilities."[17] These actual entities formed part of "eternal objects" and thus possessed a universal quality that on the one hand was present in God, waiting to be realized through the development and coalescence of actual entities, and on the other hand flowed from God and thus aided the process of realization.[18] Whitehead's thought thus articulated for Roberts a philosophical justification for understanding God as both absolute and evolving.

Roberts' theology during the interwar years illustrates his attempt to combine liberal and evangelical thought by means of Whitehead's notion of a God who was both supernatural and who worked within the evolutionary process. For example, Roberts believed that Jesus was "the ultra-human `emergent' in the course of biological development,"[19] and Christians therefore ought to shape their lives by following the example of Jesus as exemplified by His life and teachings.[20] But how could a perfect human appear so early in the evolutionary process? Was not Jesus a "contradiction of a theory of gradual development?"[21] As early as 1912, Roberts argued that Jesus Christ was an example of God's intervention in human affairs and thus while Christ was of this world, it was as one from the other world that He was worshipped by Christians.[22]

For Roberts it was not Jesus' birth or life but rather his crucifixion, symbolized by the cross, which was the most significant event in recorded history.[23] He argued that theology had lost the elements of reproach and shame that the cross had traditionally represented and that it was imperative these elements be restored.[24] Where early nineteenth-century evangelicals had viewed individuals as inherently sinful, turn-of-the-century liberal Protestants stressed the inherent goodness of humans and the need for social rather than individual salvation.[25] Consequently, the importance placed by evangelicals on the cross as a symbol of human sin and the need for repentance had become de-emphasized in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries with the notion of personal salvation achieved "through losing oneself in the social task"[26] becoming dominant.

Roberts both decried the loss by liberal Protestants of the emphasis placed on the cross, and at the same time, saw a need to rearticulate the evangelical doctrine of original sin. The cross, he believed, represented the constant conflict within humans of having to choose between good and evil, and as such forced a choice upon individuals as to the path they would follow.[27] Yet, while emphasizing the notion of individual sin, Roberts interpreted this traditional concept within the framework of evolutionary theory. Repudiating the notion of inevitable progress that prevailed in the pre-war strain of liberal Protestantism, Roberts argued that evolution implied the need for continuous struggle without which degeneracy would occur. Consequently, he defined sin as anything that hindered individual or societal evolution, and he considered part of the nature of sin to be a relapse by individuals and society to a standard of morality inferior to that previously attained, or to any point at which humans no longer strove to achieve the highest possible moral and spiritual level.[28]

Utilizing such basic Christian concepts as Jesus, the cross and sin, Roberts synthesized key elements of liberal and evangelical thought. He affirmed central concepts of evangelicalism, such as a transcendent God, the cross as a symbol of human sin and as a reminder of the need for repentance and forgiveness, and Jesus as evidence of God's intervention in earthly affairs. Yet he combined these with the more recent emphasis by liberal Protestants on an immanent God by stressing the ideas of the indwelling Christ and of Jesus as the perfect human.

Roberts recognized the inconsistencies in his synthesis; as he stated, "logically, transcendence and immanence are irreconcilable notions."[29] Yet

he argued that "the best thought of our time leads us to the idea of a transcendent immanent eternally self-perfecting Absolute."[30] Until a more comprehensive theology emerged, he was willing to live with a theological system that, while paradoxical, was more complete he believed than anything else proposed. But he did not hold this position to be final.[31] He considered the rearticulation of theology to be a constant process and warned that "we shall probably have to build and to discard many a system of theology" before achieving the one which would be absolute.[32]

Roberts was not presenting simply a personal religion but rather a faith which emphasized the relationship between Christian men and women and their society. However, just as he had become critical of pre-war liberal Protestants' stress on God's immanence, so he decried their exclusive focus on the idea of social transformation. While he acknowledged that the social gospel movement had been important in awakening the conscience of Christians to their social responsibilities, he claimed this more modern understanding of Christianity was insufficient. Reform movements or the equal distribution of the world's goods would not necessarily result in the Kingdom of God.[33] Rather, a lasting social transformation would only occur as a result of a spiritual and moral change, as people's lives became redirected by God's principles. Consequently, he believed humans had two inseparable tasks: to achieve personality and to create community.[34] Personality, which he defined not as individuality but as the essence within humanity that all held in common could only be realized through community life.[35] Yet at the same time the community had to provide the opportunity for the fulfilment of personality. Thus it was imperative that Christians be involved in social reform so that they improve temporal conditions in order to allow for the growth of the human personality and thereby ensure the true transformation of the social order.

Roberts' thought on the social order was influenced by his own youth spent in witnessing the hardships faced by the men and women of his Welsh quarrying community, by ministries among working people, by his support for the emerging Independent Labour Party and later the Labour Party of Britain, by the destruction caused by war, and during the 1930s by the suffering caused by the Great Depression. All these experiences shaped and reinforced his view of the need for fundamental changes within society. To this end he advocated the establishment of a real living wage and unemployment insurance so that all would be

provided with economic security and sufficiency, housing and leisure time. Moreover, he called for the elimination of the profit motive in the economic system and its replacement by a society based on co-operation. Profits, he contended, provoked and perpetuated conflict between individuals, classes and nations. For an equitable and just society, commerce needed to be conceived as a social service.[36] In a co-operative society, where owner and worker were reconciled through Jesus Christ, "Capital and Labour might work out something deeper than industrial peace—a living creative fellowship in the interests of the community."[37]

Roberts' criticism of the existing system did not, however, translate into unqualified support for the Christian left. Christian radicalism, which according to Richard Allen emerged out of the disintegrating social gospel movement, gained a stronghold within the United Church in the early 1930s.[38] Such radicalism resulted in the creation in 1934 of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order (FCSO) – an inter-denominational organization for those interested in social reconstruction which was primarily led by and composed of men and women in the United Church.[39] Concerned about the suffering caused by massive unemployment, and looking for co-operative and social democratic solutions to the economic problems of the 1930s, many leading members of the United Church's left wing also became involved in secular social reform movements such as the League for Social Reconstruction (LSR) and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.[40]

Distressed by the effects of the Depression, Christian socialists within Roberts' denomination put forward a report at the 1933 Toronto Conference of the United Church that aimed at transforming society. The report, drawn up by the Conference's Committee on Evangelism and Social Service, declared capitalism to be against Christian principles and called for a system based on co-operation.[41] It also called for the development of welfare programs, such as social insurance and a minimum wage, to aid Canadian workers hit by the Depression, and for the "socialization of banks, natural resources, transportation and other service industries which under private ownership gave too much power over the subsistence of the people to special interests."[42] While the report was adopted, immediately after the vote fifty-five clergymen, Roberts among them, registered their dissent.

There is little evidence to explain why Roberts adopted this position. Examining the incident, John Webster Grant has claimed that Roberts was

in fact sympathetic to many of the aims of the report,[43] a claim that is substantiated by Roberts' writings on the social order. David Marshall has suggested that Roberts' dissent was occasioned by his opposition to the church sanctioning a specific political or economic program. Marshall contends that Roberts was in effect charging the Conference with adopting the program of the LSR.[44] There is some plausibility to this suggestion. Roberts did not believe that party politics belonged in the pulpit. The church, he argued, contained members of different political persuasions; not until a consensus developed as to the type of action that should be taken to change the social order should a particular vision of society be officially adopted.[45] Possibly a stronger reason for his position, however, was that the 1933 report had not addressed the spiritual concerns central to his thought. While putting forward a program to transform the existing social system, it had not addressed ways in which to effect an inner transformation of people's lives.

This concern comes more clearly into relief if one examines Roberts' position towards the FCSO. This group adhered to the liberal Protestant position of God's justice and Jesus as the purveyor of an ethic of love. Reaffirming social gospel thought, they also emphasized the need to focus on the community and relieve those suffering from unfair economic conditions.[46] The FCSO argued that, while Jesus had worked for victims, the United Church was becoming too supportive and too closely linked to the dominant interests within society. What was needed was for church members to follow the life and teachings of Jesus to create a just society.[47] However, as Christian socialists, they were also convinced that the creation of such a society entailed the destruction of the capitalist system, which transgressed Christian principles in its exploitation of human beings, its failure to provide material benefits for all, its encouragement of an acquisitive spirit perverting human morality and its tendency to induce war. Social justice, they claimed, would only prevail when industry had been socialized and thus production made to benefit the interests of the entire Christian community.[48]

Roberts' thinking was similar enough to that of the FCSO that he agreed to write the Foreword to their main political tract, *Towards the Christian Revolution*. He recommended the book as an "important contribution to the current discussion of the ends and values of a Christian society, and the ways and means of achieving it."[49] However, it may be surmised that his support for the work, which presented the same ideas as

the 1933 report adopted at the Toronto Conference, was grounded in the belief that it contributed to a "discussion" within the church. While it presented a particular vision of society and proposed a program of social reform that could be implemented unlike the 1933 report it was not being put forward at a church Conference to be adopted as official policy. Rather, it was part of the process of enabling the church to develop a position on social issues.

Roberts' involvement in the Commission on Christianizing the Social Order, which at the 1932 General Council of the United Church he had called for in order that the church address some of the problems caused by the Depression, further clarifies how his approach differed from those of Christian socialists within the United Church. Between 1932 and 1934 Roberts aided the chair, Sir Robert Falconer, in drafting the Commission's report.[50] The purpose of the Commission was to articulate Christian standards and principles for the social order, to determine to what extent these principles prevailed, and to establish measures for their implementation, in order to enable the Spirit of Christ to transform all those institutions alien to this Spirit as well as to pervade society, thereby ensuring that all might enjoy a full Christian life.[51]

The Commission identified the main problem in the social order as that of economic insecurity, which it claimed led to conflict between classes and dulled workers' creative powers by reducing their available time and energy for higher pursuits. Such insecurity, it stated, was the result of the dominant "unsocial" spirit of acquisition, which emphasized the accumulation of profits through competition and allowed for individual prestige and domination based on wealth.[52] For social justice, the Commission argued, basic material needs first had to be met, and equal opportunity and equitable prices for the consumer had to be introduced.[53] Moreover, the conscientious worker and efficient manager needed to be united in "a new spirit in Industry which will place co-operation for the general good above competition for private advantage."[54] To achieve such a society, Christians first had to be careful to practise their faith both in their personal and public lives.[55] Second, Christians were to study the existing social order in groups in order to arouse their consciences against injustices within the system and seek measures which might prevent or eliminate such injustices. Third, when there appeared to be a consensus among members of the church as to the type of action to be taken, the General Council would bring this to the attention of the public and political

leaders "in the hope that they may devise methods of reform which seem to promise improvement."[56]

Members of the FCSO welcomed the report as being a sound analysis of the injustices of capitalism and as affirming the United Church's position on transforming society, but at the same time they felt that the report had not gone far enough.[57] They agreed with an appended anonymous minority report, by several members of the Commission, that questioned whether any change to the social order was possible while the existing system survived. In other words, could the Christian ethic be realized, the common good be conceived as the social goal, the desire for profit and adherence to the acquisitive spirit be eliminated, without first establishing a social order based on communal ownership and control?[58]

The FCSO's support for the minority report illustrates once again the difference between the position Roberts adopted and that of the FCSO. Roberts considered the report on Christianizing the Social Order, like the FCSO publication, *Towards the Christian Revolution*, to be a working document for discussion among church members concerning the problems within the existing social order and possible measures by which to create a Christian society. He believed, as the Report of the Commission on Christianizing the Social Order sets out, that this process of discussion was a necessary step in reaching a consensus within the church as to the direction it should take regarding the reform of the social system. The Commission's report, like the 1933 Toronto Conference report, did put forward a particular vision of society; unlike the 1933 report, however, it would not become official church policy, but rather was to be used as a foundation upon which a church position could be built. In addition, while it bore all the hallmarks of Roberts' social reform thought, namely a vision of a co-operative society where through Jesus Christ workers and managers worked towards the social good to eliminate economic insecurity, it also addressed his spiritual concerns. It directly expressed the purpose of social reform as being to enable individuals to live a Christian life. It argued that reform was needed to enliven workers' creative powers. And finally, it endorsed both a personal and social understanding of Christianity by encouraging adherents to practise their faith in their personal and public lives, to study social issues in communal groups and to develop a social position that, by providing the potential for the development of personality, would lead to the opportunity of creating a more Christian society.

For Roberts, individuals' beliefs and their temporal lives were in-

tricately connected. The development of the human personality, or in other words, the growth of the human spirit, could only be achieved in a social setting. The purpose of the community was to provide the opportunity for human creativity and thus enable the elevation of humanity. When creative growth was being restricted, it was imperative that the conditions of that restriction, whether economic, political or social, be reformed. Reform of the social order on a vast scale, however, could not be successfully achieved overnight but had to occur gradually and through consensus. At the same time Roberts emphatically insisted that in order for reform to lead to a lasting social transformation, society had to be based upon Christian principles.

Yet if reform was to create the potential for the development of the human personality, how, in fact, did Roberts believe individuals would learn to accept and to become guided by Christian principles? How, indeed, was "a new principle of life" to be established? During the nineteenth century, evangelicals believed that such a change could only be brought about through individual salvation, a process involving "repentance and conversion and the acceptance of a disciplined life that reflected a spiritual transformation."[59] Often this was achieved through revivalism, a form of evangelization whereby a preacher exhorted a large gathering to repent of their sins, receive the Word of God and be immediately converted.[60] Yet recently historians have argued that by the early-twentieth century this traditional understanding of evangelization was no longer a part of most mainstream Protestants' religious beliefs. David Marshall, for example, contends that with the widespread acceptance of liberal Protestantism, the central features of evangelization disappeared. In fact, he claims, they were to be forgotten until the spiritual depression of the 1930s led clergymen to proclaim the need for a traditional religious revival.[61] While Phyllis Airhart thinks the traditional concept of evangelization did not disappear but, rather, was transformed, she does argue that the revivalism central to Methodism in the nineteenth century had, by 1925, been replaced by a non-revivalist approach to piety.[62]

During the interwar years Roberts not only concurred with evangelicals' notion of spiritual change through evangelization, but he placed this notion at the centre of his conception of the ministry. At the same time, however, he radically changed the evangelical understanding of the process of evangelization. For example, revivals, he contended, could occur at any time and place and disappear as quickly as they had appeared.

Consequently, the preacher, he claimed, ought to be prepared to harness the spirit of revivalism and keep it alive. This he would do primarily through his sermon. To this end, preaching needed, through both rational and emotional appeal, to provoke a commitment from the congregation to Jesus, to move them to lead a disciplined and devotional life,[63] and to encourage fellowship with God and other individuals through individual and corporate prayer.[64] However, he cautioned, evangelization was not to be a popular affair that would cheapen public worship. Roberts disliked the sensationalized preaching and the stunts that often accompanied mass evangelization. Evangelistic efforts, he believed, ought to occur within individual churches, led by the preacher, emphasizing religious growth through Christian nurture rather than sudden conversion, and drawing on both emotion and reason.[65]

Roberts' activities as Moderator of the United Church were based on this view of evangelization. In 1934 Roberts was appointed Moderator for two years. Within a few months of his appointment, he set out in the *New Outlook* his impression of the particular direction that the United Church membership seemed to indicate the denomination ought to take, as well as the type of leadership he would attempt to provide. Church members, Roberts believed, desired a spiritual renewal:

> There is today a rising tide of earnest and persistent desire for definite and sustained concentration upon the spiritual offices of the church, evangelism, the culture of the inner life, the revivification of public worship, the study of the Scriptures and the quickening of fellowship in the deep things of God. These are the things that give the church its meaning; when these fail, or cease, then the Church's life falls into routine and dullness and its impact upon the unregenerate world is compromised and may even cease altogether.[66]

Essentially, Roberts believed his task as Moderator was to provide the necessary leadership to help initiate the process of spiritual quickening within the United Church. To this end, he planned to travel to strategic centres across the country. He wanted to remain in one location for five days, from Sunday to Thursday. While his agenda would be organized by local committees, he would address as many congregations of the area as possible as well as hold a day of spiritual retreat for ministers.[67]

Roberts did not, however, see renewal as a task for the ministry

alone. Only if church members participated in the process would his mission succeed. He not only believed that the laity should be involved in church life, organizing and leading church activities, for example, but that they had a direct role to play in the process of evangelization and spiritual renewal. Consequently he asked every church member to undertake preparation through personal prayer to receive the visitation of the Spirit.[68] At the same time, the spiritual renewal which Roberts hoped his mission would accomplish was not solely for the spiritual betterment of United Church members. He believed that such renewal would lead to "a new passion for social righteousness" and to a Christianity which would "find its proper corporate expression in the creation of a Christian social and world order."[69]

While Robert's concept of evangelization was not a return to the position held by nineteenth-century evangelicals, it does mark a greater continuity with traditional Protestantism than some historians have allowed for. Roberts did affirm traditional forms of piety such as daily prayer, spiritual renewal through belief in Jesus Christ and commitment to a disciplined life. Yet he also in important ways transformed this piety. For example, conversion did not necessarily need to be a direct and immediate religious experience, but rather could occur gradually through the influence of the sermon and regular religious education. Evangelization was to occur in the form of small revivals among individual congregations with the preacher sustaining a long-term religious fervour. Moreover, Roberts' understanding of evangelization corresponded to his religious and social reform thought: it was only if individuals accepted God's Word that human personality would flourish, that society would become based on Christian principles, and that, therefore, true and lasting social transformation would occur.

In his religious thought, in his understanding of the relationship between Christianity and society, and in his conception of evangelization, Roberts neither wholeheartedly embraced liberal theology nor compromised the supernatural elements of his faith. Rather, he combined elements of the old evangelical creed with liberal thought. In his theology, he emphasized central concepts of evangelicalism such as a transcendent God and the cross as a symbol of human sin and a reminder of the need for repentance. Yet he combined these with more liberal notions such as divine immanence and Jesus as the perfect human. Similarly, in his religious and social reform thought he blended the social gospel idea of the need for

a social transformation with the traditional evangelical belief in individual spiritual growth. Neither individual nor social regeneration was sufficient in and of itself, for social transformation, he argued, could only occur as individuals accepted God's Word. Indeed, Roberts' stress on the concept of evangelization was primarily aimed at achieving this spiritual renewal. To this end he rearticulated it for modern society by emphasizing the notion of revivals in small groups within individual churches, led by a preacher who drew on both emotion and reason to aid the gradual acceptance and commitment to God's principles.

This attempt at a synthesis of traditional and more modern beliefs was a result partly of Roberts' concern that the older forms of faith could not incorporate new scientific discoveries or address modern socio-economic conditions. Yet it was also necessary, he argued, because of the inability of the pre-war expression of liberal Protestantism to provide a theological base for understanding central concepts of traditional belief, or to provide the strong spiritual motive to ensure lasting social transformation. This case study suggests that the liberal theology that gained widespread acceptance at the turn of the century was not the final solution that clergymen offered to modern intellectual and socio-economic conditions, but rather that theological reformulation was a constant and on-going process.[70] During the interwar years, therefore, Roberts was involved in a major reinterpretation of the liberal Protestantism that had arisen prior to the First World War.

Any conclusions based primarily on the thought of one person, no matter how prominent and influential, must necessarily be tentative. What has been demonstrated, however, is that while there may have been those whose acceptance of liberal theology led them away from their churches as they sought the means to achieve immediate social reform, Roberts represents a more temperate response. Indeed, in his attempt to posit a synthesis of the logically opposed concepts arising out of evangelical and liberal Protestantism, Roberts was in fact reconciling an abiding Christian faith and piety with the intellectual, social and economic changes occurring within modern Christian society.

Endnotes

1. I would like to thank Dr. Marguerite Van Die for her support and encouragement, and acknowledge the funding received from Queen's University's School of Graduate Studies and Research.

2. The literature on Canadian religious history can be roughly divided into the work of those historians who argue that the changes in mainstream Protestantism helped create a more secular society, and of those who believe that such changes were part of the on-going process of theological reformulation. For the former position see Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1985); David Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1992); and A.B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1979). For the latter position see Phyllis D. Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1992); Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1989); and Brian J. Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterians, Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press, 1988).

3. Several historians have commented in brief and opposing ways on Roberts' religious thought and activities. See Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1991), 265-68; John Webster Grant, *George Pidgeon: A Biography* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962), 124; Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 196-201, 245-47; and Thomas Socknat *Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1987), 100-105.

4. Richard Roberts, Autobiographical Manuscript, n.d., Box 1, 20, Richard Roberts Papers, United Church of Canada Archives (UCCA); Gwen R.P. Norman, "Richard Roberts," 1, 26-59, unpublished manuscript, UCCA.

5. Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 100-101.

6. Michael Bliss, *A Canadian Millionaire: The Life and Times of Sir Joseph Flavelle, Bart., 1858-1939* (Toronto: Macmillan Co., 1978), 62, 88.

7. Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 104; Gwen R.P. Norman, interview by author, 10 August 1993, Toronto.

8. Roberts died in 1945 in the United States, where he had been preaching and leading ministerial retreats (Norman, "Richard Roberts," 131-38, 146).

9. Mark Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1992), 373-76; George M. Marsden, *Religion and American Culture* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1990), 182-84; George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: the Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1980), 117; and William R. Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1976), 2.

10. Airhart, *Serving the Present Age*, 136; Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century*, 257-58, 265-271; Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind*, 194.

11. For examples of the former treatment see Airhart, *Serving the Present Age*; Cook, *The Regenerators*; Fraser, *The Social Uplifters*; Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind*. For the latter see Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-28* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1971), and Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*. Gauvreau's *The Evangelical Century* is the only study that begins to examine theology in the 1920s on its own merits.

12. Richard Roberts, "The Theological Dilemma in America," *The Hibbert Journal* XXV (October 1926-July 1927): 140-41; Richard Roberts, "The Scope of Theology," unpublished lecture, 1927, 15-17, Box 4, 112, Richard Roberts Papers, UCCA.

13. Roberts, "The Theological Dilemma in America," 142.

14. Robert, "The Scope of Theology," 4.

15. Robert, "The Scope of Theology," 14.

16. John Macquarrie, *Twentieth-Century Religious Thought* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1963), 264.

17. Macquarrie, *Twentieth-Century Religious Thought*, 264.

18. Macquarrie, *Twentieth-Century Religious Thought*, 264-266.

19. Roberts, "The Scope of Theology," 18.

20. Richard Roberts, *The Christian God* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1929), 69.

21. Richard Roberts, *The High Road to Christ: A Popular Essay in Re-statement* (London: Cassell and Co. Ltd., 1912), 94.

22. Roberts, *The High Road to Christ*, 91, 96-97.

23. Roberts, *The Christian God*, 63-64.

24. Richard Roberts, "The Quiet Hour," *New Outlook* (hereafter *NO*), 5 December 1928, 7.

25. Allen, *The Social Passion*, 4-7.

26. Allen, *The Social Passion*, 18.

27. Roberts, *The Christian God*, 65, 67.

28. Roberts, "The Scope of Theology," 49-51; Richard Roberts, "Discipline of Life," *NO*, 31 July 1935, 755.

29. Richard Roberts, *The New Man and the Divine Society: A Study in Christianity* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1926), 16.

30. Roberts, "The Scope of Theology," 26. For an earlier reference see Richard Roberts, "Imago Dei," *Canadian Journal of Religious Thought* 2, No. 5 (September-October 1925): 328-36.

31. Roberts, *The New Man and the Divine Society*, 16.

32. Richard Roberts, "Wheels and Systems, A Plea for Another Theology," unpublished lecture ca. 1929, 11, Box 3, 77, Richard Roberts Papers, UCCA.

33. Richard Roberts, "Thy Kingdom Come," *NO*, 23 October 1929, 1069.

34. Richard Roberts, "Personality and Community," unpublished lecture, 1, in "Three Lectures ca. 1934-37," Box 4, 116, Richard Roberts Papers, UCCA; Richard Roberts, "The Creation of Community," unpublished lecture, 1, in "Three Lectures ca. 1934-37," Box 4, 116, Richard Roberts Papers, UCCA; Richard Roberts, "Bridges," *NO*, 20 April 1923, 371.

35. Richard Roberts, "The Awakening of Personality," unpublished sermon, 1932, Box 6, 169, Unpublished Sermons, Richard Roberts Papers, UCCA; Richard Roberts, "The Ultimate City," *NO*, 6 July 1932, 635.

36. Richard Roberts, *The Unfinished Programme of Democracy* (London: Swarthmore Press Ltd., 1919), 88-89, 124; Roberts, "The Creation of Community," 2-4; Richard Roberts, *The Contemporary Christ*, with an Introduction by Rufus M. Jones (New York: Macmillan Co., 1938), 136; and Richard Roberts, *The Untried Door: An Attempt to Discover the Mind of*

Jesus for To-day (London: Student Christian Movement, 1921), 57.

37. Roberts, *The Untried Door*, 115. See also Richard Roberts, "The Ultimate City," *NO*, 6 July 1932, 649; and Richard Roberts, "Communism and the Kingdom of God," *NO*, 8 April 1931, 336.

38. Richard Allen, *The Social Passion*, 356.

39. Robert Wright, "The Canadian Protestant Tradition 1914-1945," in *The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1760-1990*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Burlington: Welch Publishing Co., 1990), 178.

40. Michael Horn, *The League for Social Reconstruction: Intellectual Origins of the Democratic Left in Canada, 1930-1942* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1980), 3-14.

41. Report No. 2, Committee on Evangelism and Social Service, Record of Proceedings, 20, 9th Toronto Conference, 1933, United Church of Canada (UCC).

42. Roger Hutchinson, "The Fellowship for a Christian Social Order: 1934-1945," in *A Long and Faithful March: "Towards the Christian Revolution" 1930s/-1980s*, eds. Harold Wells and Roger Hutchinson (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1989), 20.

43. Grant, *George Pidgeon: A Biography*, 124.

44. Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 238.

45. "United Church Favors Change in Social Order, Unemployed Are Told," *Mail and Empire*, ca. 26 April 1936, Box 3, 67, Richard Roberts Papers, UCCA; Richard Roberts, "Lectures on Preaching," unpublished lectures, n.d., 103, Box 4, 114, Richard Roberts Papers, UCCA; Richard Roberts, "The Impending Canadian Election," *NO*, 9 October 1935, 968.

46. Roger Hutchinson, "Introduction," in *Towards the Christian Revolution*, ed. R.B.Y. Scott and Gregory Vlastos (1936; reprinted, Kingston: Ronald P. Frye and Co., 1989), xix-xx.

47. R.B.Y. Scott and David Mackennan, "The Fellowship for a Christian Social Order," *NO*, 6 March 1935, 244; Editorial, "The Christian and Politics," *NO*, 7 August 1935, 772.

48. Rev. J. Russell Harris, "Towards a Christian Social Order," *NO*, 17 June 1931, 577; R. Edis Fairbairn, "Towards a Christian Social Order," *NO*, 27 January 1932, 81; R. Edis Fairbairn, "Drastic Measures," *NO*, 9 March 1932, 227; "The Fellowship for a Christian Social Order," *NO*, 9 May 1934, 345;

"The Fellowship for a Christian Social Order," *NO*, 26 June 1935, 656.

49. Richard Roberts, "Foreword," in *Towards the Christian Revolution*, ed. R.B.Y. Scott and Gregory Vlastos (New York: Willett, Clark and Co., 1936).

50. Richard Roberts to Gwen, 16 March 1934, Box 1, 13, Correspondence, Richard Roberts Papers, UCCA; Richard Roberts to E. Knowles, 24 March 1934, Box 1, Correspondence, Richard Roberts Papers, UCCA.

51. Report of the Commission on Christianizing the Social Order, 235-38, Record of Proceedings, Sixth General Council, 1934, UCC.

52. Report of the Commission on Christianizing the Social Order, 236, 241-243, Record of Proceedings, Sixth General Council, 1934, UCC.

53. Report of the Commission on Christianizing the Social Order, 246, Record of Proceedings, Sixth General Council, 1934, UCC.

54. Report of the Commission on Christianizing the Social Order, 247, Record of Proceedings, Sixth General Council, 1934, UCC.

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56. Report of the Commission on Christianizing the Social Order, 246, Record of Proceedings, Sixth General Council, 1934, UCC.

57. Roger Charles Hutchinson, "The Fellowship for a Christian Social Order: A Social Ethical Analysis of a Christian Socialist Movement," Th.D. diss., Toronto School of Theology, 1975, 40.

58. Report of the Commission on Christianizing the Social Order, 248, Report of Proceedings, Sixth General Council, 1934, UCC.

59. Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind*, 9. See also Goldwin French, "The Evangelical Creed in Canada," in *The Shield of Achilles: Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age*, ed. W.L. Morton (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1968), 19-21.

60. Airhart, *Serving the Present Age*, 4, 12-13.

61. Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 28, 69-70, 205-6.

62. Airhart, *Serving the Present Age*, 4.

63. Richard Roberts, *The Preacher as a Man of Letters* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1931), 194; Richard Roberts, "Lectures on Preaching," 9-10.

64. Richard Roberts, "The Spirit of Fellowship," *NO*, 11 July 1934, 533; Richard Roberts, "The Quiet Hour," *NO*, 29 April 1936, 400; and Roberts, *The Contemporary Christ*, 81.

65. Richard Roberts, "The Quiet Hour," *NO*, 4 March 1931, 203; Roberts, *The Contemporary Christ*, 102, 108; Richard Roberts, *That Strange Man Upon His Cross* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1934), 13; Roberts, *The Preacher as a Man of Letters*, 203; and Roberts, "Lectures on Preaching," 6-9.

66. Richard Roberts, "Moderator to the Church: The Moderator's Mission," *NO*, 31 October 1934, 954.

67. Richard Roberts, "Moderator to the Church: The Moderator's Mission," 954.

68. Richard Roberts, "The Moderator to the Church: The Matter of Spiritual Preparation," *NO*, 7 November 1934, 978-79.

69. Richard Roberts, "Moderator to the Church: The Moderator's Mission," 955.

70. A similar claim for religion in nineteenth-century Ontario has been made by John Webster Grant, *Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1988), 222.

"Do women really count?": Emily Spencer Kerby – An Early Twentieth-Century Alberta Feminist

MICHAEL OWEN

In 1936, the United Church of Canada ordained Lydia Gruchy, a graduate of St. Andrew's College, Saskatoon, and a long-time missionary to the Ukrainian, English and Canadian settlers in Saskatchewan. The debate over the ordination of women in the Methodist, Presbyterian and United churches had raged for more than twenty years.[1] The columns of the *Christian Guardian*, Canada's national Methodist paper, the *Presbyterian Record*, and the *New Outlook*, the paper of the new United Church, as well as secular magazines such as *Chatelaine*, presented the debate to the members of the church and to the women of Canada. Among the participants in this controversy was Constance Lynd, a Calgary writer and a foot-soldier in the religious and secular battles for women's equality.

The majority of Canadian women who were the foot-soldiers in the religious and secular reform movements within the Methodist and United Church and in Canadian society remain hidden from history.[2] Historians have devoted their attention to the great women of reform and literature – Nellie McClung or Emily Murphy, among others. Constance Lynd, like many other Canadian women who were authors and reformers, is not a household name in Canadian literary or scholarly circles. Her obscurity may be the result of the journals in which her published writings were scattered, mostly in women's journals, women's pages of Calgary's daily newspapers, or church journals – *Chatelaine*, *Maple Leaf* and the *New Outlook*. The question arises, was Constance Lynd, an obscure Calgary correspondent to the *New Outlook*, representative of the many women who

remained silent on issue of the ordination of women in the United Church of Canada? of those who expressed themselves solely in the confines of local congregations or Women's Missionary societies or Ladies Aids?

Constance Lynd was a *nom-de-plume* of a prominent Calgary club-woman, suffragist worker, educator and wife of a United Church minister and principal of Mount Royal College, a private United Church College. Constance Lynd was Emily Spencer Kerby, daughter of the Rev. James Spencer, editor of the *Christian Guardian* during the 1880s and minister of Methodist congregations in south-western Ontario. Her husband, the Rev. George W. Kerby, was an internationally-known evangelist, minister, church builder, orator, clubman, progressive education promoter and founding principal of Mount Royal College. The Rev. Mr. Kerby held important offices within the Methodist and United Church at the national and conference level. In Calgary, both Kerbys were prominent social activists. Both were authors and members of the Canadian Authors' Association (CAA).[3]

In this paper, I analyze the ideas of Emily Spencer Kerby, expressed in the fiction and op-ed writings of Constance Lynd, as a critic of Canadian society's attitudes towards women. This appraisal situates Emily Spencer Kerby's analysis of the place of women in the Methodist and United Church and Canadian society. Through an analysis of the writings of Constance Lynd, who was not a dominant literary figure in the same way as her friend and colleague Nellie McClung, *the* Canadian woman writer of the 1920s through 1940s, we will argue that she was none-the-less a representative voice for women within the Methodist/United Church tradition. In this way, we can expand our understanding of the role of religion in the social history of Canada.

Emily Spencer Kerby

In Alberta, the debate over women's suffrage did not reach the same level of antagonism as it did in Manitoba, where Nellie McClung confronted Premier Roblin and his Liberal government.[4] The Alberta debate, in which McClung also participated, was more civil and the governments of Premiers Rutherford and Sifton were more accommodating. In her study of woman suffrage in Canada, Cleverdon remarks that while Sifton was courteous and promised a suffrage bill in 1915, a delegation of Alberta women under the leadership of Nellie McClung and Emily Murphy

pressed the premier throughout the year 1915. The suffrage bill was passed by the Alberta legislature in February 1916.[5]

In the histories of women's suffrage in Alberta and other Canadian provinces, attention is devoted to the high profile leaders of the campaign – Nellie McClung, Emily Murphy and Irene Parlby – the "Triumphant Trio."[6] Other participants are ignored by historians and by chroniclers of the movement. Emily Spencer Kerby was one of the women who "joined forces" with Nellie McClung and Emily Murphy in their campaign to bring to Alberta women's suffrage. Indeed, according to *The Albertan* of 18 April 1936, Kerby was one of "the two women of Alberta who perhaps had the leading parts in piloting women's suffrage along a none-too-smooth road . . ." Alice Jamieson, the second individual, was the first woman appointed as a police magistrate in the then British Empire.[7] Identified as "one of Calgary's pioneer advocates of equal franchise," Kerby should be viewed as prominent and important a player as McClung and Murphy and other colleagues who waited upon Premier Sifton in the meeting of 2 March 1915.[8]

And like Nellie McClung, Emily Spencer Kerby was not a one-issue crusader. Also like McClung, Kerby was a devout Christian. Kerby, in her mature years in Calgary, was a prominent clubwoman – a charter member of many of Calgary's women's associations including, among others, the YWCA, the Local Council of Women, Women's Research Club, Women's Civic Organization, the Women's Canadian Club and the Mount Royal College Educational Club. She was also a member of national organizations, serving two years as a Vice-President of the National Council of Women (1922-24) and hosting the Calgary meeting of the NCW in 1923. Her years of service to women's organizations in Calgary brought her into touch with issues of importance to women: the franchise, immigration, the servant problem and the issue of a living wage for domestic workers, prostitution and education. As an active member of the Methodist and United churches, Kerby was not silent on women's place within the church spiritual and administrative structures.[9] Finally, as an author, writing under the pseudonym of Constance Lynd, Kerby brought her opinions and views to the Alberta and Canadian women.[10] It is her writings on issues of women that will be the highlighted in this article.

Emily Spencer Kerby was a product of the British Protestant society of late nineteenth-century Ontario. Born 26 March 1859 and raised in south-western Ontario, Emily Spencer was of United Empire Loyalist

stock, the daughter of the Rev. James Spencer, professor at the Methodist Victoria College, Cobourg, and editor of the *Christian Guardian*. Following her public and high schooling, Emily attended the Toronto Normal School, graduating in mid-1880s, and became principal of a public school in Paris, ON. It was in Paris, I expect, that she met George W. Kerby during one of his summer placements as a preacher, perhaps at the same church at which her father was pastor.[11] Following his graduation from Victoria College and ordination in 1888, Emily Spencer and George Kerby were married. Emily relinquished her teaching position, as the tradition of the period demanded, and accompanied her husband to his first pastorate in Woodstock, ON. Emily, as with most wives of Methodist preachers, became the "help-meet" to her husband at his various stations, participating fully in the life of the church and the community, and moving children and household every two to three years. During the years 1900 to 1903, Emily was the sole "parent" to their two young children – Helen Javiera and Spencer, as George Kerby devoted two years to evangelistic service with the Rev. George Turk. These men were "conference evangelists," by which was meant that they held no pastorate with a specific circuit but were "on call" to hold revivalistic services throughout the various conferences of the Methodist Church in Canada. As discussed elsewhere, service as a conference evangelist meant that George Kerby was away from his family for vast stretches of time, travelling as far as California and British Columbia to conduct evangelistic services. Even when closer to home, at that time in Toronto, Kerby and Turk were often away at revivalistic meetings for periods up to a month (e.g., two weeks in St. Mary's followed by two weeks in another small city). As a result, even with correspondence, Emily was required to care for the children and the household.

After a series of appointments in southwestern Ontario (Woodstock, Hamilton, St. Catherines, Brantford and two years in evangelistic service) and Montreal, the Kerbys accepted the call of Central Methodist Church, Calgary, in 1903. Central Methodist Church was the only Methodist Church in Calgary. Because of his prominence as an evangelist and his reputation as a spell-binding preacher, the original Central Methodist Church soon proved to be inadequate to meet the ever-increasing congregation – indeed it is not clear that Rev. Kerby used the old Central Methodist Church for his Sunday services preferring instead the more spacious environment of the Opera House which was usually filled to capacity. A

new church, capable of seating 1,000 persons was completed in 1907. In addition, George Kerby became a central figure in the Calgary volunteer and men's club circles, becoming a charter member of some and a member of others. When in 1910, Calgary Methodists determined to establish a co-educational college, George Kerby was selected as the principal. This created new opportunities for both George and Emily. For her, it expanded her role as a "help-meet," by giving her the added task of "matron" of the College, advisor to the many girls and young women who enrolled as day and residential students, and as an unpaid instructor of some of the junior classes.

During this same period, Emily Spencer Kerby extended her participation in women's clubs and influence among Calgary's women. It was in Calgary that she became a prominent clubwoman, published author, and out-spoken champion of women's rights.

The Equal Franchise

There is limited information on Emily Spencer Kerby's participation in the struggle for the vote for women in Alberta and Canada. The local press identified her as "one of Calgary's pioneer advocates of equal franchise" in a 1916 story on "The Seven Prominent Alberta Women Who Have Worked Hard for the Bestowal of the Franchise on Members of Their Sex." In a story published in 1936 on the Alberta legislature's approval of the woman suffrage legislation Kerby and Alice Jamieson were recognized as the two Alberta women who contributed greatly to the success of the "none-too-smooth" campaign.[12] These women paid tribute to the essential role that the Women's Christian Temperance Union play in the agitation for the vote. Emily reminded *The Calgary Albertan* not to "forget to give the WCTU credit for having been the first to start the agitation," while Alice Jamieson noted that "it was the WCTU who first came to me, as president of the Local Council of Women, to ask if the Council would take over the leadership in this work." The Council proved the idea and Alice Jamieson, Emily Spencer Kerby, who was first vice-president, and Mrs. Fred Langford, also a Calgary court judge, were appointed as a committee to visit Premier Sifton in Edmonton.[13]

In the small and intimate community that comprised Alberta in the first decades of the twentieth century, it is not surprising to learn that these women knew the premier personally. Arthur Sifton, according to Emily,

"had been a life-long friend," so she felt able to "put the matter squarely up to him. She told him that if he wanted to make a name for himself, he had only to give the suffrage to Alberta women, and reminded him Alberta would be the first to have it." Her confidence in the Premier was such that "'I knew Arthur Sifton well enough to know that when he said 'You'll get it,' he meant it."

The rest of the story has been told many times. Sifton argued that the Calgary women should enrol the support of their "rural sisters," a task that Louise McKinney of Claresholm undertook only to be told upon their return that "the moment was not opportune." When the vote was held on 19 April 1916, of the Calgary women only Alice Jamieson was able to attend. She, with Emily Murphy and Nellie McClung, became known as the "Triumphant Trio." Unfortunately for Sifton's place in history, Alberta was the second, not the first, province to enact suffrage for women.

But Emily's status as a leader of reform is not based solely on this one incident. In an undated letter to the editor of the *Calgary Herald* Woman's Page, in the mid-part of the second decade, Kerby disclaimed any interest to participate in the municipal aldermanic campaign or school board elections, but did question the holding of an election costing large sums of money when the city was experiencing financial hardship: "The men who have been handling the affairs . . . ought to be given a chance to work out the problem since they are naturally more conversant with conditions than inexperienced women, no matter how zealous they are, could possibly be." She did look forward to the time "when women will hold office, and . . . believe[d] they will do it creditably, but this is not the time for experimenting, spending valuable time and the people's money in learning how to legislate. I hold that any woman who has time to spend electioneering would put that time to better purpose doing patriotic work." From her perspective, women should have the vote and should have the right to govern. But efficiency and financial propriety were, in a time of war, more important.

The Club Woman

In the obituaries prominently printed in Calgary's daily press, Emily Spencer Kerby's contributions and achievements were highlighted. *The Calgary Albertan* of 4 October 1938 called her a "Pioneer Clubwoman." She was a charter member of the Local Council of Women, the Young

Women's Christian Association, Mount Royal Educational Club, the Women's Civic Organization and the Women's Research Club. In addition, she continued her role as a member of the Central Methodist Church, acting as a class leader, and, during the First World War working "indefatigably" with the Red Cross. She served as the president of the Local Council of Women (1916-1917), first vice-president of the LCW (1915-1916) and the convenor of the LCW's Immigration Committee; as first vice-president of the National Council of Women (1922-24); and as one of the central promoters of the YWCA's Banff hostel.

Many of her companions in the many Calgary women's clubs were, like her, from southern Ontario, Protestant and middle-class. To these women, such attributes and the moral standards that they represented were signs of achievement and progress. With their husbands they had participated in the great march of progress – the industrialization of southern Ontario, the movement of Ontario, British-Protestant values and institutions to the emerging western provinces, and a conviction that the civilization in which they lived represented the highest level of progress of Christian civilization. However much their civilization had progressed, they acknowledged, much remained to be accomplished, as social evil in many forms permeated all cities and towns: prostitution, drink, sabbath desecration and the exploitation of women and children. Recent scholars have questioned the efficacy of the approach of the Anglo-Protestant middle-class women reformers who focused their energies on the reform of existing social institutions, the studying of social problems, and the education of and training of women and children of the lower classes or immigrant populations into the Anglo-Protestant religious and social values. There was little, if any, doubt in the minds of these women about the need for their participation in reform efforts and the value of such efforts for their "clients" and for the nation.

As a member of the Local Council of Women (LCW), Kerby held a variety of posts, including first vice-president, president and convenor of the Committee on Immigration. While her participation in the meetings of the National Council of Women appear not to be too prominent, at least as recorded in the published proceedings of annual conferences, her activities as a member of the LCW brought her into the mainstream of promoting the acquisition of the franchise for women. Rather than focusing on that particular issue, I wish to outline her other activities in the LCW, notably her participation in two issues that confronted the LCW in the early 1920s:

the domestic servant problem and immigration. As other historians have discussed in greater detail, middle-class Canadian women confronted a major problem in obtaining and holding on to domestic servants in the first decades of the twentieth century.[14]

Domestic service, perceived by the middle-class as respectable and safe employment for single women, was rarely attractive to the women whom the middle-class designated for such employment. The problem was the nature of the work – it was tedious, arduous (before the introduction of "labour-saving" devices), poorly paid, and, not infrequently, insecure (from the perspective of job security ad well as safety from sexual overtures). Moreover, domestic servants did not have control over their hours of work and working conditions, and compared to other occupations available to women, especially service in restaurants and secretarial work, offered little opportunity for leisure time. These problems, although not unknown to the middle-class matrons of the LCW, were brought to the attention of the Calgary LCW executive in April 1919 when a Miss Manning spoke on the aims and objectives of the Housekeepers' Association:

> Better recognition of the dignity of housekeeper; Efficiently [*sic*] of help, Shorter hours, Community House, Minimum and Maximum Wages, Uniform for trained workers, etc. An appeal was made . . . t[o] help remedy present conditions on these lines.

Emily Kerby urged the LCW executive to encourage the Housekeepers' Association "to bring in a definite scheme in regard to their society & that when approved by the Council, that we stand behind them & assist them in achieving their desires." After a clause by clause discussion of resolutions presented by the Housekeepers' Association to its meeting of 16 May, the Executive resolved that LCW members "co-operate with the objects" of the Association. Of the three resolutions presented to them by the Housekeepers' Association, the Executive of the Calgary LCW, on motion of Emily Kerby, agreed unanimously with I and II, the third was carried and the last clause was referred "to the girls themselves for settlement up."

> I. To urge upon all employers of domestic help to make it possible for workers to have a certain number of hours daily and that they be per-

> mitted to leave their employers' house for their own homes when they have finished, if they so desire; no reasonable emergency overture ever being refused.
>
> II. That girls be advised to extend their course of domestic training in the schools in order to take up domestic work as a profession.
>
> III. The establishment of a community Home under responsible management to serve as a residence for women and girls engaged in housework both in the city and country.
>
> IV. That a new relationship be established between employer and employee in domestic life and that the Local Council be asked to establish a minimum wage, a standard day's work and proper housing accommodation for all those who live in the employers' house.

This collaboration between the employing class and employees revealed the tensions that existed in the world of management of middle-class homes in Calgary, indeed all Canadian cities, in the first quarter of the twentieth century. It also brings to the fore the restrictive conditions under which the "housekeepers" or household servants worked. It is intriguing that while Kerby participated in these discussions and moved the motion that urged more regularised working conditions, supported the better training of domestic servants in the school system, and the establishment of a safe residence for domestic workers "under responsible management," there is no evidence that she employed domestic servants, although it would not be an unreasonable assumption.

As with many members of the middle-classes, the issue of immigration was one in which Emily Spencer Kerby took great interest. As a member of the Woman's Missionary Society (WMS) of the Methodist Church, a subscriber to the WMS journals, and reader of the *Christian Guardian*, she would have been familiar with the debates in the WMS, the Home Mission Board, and the Church generally about the desirability of immigration into Canada, and particularly western Canada. She would have been familiar with the missions to the Chinese in Calgary and the Crow's Nest Pass region, with the WMS-financed and managed missions to the Ukrainian population north and east of Edmonton,[15] and those to the Scandinavian populations in central Alberta. One might also expect that immigration was a topic discussed in the home with her husband, George

W. Kerby. In period 1919-1923, Emily served as the convenor of the Calgary LCW Immigration Committee. Following the Great War, there was a general distrust of immigrations, especially with the emergence of labour radicalism in Winnipeg and Calgary and the apparent growth of "nationalism" and the influence of "reds" among Eastern European immigrants in the western provinces. The Methodist WMS and Home Mission Board devoted much attention to the apparent lack of conversions to evangelical Protestantism among the Ukrainian population in spite of many years of service of Methodist missionaries, teachers and nurses and doctors among them. In her report to the General Meeting of the LCW on 13 June 1919, Kerby reflected the fears that were common among Anglo-Protestants in Canadian main-line churches. After providing some "figures" on the number of enemy aliens interned during the war and following the war, "many of them, the most undesirable, being shipped home," Emily lamented that Canada was "now paying the penalty for her [unrestricted] immigration policy" of the pre-war era.[16] In January 1922, as the LCW Convenor on Immigration, Kerby claimed that "the greatest problem of today is immigration." Canada was, she stated, "grappling earnestly with the problem of bringing over English-speaking people as the backbone of our settlement." As with the majority of Anglo-Protestants in Canada, Emily and her LCW companions wanted "a common tongue without which we cannot hope to impress Canadian ideals on the people." While it was expected that "any number of settlers will come & good ones too from the States & Scandinavia but we want British blood first." Canada, she argued, did not "want to make the mistake others have and allow foreign settlement all over the country." The fear was, as had been argued in the pre-war era, that many foreign settlers would "become a charge upon the state" and contribute to the growth of crime, especially in urban areas. Again, while Canada had an enviable reputation as a haven and had permitted more immigration than "the rest of the world put together," she feared "the menace of immigrants segregating in our cities and towns." The LCW adopted her report.[17]

Tied in with the issue of immigration was the "The Domestic Problem," that is the lack of domestic help for middle-class homes and the difficulty of obtaining such help from England. On this problem, Emily read a letter from the Honourable J.A. Calder, Minister of the Interior, which stated that, in the immediate post-war period, "domestics could not be sent out . . . on account of shipping space, which is needed to return to

Canada, soldiers, munitions workers, wives and former residents." While this was a reasonable response, the middle-class women of Calgary experienced no relief with the problem of obtaining domestic help. The frustration experienced by Calgary women over the problem of domestic help, in the context of government immigration policy and the "greediness" of central Canadian women, was a regular topic in executive and annual meetings of the Calgary LCW. At the 29 August 1919 meeting, Emily Kerby reported on a meeting with Miss Potts and Miss Girdler who had been sent out by the British Government to investigate emigration opportunities for British women. Emily informed them that "the need of domestic help is still very great" but, while she could not hold out any great hope for Calgary's understaffed homes as "nothing will be done hurriedly in regard to the immigration from the old land," the problem (as with domestic help) would "be closely supervised." Emily's report was followed closely by that of Mrs. Lewis, Convenor of Organization of Women Labour, who "touched on immigration from old country also & spoke of need of domestic help, giving reasons for the scarcity; skilled labour is short. . ." One month later, at its General Meeting of 26 September 1919, Emily informed the Calgary LCW that she had discussed "this question with Colonel Obed Smith" and had gleaned additional information on "bringing out widows with children, to help out in the smaller communities." This scheme was deemed to be a social service to the English women, by providing them with paid employment and their children with safe and healthy environments in which to grow. However much these schemes were designed to assist those in the west, the problem was that these women, "the help from Old Country [are] being snapped up down East as soon as their boats have docked." Since the fare from Montreal to Calgary was $40.60, she urged the LCW and Calgary women to prepay the fares of these women "to secure their coming here" instead of staying in the east.[18] In 1920, the prospects to solve the domestic help problem had improved when large numbers of women from the Old Country were expected. But few came. One reason for the small numbers of British women choosing to be domestic workers in the Canadian west was the competition with eastern Canadian employers. A greater detraction was the unattractiveness of domestic labour as a form of employment. Since it was expected that the restrictions on immigration in 1921 would be "more severe," Calgary women could not expect any immediate relief for the domestic help problem.[19] In the early to mid-1920s the dominion govern-

ment impose restraints on assisted immigration, while encouraging the immigration of independent labourers and farm workers. This Emily reported to the Annual Meeting of the Calgary LCW on 19 January 1923. The restrictions, she noted, "will be reduced likely as times improve."[20]

For the middle-class women of the CLCW, an imperative for the encouragement of women immigrants from Britain was the need for hostels in the city in which the women were destined, as well as stopping off points along the way. Marilyn Barber has demonstrated how, in Winnipeg in this era, the Winnipeg House of Welcome was an attraction for domestic labourers, providing them with a safe, inexpensive and convenient hostel until they secured work in the homes of the middle-classes or in rural households. For the middle-class patrons of these homes, those of the LCWs and the boards of the YWCAs, such homes or hostels were much more than sources of cheap labour. These homes and hostels provided Christian supervision for immigrant women, adult education in the finer skills (e.g., needle point) that were required in their employment, and safe recreation for domestic workers in their leisure hours, as well as serving as employment bureaux for the women and their middle-class patrons. In her report as convenor of Employment of Women for the CLCW, Mrs. Glassford gave her report on the work of the Calgary Woman's Hostel and YWCA. "These places," she stated, "strive to make a home for those without a home. Evening classes have been formed in millinery and dressmaking with competent teachers." To the question of "why encourage women to come here from England?" Emily Kerby replied: "It is a free country and there is no propaganda in England to encourage them to come."

If the encouragement of domestic labourers from England for the homes of the middle-classes and rural homesteads was a high priority for LCW women, other forms of immigration did not necessarily received adequate attention nor were all immigrants considered of the same, attractive vein. One group well-received by the Calgary LCW were the New Hebridean and Dutch settlers in the Red Deer region. In a report to the Calgary LCW, Emily Kerby outlined reasons for to most Protestant middle-class persons could ascribe: These people were of "the fine type of immigrants coming to Canada."[21] LCWs were encouraged by the National Council to "'adopt' these immigrants & try to make them feel at home in a new country. The four Hollanders mentioned in Mrs Kerby's report were adopted, books, magazines etc will be sent them." As for the Hebrideans, "nicely settled near Red Deer" they were "making good citizens" and Mrs.

Kerby reported on the revised immigrant regulations that eliminated most barriers and "any person could come in if they were healthy." Yet, in sympathy with most middle-class reformers, "she was of the opinion their mentality ought to be checked" prior to their entry, to ensure that they would not become charges on the public purse. This view as supported by Mrs. Edwards who "spoke emphatically on the need of the examination being made on the other side of the water, so that the double expense be not incurred, if they are not passed."[22] Thus the Calgary LCW, the women in Calgary, and Emily Kerby in particular reflected the broad opinions of most members of the NCW across Canada.

Constance Lynd

When Emily Spencer began her career as a writer we do not know. It appears that she had begun this side of her intellectual life and social criticism well before her arrival in Calgary, although there are no known examples of her fiction and social comment published prior to 1903. During the 1920s, Emily Spencer Kerby participated as a formative member of the Canadian Authors Guild (CAA),[23] in the Calgary chapter of the CAA, and in the national conference of the CAA held in Banff. While some might not expect the wife of a prominent Methodist clergyman to be an outspoken advocate of women's rights and a critic of the church, a pattern emerged during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries in evangelical churches whereby the wives of ministers became outspoken critics of church policy. In her published and unpublished fiction under the pseudonym of Constance Lynd, Kerby promoted the expansion of women's sphere in society and the church and developed a penetrating critique of the church's and society's (a.k.a. men's) attitudes toward women.

Emily Spencer Kerby wrote some twenty-seven known published articles, manuscripts and letters of opinion (see Appendix I). As Constance Lynd, she criticized those conservative reformers who believed that women should not participate in public affairs. As Constance Lynd, Emily wrote extensively on the place of women in the church. In "Tired of Being a Woman,"[24] Constance Lynd refuted the position of the *New Outlook* and took issue with the Psalmist who said: "'Now I am old, yet I have not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread." In her view, women were "the *seed of the righteous*, equal with man." For many years, she contended, the church had been left women "*begging* for the *bread* of

equality and the freedom of life – or . . . self-determination." In her opinion, while the "Great One said, 'There is neither male nor female,'" the experience of women in the church demonstrated otherwise. "Twenty centuries have passed," she explained, "since these words were spoken; yet today we find discrimination against woman," adding with no irony, women were "the very best of Church workers." She questioned why, "in the discussion of the place of women in the church, should sex enter at all?" With tongue firmly planted in her cheek she asked poignantly, "If she is fit to give birth to *men*, to care for them, train them and to preach, is she not deemed fit to administer the sacrament or marry? If we are morally unfit to administer, then are we not fit to take?" She underscored the belief that not all who were ordained were "fit" to administer the sacraments, noting that "every church has had its misfits, in ministry; there is no 'corner' on such in any denomination and we women have taken the sacrament from these unknowingly." Criticising directly the policy of the United Church not to ordain women, Lynd wrote "Only three places are stilled closed to woman now, she may enter every profession – equally with her brother man. The Senate, the Ministry and the beer parlours. This should surely give the great United Church of Canada food for thought." And, with some humour, she congratulated the Rev. Samuel Rose, D.D., for seeing the light when in the *New Outlook* of 21 December 1928 he wrote, "I would as cheerfully take the sup from the hands of a godly woman as an Archbishop." The United Church, she warned, should take heed. The modern woman, she argued, was not the meek and submissive woman of the tenth century. The "modern twentieth century woman – an educated, reading, thinking woman – [is] a 'not-afraid-to-express-her-opinion-woman,' of the year 1928."

This was not Constance Lynd's first nor last tilt at the archaic ideas of many churchmen. In the *Christian Guardian* of 14 April 1915, Lynd attacked the editorial of 17 March 1915 which did not support women's suffrage in the church. The editor had questioned the hesitancy of the Government of Ontario to support the extension of the municipal franchise to married women, a proposition, in the view of the editor, that was "so eminently reasonable, and so mildly progressive – quite lady-like, you know." The editor, failing to see faults in his argument, then informed the readers of the Guardian that "only argument against it was that it was a step in the direction of woman suffrage," and, hence, attracted the opposition of the liquor interests.[25]

Lynd quickly took up the gauntlet and chastised the editor:

> But . . . you forgot the organized Methodist Church, with its great wealth and wisdom, and its peculiar political methods, [which] last autumn . . . equally opposed to granting woman any position of advancement – viz, equality with her brother – in the Church courts. And when this "interesting debate" in the Ontario Legislature took place, and at which no doubt many of the same good brethren were present, one of the chief arguments used was the fact that the legislative assembly of the great Methodist Church considered its women *non-compasmentas*. So I don't think the Church need put it over on the liquor traffic; they are simply hand in hand – good, jolly brothers, you know. "A common cause makes brothers of us all."[26]

The church bureaucracy soon learned that Constance Lynd quickly turned their comments about the inadequacy of movement on the suffrage question in the public sphere to one that pressured the church – Methodist and United – to understand its conservative tradition.

When the issue of ordination was first raised during the mid-1920s – church union had been promised as a means to overcome the intransigence of the older churches – Constance Lynd took issue with articles by the Rev. E. Thomas, D.D., published in *Chatelaine*. In this debate, Lynd's article, "Grist," laid the issues bare: "Why is it? and How is it? and What is the reason? That woman who has the most to do with bringing human beings into this world; man's part in it a mere incident, that when it comes to any recognition of that mother, in ceremonies where she should have the greatest recognition, her place is conspicuous by her absence?" The issue, if any could ignore it, was the incongruence between the traditionally-stated influence and responsibilities of the woman, as mother, and those accorded to her in the ceremonies of the church.

> [S]he is the one who first teaches the infant lips to lisp the name of Jesus; she it is who first endeavours to set the tiny feet in the right paths – yet when it comes to that day when these same children are of an age to be taken into the church – only men stand at the altar, to receive them. No kindly face of motherly woman greets with outstretched hands to welcome them into the church, and to encourage them in the way she has sought to lead them."[27]

The message to children was clear: "'Men only' is written here."[28] The extension of this argument, she asserted in a letter to the *Christian Guardian*, is that women are "Of no use to the world." In this letter, she questioned the reasons outlined in the *Christian Guardian* that the Methodist Church no longer met "the Needs of the Day." In the same way as the Methodist farm implements firm, Massey-Harris, would not send out a reaper and binder advertised in the local press as "not being of any use to do the work," why did the Methodist Church undermine the position of its pillars of strength, women, by arguing that they could not fulfil any real service to the Church, especially in the pulpit. "It's time," she asserted, that "we had a different viewpoint." She did not wonder that "the Church is not succeeding" among the youth, by advertising that it was not successful because of the dominant role of women in the church. "Youth loves to be identified with success," she noted. "What young man is going to join such a Church?" The Methodist Church "had better shut her doors or else change her policy." Since its ministers must

> be *men of strength* – fearless; men who do turn their "barrel of sermons upside down," on arriving at a new destination, but burn them, if need be, and give the men and women (oh, but I forgot, we do not count) a message for today. Don't preach about "Sitting and singing themselves away to everlasting bliss"; preach work, action, manhood to the men, and then, by way of diversion, "femininity" to the women.[29]

Undermining Dr. Thomas' position on the ordination of women for the ministry and his view on allowing women to administer the sacrament, she did so with characteristic humour and sharpness. The only argument that Thomas was able to muster that by admitting women to such privileges the effect on men would be unmeasurably bad. Why? Well, in Lynd's view, "Women may serve at teas and dinners, and work themselves to death, often after a hard day's work in their homes – but when it comes to welcoming into the church, perhaps the very children to whom they have given birth, and passed almost through the valley of death that they might live, she is left out." The question, according to Lynd, both in this article and elsewhere, was that women, if not to administer the sacrament, were then not fit to receive the sacrament. From her perspective, the male leaders of the church suffered from the old scriptural adage "Eyes have

they, but they see not." To Lynd, who had "many a time . . . seen the admitting of members into the church, but never till this morning did . . . the question come as if a voice were speaking, and asking, 'Isn't it strange? Isn't it strange?' that women never were those administering the sacraments." The answer was obvious. Women should be provided with the same privileges as men in the church, for "'There is neither male nor female' in the sight of God." And, for the fear expressed by Thomas that women in the pulpit would be disruptive to men in the congregation – "that they fear the power of an attractive woman, for the men," she countered,

> If so, then get the homeliest ones you can find, for the job – but get them, and do justice to our women . . . I beg of the Great church of Canada, the United Church of Canada, to do justice to its womanhood, and so shall cease the ringing question of Sunday:
>
> Isn't it strange? Isn't it strange?
> That men will not see
> Our women have rights as well as he?
> Do they know that
> The God who made man
> Is the same father of womankind?
> Why heed they not the words of Christ
> There neither is male or female here
> But all are equal in His dear sight.
>
> Is it through jealousy, dear, or thoughtlessness, that shuts these doors in our women's face? Men of our church awake, to the opportunities, of leadership in this matter & Let Justice prevail.[30]

For Emily Spencer Kerby, the "New Day for Woman" would not arrive until men cast off their old ideas about what was the place of women in society and in the church. To Emily, the proper sphere of women was everywhere and not just in the home. When she had as much a right as men to be in the sportsfield and she ridiculed the idea that woman "should be satisfied with the sport of the dishpan, and the corn broom. Chasing dirt was more religious for her than chasing a ball over the field in God's great open air. 'Men only' was written here." Moreover she mocked those in the churches who, when rooms were set aside and furnished for sports and recreation allowed girls "one night a week to play in the recreation rooms,

under the instruction of a man mark you, a man to teach them to play. All the pious male saints of the same church went off their bases because of the atrocity of a 'man' seeing girls in gymnasium bloomers . . ."[31] And she decried the attitude of the many men within the church who argued that a "Read Revival Needed," citing one man who wrote that "He has no use for liquor, women or tobacco, of any of the things that demoralize society." Emily Kerby "utterly refuse[d] to have womanhood put on the same basis as liquor and tobacco. Women are not 'things' that demoralize society, they are not 'things' at all, but beings who do more for the uplift or the race than all manhood." From her perspective it was not women, tobacco and liquor that were inextricably intertwined but "men and liquor and tobacco are so inextricably bound together, it is almost impossible to detach the man." And, if such a statement were made in a public forum, she argued, "men would think we were crazy, and yet it is far more appropriate than what was said by a man. Yes, we need a revival, a revival that will not make the name of womankind a byword or a jest." She emphasized further that

> Woman is a human being, endowed with capabilities as great as man, but she has never had a chance. Men have told women for centuries just what they are, what they must be and do. They must be ignorant to please the men. But God came to our rescue in the way of education, and the revival is upon us. Educated womanhood is asserting her right to a place in the sun. Can someone tell me WHY men think God made the world for the male half (or less than half) of his creation? It is the most utter case of egotism imaginable.[32]

Fiction and op-ed as a means for moral education

In Canadian literature, fiction has often served as a medium for moral education. The novels of Janey Canuck, Emily Murphy, Nellie McClung and Ralph Connor are examples of social gospel/social reform literature that carried explicit moral as well as social reform messages. Emily Spencer Kerby used not the novel but the short story and op-ed as media for moral education. While her letters to the editor and her op-ed articles were fashioned as responses to outrageous positions of prominent men within the Methodist/United Church and the public, they also portrayed in a favourable light women's roles in society. Her short stories

complemented her public arguments on women's roles in society but they remained within the mould of early twentieth-century moral literature for youth and young adults. A brief analysis of some of her published and manuscript articles demonstrates clearly that, in the fashion of the period, she employed the short story and op-ed as a media to educate young women and young men on the pitfalls of straying from the strait and narrow path of virtue while, at the same time and within the context of maternal feminism, promoting the equality of women.

In "Grandmother's Bonnet" (ca. 1922), Constance Lynd castigated the ways in which the church undervalued women by placing on them conditions of behaviour that were clearly discriminatory and would not be applicable to men. This "fictional" account focused on "a little old-fashioned bonnet, with a bit of ribbon on it, and a tiny rose-bud peeping from under folds." The story, with many biblical references and permeated with contempt for the practices of the "old" church and the Methodist Church in the 1920s, related how a young woman, newly married, in a Methodist congregation, one day on the way to the quarterly service with her husband, had been denied entrance to the church because of the rose-bud in her bonnet. Such action turned the husband completely against the church, although for the sake of the children the wife and mother had "set good example to her children. Mothers are usually so much more careful of this than fathers." One moral question for the readers was, while the "rose-bud" had kept the father, who was a loving husband and father and a religious man, out of the "church Militant, did it keep him out of the church Triumphant?" Within the manuscript of this story, at times a confusingly organised manuscript, Lynd complained of the church's concern for outward rather than inward "dress," the church's concern for the dress of women, and the tradition, before the individual communion cups, of "old men, with long mustache and whiskers . . . (often coloured with tobacco)" being served communion before the women. She questioned directly "why all things men wanted to do were never taboo religiously, but all sorts of restrictions were placed upon the things that girls and women wanted to do."

Lynd's critique of the church's contradictory approach to women's morals (women as paragons of virtue and as the source of moral evil – as harlots) by focusing on the negative view of the morals of women as reflected in their dress was reiterated in other fiction, articles and manuscripts: "A Man's World and A Man's Heaven or Do Women Really

Count?"; "Ladies – The Bachelors and Birth Control"; "Men-Women-Dress-Morals"; and "Man, Woman and Freedom." In "Man, Woman and Freedom" Lynd chastised men who endeavoured to shove "women gently but firmly back into the home." Men had exploited women and women's labour constantly and, as a result of the Great War and the Depression, by 1935 had made a "pretty mess" of the world. Since women had gained greater access to education in the previous fifty years and had secured "her rightful place in the world as a person, as a citizen and received the franchise," women's place was in the world *and* in the home. Men, too, had equal responsibilities in the home and for the education of children. Women's achievements in the world of business, that is obtaining a small foothold after demonstrating her capacity to do all mens work in the period of the Great War, in Lynd's view, had contributed "good [for] the human race in America and for the child from babyhood to maturity than ever since the man's regime began." As with other feminists of the period, Lynd's view, reiterated in "Shall Married Women Work?" rejected men's opinion that women were "quite inferior to men: a woman had no brains, no ability as to judgment; her one and only safety was in her instinct, so the men said, and woman was thankful for that. She had no soul . . ." Lynd and her feminist colleagues rejected the position of many men in the 1930s, many of whom were out-of-work or who were businessmen and politicians, and some women who demanded that "if one of these emancipated women should inadvertently marry, she must be compelled by act of law to throw all her achievements aside, and undertake the eternal round of bake, wash, iron, scrub and meals three times a day, whether she is fitted for it or not. [But] men do not demand this of men, if they marry a wealthy woman . . ." She advocated and dreamed for the day when employers, and society more specifically, "will choose the woman who best can do the work assigned . . . whether she is married of not."

It was the "double standard" that men imposed on women that truly irked Constance Lynd in her fiction and in her op-ed pieces. In "Men-Women-Dress-Morals," Lynd attacked vigorously men's "scathing indictment of woman, her dress, etc., as a temptation to men." Contemptuously she opined, if man "is the stronger sex, then it is time he got out of his swaddling clothes and become what he professes to be – the protector of womanhood, not its destroyer." She attacked the double standard arguing that "until fathers are as insistent as mothers regarding the clean-mindedness of their boys, as the mothers are of their girls, we shall utterly

fail in producing a clean race." As for dress, "let men clean up their minds." Women, she stated, never complain of their "temptation" because men wore "tight suits and exposed the masculine form." Women's morals, evidently, were much higher than those of men. Women were in "the forefront of battle for a 'white life for two.'" Men, therefore, should "let us alone and [turn] their attention to cleaning up their own backyards."

The "double standard" always had ill-effects for the woman and rarely for the man. In "Margaret Halstead," Lynd related the age-old story of a Christian girl who fell in love with a handsome cad who, after a promise of marriage and some drinks of champagne, seduced and left her. The child, of course, died. Margaret Halstead struggled to regain her respect by earning a living as a nurse but was recognised and unceremoniously dismissed from her employment. While Margaret suffered, young Dickie Thorton, the cad, carried on and prospered. "How could men make and sell poison so destructive? Why," Lynd pondered, "did not Christian men remove the temptation from the young?" Men instead seemed to encourage such behaviour among young men.

Occasionally Christian men did respond and cads did suffer. Women always suffered more greatly than did men – the moral, societal and health impact of transgressions, even those forced on women, was usually more severe on women than on men. In "The Boomerang," Lynd tells the story of a confident young man who, using the exciting new automobile technology, would often entice young women to go on a tour of the city lights and country sites, ending at a secluded spot some distance from the city. At the threat of leaving them if they had not yielded and letting them walk to the city, he would have his way. One young, Christian woman did not yield and walked throughout the night to her home and work. The employer, learning of the incident, fired the young man! One must wonder about the many other women who had not the moral stamina to refuse the threat of this young man.

These fictional accounts do, as expected, conform to some typical patterns. In the literature of the period, "sin" was usually accompanied, for women, by dire consequences – social outcast, disease, poverty and death. The men in these stories often did not suffer the same consequences as did the women. Moreover, the fiction also rewarded the virtuous.

In all of her writings, whether letters to the editor, opinion pieces and fiction published on the women's pages of the *Calgary Herald*, *The Albertan*, *Chatelaine* or *Maple Leaf*, the official organ of the Women's

Canadian Clubs, Emily Spencer Kerby or Constance Lynd, strongly promoted the expansion of women's proper sphere – that is, in all professions and positions in the Church and in Canadian society. She chided those in the Methodist and United Church and Canadian society who refused to extend to women rights and privileges equivalent to those held by men. For Emily Spencer Kerby, the question the Methodist and United Church and Canadian society had to answer was, "Do women really count?" She knew the correct answer. She was less certain that the Methodist and United Church's male hierarchy and Canadian men could bring themselves to embracing women as equal partners in the governance of the church, its mission and in Canadian society.

Endnotes

1. Valerie J. Korinek, "'No Women Need Apply': The Ordination of Women in the United Church, 1918-1965," *Canadian Historical Review* LXXIV, No. 4 (December 1993): 473-510; and Carol L. Hancock, "Nellie L. McClung: A part of a pattern," in *Prairie Spirit: Perspectives on the Heritage of the United Church of Canada in the West*, eds. D.L. Butcher, et al (Winnipeg: Univ. of Manitoba Press, 1985), 212-215.

2. Korinek identified "Constance Lynd of Calgary" as a "woman outraged by the sexist articles before council" and by the misogynist arguments of the Rev. Ernst Thomas in *Chatelaine* in the late 1920s. As the other women identified by Korinek were either prominent women in the church and/or the Canadian feminist movement, it is curious that more was mentioned of Constance Lynd ("The ordination of women in the United Church").

3. For detailed information on G.W. Kerby see Michael Owen, "Rev. Dr. George W. Kerby: Evangelist for the Home and School," *Alberta Journal of Educational Research* XXXIX, No. 4 (December 1993): 477-493; and Michael Owen, "'By contact and by contagion': George W. Kerby, 1860-1944," *Vitae Scholasticae* 10, No. 1 & 2 (Spring/Fall 1991): 131-157.

4. Catherine Lyle Cleverdon, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1950), 46-66.

5. See Nanci Langford, "'All That Glitters': The political apprenticeship of Alberta women, 1916-1930," in *Standing on New Ground: Women in Alberta*, eds. C.A. Cavanaugh and Randi R. Warne (Edmonton: Univ. of Alberta Press, 1993), 71-85.

6. Newspaper clipping, ca. 9 April 1936, in Provincial Archives of Alberta (hereafter PAA), 75.387.

7. "Twenty years ago Sunday Assent was given Woman Suffrage bill in Alberta," *The Calgary Albertan*, 19 April 1936.

8. Clipping from PAA, 75.387, United Church of Canada, Box 18-, George W. Kerby Papers. See "The Seven Prominent Alberta Women Who Have Worked Hard for the Bestowal of the Franchise on Members of Their Sex," *The Calgary Albertan*, n.d.

   The "Seven Prominent Alberta Women" and their affiliations were Mrs. G.W. (E.S.) Kerby (Calgary pioneer advocate of equal franchise), Mrs. Arthur (Emily) Murphy (Janey Canuck (devoted much of her time to the suffrage cause), Mrs. E.P. Newhall (Honourary president of the Consumers' League), Mrs R.R. Jamieson (President of the Local Council of Women, Calgary), Mrs. P.S. Woodhall (First provincial president of the Franchise Union of the WCTU), Mrs. W.M. Davidson (played a prominent part in the suffrage campaign in Calgary), and Mrs. Nellie L. McClung (author).

9. "For 20 years Mrs. Kerby has been working in the west for the betterment of conditions as they affect women. The legal inequalities first aroused her interest and support for the pioneer women. She was a member of the board which built the first YWCA in Alberta, at Calgary, and is still actively engaged in the work in connection with the YWCA institutions at Banff and Lake Louise, where girls may be accommodated at reasonable cost while enjoying the beauties of the Rocky Mountains. For many years she has been an officer of the Local Council of Women at Calgary, and finally president, working all the time for the enfranchisement of women. Mrs Kerby is now third vice-president of the National council, and also a member of the Canadian Authors' association, having been the author of several works of fiction as well as articles of a serious nature. Her home is in Calgary" (PAA, 75.387, UCC Box 8-, G.W. Kerby Papers, Scrapbook Newspaper clipping).

10. See Korinek, "The ordination of women in the United Church," 489-450.

11. A search of quarterly board reports and reports of the annual conference did not reveal the identity of the summer placements of George W. Kerby in this period.

12. "Twenty Years Ago Sunday Assent was given Woman Suffrage Bill in Alberta," *The Calgary Albertan*, 18 April 1936.

13. See N.S. Griffiths, *The Splendid Vision: Centennial History of the National Council of Women, 1893-1993* (Ottawa: Carleton Univ. Press, 1993), 131.

14. See, for example, Marilyn Barber, "The servant problem in Manitoba, 1896-1930," in *First Days, Fighting Days: Women in Manitoba History*, ed. Mary Kinnear (Regina: Canadian Plains research Center, 1987), 100-119.

15. See Michael Owen, "'Lighting the pathways for New Canadians': Methodist and United Church WMS missions in Eastern Alberta, 1904-1940," in *Standing on New Ground: Women in Alberta*, 1-18.

16. Glenbow-Alberta Institute (GAI), Calgary Local Council of Women Papers (CLCW), Minutes 1919-1924, M5841, Box 4, File 24.

17. GAI, M1703, Box 3, File 24(i), [Minute Book 1922-1924], 20 January 1922.

GAI, M1703, Box 3, File 24(i), CLCW, Executive Meeting, 21 May 1920.

19. "Out of 10,000 expected, 2,274 arrived. Of this number 465 came with the intention of doing house work, 4 came to Alberta, they were 'spoken for or snatched up' as soon as they disembarked" (GAI, M1703, Box 3, File 24(i), CLCW, 9th Annual Meeting, 20 January 1921).

20. "Mrs. Kerby . . . in her report stated that there was a decrease in Immigrants this year. The cause of this is chiefly due to greater restrictions put upon the land. The door is absolutely closed to those who have no money to tide them over when out of work" (GAI, M1703, Box 3, File 24(i), CLCW, Annual Meeting, 19 January 1923).

21. GAI, M1703, Box 3, File 24(i), 18 May 1923, General Meeting of the Calgary LCW.

22. GAI, M1703, Box 3, File 24(i), Executive Committee, 16 November 1923.

23. With other prominent western Canadian writers including Emily Murphy, Nellie McClung and husband George.

24. *New Outlook*, 29 December 1928.

25. *The Christian Guardian*, 17 March 1915.

26. "No Votes for Married Women," *Christian Guardian*, 14 April 1915.

27. "Grist," PAA 75.387/6028, UCC Box 181.

28. "Grist," PAA 75.387/6028, UCC Box 181; and Elizabeth Jones (ES Kerby), "New Day for Woman," clipping.

29. Letter to editor, "Of no use to the world," *Christian Guardian*, n.d.

30. "Grist."

31. Elizabeth Jones (E.S. Kerby), "New Day for Woman."

32. "A Defence of the Capability and Dignity of Women by A Human Being and A Woman," *Calgary Herald*, Woman's Page, n.d., 6.

Appendix 1: Publications and Manuscripts of Emily Spencer Kerby (a.k.a. Constance Lynd)

"Grist"
"What Women have done, Women can do"
"Pluck"
"Men, Women and Freedom"
"Tired of Being a Woman" (published 29 December 1928)
"Grandmother's Bonnet," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 3 June 1922
"How the First Bank Came"
"Hurrah for the Sugar Bush"
"Telling Cinderella's Fortune"
"The United Empire Loyalists – Who are they?"
"The Sterilization Act of Alberta" (rejected by *The Times London*)
"The Passing of the Servant in the Home," *The Westminster*, n.d.
"The New Day for Woman"
"A Triumph for Womanhood"
"Margaret Halstead"
"Ladies – The Bachelors and Birth Control"
"Man, Woman and Freedom," *The Arrow*, December 1935, 3, 17
"Knew the Old Time West in the Rough and Ready Days When Pollinger and His Coach Provided the Transportation, *Calgary Daily Herald*, 10 May 1924
"Of no use to the world," Letter to editor of *Christian Guardian*, n.d.
"Men Women Dress and Morals," *Woman's Century*, n.d.
"Calgary Women's Practical Work, *The Maple Leaf*, February 1925, 28-9
"Women and the Club Idea: Woman's Canadian Club extends Welcome to Foreign Born Citizens," *Morning Albertan*, Calgary, 27 June 1913; see also *Calgary News-Telegram*, 27 June 1913
"Women and Our Church Courts," *Christian Guardian*, 28 October 1914
"New Day for Woman"
E.S. Kerby to Editor, *Calgary Herald*, Woman's Page
"A Defence of the Capability and Dignity of Women by A Human Being and A Woman," *Calgary Herald*, Woman's Page, n.d., 6
"No Votes for Married Women," *Christian Guardian*, 14 April 1915
"Attacks Sermon of the Rev. A.J. Clark"
"Women's Dress"
"First Bank Came to Yukon," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 23 December 1922, 7.
"A Woman Objects," *The Calgary Albertan*, n.d.
"The Unwritten Law," *The Calgary Albertan*, n.d.
"Women and the Ministry, Constance Lynd Replies to Dr. Ernest Thomas," *The Outlook*, 7 November 1928
"The Way of Income Tax: A Story for Married People," *The Expositor*, 11 March 1922
"Shall Married Women Work?"
"Emil's First Christmas in Canada," *Onward*, 21 December 1929
"Calgary's Churches have Developed with Inspiring Rapidity"

Revolution From Above: Women and the Priesthood in Canadian Anglicanism, 1968-1978

WENDY FLETCHER-MARSH

On 30 November 1976 the Anglican Church of Canada ordained women to the priesthood for the first time in its history. With that action, it became one of the first churches in the Anglican Communion to welcome women into that dimension of the three-fold order of the church's ministry. By that action, the Anglican Church of Canada participated in an effectual revolution which has been changing the forms of ministry within Protestantism since the mid-nineteenth century.

The decision-making process by which the Canadian Anglicans chose to adopt the ordination of women to the priesthood was a comparatively brief following on the decision to ordain women as deacons in 1969. An examination of this relatively short decision-making process demonstrates that the Anglican Church of Canada experienced a revolution from above on this issue. More specifically, the initiative which influenced the direction of the ultimate course of action in this arena came from the upper levels of the church's hierarchical structure namely the episcopacy.

Twentieth-century Italian philosopher, Antonio Gramsci, developed a theory of revolution which applies in this case. He argued that in any revolution there is an intellectual elite which leads the mass of the population forward to the next stage of its historical evolution. An historic bloc is only successfully formed out of the revolution when the "organic intellectuals" are able to lead the people to a place where they are willing to go. In other words, the successful leader has a vision with which he/she will take his/her people into the future which is simultaneously visionary and

grounded in the passion and experience of the people. No historic bloc can be successfully maintained without a certain amount of consensus. Extensive use of force or coercion will not hold the new social forms together effectively for any length of time. Ultimately people will rebel against forces which require that they live in a way that they do no want to live.[1]

While the ordination of women represents a 'revolution' in an institutional and thereby limited sense, the concept of the intellectual which Gramsci articulated is illuminating. The Primate (titular head of the church) and the House of Bishops (college of those in episcopal office) formed an intellectual leadership which took the church into a new era. The ordination represented a radical break with preceding Christian tradition. That movement forward would not have been successful if it had not been sufficiently grounded in the passion and experience of the church to form a historic bloc. In other words, the actual ordinations of women did not precipitate a revolt or an irreparable schism. They have become an accepted part of everyday in the Anglican Church of Canada.

The bishops, the clergy and the laity of the church were the three primary players in this process of decision-making and revolution; an analysis of their respective roles and contributions to the debates will illuminate the primary thesis. The extent to which the movement toward the actualization of the ordination of women was episcopally led and grassroots supported is revealed in voting patterns at General Synods (the church's national policy making body), as well as the actions of each group between meetings of the Synod.

Before specific analysis of the Canadian case can be undertaken some reference must be made to the container in which the Canadian process unfolded. This is particularly true as the Anglican Communion provided the impetus for debate of this issue in the Canadian church.

Anglicanism began as a distinct denominational grouping during the time of the Reformation. By 1535 the Christian church in England had formally separated from its Roman origin and had given birth to the Church of England. Through the activity of British imperialism and colonization from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, the Church of England became the mother of what is now identified as the Anglican Communion. As of 1995 this is a group of 29 distinct provincial churches, of which the Anglican Church of Canada is a member.

This group of related churches has referred to itself as the Anglican Communion since the late-nineteenth century; however, defining an Angli-

can identity is not a clear-cut task. The provinces of the Communion agree to live in relationship with each other but are not bound by common doctrine of practice. This spirit of unity in diversity has been extremely important with regard to the ordination of women issue as it has allowed each province to make a decision for itself without any being bound by the conscience of any other.

Although diversity is perhaps the most distinctive Anglican characteristic at this point in the Communion's history, there are common points of reference which have served as a focus for unity. Among these the periodic Lambeth Conferences and the Anglican Consultative Council (ACC) have demonstrated considerable unifying power. The Lambeth Conferences and the work of the ACC are of particular relevance in reference to the ordination of women.

The Lambeth Conference has brought together bishops of the Anglican Communion approximately once a decade since 1867 (1867, 1878, 1888, 1897, 1908, 1920, 1930, 1948, 1958, 1968, 1978, 1988). These conferences have evolved over the years into a forum for dialogue. While it does pass resolutions, these are not binding, and each province retains the right to respond to them, interpret them or implement them in any way that it chooses.

It was the initiative of the Lambeth Conference of 1968 which put the ordination of women both to the priesthood and to the diaconate on the agenda of the Anglican Church of Canada. While the topic may have arisen as an informal topic for conversation and debate prior to 1968 it was never raised within the decision-making bodies of the church. It was only when the Lambeth Conference of 1968 agreed that women should be accepted into the holy order of deacon that Canadians moved on the issue; it was only when Lambeth asked that each provincial church address the issue of the ordination of women to the priesthood and report its views to the newly formed ACC scheduled to meet in Limuru in 1971 that Canadian Anglicans formally instituted a process of debate and decision-making.[2] The impetus for discussion came from beyond the national boundaries of the Canadian church.

By the meeting of the ACC in 1971 the Canadians and most other provinces had not completed their internal discussions sufficiently to furnish a recommendation on the issue. As such, the ACC, which was a consultative body only, passed two resolutions. One encouraged all members to initiate or continue discussion on the matter. The second

resolution was more specific in content responding to a request for direction from the Bishop of Hong Kong, Gilbert Baker; it stated that any bishop moving forward on the issue with the approval of his synod and province would be acceptable to the ACC. All provinces were encouraged to remain in communion with one another regardless of the independent actions of some.[3] Soon after the ACC meeting Bishop Baker of Hong Kong ordained two women to the priesthood. When Canada followed that example in 1976 it was the second province in the Communion to pursue such a course.

Back in Canada, the discussion of the ordination of women to the presbyterate had only just begun by 1971. Conversations were carried on in parallel streams.

When the Canadian bishops returned from Lambeth 1968 they asked that the Commission on Women (responsible for overseeing issues related to women's ministry) to begin discussion on the topic. At the request of this body the then Primate, convened a task force to examine formally the issue and make a report to the General Synod of 1971.

The task force convened by the Primate was formed in keeping with the General Synod practice of using regional committees to work on issues for the national church. A group in the Diocese of Nova Scotia was asked to be the task force on the ordination of women to the priesthood. The appointed group was a diocesan committee on women's ministry which was then asked to focus its group's work on the ordination of women. The group comprised of both clergy and laity was unable to complete its report for the General Synod of 1971, but by 1972 had prepared a report which was then received by the Synod in 1973. The report was comprised of two separate parts, a *Majority Report* and a *Minority Report*. At the conclusion of its work the task force found itself divided on the issue – six members were in favour of the ordination of women and one member was ardently opposed. As such, the task force agreed to present both views represented in the committee.[4]

At the General Synod in 1973, clergy, laity and bishops had an opportunity to discuss the reports of the task force, which they had received up to a year earlier. Eventually, a resolution coming out of the work of the Commission on Women was put by Miss Ruth Scott, former principal of the Anglican Women's Training college and Bishop David Somerville of the Diocese of New Westminster, "That this Synod accept the principal of the ordination of women to the priesthood and this decision be communi-

cated to the ACC." Before the vote was taken it was agreed that voting would be by houses, or in groups of laity, clergy and episcopacy.[5]

Before the Synod voted a motion was made to refer any decision on the matter until after the opinions of dioceses and the synods had been polled. This motion to refer was defeated and as such it was determined that leadership on the issue would be given at the national level rather than at the local level.[6] Ultimately the Synod passed a motion which accepted the ordination of women to the priesthood in principle but referred the matter back to the House of Bishops for final discussion and implementation.[7]

While there was positive sentiment on this issue in the General Synod, it was clear that the Synod felt that any action of the question must come from the episcopal leadership of the church after further discussion. The question of whether or not Canada would actually move to ordain women was thus placed back into the hands of the bishops.

What was the role of the House of Bishops on this issue up to 1973 and beyond? Between 1968 and 1973 the House of Bishops was fairly quiet on the topic of women and the presbyterate. The new Primate Edward Scott asked a committee within the House of Bishops to study the topic in conjunction with the Task Force. As such, the Committee on the Wider Ordained Ministry led discussion and debate within the House, in the context of other issues of ministry, both lay and ordained.[8] We do not hear a strong united voice emerging from the House as a group in the early stages of debate. However, one must look at personalities involved and their particular views to gain insight into the role of the bishops throughout this period.

In 1971 Edward Scott was elected Primate of the Anglican Church of Canada. The Primate of all Canada is the titular head of the church. His powers in essence parallel those of a diocesan bishop. He is an Archbishop who has the chief pastoral responsibility for the care of the clergy and laity of the church. He has the power to ordain but has no specific jurisdiction within which to act without invitation by other diocesan bishops. In other words, he is a bishop without an actual diocese. In a sense the whole church is his pastoral charge but he has no power to act or direct dioceses – that is the responsibility of each individual diocesan bishop. By his election the church invests him with a certain authority to offer spiritual direction and leadership in the areas of policy and vision for the church.[9] Whatever influence he has will be determined by the extent to which he is

able to gather support for his actions from other segments of the ecclesiastical structure. In other words, his power is persuasive rather than legislative.

Scott and several other influential bishops in the House were strongly in favour of the ordination of women to the three-fold order of ministry. They stated that conviction from the early 1970s onward. Prior to Scott's election in 1971, there was little activity on the ordination of women in the House of Bishops. At Scott's initiative it was a regular agenda item after 1971.

While Scott did not want to force the church in a direction that it could not go, he felt strongly that adopting the ordination of women was the direction in which it should go. As such, Scott supported the idea when it came up for discussion in various places. This can be seen clearly in his interaction with dioceses. The Primate visited virtually all of the dioceses at some point during the period when this issue was under discussion. When he was specifically asked to address the issue, he offered support for it along with a pastoral and supportive overture toward those who felt that they could not accept the ordination of women. Synod journals indicate that he did not initiate discussion on the topic. Many times he visited diocesan synods and if the synod did not raise the issue, then neither did he.[10] His interaction throughout was that of a diplomat struggling to convey empathy for both sides of the argument while articulating his own position gently. He did not attempt to change the mind of a synod which was heading in a direction contrary to his own conscience.

The Primate is the senior member of the House of Bishops. As such his power and influence in that body is primarily that of *primus inter pares*. There is virtually no written record of the comments which Scott made in the House of Bishops. There is no record of the part which he played in the deliberations of the House. However, his brother bishops readily noted that he actively lobbied for women's ordination. By their admission and his own, he always worked for a common ground of understanding. The continued unity of the House was always tantamount in his approach to this subject and others. Many commented that the debates in the House were carried on with a great deal of good natured humour and very little anger.[11]

What we see here is a quintessential Canadian approach to leadership and diplomacy. As the titular head of the church he was committed both to promoting the ordination of women to the presbyterate and to

maintaining unity within his national province and in the larger Anglican Communion in the controversy surrounding discussion of this subject. His colleagues both here and abroad noted his skills in diplomacy as highly influential, and indeed there is documentary evidence of his skill in this area (as will be seen later in a discussion of the clergy "Manifesto"). Ultimately the two things which he had worked towards were achieved – women were ordained and the unity of the church was maintained.

It is only in light of this leadership that the role of the House of Bishops in this matter can be understood. Together with Scott, many members of the House formed the intellectual leadership which chose and implemented change in this area

The General Synod of 1973 had asked dioceses to begin discussing the ordination of women in their own synods, while the House of Bishops considered the matter. The most illuminating record available of the role of episcopal leadership in the big picture is found by tracking the diocesan decision-making processes. At the diocesan level the influence of episcopal leadership is most clear. Episcopal leadership appears to have been the single most determinative factor in the positions adopted within dioceses.

A breakdown of the thirty dioceses of the Anglican Church of Canada shows that there are diverse responses to decision-making on this issue. The thirty dioceses dealt with the issue in ten different ways. The pattern of response indicates a direct correlation between diocesan bishops and the attitude of the synods.

In the largest category both bishop and synod were in favour of the issue. There was mutual opposition in only one diocese. In six dioceses both bishop and synod expressed no conclusive opinion on the matter. As such, a direct parallel between the bishop and the synod can be drawn in 16 out of 30 cases. While this represents only slightly more than 50%, the number of cases where there was direct conflict was much smaller. In two dioceses the synods voted against the position of their bishops and voted in favour of the ordination of women. In one diocese the synod voted against the direction of its bishop and in so doing voted against the ordination of women. These cases of direct opposition by the synod to the episcopal initiative comprise only 10% of the total. There were three dioceses which made a decision (one pro and two con) when the bishops gave no clear leadership. This represents another 10% of the total number of dioceses.

The grey area consists of those dioceses with a bishop who made his opinion known but who never invited the synod to comment on the issue in any way – this involved six dioceses or 20% of the cases. However, the fact that no one in those dioceses ventured to raise the topic on their own initiative lends further credibility to the point. 20% of the church's population by diocese was content to let the episcopal leadership decide of its own volition which course would be taken on the matter without offering any comment one way or another.[12] The diversity in approach and method for handling this issue in each diocese and by each bishop makes a clear statement. It demonstrates that there was clearly a 'hands off' approach taken by the national level of the church. After the General Synod expressed its opinion in 1973, the jurisdiction of diocesan bishops and dioceses to choose a course of action independently from the course selected by the national church was respected.

This finding demonstrated the reality of the "unity in diversity" approach to ecclesiastical life which has been prominent in the Anglican *mentalite* from the inception of the Communion. The fact that every diocese in the Anglican Church of Canada has ordained women to the priesthood since 1976 (the last in 1991) demonstrates the strength of this approach – the church came to a common decision in its own time and in its own way without division as the predominant motif. It further strengthens the theory of a revolution from above; in each case where a bishop or diocese opposed the ordination of women, women were not ordained in that diocese until the election and installation of a new bishop with a different view point on the subject.[13]

Diocesan bishops pursued independent courses of action in their own dioceses. However, at the national level they worked as a group to formulate a national direction. As the above material indicates, some bishops opposed the ordination of women while others supported it. However, they were able in the context of the House to formulate a common direction which allowed for dissent. It was that common direction which defined the future of the church.

In the formulation of that direction for the future, the House of Bishops did not claim absolute jurisdiction for themselves, as they might have by the parameters of the Constitutional process. In the first instance, a bishop by virtue of his or her orders has the sole right of ordination without limitation or the possibility of delegation; a bishop may ordain whomever he or she chooses. However, through consent in the formation

of diocesan, provincial and General Synod, bishops agreed to work within a synodical form of government which if respected, effectively limits their choices and actions. A bishop is given powers to act in the Synod, by the Synod, of which he or she along with the other bishops are members.

In General Synod bishops exercise collective powers as members of separate houses, or orders along with two other houses – the House of Clergy and the House of the Laity. The weight of each House in voting is the same. The House of Bishops does not hold unique powers, but it does perform important functions in the areas of education, study and policy recommendation. It does not possess the authority to direct the decisions of the Synod or to cancel a synodical act. The usual *modus operandi* between the House of Bishops and the Synod has been co-operation.[14]

When the Synod entrusted the House of Bishops with any further action of the issue in 1973, they effectively relinquished any claim on continued involvement in the decision-making process. In their deliberations between 1973 and 1975 the bishops were repeatedly concerned with issues of jurisdiction and authority. In the final analysis they did not claim for themselves ultimate authority in this matter, as conferred by episcopal orders. Some did argue that the House had the sole right to make a decision for the church. Interestingly, those who articulated this view were opposed to the ordination of women.[15] Those bishops who supported the ordination of women had explicit trust in the synodical process.

Between 1973 and 1975 the House intensively studied all aspects of the issue which they understood to be relevant. They raised questions of collegiality in the House in the face of differing opinions; the pastoral needs of the first women to be so ordained were discussed; practical questions of deployment, and emotional reactions to the theological and practical issues were shared.[16]

As noted the House did not need to ask anything further of the General Synod. It had been given the discretion to proceed according to its own wisdom. However, in an attempt to confirm the church's support for the direction which the House was planning to pursue, it referred the plan back to the General Synod of 1975 for acceptance.

Before the General Synod of 1975 the House met to formulate a plan of action. The bishops agreed that the Primate should introduce the subject at General Synod and attempt to set the focus for the debate and subsequent action. The House planned to ask the Synod to ratify the decision of 1973 and confirm the idea that there would be no further discussion on the

matter.[17] Once that had been accomplished the House would proceed to ordain women in those dioceses where there were women and bishops willing to pursue that course of action.

The General Synod of 1975 ratified three motions on the ordination of women to the priesthood. The first motion reaffirmed the motion of the previous Synod. The second motion that the Synod made and carried provided the vehicle for actually implementing the ordination or women to the presbyterate. The third and final motion was the most controversial from the standpoint of history. Contained within the third motion was the controversial Conscience clause which was eventually revoked by the General Synod of 1986. The Conscience clause effectively allowed a middle road of compromise. In other words, it was agreed that no bishop, priest, deacon or lay person should be penalized in any manner, nor expected to violate their conscience as a result of the Synod's move to ordain women.[18] The right of dissenters to disagree with the ordination of women with impunity was protected.

When the bishops arrived at General Synod in 1975 they voted in favour of the ordination of women by a large majority (26 in favour [76%] and 8 [24%] opposed). This affirmative sentiment was confirmed by the voted in the other two houses. Interestingly there was a larger margin of support in the House of the Laity (88 [83%] in favour and 18 [17%] against) then among the clergy (75 [71%] in favour and 30 [29%] opposed.[19]

The movement to proceed with the ordination of women initiated by the House of Bishops was well supported by the grassroots of the church. The laity demonstrated enthusiastic support and clergy support was also encouraging. What is revealed then is a manifestation of the Gramscian contention. The organic intellectual class of the church – the bishops – was a group proactive in implementing a course of action. The initiative did not come from the other two groups. However, the support for the episcopal initiatives was enthusiastic.

The role of the clergy deserve particular consideration at this juncture. Until 1975 the clergy as a group had been essentially silent on the matter. The voting figures demonstrate an openness to move forward. If they had decided as a group to stop the proposed resolutions they would have been able to do so, as any House voting against would have been sufficient to stop the proposed change in policy and practice.

Gramsci discusses what he identifies as the traditional intellectuals

in the scenario of social change. The traditional intellectuals are a leadership group in society (often in history the clergy have served this function) which has a vested interest in the old status quo and out of that interest resists any attempt at change to a new historic bloc.[20] Clergy in other Anglican provinces have successfully prevented movement to the ordination of women through their resistance to change in the form of organized opposition. The decision-making process in the Church of England was significantly affected by the clerical commitment to serving this function.[21]

While the Canadian clergy did not work effectively as a lobby group to prevent the ordination of women, the only organized opposition did come from the clergy group. This opposition did little to affect the decision-making process, however, as it came too late. It was not until after the General Synod of 1975, that a group of Canadian clergy attempted to stop the course charted by the Synod.

In September 1975 a letter signed by a group of more than 200 Anglican clergymen was published in the national church newspaper, the *Anglican Churchman*. This 200 represents less than 10% of the total number of active clergy at the time. This letter was called "A Manifesto on the Ordination of Women to the Priesthood from the Concerned Clergy of the Anglican Church of Canada." Its purpose was to offer a public protest against the General Synod decision to proceed with such ordinations. A document of substantial length for a newspaper publication, it argued against the ordination of women with its opposition grounded in concerns about the maintenance of Anglican tradition and heritage as well as ecumenism. It noted with alarm that with this move the church was abandoning its heritage which was grounded in the male apostolic succession of ordered ministry. The priests who wrote the "Manifesto" stressed that they felt it was simply impossible in the "divine economy" for a woman to be a priest regardless of what the Synod had decided. Their greatest concern was that the Anglican Church of Canada was only one small part of Christendom and as such should not act alone.[22]

This "Manifesto" served as the only significant manifestation of organized opposition in the period under discussion. Those who wrote the letter contacted clergy across the country and asked for their support, although apparently the contact was limited to those whom the framers felt would be sympathetic to their cause.[23] When it was published it was with names and dioceses attached.

The impact of the document was limited. There was little organized follow-up on the part of those who had written the document. Primate Edward Scott demonstrated the brilliance of his diplomatic skills in responding to this "Manifesto." This response did much to defuse a potentially bloody situation.

The Primate affirmed the integrity of those clergy who had signed the "Manifesto," and stressed that he respected the deep struggle and concern over the issue which was reflected in the signing of it. He noted that no formal statement had been made to the Primate or to the House of Bishops up to that point which declared the displeasure of the clergy with the ongoing movement toward women's ordination, although it was acknowledged all along that there was disagreement over the topic at every level of the debate. Scott stated that he realized that clergy had signed for differing reasons. He then responded to the problems raised by each of the identified positions. In other words, he refuted the arguments in the "Manifesto." This tone was one of pastoral conciliation, but it was clear that in Scott's view what was being done was the right path of action.[24]

Several clergy defended their actions. Most did not. Within a few weeks the furore caused by the "Manifesto" died down and the House of Bishops continued to plan for the implementation of the agreed upon ordinations.

In summary, the clergy as a group were more opposed proportionately than the laity and the bishops but still very supportive. The only organized resistance came from this group but the resistance was too little too late and had little effect on the course of history.

The designation "grassroots" of the church most obviously applies to the laity, and it is to this group that we now turn. The Gramscian theory demands that the grassroots support the proactive initiatives of the intellectual leadership of the institution if a successful transition to a new form of organization and practice is to be realized.

The overwhelming support for the idea of women in the priesthood is documented by the voting at the General Synod of 1975. With 88% in favour of motions to implement the ordination of women, one can safely demonstrate significant support among the grassroots of the church. Indeed, as the group with highest level of support one might say that the laity were at least as 'progressive' as their leaders. That progressive support, however, was supportive of leadership initiatives rather than proactive in its own right.

Some have argued that the delegates who are sent to General Synod do not represent the mind of the church at large. However, the process of election is a democratic one and no piece of research has been undertaken which measures the level of representation. Until such a work is conducted we must assume that there is some correlation between the attitudes of the people in the pew and the people whom they send to General Synod.

The laity were also visible after the publication of the "Manifesto." Some were vocal in expressing their outrage at the contents of the "Manifesto." They were angered that clergy would presume to insult their integrity with the issues they raised. Some defended the notion of the ordination of women by denouncing the sexual hierarchy of the church as deeply unchristian.[25]

There is no record of any formalized lobby in favour of the ordination of women from the grassroots of the church. Unlike the English case, there is no evidence of any attempts to put the ordination of women on the agenda of the decision-making bodies of the Anglican Church of Canada. However, it was the "grassroots" of the church which elected those leaders who moved the church toward visionary change.

The women who were the first ordained as priests also were not proactive in the promotion of the ordination agenda.[26] The story of the ordination of women is a women's history project, at least in theory. However, in the case of the Anglican Church of Canada the decision-making process by which women became priests was not fundamentally a story about the women themselves. By their own clear statements those women who were the first ordinands in the church were not involved in the decision-making processes about women in the presbyterate; they were though, already trained and willing to acknowledge publicly their vocation to the priesthood when the church invited them to exercise that vocation.

Traditionally historians have presented women as acted upon rather than actors in their own right – a view which unfairly limits the perception of women as actors and weavers of history. Unfortunately, one must on some level repeat this pattern of interpretation. The women were actors in so far as they had long histories of active ministry. Exposure to the fine service and abundant gifts which women brought to ministry as deaconesses and Bishop's Messengers must have influenced the readiness of the grassroots to welcome women as priests. They were not actors in so far as they consciously chose to have nothing to do with the debates which would determine the forms of their ministry.[27]

There was a small group of lay women who were involved for years in paid lay ministry in the church. In 1967 they formed the Association for Registered Church Workers (ARCWA) to address areas of concern to women workers, such a low salaries, lack of respect and inadequate pensions. In the context of their discussions they did discuss the ordination of women to the three-fold order of ministry. However, in its gadfly position in relation to the church hierarchy, its concerns were more in the area of women's work rather than promoting an ordination agenda.[28]

If it is a defensible thesis that the initiative toward the ordination of women ultimately came from the intellectual leadership of the church in the form of the episcopacy, it will be important to understand the motivation of those individuals in that group who promoted the ordination of women. This brings us then to the question, why did the episcopal leadership of the church support and in many cases actively promote the ordination of women to the priesthood? The answer to that question has several aspects to it.

Economic considerations were a factor. A myth has existed in the larger Anglican Communion that the Canadian church moved to accept the ordination of women readily because its 'vast wilderness' meant that it had a chronic shortage of clergy to minister to the needs of its people. Records from the House of Bishops in this period show that this was not the case.[29] Even if there was a localized clergy shortage in places, the perception of the bishops themselves was that there were sufficient clergy to meet the needs of the Anglican Church of Canada. It is true that there were labour concerns in the church but not of the kind supposed.

The labour problems which may have influenced the movement to accept women in Holy Orders were in the arena of the concerns of women workers. As ARCWA stressed there were issues of poor pay, lack of status and authority for both women lay workers and deaconesses. For years reports were written by church bodies naming these problems with few solutions being proffered. When the church moved to ordain women it closed opportunities for women as deaconesses and lay workers. Some have suggested that the move to ordain women was a vehicle for solving the long-standing problem of women's labour in the church.[30] This claim is hotly debated but is worthy of consideration. There is no evidence that this was a conscious move, but when women became part of the mainstream of ecclesiastical structure, the problems associated with not belonging were largely dissolved. Much of what creatively defined

women's ministry in the church was also lost.

A changing theological climate also influenced episcopal decision-making. During the 1970s the House of Bishops became involved in many questions which were in a sense justice issues as a result of a theological shift which was affecting western Christianity – the move away from an atonement-based theology toward a creation-centered theology of incarnation in liturgy. Theological challenges to traditional conceptions of ministry which held that the priest filled the top place in the hierarchical, parochial system led the bishops to rethink their theology of the priesthood of all believers, and its attendant implications for the place of women in the whole people of God. Discussions about Christian Initiation and the whole structure of lay and ordained ministry opened the door for the possibility of radical change, change which in theory led the church toward ancient forms of communal ministry and organization.[31]

No healthy religion is immune to the needs, demands, changes and particular circumstances of its culture. Christianity is no exception. The Anglican Church of Canada was shaped at least in part by the Canadian circumstance. Changes in the place and role of women were among the most drastic of the changes which had an impact on church life.

During the years that the ordination of women was debated in the Anglican church, Canadian society was experiencing a second wave feminist revolution. From 1969 onward there was an organized feminist movement albeit a small one which raised questions about gender assumptions and roles at home and in the workplace. Feminist theologians were few and far between in Canada between 1968 and 1978; however, feminist theological ideas did form part of the theatre within which the ordination debate was being acted out.

It cannot be concluded that "secular" feminism had a direct and immediate effect on the ordination debates. There is no evidence of 'secular' feminists anywhere in or around the decision-making process. Indeed, there was a definite rejection of such terminology by many involved in the matter including the women themselves who were eventually ordained. People did not want the ordination of women to be linked to a rights issue; the favoured terminology was of vocation (whether or not such a dichotomy between rights and vocation is helpful is worthy of debate). What can be argued was that changes in the sphere of women's involvement in society throughout the twentieth century influenced the perceptions of church members and leaders with regard to what women

were competent to do. Scott and several other bishops easily identified the changing world as a legitimate vehicle for the reformulation of traditional practice within the church.[32]

In tracing the evolution of their support for the idea of women as priests, some bishops stressed their moment of personal revelation. Some felt moved to ordain women because God had communicated that it was God's will at that time in history. All agreed that something of the will of God was revealed to them as they struggled with the issue.[33]

Ecclesiological orientation, formerly known as "churchmanship," also had an impact on episcopal response to the ordination of women. As we have noted there was divided opinion on this topic in the House of Bishops as in other parts of the church. According to bishops who participated in debates on this issue there was what they referred to as a "high/low" split.

Anglicanism has historically known two extremes of ecclesiological orientation – high and low. Those who identify themselves as high Anglicans are of the Anglo-Catholic orientation placing a strong emphasis on sacramental theology with a high christology. Those who identify themselves as low Anglicans are characterized by their appreciation for an evangelical view of Scripture and theology. As well as these two groups there is a third, in years past referred to as the "broad stream" of the church. This group has not traditionally aligned itself around any one theological worldview and does not function as an organized group. It is this group which comprises "middle of the road" Anglicanism in terms of its theological orientation.

There is some evidence of a relationship between churchmanship and attitudes on this issue in the Canadian church. This division was prominent in the House of Bishops as is seen in the minutes of the meetings.[34] Those who were Anglo-Catholic in their orientation often opposed the ordination of women for the following reasons: a woman cannot be the icon of Christ because she is not male, and ecumenical relations particularly with the Roman Catholics. Those who were inclined to the Evangelical side defended the second category of argument which held that a women could not have authority over a man – the headship or *kephale* argument.

In the diocesan synod charges of those bishops who actively opposed the ordination of women, we see that they always expressed either the icon of Christ argument, the *kephale* argument, or the argument from ecumeni-

cal relations. In fact, *most* adopted the model of opposition defined by the first category. Clearly there is evidence of a relationship between attitude to the ordination of women and churchmanship.

Those who located themselves within the broad stream were more likely to be supportive of the ordination of women than were their high and low contemporaries. The broad stream of the church was considered to be a "new wind" in the Canadian church during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century; it did not share the extremism of the two other groups.[35] The label of "liberal" is also often applied to this category of churchmanship. Those bishops who were the most active protagonists in the movement toward the ordination of women identified themselves as liberal, or broad stream in their churchmanship. This expression of ecclesiological orientation is necessarily related to the theological shifts which were precipitated by the rise of liberalism as a school of thought in the life of the church.

It is in relation to the ecclesiological orientation of bishops, clergy and laity that the question of ecumenical relations arises. Ecumenism was an important issue for those who were opposed to the ordination of women. The concern that such a move would irreparably damage relations with the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox churches was a real one for several bishops, clergy and lay people. In the Majority Report of the Primate's Task Force in 1972, it was noted that there were ecumenical implications for the issue whichever way it was decided. Ecumenically there were churches on both sides of the issue.

As such, the Canadian church declared that while it wanted to continue ongoing ecumenical dialogues with all parties with whom they were already in conversation, they had to act according to their own conscience on the issue. Little evidence can be found to document extensive ecumenical dialogue on this issue. While the Anglican Church of Canada was engaged in discussions regarding the possibility of union with the United Church of Canada throughout the relevant period of the early 1970s, no reference is made in debates on this issue to that fact except in one diocese. The United Church of Canada had been ordaining women ministers since the ordination of the Reverend Lydia Gruchy in Saskatchewan in 1936. Reference to this fact was made in General Synod, the House of Bishops, or diocesan synods. While there was some concern for ecumenism, it is clear that ecumenical relations were not of paramount importance in the decision-making process of the Canadian church.

Relations with other parts of the Anglican Communion were more important than ecumenism to the House of Bishops. The House would not proceed until after they heard a response from the other Anglican provinces to their intended actions in 1976.[36] Once assured that their right to decide would be respected, they risked further division and proceeded to act according to their own conscience.

Ultimately, the episcopacy of the Canadian church was able to provide its constituents with a fairly unified leadership. It was able to do this because of two things – a mutual commitment to collegiality and the conscience clause.

In the minutes of the House of Bishops, the word collegiality recurs. Throughout discussions on this subject the bishops maintained the contention that whatever happened the collegiality of the House would be key in steering the church through the decision-making process. By maintaining a united front, although divided in conscience, they were able to provide a model for the larger church which embodied the possibility of remaining together. This commitment reflected a long tradition of commitment to collegiality within the Canadian House of Bishops. On most controversial issues over the years, the Canadian episcopacy has maintained that the collegiality of the House was more important than any issue which might divide it. As such, when the question of the ordination of women to the priesthood arose a pattern of interaction and conflict resolution had been established which facilitated the formulation of a compromise.

The continued collegiality of the House was possible in large measure because of the construction of the conscience clause. This clause allowed all bishops, and in their turn all laity and clergy to act according to their own conscience within the context of the decision which the national church had made. In the words of Scott, "the conscience clause was crucial in finding a way forward on this issue for the Canadian church."[37]

It might be argued that the conscience clause was a document which allowed Canadian Anglicans to adopt a *via media* which sold out the convictions of those who felt that the ordination of women was just, right and the will of God. If the movement toward accepting women as priests was something which the church believed was right and the will of God, why then did it compromise its principles by allowing the injustice of the continuing exclusion of women at all levels of church life? While there is something to be said for this criticism, at that point in history, it may be that discretion was the better part of valour. Without the adoption of a

compromise in the form of the conscience clause, it is entirely possible that the church would have found itself unable to adopt the ordination of women to the priesthood. If the end in any ways justifies the means, then the conscience clause can be said to have fulfilled its purpose. It established a middle road along which most were willing to travel. The intellectual leadership of the church began a revolution which the people were prepared to finish. The General Synod repealed the conscience clause in 1986.

On 30 November 1976 the dioceses of Niagara and Huron, Cariboo and New Westminster ordained the first women to the priesthood in the Anglican Church of Canada. In the Diocese of Cariboo, Bishop John Snowden ordained The Reverend Patricia Reed with the Primate preaching at the service. In the Diocese of New Westminster, Bishop David Somerville ordained The Reverend Elspeth Alley and the Reverend Virginia Bryant. In the Diocese of Huron, Bishop David Ragg ordained The Reverend Mary Mills. In the Diocese of Niagara, Bishop John Bothwell ordained The Reverend Beverly Shanley and The Reverend Mary Lucas.

By January 1978 there were eighteen women ordained to the priesthood in ten different dioceses. After the first year of ordinations virtually no mention of the subject was made again in the House of Bishops or General Synod. Prior to the Lambeth Conference of 1978 it was simply noted in the House of Bishops' minutes that the topic would be on the agenda of the Lambeth Conference. For the Anglican Church of Canada the story of women in the priesthood as a decision-making process was ended, and the story of women in the priesthood as a reality was begun.

Endnotes

1. Antonio Gramsci, "Problems of History and Culture – The Intellectuals," in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell (New York: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), 5-23.

2. Roger Coleman, ed., *Resolutions of the Twelve Lambeth Conferences 1867-1988* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1992), 119-20. With Resolution 32 Lambeth 1968 reversed the position taken in 1930 on women in the diaconate. By a vote of 22 for and 183 against, Lambeth declared that women who had been made deaconesses through an episcopal laying on of hands should be declared to be within the diaconate. After discussing the ordination of women to the presbyterate it was agreed that there were no conclusive

theological arguments for or against such ordinations. Resolutions 35-37 asked all of the provinces to study the issue and report its conclusions to the newly-formed ACC.

3. "Report of Actions," Scott Papers (M101), Anglican Church House Archives (Toronto), 2.

4. "Report of the Primate's Task Force on the Ordination of Women to the Priesthood," 1972.

5. *General Synod Journal of Proceedings* (1973), Anglican Church House Archives (Toronto), 24.

6. *General Synod Journal of Proceedings* (1973), 30.

7. *General Synod Journal of Proceedings* (1973), 31.

8. *Minutes of the House of Bishops* (1971), Anglican Church House Archives (Toronto).

9. R.S. Ryan, "The General Synods of the Anglican Church of Canada," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 34, No. 1 (April 1992): 52ff.

10. This observation is made after reading all diocesan synod journals on the topic for the relevant period.

11. These comments are made in light of interviews with Archbishop Edward Scott, Archbishop John Bothwell, Archbishop David Somerville and Archbishop Douglas Hambridge.

12. These figures are compiled from the Synod Journals of each diocese between 1973 and 1978.

13. Wendy Fletcher, "Beyond the Walled Garden: Women and the Priesthood in Anglicanism, Canada and England, 1920-1978," Ph.D. diss., University of St. Michael's College, Toronto, 1993.

14. Ryan, "The General Synods of the Anglican Church of Canada," 52ff.

15. *Minutes of the House of Bishops* (1973-1975).

16. *Minutes of the House of Bishops* (1973-1975).

17. *Minutes of the House of Bishops* (13-16 June 1975), 32-33.

18. *General Synod Journal of Proceedings* (1975), M-66.

19. These statistics are calculated from the voting figures (*General Synod Journal of Proceedings* [1975]).

20. Gramsci, "Problems of History and Culture – The Intellectuals," 5-23.

21. Fletcher, "Beyond the Walled Garden."

22. "Manifesto on the Ordination of Women," *Anglican Churchman* 101 (October 1975): 9.

23. See Primate's comments and letters, Scott Papers (M101).

24. Letter of the Primate, Scott Papers (M101).

25. Letters found in Scott Papers (M101).

26. In the Church of England there had been an organized grassroots lobby by predominantly lay people since the 1920s. In the American Episcopalian Church the women who sought ordination actively lobbied for policy change.

27. In oral history interviews with the priest women ordinands all but one stressed that they were not feminist and had no overt commitment to gender equality. They were concerned with faithfulness to the task of ministry as their beginning and ending place. All but two of the first women priests had served either as deaconesses or Bishop's Messengers for many years.

28. Grace Hallenby, *Anglican Women's Training College: A Background Document* (Toronto: AWTC History Committee, 1989), 101.

29. *Minutes of the House of Bishops* (1973-1978).

30. This theory has been proposed by women lay workers who lost their vocations when women were mainstreamed. One woman priest also recalled that she was told that, "You can fit in here girls or else."

31. These comments are observations based on the changing theological agenda revealed in *Minutes of the House of Bishop* between 1958 and 1978. The 1970s were a time of large new questions.

32. Oral history interviews, and Reflections in the Scott Papers (M101).

33. Based on episcopal oral history interviews.

34. *Minutes of the House of Bishops* (1971-1978).

35. Phillip Carrington, *The Anglican Church of Canada* (Toronto: Collins, 1963), 201.

36. After the General Synod of 1975 Scott wrote to all other Anglican Primates and asked for feedback. Only after he personally collected this feedback did the ordinations occur (Scott Papers [M101]).

37. Oral history interview with Primate Scott.

The Presence of Priests and Religious Among the Workers of Post-Quiet Revolution Montreal

OSCAR COLE ARNAL

For Quebec francophone Catholicism the 1960s were scene to two watershed events which propelled the church in radically new directions. The Second Vatican Council, with its open-door policy toward the modern world (*aggiornamento*), was a source of internal pressure upon the Quebec church compelling it to move in the direction undertaken by a vocal minority of Catholics during the *grande noirceur* of the Duplessis years. For those Catholics among the neo-nationalists at *Le Devoir*, in the *équipe* of *Cité Libre*, in the trade union ranks of the Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada (CTCC), and among the progressive Dominicans modelled by Georges-Henri Lévesque, the Second Vatican Council was a sign to pursue more rapidly the modernization of their traditional *ecclesia*.[1]

Externally the years of the Quiet revolution forced Quebec Catholicism to adapt to the modernism of a world that it had been able to avoid under the previous political regimes. To be sure modernization and secularization had been present in Quebec before Jean Lesage's Liberals came to power in 1960. Industrialization had been part of the Quebec landscape since the latter years of the nineteenth century, but the secularization which had been linked habitually to urbanization and mass production lagged behind in Quebec. Even Maurice Duplessis, who welcomed advanced American capitalism into Quebec, was an avowed traditionalist in the political and ecclesiastical realms. Such was not the case with the victorious Liberals of 1960. They made the effective link between moderni-

zation and secularization, a link which began in earnest a marginalization of the Catholic church from the centres of political and social life among Quebec's francophones. The state took over the health and welfare apparatus of the province and made significant inroads in the realm of education as well. Although the Liberals did not mirror the anticlericalism of their earlier European counterparts, their programme and their Quebec, called the Quiet Revolution (*Révolution Tranquille*), produced similar results. Forced to the margins by these events, the church was compelled to approach its society in new and different ways. Thankfully Vatican II encouraged such novel directions.[2]

One such arena in which the francophone church sought to make an impact in new ways was that of their nation's working class. A Catholic presence in Quebec's toiling classes and concern with labour issues was not new for the church. In fact, Catholicism in Quebec had been embroiled in such matters for at least one hundred years. During the early decades of this century social Catholic Jesuits, borrowing consciously from their French counterparts, organized "think-tanks" geared to raising Catholic consciousness and involvement in social issues especially those associated with industrialization and the working class. Instrumental in this was the Jesuit priest Joseph-Papin Archambault. His École Sociale Populaire (ESP) was fundamentally a pamphlet-producing body which enlisted Quebec's francophone social Catholic elite to write on such subjects as trade unions, social encyclicals, specialized Catholic Action, unemployment, communism, agricultural colonization and the like. Archambault's Semaine Sociale du Canada built upon this earlier effort. The Semaine was an annual conference which brought together Catholic militants and experts in social matters for the purpose of sharing wisdom and collective inspiration. Further, the church was instrumental in creating a trade union federation called the Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada (CTCC) as an alternative to the international unions tied to the American Federation of Labour in the United States. Finally, the Quebec church endorsed the creation of the Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique (JOC) in the early 1930s, a form of specialized Catholic Action patterned after the Belgian and French models. Although these organizations represented a wide variety of methods and experiences, they were uniformly ultra-conservative in ideology and in their adoption of Pius XI's programme of social corporatism and anticommunism.[3]

This relatively monolithic vision of social Catholicism broke down

rapidly in the wake of the Quiet Revolution and Vatican II, although there were previous evolutionary trends which signalled that change was afoot. Older Catholic "think-tanks" were in decline in the face of such alternatives as those advocated by the Dominican Father Georges-Henri Lévesque and the lay *équipe* at *Cité Libre*. In a new wave of militancy the post-World War II CTCC divested itself of clerical control and a discredited corporatism, while working-class Catholic Action redefined its mandate in the face of the growing secularization of an emerging consumer culture. In these rather slow developments can be seen precursors to the more radical projects in Catholic working class missions which exploded on the Quebec scene by the latter 1960s.[4]

Although such innovations emerged throughout industrialized Quebec, it is not surprising that larger numbers of them were concentrated in the Montreal area. Without minimizing the creativity and impact of Catholic activity among workers in places such as Quebec City and Hull, this paper will deal exclusively with Montreal and its environs. Creative efforts to deal with labouring classes and their issues by committed francophone Catholics in Montreal can be roughly divided into three types although many of the personalities involved overlapped in one or more of these.

(1) Not surprisingly, one such arena was the working-class ghetto. Certainly the church had been present in these neighbourhoods from the beginning, but the form of that presence was almost exclusively the parish, a parish built largely upon a more rural and village model. Within such proletarian Montreal *quartiers* as Saint-Henri, Pointe Saint-Charles and the entire Centre-Sud sector one could find more recently a variety of radically oriented Catholic support ministries directed toward significant social change. As might be expected there were *équipes* of working-class Catholic Action in these locales, both the JOC and its adult counterpart the Mouvement des Travailleurs Chrétiens (MTC).[5]

Beyond the cells of specialized Catholic Action located in Montreal were found those religious orders geared towards providing an active Christian presence among the toiling classes. Their involvement was characterized by intensity, creativity and the nature of each order's peculiar mandate with the popular classes of the neighbourhoods. Three examples provide sufficient illustration of this. Priests of the Fils de la Charité order were sent into the Pointe Saint-Charles *quartier* to be part of an effort to renovate the church in conformity with the needs of that working-class neighbourhood. Father Ugo Benfante was a vicar in a parish there and

chose "to have a lifestyle nearer to the life and lifestyle of the labourers" who resided in the area. Consequently he left the rectory to live in the poor rental accommodations so characteristic of the Pointe Saint-Charles area. Père Guy Cousin followed in Benfante's steps. This full identity with the existence of their marginalized neighbours led them in two directions simultaneously. On the one hand they became linked to cell-group churches consciously modelled after Latin American base Christian communities. On the other hand they joined or helped create self-help groups geared to community organizing activities such as the well-known *groupes populaires*. Such efforts to transform the neighbourhoods led inevitably into municipal and even provincial politics. It was such a journey that convinced Father Benfante to become a militant in the 1970s Parti Québécois.[6]

Paralleling the witness of these priests were those orders formed around the spirituality of Charles de Foucauld. These include the Petites Soeurs de l'Assomption, the Petites Soeurs de Jésus and the Petits Frères de l'Évangile. At the very heart of their values was a full identity with and among the poor and marginalized. Their efforts paralleled those of the Fils de la Charité priests especially in their living arrangements and in their daily "hands-on" style of mutual assistance and solidarity. Brother Paul-André Goffart spent his time in repair and renovation work at the lodgings of his poorer neighbours, and Soeur Stephanie of the Petites Soeur de Jésus pursued an open-door policy in the modest home where an *équipe* of four to five sisters dwelt. In some instances the sisters of this order were trained social workers who served their neighbours in just and compassionate ways through existing governmental bureaucracies.[7]

One final and rather unique example of the church's *présence* among the poor and marginalized in Montreal's ghettos is the Mission Saints Pierre et Paul, the brain child of the French Dominican Jacques Loew, well-known as one of France's pioneer worker-priests. Montreal's example of this community is located in the shadow of the city's Olympic Stadium and is directed by Father Georges Convert and Brother André Choquette. They view themselves as "cells of the church" who "share the pain and labour of the humble." Concretely this means using their multipurpose functional building as a residence, a drop-in centre, a worship space and a locus for education after the style promulgated by Paulo Friere in Latin America. On a daily basis the *équipe* assumes a mundane serving posture such as Brother André's electrical repair work in his neighbour's homes.

As well, the community supports local "grass-roots" leadership in those efforts to do justice and transform the neighbourhood along people-oriented lines. This life and these activities are fundamental to the religious pilgrimage as Brother André testifies: "To live one's daily journey just like my work companions, that is to live the faith."[8]

(2) Another locus of church presence among the labouring classes was, quite appropriately, at the work place itself. Here a number of priests and religious adopted an incarnation of full-time toil after the worker-priest model developed decades earlier in France. Not surprisingly many of these priests, nuns and lay brothers took up this employment in the Montreal metropole. In fact, initial experiments in this form of ministry emerged out of Montreal's archdiocese. A number of Catholic militants, religious and lay, met together in the late 1960s under the auspices of Msgr. Grégoire to flesh out new and vital ways to reach a working class increasingly alienated from the church. The upshot of these discussions led the church to send two of its priests, the Jesuit André Pellerin and Ugo Benfante, to trade schools as preparation for a working-class life. Shortly thereafter they entered the full-time workforce as the means to earn their bread. Ironically the only labour they were able to find bore no relation to their job-training. In this initial experience they learned a fundamental reality of proletarian life, namely that job choice and preparation were frequently more myth than reality. Such was their baptism of fire.[9]

Soon others followed suit including Jesuits and priests, nuns and lay brothers from Petits Frères and Petites Soeurs orders. Capuchins formed a significant grouping of a total numbering around thirty by the early 1980s, and even a few secular priests joined their brothers and sisters from the monastic movement. Factory and shift labour came to define their existence. Their life centered increasingly on their toil, and their lodging and neighbourhood social and political life was shaped by their work hours and the habitually low pay they received. Unhealthy and dangerous conditions combined with monotonous toil and few benefits was the lot they shared with their proletarian brothers and sisters.[10]

However, for them this life was an incarnation of the gospel, a free choice of solidarity with the workers, the poor and the marginalized. Sister Marie-Paule Lebrun joined the women in her neighbourhood collective at the Coleco Plant in Montreal where she helped assemble "Cabbage-Patch Kids" under the most oppressive of conditions. It was full identity with her sisters that she sought, since she was convinced that she could not "under-

stand that factory setting without living it." The Jesuit worker-priest Rosaire Tremblay called his life of toil "fidelity to the Gospel and to the church" through "being present within the world of the oppressed." Father Guy Boulanger called his working life "true solidarity with the poor and exploited" as well as "a new way to live the Christian life . . . and celebrate the Christian mystery." Fils de la Charité Guy Cousin described this solidarity as a partisanship on "the side of the Gospel and the Kingdom." "I wished through manual toil," he concluded, "to become naturalized as a worker, to witness to the gospel in the pit of industrial labour."[11]

Finally, this incarnational solidarity was the primary impulse which led these women and men to take up the gauntlet of worker struggle. Characteristically this took the form of the union movement. Brother Paul-André Goffart chaired a union committee on health and safety and was part of a protest against company disregard of persistent lead fumes at the plant where he worked. Marie-Paule Lebrun was active in her Fédération des Travailleurs et Travailleuses du Québec local at the Caleco plant. Her only regret in this activity was that she was not militant enough. Worker-priests were involved, as well, in union organizing. Both Jacques Tanguay and Guy Cousin created union locals for the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux over against worker organizations which they and their comrades deemed to be too "cozy" with the "*patrons*." This they accomplished in the midst of strikes, intimidation and even physical threats. For them such militancy was not extraneous to their priestly vocation. Rather it was a fundamental facet of that incarnation built upon class solidarity and "the liberation of the poor."[12]

(3) The last creative form of ministry "for" and "with" the working class and the urban poor after the Quiet revolution was the most traditional of the three types. In fact, it bore striking parallels to the older Jesuit social Catholic "think-tanks" such as the École Sociale Populaire and the Semaines Sociales du Canada. However, the more recent models were radically different in both style and content. Although they could be found in numerous urban centres throughout Quebec, the Montreal-based Centre de Pastorale en Milieu Ouvrier (CPMO) is illustrative of the type. In its style and practice it is notably more participatory and "grass-roots" than its corporatist predecessors. None of this was particularly surprising since the impetus for its founding was the Fils de la Charité priest Claude Lefebvre. Though from a middle-class family Lefebvre was convinced that the church needed "teams of priests for the working and popular class worlds."

He trained in such a context and served at parishes located in working-class ghettos. This experience led him to solicit the necessary episcopal support which led to the founding of the CPMO in 1970.[13]

Initially the CPMO concentrated on the training and shaping (*formation*) of priests seeking to minister among the workers in their own *quartiers*, but within a few years this perspective was broadened. Since that time the CPMO has become a network of Catholic activists including priests, nuns, lay brothers and laity from the community-based *groupes populaires* and specialized working-class Catholic Action youth and adult. Joining with the JOC, the MTC, an *équipe* from the journal *Vie Ouvrière* and a team of independent Christian socialists called Politisés Chrétiens, the CPMO challenged the Quebec episcopate to create a renovated and radical "church on the move" over against a "church with its brakes on." This was the essence of the well-known colloquy held at Cap Rouge (1974), a colloquy which marked the high point of progressive influence within the Catholic establishment of Quebec.[14]

Since Cap-Rouge the CPMO has followed a fairly predictable path in both content and action. This pattern was set under the leadership of the ex-Oblate novice Raymond Levac. In fact, his leadership at the CPMO, which began in 1976, included that period of his own religious journey from clerical to lay status. Since the late 1970s the CPMO has been characterized by a core network (*reseau*) of lay and clerical activists who served as *animateurs* for the team. Invariably they were militants themselves who lived in working class neighbourhoods and toiled with the residants there for social change. In this context the CPMO defined itself as "a centre of formation for popular organizations and trade unions" with a four-fold approach: (1) as a "resource bank" of people; (2) as a place of militant training; (3) as a crossroads (*carrefour*) of debate for justice advocates; and (4) as a locus for the publication of practical resources for militant groups.[15]

The CPMO practiced this four-fold mandate with verve, both under the directorship of Levac and his successor, the former priest Jean-Guy Casaubon. Its workshops, its solidarity meetings and its publications served to link up and focus diverse militant groups within the workplace and primarily the urban neighbourhoods of Quebec and especially Montreal. Of prime importance were the CPMO's efforts to promote the *église populaire*, Quebec's form of the well-known Latin American base Christian communities. For the CPMO these neighbourhood churches were pro-

phetic nuclei committed to "direct action in popular movements" in the name of "class consciousness and class solidarity." Using its publication facilities it produced a major workbook on the subject and kept its readership aware of this effort through the periodical *Bulletin de liaison*.[16]

The presence and activities of francophone Catholics in the Montreal ghettos of modernized secular Quebec is markedly different than the years when Catholicism exercised a notable influence over the province's infrastructure. Certainly traditional Catholicism survives in Montreal, but in the city's working class and poorer neighbourhoods there has been a more radical Catholic presence. Since the Quiet revolution and Vatican II marginalized Montreal has witnessed a more militant Catholic Action, parishes attuned to the "grass-roots," priests and religious taking up full-time factory labour and community-based "think-tanks." This contrasts sharply with an older day when Catholic social consciousness was less participatory and more directive.

Endnotes

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1. For an excellent overview see Gregory Baum, "Catholicism and Secularization in Quebec," in *The Church in Quebec* (Ottawa: Novalis, 1991). For additional material consult Nive Voisine and Jean Hamelin, *Histoire du catholicisme québécois, Le XXe siècle, Tome 2, De 1940 à nos jours* (Montréal: Boréal, 1984), 82-120, 140-152, 184-189, 209-223; and Paul-André Linteau, et al, *Histoire du Québec contemporain: Le Québec depuis 1930* (Montréal: Boréal, 1986), 70, 88-96, 106-113, 288-290, 311-320, 324-334, 591-595.

2. See Baum, "Catholicism and Secularization"; Voisine and Hamelin, *Histoire*, 134-140, 229-267; Linteau, *Histoire*, 324-325, 579-588, 598-604, 625-634; Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, *The Dream of Nation: A Social and Intellectual History of Quebec* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1982), 298-303; and John A. Dickinson, *A Short History of Quebec*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, Ltd., 1993), 327-328.

3. The following works may be consulted for more detail: Baum, "Catholicism and Secularization," 30-33; Linteau, *Histoire*, 70, 90-91; Jean Hamelin and Nicole Gagnon, *Histoire du catholicisme québécois, le XXe siècle, Tome 1, 1898-1940* (Montréal: Boréal, 1984), 215-229; 285-289, 406-410, 420-425;

Trofimenkoff, *Dream of Nation*, 228-229; and the relevant sections in Richard Arès, *Le Père Joseph-Papin Archambault, S.J. (1880-1966), sa vie, ses oeuvres* (Montréal: Bellarmin, 1983); Jacques Rouillard, *Histoire du Syndicalisme Québécois* (Montréal: Boréal, 1989); Jacques Rouillard, *Histoire de la CSN, 1921-1981* (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1981); *The History of the Labour Movement in Québec* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1987); and Gabriel Clement for the Commission d'Étude sur les Laïcs et l'Église, *Histoire de l'Action Catholique au Canada Français* (Montréal: Fides, 1972).

4. For material on Georges-Henri Lévesque and the progressive Dominicans during the 1940s and 1950s, see Voisine and Hamelin, *Histoire*, 91-96; and Lévesque's own memoirs, *Souvenances*, Vol. I-III (Ottawa: Éditions la Presse, 1983-1989). The experience of *Cité Libre* is covered ably in Michael D. Behiels, *Prelude to Quebec's Quiet revolution* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1985). The increased militancy and autonomy of the CTCC is described in the appropriate sections of the previously cited books by Rouillard. Clement deals with the postwar JOC and its adult counterpart.

5. My sources for "grass-roots" JOC and MTC militancy in the Montreal area include: "Spécial Montréal," JOC, for the International Day of Women, n.d., Archives Nationales du Québec à Montréal (hereafter ANdQ); "Entreuve avec Diane Levasseur," *Option Ouvrière* (hereafter *OO*), mars 1991, 8-10; "Dossier noir du Logement," *OO*, juin 1987, 17-18; Claude Hardy for the Montreal MTC équipe, "Toujours se battre . . . Pourquoi?" *OO*, juin 1987, 19-21; "Revision de vie – 'Sur la precarité de l'emploi," *OO*, mai 1989, 4-6; "La JOC continue la bataille de l'emploi avec 'La grande Marche'!" *Jeunesse Ouvrière* (hereafter *JO*), mai 1983, 6-7; Michel Poirier, "A Montréal, en route vers Carrefour," *JO*, mars-avril 1969, 17-18. For post-Quiet Revolution values and practices both in general and in Montreal, consult "L'Avenir des jeunes travailleurs," *Dossiers "Vie Ouvrière"* (hereafter *DVO*) 119 (novembre 1977). Other source material includes notes from an MTC meeting I attended in Montreal (4 June 1988), and personal interviews with Montreal JOC and MTC militants, lay and chaplain, past and present: Diane Levasseur (17 May 1988), Joyce Samson (25 May 1988); Nicole Brunet (19 August 1988); Père Lorenzo Lortie (7 June 1988); Père Jean Picher (12 May 1988); Lucie Saint-Germain (13 June 1989); Joseph Giguère; Claude Hardy (22 June 1988); and Raymond Levac (27 June 1989).

6. "Compte Rendu – Pastorale des milieux populaires," Diocèse de Montréal, 28 janvier 1978, 1-13, Ugo Benfante papers; "La Pastorale des milieux populaires," *Église de Montréal*, 22 décembre 1977, 806-808; "A Pointe Saint-Charles: éclatement de l'église locale," 1-15, Ugo Benfante papers; "Communauté de base de Pointe Saint-Charles, Se redire notre histoire . . ." Ugo Benfante papers; Ugo Benfante, "La Residence en quartier du vicaire de

paroisse," *Prêtres et Laïcs* (hereafter *PL*) XVII (août-septembre 1967), 319-325; "A Pointe Saint-Charles," *Maintenant*, 80-87; Guy Cousin, "Cheminement d'un prêtre-ouvrier," 22 juillet 1977, Guy Cousin private papers; "30 années de semailles . . ." *Chantiers des Fils de la Charité*, décembre 1980, 17-23; "Rendre l'église visible dans un quartier," *Prêtres en classe ouvrière*, automne 1980, 2; personal interviews granted to the author in Montreal: Ugo Benfante (10 May 1989) and Guy Cousin (7 May 1988). For a thorough examination of "grass-roots" community organizing in Quebec since the Quiet revolution, consult Louis Favreau, *Mouvement populaire et intervention communautaire* (Montréal: Éditions du Fleuve, 1989).

7. Interviews granted to the author: Paul-André Goffart (2 June 1988); Petite Soeur Claude (18 May 1988); Marie-Paule Lebrun (24 May 1988); and Petite Soeur Stephanie (25 May 1988); "De Paul-André Goffart," septembre 1987, Paul-André Goffart papers; "Petites Soeurs de Jésus," *Nouvelles des Fraternités*, mars 1983, 60-64, Petite Soeur Stephanie private papers; *Constitutions des Petits Frères de l'Évangile* (France: Malines, 1986); Petites Soeurs de l'Assomption, *Règle de Vie*, 1984, 7-18, Marie-Paule Lebrun private papers; *La Fraternité des Petites Soeurs de Jésus* (Lyon: Giraud-Rivoire, n.d.), 1-39. For a deeper examination of Charles de Foucauld spirituality, consult Richard Ledoux, *La Pauvreté évangélique* (Montréal: Beru, 1988); René Voillaume (the founder of the Petits Frères and Petites Soeurs de Jésus), *Au coeur des masses*, vols. 1 and 2 (Paris: Cerf, 1969); Jean-François Six *Vie de Charles de Foucauld* (Paris: Seuil, 1962); and Jean-François Six, *Charles de Foucauld aujourd'hui* (Paris: Seuil, 1966).

8. Georges Convert, "L'Expérience de COPAM," *Communauté Chrétienne*, mai-juin 1986, 234-244; *La Lettre bleue des équipes de la mission Saints Pierre et paul* (Montréal, 1987), 1, Georges Convert personal papers; "Les Équipes missionnaires de la mopp," Montréal, Georges Convert personal papers; Georges Convert and André Choquette, "L'Évangile . . . ou l'espérance de la fraternité possible!" *Prêtre et Pasteur* 91, 2 (février 1988), 94-103; personal interviews with Georges Convert and André Choquette (31 May 1988); André Choquette, *viveur de Dieu au quotidien* (Montréal: Éditions Paulines, 1981), 47.

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Anti-Catholicism among French Canadian Protestants

RICHARD LOUGHEED

Anti-Catholicism

Most historical research on anti-Catholicism has sought a completely hostile indictment, minimizing both the diversity, and the positive aspects of this body of thought. Before Vatican II Catholic counter-propagandists, and even other analysts of anti-Catholicism such as R. Allan Billington[1] and Gustavus Myers[2], were dismissive of their subjects. Recent analyses by E.R. Norman[3] and John Higham[4] have somewhat qualified this one-sided perspective.

J.R. Miller has summarized the various stages of anti-Catholicism on the Canadian scene.[5] While accurate and helpful, his articles limit the phenomenon to English speakers and still leave one wondering about why so many well-educated non-political individuals were attracted to this movement.[6]

Most writers on anti-Catholicism have been either Catholic or secular historians. Protestant historians have felt embarrassed enough about Protestant excesses not to challenge the "politically-correct" assessment. Historical treatments are virtually unanimous in classifying anti-Catholicism as rank ethnic and/or political bigotry which simply uses religious terms for effect. This common starting point has produced a superficial treatment especially of French Protestants.

Higham is rare among historians writing in this field in that he does agree to a distinction between political nativists and those who wanted to evangelize (or proselytize) Catholics.[7] He rejects Billington's oversimp-

lified equation of nativism and anti-Catholicism. Robert Black's survey of French-Canadian mission by Anglicans also describes the religious motivation of anti-Catholicism although he gives political motivations precedence.[8]

Despite common use of the term "anti-Catholicism" in these and other historical books and articles and general agreement as to what this entails, the term has yet to be defined. The following description, which is the guiding principle for this article, could serve as a first step toward defining the term: an ideology, as well as a loosely-allied movement, which propagates the idea that the Roman Catholic church is a ruthless unchanging non-Christian organization intending worldwide socio-political control and elimination of Protestantism.

I maintain, following John Wolffe, that anti-Catholicism was not just a racial prejudice but an integral component of evangelical theology prior to the mid-twentieth century.[9] Besides "the universal human tendency to prejudice and paranoia, the development of militant Ultramontanism, the Irish Catholic diaspora, and a pervasive sense of political and social crisis . . . the crucial factor linking these impulses together was evangelical Christianity."[10]

According to David Bebbington, evangelical Christianity since the eighteenth century has consisted of four essential characteristics. In his summary he lists the "constant defining marks of evangelicals across cultures" such as conversionism, biblicism, crucicentrism and activism.[11] While these same terms also exist in Catholicism, evangelical conflict with Rome increased the gulf until these marks came to be understood as distinctly evangelical. We now turn to examine the manner in which these four marks promoted anti-Catholicism.

In an evangelical context conversionism means that every person, whether Catholic or Protestant, must have a life-changing personal experience of salvation through Jesus Christ. Catholics' repudiation of what they believed to be "proselytism" confirmed to evangelicals the profound error of the religion of Rome.

Biblicism's claims that the Bible is the ultimate authority negated claims of the Pope to be the unchallenged mouthpiece for God. Neither could any person or group be allowed to use civil or religious authority to coerce believers to disobey biblical commands. Yet Catholic countries everywhere persecuted those who followed the Bible.

Crucicentrism rejects any idea of other mediators or of salvation

through good works as inimical to true faith. Prayers to saints, dependence on holy objects, penance and stress on physical observances: all these were seen as biblically unfounded and diversionary from true faith. If so Rome was either heretical or pagan.

Catholics often opposed the leading social causes of evangelical activism such as the abolition of slavery, temperance, opposition to gambling and Lord's Day observance. This opposition provoked evangelical anger about what was perceived as Catholic support of immorality.

Evangelical apologists clashed with deists and liberals. However, during the nineteenth century, evangelicalism's greatest battles proved to be against Catholicism whether in France, England, French Canada, English Canada, the United States or Australia. The causes dearest to Roman Catholics (and High Church Anglicans) were repugnant to evangelicals and vice versa.

The international Evangelical Alliance formed in 1845 largely because of a perceived need to unite against Catholicism.[12] This and other evangelical trans-atlantic networks shared anti-Catholic news and projects.[13] Evangelical anti-Catholicism spread by print, sermons and numerous lectures, both of the intellectual and populist variety.

While anti-Catholicism was a constant evangelical theological tenet throughout pre-Vatican II history, evangelicals rarely dominated political life. The media, politicians and the wider public adopted anti-Catholicism as a cause only at crisis points. In times of pessimism about the ability of a nation to assimilate Irish or other Catholic emigrants, mounting socio-political pressure for governments to curb Catholicism was further fuelled by religious beliefs.[14] Usually politicians and non-evangelical spokesmen then became the anti-Catholic champions. In this broader form of anti-Catholicism political and ethnic motivations and non-religious means came to the fore. This type of political anti-Catholicism has been the focus of almost all historical study of the phenomenon. Yet cooperation of any individual or group of evangelical anti-Catholics with more political anti-Catholics was far from automatic. Contextual and temperamental differences determined the extent of joint efforts.

The *Converted Catholic*, an American evangelistic journal which could be defined as anti-Catholic, with its frequent tirades, in fact, disclaimed the term.[15] It wished to distance itself from political and scandal-oriented spokesmen in order to pursue its goals of addressing Catholics and "converting them to Christ". Evangelism was seen as the

fundamental solution by evangelical anti-Catholics for solving "the Catholic problem" while political actions were simply a means of limiting the damage.

Before proceeding further it is crucial to state that the essence of the evangelical version of anti-Catholicism is neither anti-ethnic nor political. Anti-Catholicism was a defining characteristic of world-wide evangelicalism prior to Vatican II. That is not to say that all anti-Catholicism was theologically based, nor that all evangelicals with these theological principles would agree on the best methods for expressing them. Yet this evangelical anti-Catholicism is the context in which French Protestantism is best understood.

Ultramontane Quebec

Ultramontanism has been studied often, including its Quebec form.[16] My interest lies in examining its approach to religious plurality.

Following the British Conquest of Quebec in 1759, Catholic leaders realized that French-speaking *Canadiens* had to be unified if they were to survive socially and politically in the new English colony. They would have to resist any attempt to split the French language and Catholic religion if either was to survive in the context of a hostile government and substantial privileges for English Protestants. After the divisive rebellions of 1837 and 1838 the bishops moved towards ultramontanist uniformity of belief rather than just French-Canadian unity.

As recruited European priests arrived and French-Canadian clerical candidates increased, the Catholic church was able to branch out[17] and clericalize the vital education and social services as well as to staff all the outlying parishes. The fragile Catholic church which, after the Rebellions possessed little religious fervour, was transformed into a vibrant triumphant church in the mid-1840s.

Priests constituted the focus of village life. Not only were they the guardians of the faith with its sacred mysteries, they were the guardians of the race with its language, culture and traditions, and the mediators between government and people. It became increasingly difficult to survive in a rural or small-town parish if one disagreed with the priest.

Uniformity required close monitoring of any deviance, along with enforcement by socio-religious means. A dissident became the enemy of God, the Church, the French language and the race if he/she questioned

any central aspect of the ultramontane dogma. Freedom of religion was interpreted to mean only the freedom for Catholics to practise and promote their religion. While no violence was to be done, French Protestants and all dissidents had to be marginalized by social and economic means.

As political and religious liberty for the Catholic Church increased, social and religious liberty in the broader French society and in the parish decreased. Dissident French liberals and Protestants were eventually left no room to exist.

Any "proselytism" by Protestants only encouraged the French clergy to reaffirm the necessity of homogeneity of language and faith. The small French Protestant groups were attributed an importance far beyond their small numbers, in constituting a peril for national solidarity. Rabid anti-(French)Protestantism was the rule in episcopal letters and clerical papers in Quebec.[18]

Previous accounts of anti-Catholicism have neglected the prevalence of anti-Protestantism in nations where Catholicism was dominant. This provocation provided an important stimulus to anti-Catholic organization.[19] The theory of a world-wide Catholic conspiracy was given credibility by Vatican pronouncements – declarations on Religious liberty,[20] the Syllabus of Errors (1864), and increased mention of the Index – as well as by stories of persecution of Protestants.

For evangelicals Quebec appeared to prove conclusively much of the Catholic conspiracy theory. Here was a perfect case study of Catholic culture exposed to Protestantism and English freedoms, but powerless to progress due to the total political and social control of its church leaders. Quebec became a *cause celebre* in evangelical journals.

Any verbalized anti-Protestantism by Catholic leaders in Quebec was publicized.[21] Of particular importance were the stories of persecuted French converts from Catholicism which became known around the evangelical world. They told of threats of violence, job loss or censorship: all of these the evangelical community blamed on the priests or bishops.

French Canada also became the prime mission field in North America for evangelical anti-Catholics. Here they aimed to defeat papist ambition and liberate a people. In 1878, Principal William Dawson of McGill, a world-renowned geologist and evangelical, was offered a post at Princeton University but declined saying "the claims of duty tie me to this place where a handful . . . of protestant people are struggling to redeem this province of Quebec from the incubus of ultramontanism and

of medieval ignorance."[22]

An ultramontane society was by definition most repugnant to evangelicals. In reaction to Catholicism's virulent anti-Protestantism combined with its socio-political dominance in Quebec, there naturally developed an equally virulent anti-Catholicism.

Charles Chiniquy

A. The development of an anti-Catholic

Both as the most prominent anti-Catholic internationally in the nineteenth century,[23] and as the only notable French-Canadian Protestant, Charles Chiniquy bears study.

Marcel Trudel's biography of Chiniquy in 1955 described him as an habitual liar, satyr and hate-filled apostate.[24] My study of Chiniquy breaks almost completely with this assessment, finding in Chiniquy a basic integrity, a conversion to Protestantism on a matter of justice, and a genuine evangelical theology. The evidence for such a generous assessment is abundant, but too complex to summarize here.[25]

Chiniquy's conversion took place not in Quebec but in Illinois around 1857. Following his excommunication by the Catholic bishop in 1856, he spent a year denying the validity of this excommunication. Over the next two years he formed a Catholic Christian denomination. Between September 1856 and January 1860, Chiniquy belonged neither to a Roman Catholic nor a Protestant community. In other words the change from Catholic to Protestant came over a period of several years, in the midst of constant confusion as to which side he belonged to, and even several apparent reconciliations with the Roman Catholic authorities.

Paul Laverdure's articles have brought a much more critical eye to Chiniquy studies. He notes the use to this day of Chiniquy writings but focuses his studies on the author as a propagandist for anti-Catholic hate through speeches and literature.[26] I have built on many of Laverdure's ideas and on his research but from a different angle and with quite different conclusions.

The obvious question that arises is why did a loyal Catholic turn to become such a militant anti-Catholic?[27] First, as soon as Chiniquy left the Catholic church, all the clerical weapons were levelled against him. A prominent Vicar General from Quebec diocese was sent to Illinois to gather information on him and to win back Chiniquy's followers. Any unfavour-

able rumours against the apostate tended to be credited by the bishops.

The legends about Chiniquy are quite similar to the propaganda used of all clergy who left the Church since the time of Luther, i.e., sexual predators, egocentric proud violent rebels, immoral followers of the Devil, heretics who spout hate against the Mother Church who had raised them, failures looking for Protestant money.[28] This kind of propaganda in the Quebec newspapers naturally enraged Chiniquy and his followers. In response he typically portrayed the Catholic Church in the worst possible light. He proceeded to develop an evangelical "liberation theology" with both a biblical base, and an understanding of the dynamics amongst those who feel oppressed.[29] Originally he sought liberation only in his local situation.

When Chiniquy returned to Quebec to explain his side of the story, he suffered repeated physical attacks from French Catholics. Catholics were forbidden by their bishops to attend his lectures or read his books and because of his excommunication were to isolate him. French newspapers were pressured if they reported anything positive about him.

As Protestants described the evangelical view of ultramontane Quebec it seemed to fit with Chiniquy's experience. Chiniquy was soon recruited to recount his experiences and the evils of ultramontane Quebec for British and American audiences. As a charismatic speaker, he realized that strong statements and colourful stories were most appreciated. He obliged.

Chiniquy had always been a crusader: first in his immensely successful campaign against alcohol and then against anticlericalism. After his crusade against his Chicago bishop, his next holy war targeted the entire Catholic Church. As always Chiniquy demonized his opponents.

When the dubious tactics of his local bishop (in appropriating property belonging to individual congregations) were supported without question by the Quebec bishops, this drove Chiniquy to believe in the current political conspiracy theory about Catholic leaders. At the same time, Chiniquy was coming to adopt a Protestant theology which the Catholic church had dismissed as heresy. Gradually the excommunicated Chiniquy came to believe that "the more a man is cursed by their tyrannical and idolatrous Church, the more he is blessed by God."[30]

There is the possibility that in a peaceful setting, despite his crusading temperament, Chiniquy might have carried on as local pastor and written about the virtues of Protestantism. It is not so surprising that he

became a belligerent anti-Catholic given the constant legal problems, the circulating of endless scandalous rumours, the presence of a Catholic mission nearby working full-time to combat him, the rebuffs received after he had swallowed his pride enough to present his submissions, the solidarity of episcopal denunciations, the media onslaught in Quebec, the frequent threats and acts of physical violence, and total isolation from all French acquaintances.

B. His themes and his means

Chiniquy belongs to the version of anti-Catholicism which has evangelical roots and evangelical goals. His goals were not ethnocentric nor aimed to conserve anglo power. While the conspiracy mindset he adopted verged on paranoia, Chiniquy truly saw it as his duty to warn all Protestant countries lest they should fall under the social, political and religious control which he had experienced in French Canada. He deemed it disastrous for a free country to allow separate schools or any rights to the Catholic Church.

The ex-priest waded into all the contentious Canadian socio-political issues of the late-nineteenth century. It was difficult for Chiniquy to refute the charge of treason against French Canada. Chiniquy refused to give any political party his loyalty but as a visionary and an organizer he joined the Orange Order, the Civil Rights Association, the Protestant Defence Association, the International Protestant League and the Bible Society. He spoke in defence of Freemasons, the Institut canadien, Joseph Guibord, Alessandro Gavazzi and various other dissenters. Most French Canadians, linked as they were to their church (which had condemned all these associations and individuals) and their language (which was threatened by English Protestant militants), could hardly approve of such positions.

In order for progress, liberty and adequate education to develop Chiniquy believed that political measures were needed to curb Catholic conspiracy. At the same time, evangelism was a necessity to convert those who had been duped into adhering to Catholicism. Chiniquy worked towards the two goals of politics and evangelism with energy and vision. Those who had political priorities such as the *Journal d'Illinois*, the *Chicago Tribune* or the *Huntingdon Gleaner* were quite critical of Chiniquy's lack of political sense or consistency.[31] Chiniquy's lack of political sense can be explained by the fact that his priorities, understanding and consistency were theological.

As Protestant lecture circuits sought out attractive foes of Catholicism, Chiniquy had much to offer. His experiences of social isolation and mob violence as well as his ex-priest status led to a ready Protestant platform outside Quebec. If we examine the list of sermon topics that Chiniquy offered to potential churches or groups, we note a broad range of topics.[32] He regularly preached traditional evangelical, biblical sermons on Sunday mornings and frequently delivered less controversial temperance lectures. Yet wherever he went it was his Sunday evening or midweek lectures on controversial topics which drew much larger crowds.

In this polemical age, Chiniquy thrived and became a Protestant champion. He mastered many of the forms of polemical literature in both French and English. Far more than hate motivated the ex-priest but all his emotions, attractive or not, were vividly expressed by pen or tongue. Like Luther, Chiniquy alternated between abuse, pathos, exaggeration, passionate exhortation and dispassionate logic.

Laverdure has pointed out that the origins of Chiniquy's holy war language lie, in part, in his ultramontane training. The polemical approach of both anti-Catholicism and ultramontanism involved amplifying the polemic, repeating any accusations, adding details and often distorting the original stories.[33] We see this often in the ex-priest. Chiniquy's liberation goals were inflamed by his indignation regarding injustice and his polemical bent. He became furious with Protestant clergy who implied that Catholics were Christians.[34] Chiniquy portrayed Roman Catholicism as simply a persecuting paganism with a Christian facade.

The ex-priest insisted that his was an "anti-Catholicism with love," but the love was addressed exclusively to individual laity and doubting priests who had been "duped" by the diabolical Roman system and their tyrannical bishops.

Chiniquy could provide his audience with inside, if distorted, information about Catholicism. He knew which points were most controversial within Catholicism and he wrote embarrassing public letters to bishops in language Catholics understood. The ex-priest's apparent biblical base and authoritative explanations of Catholic practices were sufficient for Chiniquy to acquire a wide popularity among evangelicals in the late-nineteenth century. He became the interpreter of Catholicism for millions of Protestants.

The ex-priest's language was controlled enough so as not to incite his audience to immediate violence.[35] It was uncontrolled enough to allege

many false motivations and plots, and to spread anti-Catholic legends as facts. Chiniquy's gift of oratory made his tendency to publicise rumours much more dangerous. The ex-priest did not care about appearing tolerant. He used mockery, humour, exaggeration, innuendo and every other means he could think of to shock Catholics into re-thinking their position.

The most shocking of Chiniquy's provocations came in January 1876 when in a Montreal lecture he consecrated a wafer, crumpled it up and ground it under foot. In response Montreal Bishop Bourget recommended to clergy that the Catholic Church celebrate a Mass of Reparation:

> "At the mere mention of this horrible attempt, this unheard of sacrilege, this frightful profanation, there can be but one sentiment of grief throughout the entire Diocese . . . the Lamb of God, full of mercy and sweetness, allows himself to be immolated and held up to mockery by the hands of an apostate and sacrilegious priest, see if there be a sorrow equal to mine (says Jesus)."[36]

This Chiniquy innovation followed the pattern of Old Testament actions against Baal practices, Boniface against the holy oaks, and missionaries against African or Amerind animism. In each case the most central objects of adoration (or idolatry) were physically destroyed, in order to demonstrate that they had no power against the supreme God of the Bible. The Protestant papers did not rejoice in the strong action but neither did they view it as mockery. Evangelicals were willing to defend the action because it had a biblical basis.[37] They noted that the design was first to shock, but then to stimulate reformulation of one's faith.

Inevitably Chiniquy's theology and contacts led him to become less loyal to French Canada. Chiniquy supported any patriotism which contested Catholic power, whether English Canadian, American, British, Australian or that of Bismarck's Germany. He believed that only a strong nation could resist papal interference.

C. His preeminent international position

Charles Chiniquy was the most prominent anti-Catholic world-wide in terms of publications and lectures during his 90 odd years. A study of Chiniquy's contacts in various localities helps reveal his basic tenets.[38] In Quebec, after his adoption of Protestantism, Chiniquy managed to gain the respect of all French Protestants and the personal friendship of their leaders.[39] None of these leaders expressed any public criticism of

Chiniquy. The French Protestant newspapers, the *Semeur canadien* and later *l'Aurore*, were uniformly positive and united behind their champion.

Almost every English evangelical in Quebec stood in support of Chiniquy at some point in time. As for English evangelical papers only the *Montreal Witness*, while very evangelical and anti-Catholic, questioned Chiniquy on occasion about his fund-raising or his extremes in anti-Catholicism. Nevertheless it published virtually all his letters.

The English Quebecer closest to Chiniquy was certainly Principal Donald MacVicar of Presbyterian College. Other prominent supporters in Montreal included Rev. John Campbell, Rev. Henry Wilkes, Principal Dawson of McGill and industrialist John Redpath. All of these men were known as evangelicals committed to French mission. While non-evangelical Bishop Fulford of Montreal opposed Chiniquy and any evangelization among the French,[40] the predominantly evangelical students of the Anglican Montreal Diocesan College turned out in force for Chiniquy's funeral.[41] Outside evangelical circles, only the Orange Order promoted Chiniquy speeches and material.[42]

In the United States and Australia most of Chiniquy's sponsors, publishers and greatest supporters were committed evangelicals. Often the Free Presbyterians took the lead, but in each country Chiniquy acquired broad evangelical support among Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, Baptists and evangelical Anglicans. Though his tirades against Ritualists must have made many Anglicans fume the sentiments appealed to most evangelical Anglicans.

Similarly in Britain Chiniquy was invited by those who combined impeccable evangelical credentials with staunch anti-Catholicism.[43] The groups they belonged to lobbied Parliament for anti-Catholic measures but far more effort and money was allotted to the evangelization of Catholics.[44] Lord Shaftesbury, the Baptist orator Charles Spurgeon, Lord Roden of Ireland, Rev. Grattan Guinness and other celebrities belonging to the evangelical brand of anti-Catholicism, welcomed Chiniquy. There have been no records found showing comparable plaudits made by any social or political leaders in Britain or elsewhere.

Chiniquy convinced all the leading evangelical leaders in the Western world for 40 years that he was a genuine evangelical. European leaders such as Eugene Reveillaud of France and Alessandro Gavazzi of Italy called Chiniquy a good friend.[45] Either all of these persons lacked discernment, or the fraud thesis in reference to Chiniquy is tenuous. He received

support from evangelicals of all denominations. Probably many questioned his methods, but none seem to have questioned his faith publicly. His supporters, sponsors and publishers were evangelicals. This being the case, he seems to fall squarely in the evangelical anti-Catholic camp.

Influence since Chiniquy

A. Continuity

Chiniquy died in 1899 but ultramontane Quebec held firm until 1960. In late nineteenth-century Quebec, clerical control of French institutions became all-encompassing, embracing schools, hospitals, social clubs and, later, unions. Jobs and educational possibilities were limited to loyal Catholics. Ostracism and boycotts were used effectively to exclude French Protestants.[46] Some converts were taken to court for making anti-Catholic statements or for non-payment of tithes. Freedom of speech about religion was suppressed for the French press and for lecturers through episcopal excommunications or mob attacks.[47]

Growing Catholic dominance towards the latter part of the nineteenth-century permitted enormous pressure to be exerted on dissidents simply through isolation, rather than through overt persecution. As a result, up to 80% of French Protestants left Quebec prior to 1925.[48]

French evangelicals sought progress and liberty for their fellows by means of evangelism and education. Statements by French Protestants and their evangelists never opposed the French language or race. However, their expressions were strongly anti-Catholic. French Protestants agreed wholeheartedly with the English about the dangers of papal authoritarianism, the Index, the Jesuit Estates, separate schools and undue clerical influence in politics.

Chiniquy and anti-Catholic French Protestants force another reading of anti-Catholicism. One could accuse them of being anglophiles who were traitors at heart or one could credit their stance as theologically based and as socially progressive.

As anti-Catholicism became marginalized in the mainline churches, more extreme exponents continued the cause. Canadian crusaders who were most concerned about Catholic dominance, such as Protestant militants T.T. Shields in Ontario, Perry F. Rockwood in the Maritimes and present day Chick Publications in the United States, have all distributed Chiniquy material and other anti-Catholic materials in French.

Once a person had adopted the view that the Catholic episcopacy could easily justify falsehood in a good cause, then any rumour of un-Christian actions by Catholics was likely to be believed. From there it was possible to imagine elaborate conspiracies. Any evidence for one rumour made all the rest credible so that it became impossible to disprove any conspiracy theories. While Roman Catholics have been more prone to accepting accounts of bogus relics, evangelical circles and particularly those with a dispensational theology have had a weakness for believing bizarre stories of anti-Catholic immorality or conspiracy.

Evangelical missionaries around the world have often turned to Chiniquy's writings.[49] His writings include all major European languages, besides being printed in native languages in Russia, India, Formosa, South America and Africa. The lively accounts of the ex-priest's courage and his evangelical doctrine were deemed worthy of translation even in non-Catholic areas. New evangelical converts in any area hostile to evangelical Christianity often related well to Chiniquy. Recent reports to me of people living today who were raised on Chiniquy in Presbyterian Glasgow, German Baptist circles in the United States, rural Haiti and French Africa show the wide impact he has had.

Chiniquy has remained for a century the hero of French Protestants and naturally provided a constant source for anti-Catholicism. His generalizations about immoral priests, conspiracy by bishops and Jesuits and attacks on Protestants were convincing to many. While anti-Catholicism was less public after Chiniquy, lacking such a fearless spokesman, it was the standard position of French Protestants in ultramontane Quebec. Anti-Protestantism bred anti-Catholicism. Evangelical groups in Quebec who faced harassment particularly identified with the Chiniquy accounts. Missionary John Spreeman had been forced out of the Lac St. Jean area[50] before he felt motivated to print *Mes Combats*.[51] Such "persecution" was only to be expected when viewed through Chiniquy's grid.

B. Vatican II

In Quebec, Vatican II combined with the Quiet Revolution to bring massive changes to Quebec society. The new pluralist society has finally provided French Protestants with the opportunity to grow in numbers though they remain around 1% of the French population.[52]

Yet French Protestants often agree with the old Catholic saying:

"Rome never changes." The closed uniform Quebec society has persisted in some rural areas, rejecting Catholics who convert to Protestantism. Many new French Protestants face rejection while almost all face incomprehension from church and family that they have joined a cult group. At the same time an influential segment of media and intellectuals in French Quebec expresses a visceral anti-clericalism. From such a base, new Protestant converts enthusiastic about their new faith and frustrated with their old allegiance are likely to be attracted to anti-Catholicism.

Today those who have responded least to modern pressures and are most sceptical of Vatican II, i.e., those who do not eschew the label "fundamentalist," prize Chiniquy most. Enthusiasm for Chiniquy equally means distrust of Roman reform. It appears difficult for these Protestants to abandon the Chiniquy position that all Roman Catholics are, by definition, pagans.

While in English North America Chiniquy material has become marginal among evangelicals since Vatican II, in French evangelical circles, as in formerly closed Catholic societies of Italy and Spain, Chiniquy is still very popular. Anti-Catholicism continues in pockets of denominations or congregations where it is fanned by older members who have experienced persecution as the norm or where conspiracy theories are popular.

One might speculate about whether Chiniquy would have welcomed Vatican II. Many of the issues over which his battles were fought are no longer problems: auricular confession, limitation on Bible distribution, social control, liberty of religion. Serious theological differences remain between Catholicism and Evangelicalism but the new factors of religious liberty and language of "separated brethren" provide a much more propitious situation for progress.

While mainline Protestant churches participated with Catholics in the Christian Pavilion at Expo 67, the growing French evangelical churches maintained their distance. Nevertheless ecumenical dialogue by mainline churches has facilitated cooperation between the Catholic theological faculty of the Université de Montréal with the evangelical Institut biblique Laval (Mennonite Brethren) and overtures of the same between the Université Laval and the Faculté de Théologie Évangélique (Convention Baptist).

Anti-Catholicism is on the road eventually to becoming marginal even in Quebec. An informal survey of French Protestant book distributors in Montreal found them to have stopped stocking anti-Catholic material

(Chick Publications in particular). That does not mean that they will not take orders when there is a market such as for Rebeccah Brown (the current extremist best-selling author). Anti-Catholic material, in fact, remains the only category in which French evangelical book sales outstrip English sales in Montreal.[53]

Para-church organizations seem to be leading the way in distancing themselves from militant anti-Catholicism. The March for Jesus is a recent international evangelical enterprise. Last year four Catholic parish groups participated in the Montreal march along with 8,000 people from congregations coming from most Christian denominations. Despite protests from some evangelical groups the march went forward.[54] La Direction chrétienne, le Groupe biblique universitaire (IVCF) as well as most Bible Colleges eschew polemics. One para-church organization, the Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship, actually facilitates ties between evangelical charismatics and Catholics.

Abandoning anti-Catholicism does not result in abandoning evangelism. All French evangelical groups, which is the vast majority of French Protestants, will continue to evangelize among Protestants and Catholics, whether nominal or not. Evangelism is not equivalent to the normal definition of anti-Catholicism but these have often been treated by historians as synonymous. Though anti-Catholicism and proselytism[55] still exist among French Protestants, these two negative terms should be sharply distinguished from the Christian mandate of evangelism.

Conclusion

While much of anti-Catholicism has political and ethnic roots, the version that held sway among French Protestants and Chiniquy derives from evangelical roots and goals. The experience of Chiniquy and most French Protestants contributed to their interpretation of intolerant ultramontane Quebec as the epitome of Catholic goals. Although evangelicals encouraged political actions to limit Roman power, evangelism constituted the ultimate solution for this evangelical version of anti-Catholicism. Only changed hearts were deemed able to bring justice and peace to Catholic regions.

Chiniquy himself is best understood as an evangelical who became an anti-Catholic rather than as an anti-Catholic who happened to be a Protestant. His circles of influence were all evangelical except for the

Orange Order. This latter group was important in providing the ex-priest with the physical protection he needed in return for his commendations of their work.

Anti-Catholicism has survived longer in Quebec than elsewhere because of the lingering effects of ultramontanism. Although all official anti-Protestantism has disappeared, French evangelicals are still viewed as cult groups by many. Various forms of rejection suffered by current French Protestants serve to give credibility to Chiniquy's thesis of an unchanging intolerant Church. Even the tremendous transformations of the 1960s have had limited effect on anti-Catholicism among French Protestants.

However, a new generation and influential para-church movements are finally reversing the trend. Catholics and evangelicals are beginning to see what they have in common. This process will be accelerated when the excesses of past anti-Protestantism and anti-Catholicism are admitted by all and then, finally, laid to rest.

Endnotes

1. *The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1964).

2. *History of Bigotry in the United States* (New York: Capricorn, 1960).

3. *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1968).

4. *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New York: Atheneum, 1968).

5. "Anti-Catholic Thought in Victorian Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 66, No. 4 (December 1985): 474-494; "Bigotry in the North Atlantic Triangle: Irish, British and American Influences on Canadian Anti-Catholicism, 1850-1900," *Studies in Religion* 16, No. 3 (1987): 289-301; "Anti-Catholicism in Canada: From the British Conquest to the Great War," in *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society*, eds., Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1993), 25-48.

6. His latest article and his book, *Equal Rights: The Jesuit Estates Act Controversy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1979) are more insightful but the latter only considers socio-political motives.

7. *Dictionary of Christianity in America* (Downer's Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1990), 801. Nativism refers to an American nineteenth-century movement which aimed at banning or limiting immigration and the rights of immigrants. This was usually tied into anti-Catholicism because most immigrants who were not Anglo-Saxon (and thus had more difficulty assimilating) were Catholic.

8. "A Crippled Crusade: Anglican Missions to French Canadian Roman Catholics, 1835 to 1868," Th.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1989.

9. See *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain, 1829-1860* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1991); and "Anti-Catholicism and Evangelical Identity in Britain and the United States 1830-1860," in *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles and Beyond 1700-1900*, eds. Mark Noll, David Bebbington and George Rawlyk (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1994), 179-197.

Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade*, 316.

11. *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 3.

12. This was the first successful international cooperation of members of most Protestant churches. Individuals rather than denominations became members. It was a forerunner of both the World Council of Churches and the World Evangelical Fellowship (John Wolffe, "The Evangelical Alliance in the 1840s," in *Voluntary Religion* [Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1986], 333-346).

13. See George Rawlyk and Mark Noll, eds., *Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada and the United States* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1994).

14. Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 39, 58.

15. *Converted Catholic* 14 (1897), 198. The editor was James O'Connor, an ex-priest.

16. On its ideology see Nadia Eid, *Le clergé et le pouvoir politique au Québec* (Montréal: Hurtubuise HMH, 1976). For a broader view see Jean Hamelin and Nive Voisine, eds., *Les ultramontains canadiens-français* (Montréal, Boréal, 1985).

17. There were five 5 new male religious communities and ten female between 1837 and 1850 according to Bernard Denault ("Sociographie générale des communautés religieuses au Québec 1837-1970," in *Éléments pour une sociologie des communautés religieuses au Québec*, Bernard Denault and

Benoît Lévesque [Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1975], 72).

18. David Thiery Ruddel, *Le protestantisme français au Québec 1840-1919* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1983), 1-13.

19. In areas of Catholic minorities usually the initial provocation came from anti-Catholicism.

20. Peter Doyle, "Pope Pius IX and Religious Freedom," in *Persecution and Toleration* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1984), 329-341.

21. Ruddel, *Le protestantisme français au Québec 1840-1919*, 1-13.

22. Quoted in Mark Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), 260.

23. Richard Lougheed, "A Major Stimulant for both Quebec Ultramontanism and World-wide Anti-Catholicism: The Legacy of Chiniquy," *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* (1994): 36-55.

24. *Chiniquy* (Trois-Rivières:Éditions du Bien Public, 1955). His memoirs (*Mémoires d'un autre siècle*, Montréal: Boréal, 1987) indicate the need to update the account although there appears no revision of the evaluation of Chiniquy's integrity. Yves Roby follows Trudel while omitting the polemics (*Canadian Dictionary of Biography*, 12:189-193).

25. Richard Lougheed, *The Controversial Conversion of Charles Chiniquy*, Ph.D. diss., Université de Montréal, 1993.

26. Note the title of his thesis: "Religious Invective of Charles Chiniquy, anti-Catholic crusader, 1875-1900," M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1984.

27. See Laverdure, "Charles Chiniquy: The Making of an Anti-Catholic Crusader," Canadian Catholic Historical Association *Historical Studies* 54 (1987): 39-56.

28. Compare Heinrich Denifle, *Luther und Luthertum* (Mayence, 1904), and Jerome Bolsec, *Histoire de la vie . . . de Calvin* (Paris, 1577).

29. Chiniquy to P. Moreau, 26 February 1857 (Archives du Séminaire de Québec [ASQ], 52:5f), 41; Chiniquy to Mailloux, 29 July 1857 (ASQ 50:3f).

30. *Montreal Witness*, 29 March 1876, 1.

31. *Journal d'Illinois*, 30 April 1858, 2; *Chicago Press and Tribune*, 2 and 3 December 1858, 2; *Montreal Witness*, 27 April 1875, 1.

32. See Lougheed, "The Controversial Conversion," Appendix 3.

33. Laverdure, "The Making of an Anti-Catholic Crusader," 53.

34. See *A Solemn Question: Can the Protestants conscientiously build up the churches of the Pope?* by Rev. Charles Hodge and Charles Chiniquy (Halifax: Nova Scotia Print Co., 1873); and Chiniquy, *40 Years in the Church of Christ* (Toronto: Revell, 1900), chapter 26.

35. Although many Catholic protestors were arrested, none of Chiniquy's followers were. Nor were there any incidents of violence against Catholic property around his lectures. The significance of this should not be underestimated in a time when Chiniquy was often physically attacked during lectures.

36. The Montreal Catholic paper, *True Witness*, 11 February 1876, 6; also found in *Mandements des évêques de Montréal*, 7:308-310.

37. *Montreal Witness*, 7 February 1876, 2; 18 March 1876, 4; R.F. Burns, *Our Modern Babylon* (Halifax: Nova Scotia Print Co., 1876), 17-18.

38. See Lougheed, "The Controversial Conversion," Appendix I for a preliminary list.

39. E.g., Lafleur, Therrien, Duclos, Amaron, Cyr, Provost, Massicotte, Thomas Dorion, Doudiet, Bourgoin, Villard, Coussirat and the French Anglicans.

40. Black, "A Crippled Crusade," chapter 5.

41. *Gazette*, 20 January 1899, 1.

42. Charles E. Perry, *Lectures on Orangeism and other subjects* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1892). See Lougheed, "The Controversial Conversion," chapter 9 for more on his Orange connections.

43. E.g. the Scottish Reformation Society, the Protestant Educational Institute and the Protestant Alliance.

44. Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade*, 161-162, 318.

45. Eugène Réveillaud in *Cinquante ans* (Geneva: Librairie J.H. Jeheber, 1902), preface; and a letter by Gavazzi in *Montreal Witness*, 4 April 1870.

46. E.g., Baptist churches in Maskinongé and Sorel. See Theodore Lafleur, *A Semi-Centennial Historical Sketch of the Grande Ligne Mission* (Montréal: D. Bentley, 1885), 82-83.

47. Paul Villard, *Up to the Light: The Story of French Protestantism in Canada* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1928), 110-118.

48. Dominique Vogt-Raguy, a researcher from France, in a letter to the author, April 1991.

49. Chiniquy, *40 Years in the Church of Christ*, 415; Trudel, *Chiniquy*, 262-263. I have found twenty-one translated documents in fourteen languages with reports of editions in four other languages.

50. Claude Savoie, "'Les méchants protestants' du Québec," *Magazine MacLean*, 8 (November 1968), 76a-76c; Richard Strout, "Advance through Storm: being the story of French Evangelical Protestantism in Roman Catholic Quebec 1930-1980," unpublished manuscript at Institut Béthel, Lennoxville, 1980, 21-23 (quoted in the Brethren *News of Quebec*, 1946).

51. [John Spreeman] to Joseph Morin, 15 March 1946 (Samuel Lefebvre collection, McGill Archives, c.2/110); *Mes Combats* (Montréal: l'Aurore, 1946) was a French condensation of Chiniquy's autobiographical *50 Years in the Church of Rome* and *40 Years in the Church of Christ*.

52. Allan Swift, "A Church Amid Change," *Faith Today* (January 1991): 19-24.

53. English material outsells in general because it is cheaper and provides more variety.

54. One Montreal innovation is to exclude any identifying banners in order to foster unity in Christ. Any reference to Mary or the Sacred Heart would generate a quick reaction.

55. See Paul Loffler for a helpful definition ("Proselytism," in *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement* [Geneva: WCC, 1991], 829-30).

CSCH Presidential Address 1995

Aspects of Canadian Evangelical Historiography

ROBERT K. BURKINSHAW

This presentation examines the study of the history of evangelicalism in Canada by describing and explaining the changes which have occurred during the last several decades as historians have turned from virtual neglect of evangelical history to placing a significant, and growing, emphasis upon it. The essay also outlines some of the directions in that historiography as indicated at a major conference held at Queen's University in May 1995.

Two incidents, separated by about seventeen years, illustrate from a personal vantage point some of the dramatic changes which have occurred recently in the historical study of Canadian evangelicalism. The first occurred at the University of British Columbia (UBC) during the late 1970s. As an undergraduate considering future studies, I told a member of the history department of my growing interest in studying the history of Canadian evangelicalism. He was sympathetic but responded, "I don't believe you can do that at any university in Canada."

The second occurred at Queen's University in May 1995. The occasion was a conference of historians entitled, "Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience." I understand that it was the largest, best-funded conference dealing with *any* aspect of the history of religion ever held in Canada. Approximately 100 people registered for the four days of meetings with larger crowds attending the public evening sessions. Most of the

participants were Canadians, but the conference also drew some prominent historians from Britain, the USA and Australia.[1] Furthermore, several display tables were filled with recent scholarly books on various aspects of Canadian evangelical history.

I propose to look at some of the reasons for the major shift from such scant historical interest in Canadian evangelical history to significant attention and suggest some of the current directions in research and writing. I am aware that evangelicalism is just one of several areas of study undertaken by members of this society but hope that all members will gain some insights from this survey.

The Shift

Many in this audience will no doubt remember a time when there appeared to be a nearly all-pervasive aversion to religion in general as a category of historical enquiry. All but the younger members, perhaps, will recall a period in which many historians, particularly in English Canada, engaged in a process of "reading backwards" from a quite secular modern era, and thus missed much of the importance of religion in Canadian history. Or they will recall when large numbers of historians were, for ideological reasons, uninterested or opposed to focusing on religion.

Further, some members of CSCH will remember the particular aversion to evangelical history which, in addition to the above mentioned difficulties, suffered from other handicaps. Michael Gauvreau summarizes some of the impressions common among Canadian academics regarding evangelicalism:

> . . . the mental universe of nineteenth-century evangelicals emerges . . . (from literary works) as something of a caricature of Calvinism, a closed, inflexible system of "orthodox" theological doctrines, a brittle mind-set destined inevitably to shatter after 1860 under the hammer-blows of "Darwinism" and the higher criticism. And, to further confirm the literary and historical revolt against "Victorianism," Canadians in the 1970s and 1980s have witnessed the scorn directed towards the resurgence in North America of a politically active, conservative "fundamentalist" Protestantism which has appropriated the designation "evangelical." The word "evangelicalism" thus incarnates not only the opprobrium against "Victorianism" by a self-proclaimed literary and cultural "avant-garde," but raises the spectre of a militant

> anti-modernism engaged in a successful undermining of scientism, pluralism and tolerance, the supposed hallmarks of a liberal society. For most English Canadians, "evangelicalism" is thus viewed as a Victorian skeleton best hidden in the closet.[2]

Yet, by the late 1980s and early 1990s increasing numbers of Canadian scholars were paying attention to the significant role of evangelicals in the history of English Canada. Graduate students are currently researching aspects of the topic at numerous Canadian universities including McGill, Toronto, Queen's, British Columbia, Carleton, McMaster and Memorial. Numbers of scholarly books are being written and published by several university presses. In 1994 one of the officials at McGill-Queen's University Press noted that their series, "Studies in the History of Religion," in which volumes dealing with Canadian evangelicalism play a significant part, was selling better than almost all of their other academic series.

Why has the change occurred? Why has Canadian evangelical historical study metamorphosed from a scholarly "wasteland" to one of our new "growth industries?"

Firstly, we have to note the role of American studies. I am one of those who argue that Canadian evangelicalism is far more than being simply an import from the United States, but in this case American scholars such as Timothy L. Smith, Ernest Sandeen, George Marsden, Nathan Hatch, Mark Noll and Joel Carpenter have provided models for Canadians to follow. Their sophisticated and respected studies have shown it is possible for academic historians to take evangelicalism seriously as a subject without sacrificing their own scholarly integrity. George Marsden's *Fundamentalism and American Culture*,[3] for example, helped pave the way for certain members of the history department at UBC to look more favourably upon my 1982 proposal to study twentieth-century evangelicals in British Columbia.

Secondly, we must note the role of Canadian scholars. Mention of the 1995 conference at Queen's brings to mind the name of George Rawlyk, professor of History at Queen's and organizer of the conference. Rawlyk's own work on revivalism, especially in the Maritimes, has been trailblazing in its own right.[4] Further, he has frequently included a strong apologetic element in his writing, calling for a recognition by historians of the major, culture-shaping role of the revivalist tradition in much of

English Canada. His McGill-Queen's series, "Studies in the History of Religion,"[5] while including volumes dealing with a broad range of Christian traditions, has provided an important forum for a number of historians studying various aspects of Canadian evangelicalism. Finally, the large group of graduate students under his supervision at Queen's provides evidence of both his influence and of the ongoing and future vitality in this area of research.

Other Canadian scholars have also played an important role in this change. The works of William Westfall, Marguerite Van Die, Michael Gauvreau, Phyllis Airhart, John G. Stackhouse and David R. Elliot, among others, have gained growing recognition and respect.[6] While it should be noted that these scholars have received a great deal of encouragement and help from older Canadian historians such as John W. Grant, John S. Moir, Ian Rennie and George Rawlyk and from Americans such as Martin Marty and Mark Noll, it should also be pointed out that this society has provided an important forum for the work of most of them. The members of the CSCH, most of whose primary research interests lay in forms of Christianity *other* than evangelicalism, have expressed interest in, and provided encouragement for, work on evangelical topics and have thus played an important role in the development of a Canadian evangelical historiography.

These scholars have been aided by, and have contributed to, the movement of religion in general in English-speaking Canada into the "mainstream" of historical enquiry. Michael Owen refers to the work of historians of religion such as John W. Grant in raising awareness that ". . . religion has been an integral element of the way in which Canadians have confronted the broader society."[7] Marguerite Van Die, in her 1992 CSCH Presidential Address, points out that the recognition of religion as a valid subject for research is largely due to refinements in social history which have led to religion being ". . . recognized as a significant force in the modernization of western society."[8] Because evangelicalism has often taken the form of a populist religious movement in Canada and elsewhere, and has attracted large numbers of workers and women among others, it has become increasingly difficult for social historians to ignore it.

Ironically, a new type of "backward reading," a reversal of the earlier form which saw evangelicalism as a fading remnant of the Victorian era, has come to the fore in recent decades. By the late 1970s it began to become clear that Canadian evangelicalism would not disappear but was

indeed showing increased signs of vitality. Whether or not evangelicalism has actually grown in proportion to the national population since the mid-twentieth century has been the subject of some discussion, but it clearly has survived better than its more liberal, mainline Protestant counterpart.[9] This relative growth in the modern era has forced scholars to take evangelicalism in Canada more seriously as an historical reality. A member of the UBC department of history, in discussing the department's approval of my dissertation proposal on twentieth-century BC evangelicalism, observed that they felt it important someone did such a study because "we need an historical understanding of what's happening out there." Academics have become curious enough about the origins of, and developments within, churches that are building modern edifices seating thousands, establishing significant schools and exerting increasing political influence, to encourage historical enquiry.

Evangelical growth in the latter half of the twentieth century has influenced evangelical historiography in some practical ways. Many of the scholars of evangelicalism would not consider themselves to be evangelicals but the numerical growth of many evangelical denominations, coupled with increasing interest in scholarship in some evangelical quarters, has resulted in increasing numbers of young scholars who are themselves evangelicals and have a strong interest in examining aspects of their own tradition. In addition, a growing number of evangelical colleges and seminaries began supporting such scholarship by the 1980s.[10]

Themes and Directions in Canadian Evangelical Historiography

The 1995 "Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience" conference held at Queen's illustrated some of the current major themes and directions in Canadian Evangelical historiography and pointed towards some directions it might take in the future.

1. "Forward reading"

In 1991 Michael Gauvreau called historians of religion to a "forward reading" of history, as opposed to the "backwards reading" which so commonly takes place.

> The recovery of the relationship between Protestant religion and the culture of English Canada requires a new approach, one less con-

> cerned with discerning the pedigree of the twentieth century mind than one which takes as its principal task the situation of the religious experience within its historical context. Informed by a "forward reading," such a historian will treat religion as an integral and dynamic element of any given historical period, at once influenced by the surrounding culture, and creatively shaping the social and ideological matrix.[11]

Several presenters at Queen's likewise prodded historians to take religion more seriously in its *own* context. Marguerite Van Die, in dealing with Canadian Methodism from 1800 to 1884, warned against seeing this as simply a period of declension within Methodism.[12] It was more than a falling away from the enthusiasm of the Hay Bay camp meetings to a middle-class gentility, and to the reputed secularism of the Grimsby Park camp meeting grounds in 1875.[13] The religious expressions of the latter half of the nineteenth century must be taken seriously *on their own terms*. Their different experiences, expressions and concerns arose from the very different settings in which they found themselves as middle-class Methodists in an emerging capitalist society.

Similarly, Sharon Cook warned of the danger of a "whiggish" approach in the study of the hundreds of thousands of Canadian women who were evangelicals. While noting the lack of focus on women in evangelical historiography, she decried the lack of attention in feminist history on the evangelical beliefs of so many women; rarely are the religious ideas of women studied.[14] Her observations, of course, are not entirely new. They echo the theme of Ruth Compton Brouwer's paper presented to this society in 1991.[15]

Cook's study of "Christian nurture" ideas of the members of the WCTU demonstrates the validity of her concerns by illustrating how these women do not fit some modern stereotypes. Although modern scholars often view the WCTU as uninterested in challenging the structures of society, Cook shows that "Christian nurture" ideas of training the next generation of men did constitute a challenge. Implicit in these evangelical womens' desire to raise their boys into very different types of men was indeed a rejection of contemporary views of masculinity.

2. Informal twentieth-century evangelical networks compared to denominational ties

Most of the papers at the Queen's conference followed the common pattern of being categorized according to denomination (e.g., evangelicals in the Presbyterian Church). Because of the importance of evangelicalism in all the major Protestant denominations and because of the emergence of significant new denominations since the late-nineteenth century, much can be learned from such an approach. Several papers, however, pointed out the tendency within twentieth-century evangelicalism to create informal but very real networks regardless of the denominational affiliation of participants. John Stackhouse's recent book, *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to Its Character*, pioneered this direction as he focused on "transdenominational" institutions and the networks supporting them and linking them.

Several additional important evangelical networks were revealed at Queen's. Bruce Hindmarsh explored an important but largely unknown network based in Winnipeg and comprised of closely related and mutually supportive institutions that influenced much of the prairies.[16] The independent Elim Chapel, the Canadian Sunday School Mission (CSSM) and the Winnipeg Bible Institute, all based in Winnipeg, shared board members and constituencies for several decades after the 1920s. The Bible school, for example, supplied workers for the CSSM which, in turn, provided converts as students for the school. Elim Chapel members played vital role in both organizations.

Hindmarsh's work challenges the Alberta prism through which most of Canadian prairie evangelicalism is viewed. He shows how the beginnings of the Winnipeg network antedated the founding of Prairie Bible Institute by about a decade and spread westward beyond Manitoba to include much of Saskatchewan. The CSSM was very active in Saskatchewan, winning converts and forming new churches over a wide area. Under the direct influence of the Winnipeg school, several Bible institutes, such as the Christian and Missionary Alliance's school in Regina and the currently very large Briercrest Bible Institute, sprang up in Saskatchewan.

Alvyn Austin showed how Toronto functioned at the centre of another large and important evangelical network, one that spread throughout much of North America.[17] The city functioned for many years as the North American headquarters of the giant, non-denominational China Inland Mission. The Toronto Bible College and city missions in

Toronto served as training grounds for potential missionaries from the eastern sections of the continent.

Denominations will no doubt remain as useful categories of analysis for historians but both Hindmarsh and Austin do well to point out that much of the dynamic activity of twentieth-century evangelicalism will be missed if the focus remains exclusively on denominations. In an ironic twist, evangelicals, who have usually eschewed official ecumenism throughout most of this century, have nonetheless practised a pragmatic kind of ecumenism that often renders denominations almost irrelevant.

3. Class

Very little attention has been paid to the question of class and Canadian evangelicalism.[18] Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau presented a striking paper at Queen's that suggests how important a line of enquiry the question is.[19] They challenge some common assumptions about evangelicalism and workers. The study of labour and religion in Winnipeg in this period almost always focuses upon the Labour churches which, at least in some cases, disregarded their evangelical heritage. Christie and Gauvreau argue, however, that larger numbers of workers in Winnipeg were attracted to revivalism, particularly after the war. Workers flocked to a great variety of independent and denominational missions, Pentecostal services, and lectures by fundamentalist leaders brought to the city by Elim Chapel. In contrast, it was many in the "strike-jolted" middle-classes who were far more inclined than were most workers to experiment with social gospel solutions. It is noteworthy that William Ivens was ousted from his Methodist pulpit not by middle-class members uncomfortable with his radicalism but by conservative working-class members who were uncomfortable with his lack of tradition and his doctrinal experimentation.

Christie's and Gauvreau's picture, although more noteworthy because of the context provided by the General Strike, is generally comparable with the situation my research uncovered in Vancouver. In that city, while conservative evangelicals could be found in every socio-economic level, most of the numerical strength of the more radically revivalistic or militantly conservative lay in the working-class districts.[20] Further, Barry Mack's paper at Queen's revealed the middle-class oriented Presbyterian denominational leadership in the early twentieth century moving towards a more centralized, bureaucratic and social-service, as opposed to evangelistic, style.[21] Such a shift of focus within the leadership

of a major denomination might help explain the growing attraction which the more revivalistic alternatives held for many common people who continued to crave immediate, personal spiritual experiences.

Much more research needs to be done in this area. For example, Canadian Pentecostalism experienced explosive growth in the two decades after World War I, especially in contexts such as that described in Winnipeg by Christie and Gauvreau, so that it numbered nearly half a million adherents in the 1991 census. Very little, however, is known about this development.[22]

4. Immigrant churches

Immigration and Canadian evangelicalism is also a relatively little explored phenomenon despite the fact that by the mid-twentieth century, at least in western Canada, people of non-British origins had become better represented in evangelicalism than they were in the general population. Europeans of Dutch, Scandinavian and German origins and, by the 1980s, Asians, all became very strongly represented in numerous evangelical groups.

Bruce Guenther's paper at Queen's focused on one of the largest and most important of such groups: the Mennonites.[23] A growing literature exists on Canadian Mennonites who have played a major, shaping role on evangelicalism in much of western Canada and Ontario.[24] Guenther highlighted the ambivalent view towards evangelicalism held by many Mennonites. Most Mennonites hold to the historic, defining characteristics of evangelicalism and large numbers, especially the Mennonite Brethren, have a history of cooperation and identification with evangelicals. However, many Mennonites are repelled by enough cultural and political features of mainstream North American evangelicalism to avoid a close identification with it.

Virtually no scholarly historical work has been done on other significant evangelical groups with their roots in relatively recent immigration. The Reformed churches of Dutch heritage, most notably the Christian Reformed Church, have existed in Canada since the turn of the century but renewed immigration after World War II and high birth rates caused them to grow significantly into the hundreds of thousands of members and adherents by the 1990s.[25] Of equal importance to numbers, the Christian Reformed have strongly challenged many Canadian evangelicals to re-evaluate their views of education, politics and social engagement. The

Reformed view of Christ's lordship over all areas of society has led to a significant re-adjustment in the thinking of many pietistically inclined evangelicals who previously practised a more privatistic faith.[26]

More recently, the immigration of many evangelical Chinese, Filipinos and Koreans and the very dynamic growth in their numbers in Canada through evangelism has led to strong concentrations of Asian evangelical churches in urban centres like Toronto and Vancouver. In BC, for example, a much higher percentage of Chinese identify themselves as Baptist and Christian and Missionary Alliance than does the general population and high proportions likewise are identified as Pentecostal and Mennonite. However, virtually nothing is known of the origins of these evangelicals and their experiences and influences within the Asian immigrant and Canadian-born communities.

5. Native Canadians and evangelicalism

Research into the frequently positive response of natives in Canada to revivalist preaching has become one of the more fascinating, and important, directions in evangelical historiography. The work of Susan Neylan, graduate student at UBC, is of particular importance.[27] Rather than focusing on the missionaries, she focuses instead on the "context of encounters," especially the role of the native catechists. Her interest lies in examining the native views of revivalism and their use of it as a strategy for survival; as a way of making sense of changes brought by Europeans. Her work is somewhat reminiscent of that of Clarence Bolt's, *Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian*[28] but represents an important endeavour to shift the focus more to the complex responses of the native themselves rather than on the activity of the missionaries.

6. Comparative history

Over the past several years considerable comparative work has been done between Canadian and, especially, American evangelicalism. Indeed this was a primary focus of a major historical conference in Wheaton, Illinois, entitled "Evangelicalism in Transatlantic Perspective" in 1992 and of the two volumes of papers resulting from that conference. Canadian evangelical scholars appear quite eager to highlight the very real differences between Canadian evangelicalism and its more notorious American counterpart while American scholars of evangelicalism appear quite intrigued with the different characteristics they observe across the border to

the North.[29]

The non-Canadian historians at Queen's continued the focus on comparative history. With more than a twinge of wistful longing, American historian Mark Noll explored at some length the "kinder, gentler" version of evangelicalism found to the north of his own country.[30] British evangelical historian David Bebbington rightly warned, however, of overly simple generalizations which attribute the calm, sober and respectable elements of Canadian evangelicalism to British influences and the fanatical and militant elements to American influences.[31] He showed how quite frequently British immigrants to Canada have brought with them a brand of religious radicalism and populism which has sometimes to led to turmoil and division in the new country.

Conclusion

Many significant developments have occurred in recent years in the historiography of Canadian religion in general. I have been addressing just one of those changes. As with the other developments, this society has played an important role in nurturing it. This, I believe, has been a significant contribution. Given that most of the areas of enquiry into this area of Canadian history are barely underway, I would suggest that future program chairs of the CSCH should expect, perhaps, to receive more proposals from historians wishing to present the results of their research into aspects of Canadian evangelical history.

Endnotes

1. The papers from this conference are scheduled for publication in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, forthcoming).

2. Michael Gauvreau, "Protestantism Transformed: Personal Piety and the Evangelical Social Vision, 1815-1867," in *The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1760-1990*, ed. George A. Rawlyk (Burlington: Welch Publishing Co., 1990), 50-51.

3. *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1980).

4. E.g., see *Ravished by the Spirit: Religious Revivals, Baptists, and Henry Alline* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1984); *Champions of the Truth: Fundamentalism, Modernism and the Maritime Baptists* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1990); and *The Canada Fire: Radical Evangelicalism in British North America, 1775-1812* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1994).

5. The series is supported by the Jackman Foundation of Toronto.

6. E.g., see William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1989); Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind: Nathaniel Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1989); Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1991); Phyllis Airhart, *Serving the Present Generation: Revivalism, Progressivism and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1992); John G. Stackhouse, Jr., *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to Its Character* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1993); and David R. Elliot and Iris Miller, *Bible Bill: A Biography of William Aberhart* (Edmonton: Reidmore Books, 1987).

7. Michael Owen, "Preface," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1991): v.

8. "Recovering Religious Experience: Some Reflections on Methodology," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1992): 156.

9. Using census data for conservative Protestant denominations, Reginald Bibby, argues that while evangelicals are growing in absolute numbers they are just holding their own as a proportion of the general population, at about 7 or 8% (*Fragmented Gods: The Poverty and Potential of Religion in Canada* [Toronto: Irwin, 1987]). By using a broad definition of evangelical developed by David Bebbington and commonly used by historians (i.e., evangelicals are people who, regardless of denominational affiliation, are characterized by a quadrilateral of beliefs and priorities – "conversionist, biblicist, crucicentrist and activist"), Andrew Grenville places the proportion of evangelicals in Canada much higher at 16%, or 3.4 million Canadian adults ("The Awakened and the Spirit-Moved: The Religious Experience of Canadian Evangelicals in the 1990s," forthcoming in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*).

10. E.g., Regent College, Trinity Western University, Ontario Theological Seminary and Acadia Divinity College.

11. "Beyond the Half-Way House: Evangelicalism and the Shaping of English Canadian Culture," *Acadiensis* 20, No. 2 (1991): 165.

12. "'A March of Victory and Triumph in Praise of "The Beauty of Holiness"': Laity and the Evangelical Impulse in Canadian Methodism, 1800-1884," forthcoming in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*.

13. David B. Marshall makes the point that the Grimsby Park camp-meeting grounds came to resemble more a recreational resort for the middle-class than a site devoted wholly to the saving of souls (*Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* [Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1992], 130-31).

14. "Beyond the Congregation: Women and Canadian Evangelicalism Reconsidered," forthcoming in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*.

15. See "Transcending the 'unacknowledged quarantine': Putting Religion into English-Canadian Womens' History," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1991): 113-139.

16. "The Winnipeg Fundamentalist Network, 1910-1940: The Roots of Transdenominational Evangelicalism in Manitoba and Saskatchewan," forthcoming in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*.

17. "The Transplanted Mission: The China Inland Mission and Canadian Evangelicalism," forthcoming in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*.

18. S.D. Clark looked for it in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (*Church and Sect in Canada* [Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1948], and *The Developing Canadian Community* [Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1968]). Lynne Marks examines aspects of it during the nineteenth century ("Knights of Labour and the Salvation Army: religion and working class culture in Ontario, 1882-1890," *Labour/Le Travail* 28 [Fall 1991]: 89-127). I attempt to do some of it in twentieth-century Vancouver in *Pilgrims in Lotus Land: Conservative Protestantism in British Columbia, 1917-1981* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1995).

19. "'The World of the Common Man is Filled with Religious fervour': The Labouring People of Winnipeg and the Persistence of Revivalism," forthcoming in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*.

20. *Pilgrims in Lotus Land*, 92-95, 118-119.

21. "From Preaching to Propaganda to Marginalization: The Lost Centre of Twentieth-Century Presbyterianism," forthcoming in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*.

22. Some regional studies and brief overviews exist. E.g., see Donald Klan, "Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada Church Growth in British Columbia from Origins Until 1953," MCS thesis, Regent College, Vancouver 1979; Ronald A. N. Kydd, "The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada and Society," *Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1972-3): 1-15; Erna A. Peters, *The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada: A Brief History* (Toronto: Full Gospel Publishing House, 1976).

23. "Living with the Virus: The Enigma of Evangelicalism Among Mennonites in Canada," forthcoming in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*.

24. E.g., see Henry Poettcker and Rudy H. Regehr, eds., *Call to Faithfulness: Essays in Canadian Mennonite Studies* (Winnipeg: Canadian Mennonite Bible College, 1972); William Klassen, "Mennonites in Canada: Taking Their Place in Society," *International Review of Mission* 71 (July 1982): 315-19; Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1974); and *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1982); Gerald C. Ediger, "Deutsch und Religion: Ethnicity, Religion and Canadian Mennonite Brethren, 1940-1970," Th.D. Thesis, Toronto School of Theology, 1993.

25. Some research has been done: e.g., see W.W.J. Van Oene, *Inheritance Preserved: The Canadian Reformed Churches in Historical Perspective* (Winnipeg: Premier Printing Ltd., 1975); Albert VanderMey, *To All Our Children: The Story of the Postwar Dutch Immigration to Canada* (Jordan Station: Paideia Press, 1982); William Petersen, *Planned Migration: The Social Determinants of the Dutch-Canadian Movement* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1955).

26. Some of the recent developments in evangelical higher education described by Stackhouse bear the influence of Reformed thinking (see *Canadian Evangelicalism*, 114-173). Reformed thinking also informs a great deal of the growing Christian school movement in Canada (e.g., see Van Brummelen, *Telling the Next Generation: Educational Development in North American Calvinist Christian Schools* [Lanham: Univ. Press of America, 1986]); and Harry J. Groenewold, "The Christian Reformed Tradition in Canada," in *Church & Canadian Culture*, ed. Robert VanderVennen [Lanham: Univ. Press of America, 1991], 177-92).

27. Her report at Queen's updated the paper read a year earlier at the CSCH meeting: "Shamans, Missionaries and Prophets: Comparative Perspectives on Nineteenth-Century Religious Encounters in British Columbia," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1994): 43-64.

28. *Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian: Small Shoes for Feet Too Large* (Vancouver: Univ. of British Columbia Press, 1990).

29. See Robert Handy, "Dominant Patterns of Christian Life in Canada and the United States: Similarities and Differences," *Religion/Culture: Comparative Canadian Studies*, ed. William Westfall, et al (Ottawa: Association for Canadian Studies, 1985); and Mark Noll, "Christianity in Canada: Good Books At Last," *Fides et Historia* 23, 2 (Summer 1991): 80-104.

30. "Canadian Evangelicalism: A View from the United States," forthcoming in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*.

31. "Canadian Evangelicalism: A View from Britain," forthcoming in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*.