Introductory Statement

The Canadian Society of Church History presents herewith a selection of papers delivered at its meeting held in June, 1977 at the University of New Brunswick. The reproduction of these papers is essentially for the convenience of members of the Society, although a limited number of copies are available to interested persons and institutions. Distribution in this form does not preclude publication of these papers elsewhere and copyright remains the property of the authors.

The paper given by Prof. Frank Peake, "Religion and Society in a Nineteenth Century Derbyshire Village" and that by Prof. C. Allyn Russell on T.T. Shields are not at present available for distribution as they are being considered for publication elsewhere.

The Society's next annual meeting will be held at the end of May, 1978, at the University of Western Ontario. Persons interested in membership or seeking more information about the Society and its work are invited to write to the Secretary, Prof. John Moir, Scarborough College, University of Toronto, 1265 Military Trail, West Hill, Ont. M1C 1A4.

It is with deep regret that I have to announce the death in early July of Prof. Allan Farris, Principal of Knox College, a founding member of our Society and its president in 1974-5. His contribution to the Society and to the study of church history in Canada was widely appreciated, and his personal kindness towards colleagues and students will be long remembered.

Rick Ruggle
St. Alban's Rectory
Glen Williams, Ont.

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ELIE BENOIST, HISTORIAN OF THE EDICT OF NANTES

by Charles F. Johnston

The revocation in 1685 by Louis XIV of the Edict of Nantes resulted in the immediate exile of all ministers of the Reformed Church not amenable to conversion, the illegal flight of several hundred thousand of their fellow-believers to neighbouring Protestant lands, and the nominal conversion under duress of the rest to the Roman Catholic Church. It also precipitated a literary polemic in which Protestant writers protested vigorously the injustice of revoking an "irrevocable" edict, and the cruel and oppressive measures preceding and accompanying it, while Roman Catholic counterparts asserted that on the contrary the Edict had been a temporary expedient to end civil strife, extorted forcibly by a naturally rebellious and turbulent minority.

This issue was indeed the culmination of a controversy of long standing. In a recent book Elizabeth Israels Perry has pointed out that after more than a century in which the Protestant-Catholic polemic had focussed upon disputed points of doctrine the arena of battle had shifted. Between 1671 and 1691 history replaced theology as the focus of debate in France: Perry has examined more than a hundred books and pamphlets comprising this literature which appeared in those two decades. It includes works by Nicole, Claude, Maimbourg, Bayle, Varillas, Jurieu, Bossuet, and Ancillon.[1]

It was in response to the Revocation and the questions it aroused that Elie Benoist, former minister of Alençon, at the time Refugee minister of the Walloon Church in Delft, undertook the task of writing a history of the Edict of Nantes itself: out of what circumstances it arose, how it was obtained, what its terms were and under what guarantees, how and in what degree it was implemented, how it was circumvented, undermined, eroded, and finally annihilated. From 1687 to 1695 Benoist was heavily engaged in this demanding project, the fruit of which was the publication between 1693 and 1695 of five massive folio volumes entitled History of the Edict of Nantes.[2]

To this undertaking Benoist brought the advantages of a solid education, a capacity for meticulous detail and painstaking research, honesty and integrity in the use of his sources, and a desire to be fair while at the same time ardently seeking to vindicate his people. If being existentially involved, by physical presence or imagination, in the events which they interpret is essential for good historians, as affirmed by authorities as widely separated in time as Michel de Montaigne and Paul Tillich, then Elie Benoist was pre-eminently qualified, since his long life spans the reign of the King, and he was an eye-witness of the twenty years of repression that reached a climax in 1685. To this experience we shall first turn.

* * * * *

Benoist was born January 10th, 1640, to parents of modest means, his father being a caretaker for the Paris estate of the Duchess de Trémouille. Both her husband's

family and her own — she was a daughter of Marshall de Bouillon — had in a previous generation represented outstanding Protestant leadership, but — significantly — the Duke had not long before been converted. Young Elie was privileged to share in the instruction supplied by a tutor and in the Reformed worship held in the Duchess's household.[3]

Recognizing their son's superior intellectual gifts his parents did their best to provide him with further educational opportunities. He did well at first, successfully resisting the efforts of his teachers to convert him; then came a period of rebellion, climaxed by the squandering of the small legacy left him at the death of both his father and mother. Eventually he found what he had been searching for, through the study of theology in the Huguenot College of Montauban. His sojourn there happened to coincide with an incident typical of the time, and which he was later to describe vividly in his History. The trouble began over a trifle: the Jesuits, to whom by a previous order one half of this Protestant building had had to be turned over, asked permission to erect a stage which by mistake or by design blocked one of the entrances used by the Huguenot students. With the rashness of youth the latter tore down the stage, and when some of the culprits were imprisoned their comrades released them. At the complaint of the Jesuits this insult was used as the grounds for turning over to them the Reformed half of the College as well. Huguenot staff and students were transferred to Puylaurens, some distance off.

Thus it was from Puylaurens that Benoist graduated in 1664, and within a year was called to be one of the two (later three) ministers of Alençon. There for the next two decades he would serve, under the necessity of employing all the gravity, tact, firmness that natural endowment, training and experience could bring to his aid. The original Temple of the Reformed Church in the downtown area had been ordered demolished the year before. Its successor was built on rising ground just outside the city. Paul Pascal describes it with some precision:

> [The Temple] of Charenton was taken as a model. First a large wall of enclosure pierced by a carriage entrance with two gates, and by a small door at the side. Isolated from all sides, between the courtyard and the garden, rose the Temple building and a house joined to it containing the vestry, the consistory-room, and the caretaker's residence. The Temple was a rectangle measuring within 84 feet in length by 62 in width . . . and able to contain about 1500 persons. It was walled with clapboards, and its roofing [was] of tiles, surmounted by a weather-cock, symbol of vigilance and emblem of the Nation. Entrance to the interior was by three large doors with entrance-halls. Sixteen windows provided light, eight on each side, four above and four below. It was furnished with 59 benches, each seating from 12 to 20, and quite a number of stools, with a lectern covered in green serge for the reader, and with a large pulpit. The Commandments of God in letters of gold on a background of blue canvas were to be seen in a large gilt frame.4

This then was to be the scene of Benoist's ministry. He married a young widow shortly after, related to one of the leading families — unhappily, as it turned out. Chauffepié has preserved a sentence in Latin from a vanished autobiography, in which with a frankness suggesting that the matter was common knowledge Benoist states: "He took a wife . . . enveloped with all the faults which can be serious for a peace-loving husband: miserly, rash, quarrelsome, undependable and changeable, with a tireless love of argument, for forty-seven years she made her husband miserable in every terrible way."[5] Of four children, two daughters survived to maturity.

It is an indication of the state of siege under which the ministers laboured that in 1676 one of Benoist's colleagues, la Conseillère, was silenced and sent to Nantes for six months for having said in a sermon in the hearing of a Capuchin friar that when Kings commanded something against the service of God, it was necessary to remember the apostolic maxim, "We ought to obey God rather than men."[6]

A friendship developed between Benoist and the local Intendant, Barrillon de Morangis, which was to stand the Minister and the Church in good stead for a time at least. Father de la Rue, professor of rhetoric and humanities at the Jesuit college in the city, who engaged Benoist in controversy on a number of occasions, and once accused him of lèze-majesté in attacking the King's religion, found no support from the Intendant.

Severer tests were to come. On June 17th, 1681, a Royal Declaration decreed that children of seven years and older might be converted to the Roman Catholic faith. In practice this meant that if children could be induced to make the sign of the cross or repeat a "Hail, Mary", they could legally be taken from their parents. The response of the Reformed was in horror and foreboding to hold special fast-days and services. Thus, after three weeks' preparation, on August 10th in that year, three successive services were held in the Temple of Alençon. Father de la Rue, Benoist's old adversary, announced that he would be present at the third of these services when Benoist would be preaching. Although the priest did not do so, the expectation of a confrontation drew a large crowd of seven or eight hundred Catholics who gathered in the courtyard outside. Meanwhile the piety of the Huguenots had outlasted the patience of the official informers. The officers of justice, and the clergy, who had been present at the first two services, reluctant to remain another three hours, took their departure, without being successful (despite the pleas of the Elders) in dispersing the noisy mob outside. "Those who remained committed a thousand insolent acts while the Minister was preaching. Some mimicked the preacher; others sang at the top of their voices; still others, carried on the shoulders of their comrades, climbed up on the windows, where they troubled the whole congregation by their grimaces, their poses, their insolent words."

The riot which followed can perhaps best be described in the words of the "Preacher" himself:

> Those who were within the enclosure seized the gates and opened to those who were outside. The greatest firebrands jumped over the wall; and all together surged into the Temple, at the very moment when the kneeling Congregation was bringing the devotions of the day to a close with prayer. When someone tried to snatch off the hat of one of these wicked men who refused to uncover, the rascal seized him by the throat; and at once, everyone throwing himself upon his neighbour, they began to fight one another in the Temple itself. There were at the very most among the Congregation about a hundred men each with a cane in his hand, which they had taken more for the sake of appearances, than to defend themselves from insult. Nevertheless, when they stood up at the noise, raising their canes, fear seized the Catholics and they took to their heels as though pursued by a host of enemies. This was not easy for them, because their own men rushing in at the noise blocked their way, and for a long time sealed the exits. But at the same time some began to throw stones and clubs through the windows; and a stone falling on those who had not left their places, and drawing blood, all these people, and especially the women, thought they were going to be massacred without mercy. One clung about the neck of her husband or brother, to prevent him from exposing himself to the fury of the multitude; another hid under the benches to escape being hit by the stones; another threw herself to her knees and clasped her hands, as if to await in an attitude of devotion the stroke of an imminent death; another rushed to the aid of her fainting daughter or neighbour; most people were running from one end of the Temple to the other . . . ; all together were making a clamour that had something frightful about it, by reason of the cries, the tumult, the effects of distress and terror.[7]

Nevertheless, the counter-panic, caused by the gentlemen with the canes, spread so rapidly that the crowd of more than four hundred fled back into the city, to broadcast the alarm that the "Huguenots" were massacring all the Catholics! The local Seigneur, the King's niece, the bigotted Duchess de Guise, vowed vengeance. In this crisis, Benoist frankly admits, "it is certain that the wisdom and moderation of the Intendant saved both the Reformed and the Temple." He himself came in his carriage to conduct the weary worshippers home in safety. Later, after the witnesses for both sides had been heard, he sent an extremely restrained and fair account of all that had happened to the Court.

Thus in a time when in place after place Temples were being closed or demolished on the flimsiest of pretexts, and the inhabitants denied all public worship, the Church of Alençon which had dared openly to resist suffered in this instance only a two hundred pound fine for a member of the congregation who became a scapegoat, and — a more serious loss — the exile of one of its ministers, again la Conseillère, accused of comparing the Declaration affecting the children to Herod's massacre of the innocents. La Conseillère went to Hamburg.

There are extant in the French National Archives documents which exactly confirm Benoist's account, one among many instances in which his scrupulous honesty

and veracity have been verified by later documentary discoveries. We have for example the official complaint of the Reformed Congregation, signed by the ministers and forwarded by the Intendant. There is the 22-leaf summary of evidence from the 40 witnesses from the congregation; there is the accused minister's statement, a hostile counter-statement, and a letter from the Intendant in accord with Benoist's portrait of him:

> . . . The information will acquaint you in detail with what happened; but as the proceedings embittered spirits and condemnations might take away what union and inter-relation remain, which seem to me most necessary for the service of the King, and for the peace of his peoples, I believe that it is more expedient to hush this matter up than to investigate it further. Nevertheless I do not think that it is possible to pass over in silence what the minister la Conseillère set forth in his preaching the day of the uproar, all the more that he has already fallen into an offense quite similar, as it will appear to you by the decree I am sending you. He is a man of bold spirit, and far removed from the moderation which appears in the addresses of the two other ministers who are here.[8]

Also in the National Archives is to be found the official report of the visit of a delegation composed of the Intendant Jubert de Bouville, Morangis's successor, and three ecclesiastics, to the Consistory at Alençon, on July 4th, 1683. The occasion, parallelled in every Reformed Church in France, was the reading by royal command of the "Avertissement Pastoral" or Pastoral Admonition issued by the Assembly of Clergy. It took the form of a fraternal appeal to the Reformed to end the schism and return to the Church — but with a sting in its tail, since it ended with the warning that if this plea went unheeded, then, "because this last error will be more criminal in you than all the rest, you must expect troubles incomparably more horrible and more disastrous than those which your revolt and schism have brought you to this present time."[9]

The fatal blow fell on Alençon's Reformed congregation in the Fall of 1684. On August 21st a royal declaration ordered that at the first summons the registers and accounts of the consistories should be surrendered to the directors of the hospitals, in order to make sure that all legacies and funds donated for charitable purposes had been turned over to them, as a previous declaration of January 15th, 1683 had commanded. The Consistory of Alençon was accordingly summoned to present its records for examination on October 3rd: Benoist and Boullay an elder were delegated to represent it.

They tried evasive tactics in vain, being obliged eventually to produce four such books, including a register covering the years 1656 to 1680 in which about one hundred and twenty entries proved to have been obliterated by what the authorities declared to be "fresh ink". It appears that Benoist was largely resppnsible,

and the deputies justified the action on the ground that these particular entries contained references to the private lives of individual members brought before the Consistory for moral lapses, and hence not properly open to public scrutiny. There had been other account books, but the two deputies stated that these had been burnt three years before. Upon this they were declared liable for the prescribed penalty, the Church was condemned to a fine of five hundred pounds applicable to the hospital, and public worship in Alençon was provisionally forbidden until such time as they could produce the missing accounts.[10]

Not long after this, prosecution began against Benoist himself. Since his presence in Alençon was dangerous for him and for others he went into hiding in Paris, and was there at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, October 18th, 1685. Under the order obtained against him by the Duchess de Guise his goods had already been seized and he was liable to arrest. The royal command that all ministers should leave France within fifteen days, on pain of galley-slavery, took precedence, however, and he was able to obtain a passport for himself and his wife, though having perforce to leave his daughters behind.

The haven of refuge in this case was to be the Netherlands. Only 45 years old at the time of his exile, Benoist was soon to find a congenial sphere of work as third minister of the Walloon congregation in the city of Delft, which worshipped then as now in the ancient chapel adjacent to the Prinsenhof. It was to be a ministry there extending over thirty years, followed by thirteen years of what appeared at times to his successor to be irritatingly active retirement!

In taking up his new duties in Delft Benoist did not simply divest himself of the old ones. One of his earliest published works is a letter written to his former parishioners in Alençon, many of whom had succombed to the violence of the dragoons billeted in their homes. The letter exhorted those who had denied their faith to recover their courage and cease their hypocrisy.[11] As events proved, his confidence in them was soon to be vindicated: resistance grew, no less than eight of the elders were imprisoned; many of the Protestants of Alençon withdrew to foreign lands, a number of them finding their way to Delft publicly to repent their abjuration and to be received back into communion. Among the latter were Benoist's daughters.[12]

It was a period of intense activity: defending publicly the retreat of the pastors into exile, against those who charged them with cowardice and desertion;[13] at the same time working with a group on a secret project to send ministers back to France disguised as peasants, to areas where they were not known, in order to provide support and leadership to their persecuted people. About one hundred and ten exiled pastors were ready to undertake the dangerous mission. One of the group's members turned out to be a collaborator in the pay of the French government, the plans were betrayed, and the disguised ministers arrested on arrival in France.[14]

It was not only the pastors, however, who needed defending against misrepresentation at this time. Authorities in France, sensitive to the bad publicity occasioned by the flight of tens of thousands of refugees, were encouraging the circulation of stories of the rebelliousness and disloyalty of the Reformed subjects of the King, despite the latter's "kindly" treatment of them. And so the moment had arrived for their vindication, that those who had taken all else from them might not be allowed to take away their good name as well. This was the incentive for the writing of Benoist's major work and the one for which he is primarily known, his History of the Edict of Nantes.

* * * * *

The trail was blazed by two works with the identical aim, although far less comprehensive in scope. The first of these, justly famous for its clarity and eloquent directness, with the dimensions of a pocket-book, was The Complaints of the Protestants cruelly oppressed in the Kingdom of France by Jean Claude, exiled minister of the Paris congregation of Charenton, who had taken refuge in The Hague.[15] Written only a few months after the Revocation, the little book is a poignant cry for understanding and for justice. Claude undertakes to show how the very loyalty of the Reformed during the disturbances of the "Fronde" in the King's youth was turned to their hurt by their enemies who poisoned the King's mind against them, such that the resolution was formed to destroy them.

The means adopted Claude analyzes as six "ways of persecution". First, the perversion of justice in the courts of the realm, to enable the despoiling both of Reformed communities and individuals. The second was the gradual loss by orders-in-Council of all the civil rights guaranteed by the Edict of Nantes, including those of holding office, and entering professions or trades. The third was the discovery of ingenious possibilities of circumventing the Edict through ambiguities in its wording, and books were written by Meynier, Bernard, and Fillau, for the express purpose of showing how this could be done. The fourth way of persecution was a multitude of restrictive regulations of all sorts, designed to inhibit contact and mutual support, and to expose the young and the elderly to conversion pressures. Claude saw as the fifth way the deliberate creating of the illusion that however far the authorities might go in restricting Protestant rights, they would stop short of actual proscription. The sixth and last way was the encouragement of the people to hate and despise the Reformed, enlisting the aid of writers like Arnaud, Soulier, and Nicole.

So at length comes the climax in the "dragonnades" and the Revocation: harrowing examples of the torments suffered are provided, as recounted by the refugees streaming into Protestant lands at that very moment. There follow Claude's reflections

upon the tragic consequences of these events. It has profaned the dignity of the King, who has been persuaded to break his own pledged word. It has done great harm to the nation itself through the loss of a population active in industry and trade, including many persons distinguished in gifts and skills, and through loss of public confidence in the integrity of the state. It has injured the relations of France with its neighbours. Not least it has dishonoured the Pope and the Catholic clergy through what has been identified as the result of their pressure on the French government. With a vigorous and moving protest against the harm done, and the sufferings cruelly and unjustly inflicted upon his compatriots, Claude lets the defence rest.

Benoist was to describe his History of the Edict of Nantes later as "only properly an extension of these Complaints [of Claude], accompanied by factual proofs and a large number of examples."[16]

Two years later, in 1688, there appeared an anonymous work, in due course identified as that of Gaultier de Saint-Blancard, entitled History and Apologia, a Defence of the Liberties of the Reformed Churches of France.[17] The author was a former minister of Montpellier, now court chaplain in Berlin. As in the case of Claude, his aim was to vindicate the Reformed against the misrepresentations current, and notably the book of a converted minister, David-Augustin Brueys, Reply to the Complaints of the Protestants, in which Brueys interpreted the Edict of Nantes as a provisional and temporary measure, and denied that the coercive actions taken in the case of the Reformed could be described as persecution, but simply as the paternal correction undertaken by the King to bring rebellious and schismatic subjects to a right mind.[18]

In the first section of his three-part work therefore Saint-Blancard sets out to demonstrate that the Edict of Nantes, being a genuine treaty between the King of France and his subjects, was indeed "perpetual and irrevocable", and could not properly be abrogated unilaterally by royal authority without the breaking of faith.[19] Then comes a survey of the history of the persecutions during the twenty-five years preceding the Revocation, grouped in the manner of Claude under twelve categories, the history of each being examined in turn. The third section describes the suffering and disastrous consequences of the Revocation. The final volume contained a collection of documents supporting the author's claims.

Already there was taking shape in Benoist's mind the project of a much more comprehensive historical vindication, despite his sense of inadequacy for the task. In the General Preface to his History he was later to say, "What confirmed me the more in this feeling is that other persons having worked on the same subject a short time before I set myself to the task, I found in their Writings too much apologia, and too

little history; although I discovered in them much that was sound. Now it is precisely this that seemed to me quite indispensable, in describing what happened for and against the Reformed, namely to give in sufficient length the facts which concern them; in order that it may be easier in considering them from every aspect to judge whether they are the marks of a factious, libertine, & restless spirit."[20]

Such was the genesis of the History of the Edict of Nantes, requiring eight years for its completion, a work of five large volumes, in quarto, beautifully bound in leather, and clearly and accurately printed. The initial two volumes were published in 1693, the first of which describes in comparatively brief compass the antecedents of the Edict of Nantes, and the circumstances of its granting and enforcement, until the assassination of Henry IV in 1610, and the second of which carries on the story in laborious detail until the death of Louis XIII in 1643. The third part in three more volumes of equal girth appeared in 1695, of which the third volume covered the period from 1643 to 1665, the fourth that from 1665 to 1683, and the fifth that from 1683 to 1687, describing the events immediately preceding the Revocation, and its consequences during the two following years. The work includes a dedicatory epistle, a general preface and a preface for each of the three parts, three lists of the principal sources, extensive topical indexes, and is moreover buttressed by no less than four hundred separate documents in small print at the end of Volumes I, II, III, and V, and indexed in their turn.

Now it is quite obvious that an undertaking of such dimensions, involving extensive research, was beyond the modest means of a refugee minister. But William of Orange, soon to be King of Great Britain, was prepared to encourage such writings, as he had already that of Claude, in order to focus European indignation against the aggressive policies of France. Accordingly the Estates of Holland in November, 1687, voted Benoist a pension of 315 guilders "to write a history of the religious persecution in France", and in 1695 voted him a like sum upon its completion.

It may be of some interest to spend a little while examining the sources used by this 17th century historian. Among the one hundred and thirty-eight items listed in his bibliography there are, as one might expect, works of general history,[21] mémoires and journals in profusion, letters and biographies. There are the Mercure Français, and the Mercurio of Vittorio Siri. There are the minutes of National Synods, Provincial Synods, Colloquies, and their political counterparts, General Assemblies and Provincial Assemblies; and along with them those of the Assemblies of the Clergy of the Catholic Church. There are the works of Filleau and Bernard, showing how the Edict of Nantes was open to restrictive interpretation; and the highly critical polemics of Meynier and Soulier, together with the Protestant response. There are a number of collections of royal declarations, decrees of the Council and of individual

Parlements, judgments, sentences, records of criminal proceedings involving ministers and consistories, and of cases concerning the right of public worship.

In 1689 Benoist fell heir to a valuable collection of documents. They had been accumulated through a number of years by Abraham Tessereau, Sieur de Bernay, an elder of the Paris congregation of Charenton, who had been Secretary of His Majesty from 1653 to 1673. He was the author of a carefully researched history of the French chancery, and of a history of the Reformed congregation of La Rochelle. Although some of the documents which he had assembled with a view to writing a more general history were lost on the way to the Netherlands where Tessereau died in 1689, Benoist found among the remainder materials otherwise inaccessible.[22]

Benoist expresses regret that there are unavoidable gaps in the documentation: consistorial records, deeds, and titles, had to be surrendered to the authorities to justify the right of public worship when this was challenged, and they were usually not returned; moreover, the manuscripts in the Royal Library, and in the Library of the Sorbonne, were not available, nor could he find anyone who would dare to make extracts from them for his purpose. He had tried in some measure to compensate for this by carefully collecting such extracts as appeared in the mémoires he used, and in printed works. For the rest, he says, "it seemed to me more appropriate to be brief on certain subjects than to make up for the lack of Titles & Mémoires by the boldness of my conjectures."[23]

It is evident that he was thorough and indefatigable in his research. There is extant a letter of Benoist's addressed to a colleague in Berlin, from which the following passage is taken:

> . . . I shall reiterate, Monsieur, [my] most humble thanks . . . for the trouble you have kindly taken to draw up such exact and useful Mémoires, from which I have already profited, and hope to benefit still more. It all reached me in good condition. The Mémoires are contained in a book of 120 pages, very appropriately bound and covered with camleted paper [marbré], and the letter was inside, very ample, very obliging, and very instructive. I could have wished indeed that you had added the Catalogue of printed Mémoires with which you are acquainted, and which you might have considered of possible service to me. It may be that you know some one which the others did not bring to my attention. Diverse persons have pointed out to me the work of M. de Belloi which you mention; but I have not yet been able to find anyone who could lend it to me or tell me where I might find it. It is the same with the work of Father Meynier printed in Béziers, and different from the one in which he deals with the Six Truths. I wanted to have them sent from France; but instead of what I asked for they sent me at great expense some absolutely useless books. It would be of no little help to communicate to me either the works themselves, or judicious extracts such as an intelligent man might make. For the rest, Monsieur, I shall make use of the Mémoires which you had the kindness to send me with the discretion you desire, and you will not be named . . .[24]

More than a century ago there also turned up a printed brochure or circular from an historian, requesting materials "concerning the reformed religion and the freedom of its practice" during the reigns of Henry IV, Louis XIII, and "under the present reign". It is addressed to the victims of the Revocation in France and abroad. In form it is very complete and thorough. There are four categories of information sought for the reign of Henry IV relating to the securing of the Edict of Nantes, public opposition and resistance, the implementation, and the resulting effects. For the reign of Louis XIII materials are sought concerning both the confirmations of and infractions to the Edict, the related wars and civil strife, the measures planned or undertaken against the Reformed. Then no less than thirty-six categories of materials for the period from 1643 to 1685, followed by sixteen more from 1685 to the moment of writing. There are more exhortations to provide all that could be useful, now and also later if further matters of interest come to light. The packages are to be sent to ——— but the name and address have unfortunately been left blank!

The 19th century editor of this interesting document was inclined to date it, on the basis of internal evidence, around 1690 or possibly 1700; he thought that its author was himself a refugee; he characterized the spelling as that of writings printed in Holland towards the end of the 17th century. He suggested the names of five persons with whom it might have originated: Elie Benoist, Saint-Blancard, Claude Brousson, Abraham Tessereau, Charles Ancillon.

The author of this paper finds the attribution to Benoist by far the most plausible, for these reasons: the fact that the document appears to come from Holland, and from a refugee; the fact that it is so thorough, that it covers precisely the period dealt with in Benoist's History, that in the materials asked for it focusses explicitly on the Edict, its winning, implementation and undermining; the fact that its categories cover precisely the matters dealt with in Benoist's work, and in exhaustive detail. There are other points of contact: for example, the intention of the brochure's author to deal with the material chronologically — and this is Benoist's general scheme, dealing with a year at a time, rather than as with Claude and Saint-Blancard surveying a particular form of persecution over an entire span of twenty-five years; again, the circular asks for information about "the prestige, the number and the quality of the nobility in the [Reformed] party", whereas Benoist justifies in his General Preface the attention given to the nobility on the ground that "they are everywhere to be found, & one cannot speak of the Churches without having occasion to to speak of these distinguished persons, who either strengthened them by their protection, or ruined them by their squabbling,"[26] Further, we have mentioned already Benoist's criticism of his predecessors, that in what they had written there was too

much apologia and too little history — writes the author of the circular:

> [Those who read this] are asked just as much to communicate what seems reprehensible on the part of the Reformed, if they know something of that sort, as what seems advantageous to them, respecting all that is listed above: [for example] conspiracy, disloyalty, rash enterprises, such as the circumstances of case, capture, trial and execution of Marcilly, and all things of the same nature, in order not to be open to criticism by those who would take offence at such omissions, etc.[27]

The unknown author of the brochure also uses a similar vocabulary, and notably a phrase found now and then in Benoist's History, a reference to "la cause commune", the "common cause" of the Reformed in their union as a people.[28]

If then, as seems likely, the anonymous circular issued from Benoist, it would reinforce the impression of careful and painstaking research that his work itself conveys.

* * * * *

Benoist's way, then, of vindicating his people against the cruel misrepresentations then current was to focus attention upon their charter, the Edict of Nantes: the circumstances in which it was granted, the nature of the rights it was meant to secure and the safeguards it contained, the manner and degree of its implementation, the anxiety produced by early attacks upon it and the divisive and abortive attempts to defend it, the means devised to undermine its provisions, the accelerating pace of erosion leading to complete overthrow in the act of revocation.

What sort of document was this Edict of April, 1598, which becomes at once the hero and the villain of the tale that is to follow? It was curiously complex, strictly speaking not one document but five: the Edict proper consisted of 92 articles; in addition, there were 56 secret articles, and three letters-patent, and these various components were not necessarily regarded as having equal weight. Indeed ambiguities abounded, making it notoriously vulnerable to malevolent interpretation later. In brief résumé its terms contained these essential points:

> 1. Worship: the right of private worship everywhere; the right of public worship wherever it had been authorized by a previous Edict in 1577, and wherever publicly carried on in 1596 and 1597, with the grant of an additional place in each bailiwick and senechaussée. Included was the right of each higher noble to have worship on his estate, the lesser gentry being limited to the attendance of 30 persons not part of the family.
>
> 2. Finances: The King would provide a subsidy for the payment of ministers, in return for which the Reformed would continue to pay tithes. The secret articles permitted the receiving of legacies by Churches, and the raising of money from the people.
>
> 3. Education: The Reformed were to be permitted to teach in and attend Universities and Colleges, and have their own Colleges and Schools if they so desired.

4. Offices: They were to be admitted on equal terms with Catholics to all offices, and to be eligible to enter trades and professions.

5. Property: They were granted all property and succession rights.

6. Justice: The so-called Chamber of the Edict, with minimal Protestant representation, was maintained in Paris, and similar Chambers set up in two other places; Bipartite Chambers (6 Protestants, 6 Catholics) were to function in four places in areas with larger Protestant populations. All of these courts were for referral of cases involving the Reformed.

7. Security: all the military strongholds then being held by the Reformed were to remain in their hands for a period of eight years, the Protestant garrisons to be paid by the King, except in the case of fortresses belonging directly to individual nobles. Benoist believed that only about 100 all told were capable of being seriously defended.[29]

It is difficult in an essay of this scope to convey the flavour of Benoist's work. It does not read like a novel! Its force is deliberately intended to rest on the cumulative weight of literally hundreds of individual cases involving Reformed persons, churches, or institutions, in which justice was done or subverted, and in which the provisions of the Edict were maintained or weakened. Petitions sent to the King from time to time, often having to do with specific grievances, are carefully analyzed for the light which they shed; so are important books of controversy from both the Catholic and the Protestant side. It is important for Benoist to trace the local origin of some particular infraction, in a given community or province, by which a precedent is set for a more general decree of the Council of France, or in turn for a Royal Declaration making it the law of the land.[30]

Let us limit ourselves by way of overview to the main conclusions which Benoist reaches, and which he endeavours to demonstrate with all the evidence he has mustered. In broad outline they are these:

(1) That the Edict was not extorted by force but given and received in good faith, and as such was intended to be indeed "perpetual and irrevocable". Benoist makes abundantly clear that during the five years of negotiation preceding the granting of it the forces of the Catholic League were still holding out, and that it was only after their commander, the Duke de Mercoeur, had made peace and Henry IV had no further enemy to face that he came to Nantes at the head of his army. There, despite later tales of Huguenot intimidation, their representatives "received the Edict disarmed, & as though reduced to the King's discretion; whereas the King gave it armed, & having the [Reformed] Assembly at Châtelleraud, so to speak, under his guns."[31]

(2) That the actions of Henry IV in its implementation confirmed this intention. Benoist describes the firmness, even sternness, of the King in insisting on its ratification by reluctant Parlements, at the cost to be sure of some significant modifications

in the terms. The Commissaries or Commissioners, one Catholic, one Protestant, sent into each Province acted for the most part with scrupulous observance of those terms, and if they could not agree and the matter was referred to the King, he usually decided for the broader and more favourable interpretation of the Edict's articles. Admittedly, in the interests of securing papal favour he might be prepared to see his friend and confidant du Plessis-Mornay publicly humiliated, but the evidence is strong that he intended the Reformed to have the protection of their Edict as long as they needed it.[32]

(3) That Henry IV's assassination gave rise to understandable anxiety, reinforced by the overt hostility of the Regency. Though four times in almost as many years Royal Declarations confirmed the Edict of Nantes, the steady whittling away of its provisions had begun. The Court knew how to manipulate the divisions within the ranks of the Reformed, playing on the fears of some, and the ambitions of others, to frustrate the satisfying of grievances, and to sow suspicion.

(4) That the turbulence of aristocratic factions and feudal resistance to growing centralization contributed to the troubles of the 1620's. Benoist recognizes that Huguenot nobles were often rash, self-centred, power-hungry, and not infrequently sought to use the Reformed as a party to advance their own interests. They had their Catholic counterparts. On the other hand, the King's ministers saw and made him see as his particular mission the reduction of all secondary centres of power, leaving only himself as the source of all authority and might. Some of the more discerning Catholics, says Benoist, recognized the threat: for example, "[they] laboured with regret to take this town [la Rochelle] & clearly foresaw that its ruin would be for all the Kingdom the beginning of slavery: but by a strange curiosity of the human spirit it often happens that it prepares for itself the pitfalls where it will be caught, & forges for itself the chains it will be made to wear."[34]

(5) That the Reformed were justified in taking up arms, and that this was not to constitute "a state within a state". Benoist asks if there are ever occasions when subjects may legitimately resist their sovereign: his conclusion is

> That though to be sure it is always to be desired that people will never take up arms, & though it is even helpful to overdo submission and patience, nevertheless there may be occasions when oppression is so evident, the good of the State so openly attacked, the holiest rights of Justice & Liberty violated with so little restraint, that the defence of the oppressed cannot be regarded as illegitimate, and one cannot fairly blame them for taking up arms for their safety.[35]

That this was such an occasion Benoist endeavours to show by recording the numerous attacks already made on the Edict, with little or no redress obtained, the angry impatience of the King and his dark suspicion of Reformed Synods and Assemblies,

and especially his invasion of his independent kingdom of Béarn, which had been largely Protestant for sixty years: restoring by force former Catholic property to that Church, and obliging the Protestants to surrender temples, cemeteries, and the main sources of revenue for education and poor relief, as well as half the public offices.[36]

The Reformed had been put on the defensive, and their very fear had led them to take measures which added to Court hostility. Alongside their ecclesiastical constitution of church courts for discipline, they had long since developed a political constitution going back in its conciliar form to the 1570's, with provincial assemblies and councils, and a general assembly to take counsel for the protection of the "common cause". In the present crisis, when the Court resolved on war against Protestant strongholds, the General Assembly set up a complete military establishment, with eight "Circles" or groups of Provinces, each under a general, and with (at least on paper) special provisions for taxation, for courts, etc. When war came, however, a considerable part of the Reformed community abstained, from loyalty to the King, prudence, or self-interest, or put up only a token resistance.[37]

(6) That once disarmed the Reformed ceased to constitute any kind of threat to the royal authority, and remained unshakably loyal royalists despite the increasing tempo of restriction and persecution. Benoist lays stress on their important role in the failure of the rebellion known as the "Fronde". The young Louis XIV was indeed fleetingly moved to grateful recognition, re-affirming the Edict in a Royal Declaration of May, 1652, which stated that he was thus inclined, "the more so that our said subjects of the So-called Reformed Religion [la Religion Prétendue Réformée] have given us clear proofs of their affection & fidelity, notably in the present circumstances, with which we are most content."[38]

The negative side of this royalist sentiment, for Benoist, was a passivity in the face of depredation, and an adulation of the King that verged on idolatry, and encouraged dependence and sycophancy. The fulsome speech of a Protestant consul of Montélimar already in 1622 leads Benoist to comment: "These excessive flatteries are always either the effects or the forewarnings of servitude: & subjects renounce the right to complain that their Sovereign raises his power above Justice, when they raise him above mankind by such praises. That is why we see today that flattery has no limits in places where liberty no longer has any resources."[39]

(7) That the Roman Catholic clergy of France played the major role in suggesting and pressing for restrictive measures. This for Benoist is particularly obvious during the reign of Louis XIV. The strong protest of the Assembly of the Clergy in 1656 succeeded in having nullified through a new Royal Declaration the concessions that had been made in response to the loyalty of the Reformed during the Fronde. A similar Assembly in 1661 through its spokesman called upon the King to purge the State of a heresy which was

robbing it of the honour of its ancient piety. From the same Assembly went published Mémoires to each diocese, showing how by a proper interpretation of the Edict the privileges of the Reformed might be curtailed: namely, by reading it in the light of all the previous edicts of pacification — as though these had not been superseded — and in the light of all subsequent declarations and decrees.[40]

This was the prelude to a series of books, the authors of which vied with, and learned from, one another concerning the rigorous ways in which the Edict could be interpreted so as to reduce drastically the powers of the Reformed. Such books were written in turn by Filleau, Advocate Royal in Poitiers, in 1661, published at the expense of the clergy in 1668;[41] by the Jesuit Meynier in 1662, 1665, and 1670;[42] by a lawyer of Béziers, Bernard, in 1664 and 1666.[43] Meynier indeed accompanied the Commissioners on their rounds, as a new investigation of titles began in the 1660's. If a particular Church's title was based on its having carried on worship publicly "in 1596 & 1597", Bernard insisted that it must be able to produce documentary proof that worship was continued consecutively throughout both years. Otherwise an evident, unchallenged existence for 60 years carried no weight. By such harsh, not to say unreasonable, demands the Churches of Poitou, for example, had been reduced by 1671 from 61 to 13, and those of Guyenne from 80 to 3.[44]

Benoist finds the clergy demanding the expulsion of the Reformed from trades and crafts, the elimination of the Chambers of the Edict, permission for children to be converted at the age of seven, and denial to all Catholics — and especially "new converts" — of the right to change their religious allegiance: all of these and numerous others before they were in due course enacted into law by Royal Declarations.[45] Yet the Assembly of the Clergy in 1685, on the eve of the Revocation, could through its spokesman congratulate the King that "it was in winning the hearts of the Heretics that [he] had conquered the obstinacy of their spirit," by his "favours" contended with "their obduracy", so that "they would never perhaps have returned to the bosom of the Church in any other way than by the road strewn with flowers that [he] had opened before them."[46]

(8) That Gallican tendencies in the Roman Catholic Church in France created tensions between the royal government and Rome which were not infrequently a factor in the treatment accorded the Reformed. Benoist has occasion at the very beginning of his History to explain the draconian measures taken against the Protestant "heretics" by Henry II in 1551 in terms of a quarrel involving the King and the Pope, and he comments: "This policy was often followed in France, to persecute the Reformed when there were disagreements with the Pope: & never did they have worse times to pass through than when there were disputes between the Courts of France and of Rome."[47] We have taken note of another example from the reign of Henry IV. Perhaps the most striking instance

is the "Pastoral Admonition", ordered to be read formally in every Consistory, in order to recall these erring "brothers" to the fold. It appeared precisely at the time when the Pope was incensed over the Gallican Articles which challenged his authority. The Admonition speaks unctuously of the Pope as one "whose life and character . . . make visible to all in our time the most perfect model of complete sanctity." So the Reformed are invited to reconcile themselves "with this holy Pope whose totally reformed life is a living school of all Christian virtues."[48] Benoist states that Innocent XI, "who was without question one of the greatest men to occupy this See for several centuries, was not taken in by these contortions", and his supporters might well have retorted with the text, "And they said to him, Hail King of the Jews, & struck him with their rods"!

(9) That the treatment of the Reformed, far from being a "road strewn with flowers", was a cruel and ultimately violent persecution. To cover only the last twenty years before the Revocation Benoist gives us in his collection of documents more than two hundred edicts, decrees, and declarations, by means of which by 1685 their Churches, which had numbered some 760 in 1598, had been reduced to 50 or 60; they had lost their Colleges, and most of their Schools; most professions and trades had been closed to them; their chambers or courts had been suppressed; their collective property had been seized, even their cemeteries in places where public worship had been prohibited, and many individuals and families had been ruined by fines or disproportionate taxation or by the billeting of troops.[49]

The latter, always a burdensome exaction, became for the first time in 1681 a systematic campaign of physical violence. Initiated by the Intendant of Poitou, Marillac, the Reformed of that province underwent nine months of torment at the hands of those who were popularly called "booted missionaries", a practice quickly imitated by de Muin in La Rochelle. The result was 33,000 forced conversions, but naval desertions from La Rochelle, and the desolation of Poitou caused by large numbers fleeing the province, temporarily discredited these means. Nevertheless the program was resumed in Béarn in 1685, with such outward success that the royal Council decided to extend it throughout the Kingdom. Before the Edict was revoked nearly ten provinces were being subjected to the barbarities of the so-called "dragonnades", although other troops besides dragoons were given free rein in this enterprise.[50]

(10) That the consequences of the Revocation were disastrous, not only for its victims, but also for the Church of France, and for the Kingdom itself. Benoist tells dramatic and moving tales of the sufferings and trials of those who left all behind to flee the country: concealing themselves in ingenious ways on board ships, or setting out to cross the Channel in small boats; or those who in an infinite variety of disguises attempted to cross a frontier, often through extremely rough terrain. All of them

did so at the risk of life-long galley-slavery for men, and prison for women, if they were caught.[51]

Those who had abjured under duress were troubled by remorse, and as soon as the soldiers were sent elsewhere absented themselves from Mass: whereupon they were threatened with renewed violence, and a special place was set apart for them in the Church, their attendance being taken at the door. Those who in illness refused the sacrament were by a new Royal Declaration to be sent to the galleys if they recovered, or their bodies to be dragged through the streets on a hurdle if they did not.[52]

This kind of forced communion scandalized many devout Catholics, who were also disgusted and horrified by the barbarous treatment of the dead. They foresaw, and Benoist was in full agreement, that so to profane sacred rites can only lead ultimately to irreligion. Benoist was to state this quite explicitly in a manuscript Mémoire surviving among his papers: ". . . wise policy requires that each person be allowed the freedom to follow the inclinations of his conscience: because between irreligion and forced Religion there is little difference, and because the constraint which accustoms someone to profess to believe what he does not believe disposes him to believe nothing at all."[53] So an age of irreligion was being prepared.

Apart from the hurt to be suffered by the Church through this self-inflicted wound, France itself had suffered a loss in prestige and in credibility. How could its neighbours henceforth put faith in its pledged word to them if a "perpetual and irrevocable" Edict could thus be written off as "provisional"? The actual embarrassment of the Court of France had been manifested alike by its encouragement of defamatory writings about the supposed disloyalty and groundless complaints of the Reformed, by its largely vain attempts to persuade the refugees to return, and by the harsh measures taken to prevent others from escaping. Despite such efforts Benoist declared that about two hundred thousand had already fled from France at the time of publication of his History: they included members of the nobility, merchants, artisans, soldiers, sailors, including many officers. If some were destitute, others had found ways of bringing considerable wealth with them or sending it ahead of them, in cash or merchandise. So France, by driving from its midst a skilled, industrious, and loyal population who posed no threat, had wronged and injured itself.[54]

* * * * *

How have these conclusions fared under the analysis of later historians, permitted greater objectivity because less immediately involved. The answer is, remarkably well. There is substantial agreement on all of these points, with a few notable exceptions.

To be sure, both from the Catholic and the Protestant side important nuances have been added. E. G. Léonard in Le Protestant Français lays particular stress on

Benoist's description of the unrealistic expectations of the imminent triumph of the Protestant cause in France current among the Huguenots at the time of the granting of the Edict, and he goes beyond Benoist's ultimate disillusionment with the Edict by quoting with approval the words of F. Strowski:

> The situation henceforth imposed on the Reformed completed their overthrow. The Edict of Nantes closed in upon them like a tomb. Under its encouragement there were established political and social conditions, manners, urbanity, worldliness, a monarchical cult and intellectual tastes which for a second time, and more effectively than the impotent dragonnades would do, killed the soul of Anne du Bourg, the Martyr, and the spirit of Calvin, the Master."[55]

While acknowedging the strength of the leadership provided by both ministers and consistories, Léonard underlines the tendency of the latter "to transform a worship in spirit into a religion of works and prohibitions", and sees the preoccupation of the ministers with catechetical instruction, controversy, and above all preaching — often "didactic, sober, cold, essentially anti-Catholic" — as tending to crowd out a pastoral ministry to personal needs.[56] Granted the political, economic, and social pressures, working for conversion, and the self-interest involved, to which Benoist rightly points, there is little recognition by him of the genuine appeal of Catholic missionaries skilled in addressing such spiritual hunger, and of a Catholic Church in process of renewal.

With regard to the irrevocability of the Edict, there are differing views. The Catholics believed the Edict provisional, Lavisse declared.[57] Said Mariéjol: "This progress was the work of circumstances much more than of desires. . . Tolerance had no guarantee but the will of the sovereign: everything was against it, institutions and men." And again, "it is not to be doubted that Henry IV desired, like all men of his time, unity of faith in his kingdom."[58] But others agree entirely with Benoist: "perpetual and irrevocable", says Viénot,[59] and Baird insisted that it "could be abrogated only by the united action of all parties concerned."[60] Léonard qualifies this recognition by noting that it was inevitable that legislation born of particular circumstances would continue to be influenced by changing needs and conditions "despite all its declarations of irrevocability and its green seal, symbol of everlasting charters."[61]

Opinions are sharply divided about the justification and the wisdom of the measures taken for self-defence in the years preceding the outbreak of war in 1621. Were they not unnecessarily provocative? Did they not create the impression that the Reformed were ready on whatever pretext to risk civil war?[62] A number of historians are convinced that putting the General Assembly on a war-footing in 1621 was indeed to set up a "state within a state".[63] On the other hand, was it not the disturbing memory of this active resistance, abortive though it proved, that postponed the execution for more than fifty years, and thus won a reprieve, albeit of slow strangulation?[64]

There is division on this point, as also with respect to the related charge of republicanism. Substantial evidence exists to justify Benoist's defence of the loyalty of his people, and for his contention that during these years of the reign of Louis XIV when their ruin was being contrived they "loved their Prince almost to the point of adoration, & carried their homage & their dependency to a degree a little too close to idolatry."[65] Yet their political constitution was a natural development of their ecclesiastical polity, and that in turn an inherent aspect of their Calvinism. Representative church courts consorted ill with absolute monarchy. Significantly, not only was the government reluctant to allow the meetings of synods, but as far as possible contact with foreign Protestants was prevented. In the instructions to commissioners attending National Synods it was explicitly declared: "The Political State conforming easily to the Ecclesiastical, it is important that those who teach Theology in a Monarchy shall not have been imbued with Democratic or Aristocratic precepts."[66] The King was reminded publicly in 1680 that the overturning of the altars in England had been the prelude to the overturning of thrones.[67] Elisabeth Israels Perry has shown how from 1672 on, writing in defence of their history, the Protestant apologists had implied that there were strict limits to the powers of a ruler, relating to the laws of nature, the laws of the people, and the laws of Christianity. The claim is even made that these historical judgments "frightened the government", so that the Reformed thus "wrote their own epitaph". At the least one can say that there is evidence for the consequent deepening of suspicion and the widening of the gulf.[68]

Benoist himself remains throughout obstinately loyal to the King, preferring to believe that the policies adopted with respect to the Reformed were due to ignorance, through information being deliberately withheld from him, or to prejudice encouraged by the malevolence or hostility of his advisers under clerical influence.[69] Later historians have shown that the King was in reality well aware of what was going on, and was impatient to see its culmination.[70]

The usefulness of Benoist's work to succeeding generations, however, has not only been in the defensibility of its main conclusions, but also in the information preserved about a multitude of local incidents, persons, and circumstances not otherwise available, and especially in the insights he provides into the daily lives, customs, and attitudes of those about whom he writes. The five volumes have been abundantly mined by historians of the period: and the evidence of his reliability and conscientious fidelity to his sources has been added to over the years as scores of previously unknown manuscripts have come to light, many to be published in the Bulletin of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestisme Français. This is what he himself sought, as the last sentence of his History implies: "It is enough for me to have accomplished the Work I had undertaken, with all the care of which I am capable, & all the faithfulness I promised."[71]

* * * * *

It is not unusual to encounter the elder statesman turned historian, who interprets for his own and succeeding generations the events of his time seen from the perspective of one who helped to shape them. What is less common is the historian turned politician, who because of his historical research becomes the indispensable political consultant and adviser. The latter role is one that Elie Benoist filled conspicuously during the latter part of his life, and the account of it forms a necessary postscript to our study.

Protestant successes in the War of the League of Augsburg awakened hopes that its conclusion might witness a reversal of French policy, and the return and rehabilitation of the Reformed, either through the good offices of the Allies, or through an act of grace on the part of the King of France. With the encouragement of William III and of Heinsius, Grand Pensionary of Holland, a small committee with Benoist as a member began to serve as an instrument and channel of communication in order to influence peace negotiations towards this end. Both within and outside the Committee there soon appeared strong differences of opinion. These are clearly reflected in a large number of mémoires and letters contained in the unpublished papers of Benoist in the Antoine Court Collection in the University of Geneva, most of them in his own handwriting. They reveal unmistakably his own position in the controversy.

On the one hand, in agreement with the Committee as a whole, but in opposition to widespread sentiment among the scattered colonies of refugees, Benoist insists that their one hope is to depend entirely on the goodwill of the Allies. Humbly to petition the King for re-instatement is to use a method vainly tried over and over in earlier years; it would be to ask the King, who has always shown an invincible aversion to the Reformed faith, to undo an act in which he takes particular pride; to present a petition in the name of Protestants still in France would incriminate them since it is now a criminal act for them to meet together for common action, whereas to present it in the name of the Refugees is to speak on behalf of those whom the King regards as rebels; it would undermine the intervention of the Allies, since the King would have reason for saying that it was a domestic matter under advisement; it would be the request for an act of grace, rather than the demand for an act of justice backed up by the authority of their Allied protectors.[72]

On another related matter, however, Benoist stood almost alone. Most Refugees tended to idealize the Edict of Nantes in retrospect, and to see its re-enactment as their objective. But Benoist knew — who better than he? — what an ambiguous and unsatisfactory charter it had proved to be when there were deliberate efforts to circumvent its provisions. He doggedly insists that a completely new Edict must supplant everything that has gone before. In a remarkable document, in which he sounds at times like someone writing in 1789 rather than 1695, he calls for terms that include: Freedom of conscience based on "natural and Divine Right", freedom of domicile and private

worship, extended freedom of public worship and of the exercise of discipline, freedom of education and of poor relief, impartial administration of justice, freedom to enjoy natural and civil rights regarding the holding of property, the rearing of children, and eligibility for trades, professions, offices, and dignities. The safeguards are spelled out with equal care, including if possible acceptance by the Estates General, the public display of the Edict like a Bill of Rights, and above all the guarantee by the Allies, among them the English Parliament.[73]

In the event, the hopes of the Committee were doomed to disappointment. Despite strong support from the Lutheran powers, the Allied plenipotentiaries were unable to write such terms into the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, but had to settle for a powerfully worded Mémoire, asking the King of France to restore confidence in his genuine desire for peace with the Protestant nations by restoring his own Protestant subjects.[74] When the long-delayed reply came, however, it was devastatingly intransigent. Wrote Benoist to the Refugees in Lausanne: "Then our Sovereigns reported to us that the King of France had declared by his plenipotentiaries that he would not permit a single one of those who had left his Kingdom for the sake of Religion to return there, on any pretext whatsoever, except on the condition of submitting to his will, and converting to the Roman Communion. . ."[75]

There was to be one more chance. The later War of the Spanish Succession ran its course: in 1711, two years before the peace was actually signed, a new commission was appointed by the Walloon Synod, with Benoist a member, the only personal link with the former Committee. In his correspondence he is as adamant as ever that the Edict of Nantes must not be restored. In its place the aim should be the securing for the Reformed of the freedom to practise their religion in public and private, and to exercise their discipline, without loss of civil rights or the forcing of their conscience.[76]

It was to be the same story. The Treaty of Utrecht of 1713, despite "mémoires, letters, petitions, journeys, urgent pleas," contained no relief, no re-establishment.[77] Yet for Benoist, old and infirm and on the point of retirement, there was to be one ray of consolation: through the indefatigable efforts of the Marquis de Rochegude, and the generous and determined intercession of Queen Anne, the King of France in May, 1713, signed an order for the release of 136 Huguenot galley-slaves, and in March, 1714, released 44 more.[78]

Such were the meagre results of twenty years of earnest activity on the part of Benoist and his colleagues to win through political channels the re-establishment and restoration of the Reformed Churches of France, and the rehabilitation of those who had suffered and were suffering for the sake of conscience.

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NOTES

1. Elisabeth Israels Perry, From Theology to History: French Religious Controversy and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973).

2. [Elie Benoist], Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes, contenant les choses les plus remarquables qui se sont passées en France avant & après sa publication, à l'occasion de la diversité des Religions: Et principalement les Contraventions Inexecutions, Chicanes, Artifices, Violences, & autres Injustices, que les Reformez se plaignent d'y avoir souffertes, jusques à l'Edit de Révocation, en Octobre 1685. Avec ce qui a suivi ce nouvel Edit jusques à present (Delft: Chez Adrien Beman, 1693 [I-II], 1695 [III-V]). (Abbreviation: Histoire)

3. The most important sources for biographical information about Benoist are as follows: Jaques-George de Chauffepié, Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique et Critique pour servir de supplément ou de continuation au Dictionnaire Historique et Critique de Mr. Pierre Bayle (Amsterdam et la Haye, 1750), I, 228-242; Eugène & Emile Haag, La France Protestante (Paris, 1879), II, cols. 269-276; Paul Pascal, Elie Benoist et l'Eglise Réformée d'Alençon (Paris, 1892). In addition there are the consistory records in the Municipal Archives in Delft, the records of the Synod of the Walloon Church in the Municipal Archives in Leyden, and a number of Benoist's unpublished manuscripts, mémoires and letters in the Antoine Court Collection in the Archives of the University of Geneva; some are also to be found in the Library of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français in Paris.

4. Pascal, Elie Benoist, p. 31.

5. Chauffepié, Nouv. Dict., p. 228.

6. Benoist, Histoire, IV, 335-338.

7. Histoire, IV, 465f.

8. Archives Nationales, TT3, 230: 17(9-19); cf. Pascal, Elie Benoist, pp. 164-178.

9. Archives Nationales, TT3, 230: 17(52); Histoire, IV, 551.

10. Archives Nationales, TT3, 230: 17(53,54); cf. Pascal, Elie Benoist, pp. 189-195.

11. Lettre d'un pasteur banni de son pays à une église qui n'a pas fait son devoir dans la dernière persécution (Delft, 1686).

12. Municipal Archives of Delft: Register of the Consistory of the Walloon Church, pp. 48ff, 60, 61.

13. Histoire et apologie de la retraite des pasteurs à cause de la persécution de France (Francfort, 1687); Défense de l'Apologie pour les Pasteurs de France, Contre le livre intitulé Sentimens Désintéressez sur la Retraite des Pasteurs etc. (Francfort, 1688).

14. Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français (Abbreviation: Bull.), vol. 61 (1912), pp. 425-434: "Un Dessein des Pasteurs Exilés en Hollande". The spy's name was Pierre-Louis de Pons, seigneur de Tillières et Desforges: his treachery went undiscovered for three years. Benoist states that he was killed at the time of his arrest: Archives of the University of Geneva, Court Collection, vol. 15, folio 48ff: "Suite de l'Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes", p. 28.

15. [Jean Claude], Les Plaintes des Protestans cruellement opprimez dans le Royaume de France (Cologne, 1686).

16. "Suite de l'Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes", p. 7.

17. [Gaultier de Saint-Blancard], Histoire Apologétique ou Défense des Libertez des Eglises Réformées de France, 3 vols. (Mayence, 1688).

18. David-Augustin Brueys, Réponse aux Plaintes des Protestans Contre les moyens que l'on employe en France pour les réunir à l'Eglise, seconde édition (Paris, 1686).

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GOD'S EXILES : A THEOLOGY FOR IMMIGRANTS

by David E. Weale

On a cold and blustry day in February, 1867, a cortage of about 350 sleighs made its way solemnly towards the cemetery at Orwell, Prince Edward Island in what was probably the largest funeral procession ever assembled in the Colony up until that time. The host of mourners had gathered to pay a final homage to the Reverend Donald McDonald, a Church of Scotland minister who had become something of a legend in his own time. McDonald had arrived on the Island in 1826, and shortly thereafter had begun a unique ministry which resulted in the formation of a large religious group which came to be known locally as "the McDonaldites". For a period of almost forty years McDonald was the vital centre of the movement which bore his name, and during that entire period his followers never knew any other minister. By the time of his death in 1867 this fellowship included approximately 5,000 adherants in more than a dozen congregations, and the stocky figure of McDonald had become a familiar sight in scores of communities across the Island. It was a career without parallel in the ecclesiastical history of British North America.

The life of this outstanding churchman, a native of Perthshire, and a graduate of St. Andrews University, may be regarded as a story of two parts. During the first period McDonald lived, studied and worked--apparently with little distinction--in his native Scotland; but then, in 1824, at the age of forty-two, he made a fresh beginning by emigrating to Cape Breton. During his years as a missionary-minister in the remote parts of the Highlands, living what must often have been a very lonely life, McDonald was alleged to have acquired the habit of "tarrying at the inn".[1] Indeed, there seems little doubt that his

relationship with the bottle and glass eventually interfered with his work and reputation as a minister, and that these circumstances were at least partially responsible for his emigration to British North America. Whether or not, as one source indicates,[2] he was actually dismissed, or whether, according to another,[3] he departed of his own free will and received an honourable discharge, is impossible to determine. Whichever the case might have been, by the end of 1824 he had taken up residence in Cape Breton and had begun a ministry at Malagawatch in the Loch Bras d'Or area among the Scottish settlers who had moved into that vicinity during the previous decades.

Unfortunately, McDonald's behaviour in Cape Breton did little to allay the stories and suspicions regarding his past delinquencies. While there is no record of his work at Malagawatch, an oral tradition has it that his intemperance remained a problem, and that his bouts of heavy drinking were a scandal to the Presbyterians in that area. McDonald's habit of drinking with the Roman Catholic Scots from the Isle of Barra who lived nearby was especially irksome to his own people.[4]

After two years McDonald removed himself to Prince Edward Island--a rather dubious haven for a man with a drinking problem--and the evidence suggests that by this point in time his personal life, as well as his career as a minister, were both in a shambles. As this forlorn individual set sail across the Strait for the Island the prospects for his future must have seemed rather dim, and it must have appeared highly unlikely to those who knew of his going--or even to McDonald himself--that very soon there was to be a dramatic and momentous change in his life.

After his arrival on the Island McDonald attempted an itinerant ministry among the members of the Scottish Kirk who had settled in the Colony, but he was unable to give his complete attention to his task. He was a troubled man, and the principal cause of his distress seems to have been a deep concern over the state of his own spiritual condition. According to Murdock Lamont, an earlier biographer, McDonald's anxiety in this regard had become so severe by early 1828 that he had discontinued preaching.[5] A person who knew him at the time recalled:

> While staying at my father's house he often followed us to the wood-field where we worked in the spring of '28. We would in curiousity watch him, sitting on a hillock reading his Bible, acting as if the reading of it caused him trouble, then with a perplexed look, retiring out of sight.[6]

Finally, after much affliction and despair, McDonald did find the relief he so fervently sought. He was staying at the home of one of his parishoners when he was released from this spiritual captivity. "One day", he related, "being at my wits end I retired to my bedroom and there fell on my knees but I had no utterance in prayer, my head seemed as dry as a piece of cork. But thanks be to God I was relieved. My bonds were burst asunder. My soul was brought out of prison. Old things were passed away and all things were become new".[7]

Along with the overwhelming sense of joy and peace he experienced, and the personal assurance of salvation and election, there was also associated with McDonald's conversion a compelling sense of having been commissioned by God for a special task. Two days after his conversion he was lying awake in bed in the morning when he heard a voice uttering loudly and distinctly, "The time is come!"[8] At first he was alarmed and

troubled by the pronouncement, apparently believing that it signified that his end was near. Later, however, he looked back on this incident as the divine announcement of the beginning of his new work. Following this McDonald's preaching and ministry quickly became more efficacious. Having so recently experienced both the depths of despair and the elation of salvation, he now proclaimed the gospel as a man who knew whereof he spoke.

Word of McDonald's conversion and of his impassioned eloquence soon spread, and by 1829 a great revival was in progress. In 1830 a Baptist lay preacher, Sam McCully, visited the Island and related that there was "extraordinary excitement" among many of the followers of McDonald, especially among those who spoke the Gaelic language. He reported:

> This man [McDonald] professes to have recently experienced a change of heart and now preaches in a very alarming manner. Great numbers attend his preaching; and the effects produced on many are unusual. They are seized with convulsive effects, and their bodies and limbs are distorted in a wonderful manner.[9]

These physical manifestations of piety which became a routinized part of McDonald's ministry were referred to as "the works".

It is impossible to estimate with any precision how many persons came under McDonald's influence during this frontier-revival, but as the word spread from one community to the next a climate of anticipation was created and soon wherever he preached--whether in a schoolhouse, a kitchen, a barn, or in the open air--large expectant crowds gathered to hear him. By 1830 approximately 300 persons had experienced "the works",[10] and it is likely that several hundred more might have been

affected in this way before the revival ended. And since those who actually experienced a spectacular conversion experience were only a small percentage of those who attended the meetings, it is probably safe to estimate that several thousand persons were influenced by the revival. The population of the entire Island at the time was approximately 30,000.

For the most part the revival took place in the central part of the Island and was confined almost exclusively to those communities which had been recently settled--or were just then in the process of being settled--by Gaelic-speaking Highlanders. Though time does not permit a careful examination of the socio-economic condition of McDonald's converts, it is evident that as recent immigrants to the Island they were all in the midst of the difficult and traumatic experience of adapting to their new environment. Having been uprooted so recently from their homeland they were in a very real sense refugees or exiles, and were involved in the arduous process of attempting to make some sense of their new, and in many ways baffling, situation. Moreover, like most of the settlers on Prince Edward Island, McDonald's followers were tenants on land owned by absentee landlords, a fact which might well have exacerbated their sense of hardship and oppression.

As a result of the revival the touch of God, and a feeling of great assurance, had been wondrously experienced in many lives, but as the ecstasy subsided McDonald was confronted with the necessity of providing both an organization and a theology which would secure his many new followers within a stable ongoing fellowship. It was an enormous challenge, but McDonald proved equal to it. Like John Wesley, he was

as effective an administrator as he was a revivalist. He carefully organized his followers into congregations and then hand-picked a number of elders in each community who were to provide leadership during the long periods of his absence. Then, in a manner which manifested a great sensitivity to the peculiar needs of his followers as immigrants, he fashioned a comprehensive 'theology of exile' which enabled them to comprehend their situation within the broader framework of God's inviolable plan for the world. This 'theology of exile', as well as the other principal ingredients of McDonald's thought are to be found in his three published works: A Treatise on the Holy Ordinance of Baptism (Charlottetown, 1845), The Subjects of the Millennium (Charlottetown, 1849), and the Plan of Salvation (Charlottetown, 1874), as well as in several published versions of his hymns.

Central to McDonald's thought was his notion of the "plan". This concept was elaborated in a variety of ways, but essentially it was a deterministic view of life which stressed that throughout history the events of the world must always take place in strict accordance with, in McDonald's own words, "the beautiful order and harmony of the divine procedure".[11] The purpose of this grand design was, in McDonald's view, the eventual salvation of God's chosen people.

There is, of course, nothing very novel about this belief. Few Christians and no Calvinists would disagree with it. It was, however, in the identifying of these chosen people that McDonald became more original and inventive in his theology. He announced to his followers that according to the clear testimony of Scripture and the signs of the time they were among the actual descendants of the 'ten lost tribes' of

Israel. They were, he informed them, a part of that large band of refugees who had been scattered among the nations in the eighth century B.C., and who soon would be gathered in and reunited as the covenant people of Jehovah.

This ten-tribes idea, or "Anglo Israelism" as it is frequently termed, was not original with McDonald but was borrowed and adapted by him. The genesis of the theory is unknown, though the notion that the British people have Israelitish origins goes back at least as far as the popular Foxe's Book of Martyrs, compiled in the 16th century. The modern movement can be traced to Richard Brothers, a lay preacher, who claimed personal descent from King David. Prior to his death in 1824 Brothers published several works on the topic and attracted a number of ardent disciples. In his book, The Making of the English Working Class, historian E.P. Thompson notes sardonically that during the early 19th century " . . . the lost tribes of Israel were discovered in Birmingham and Wapping, and 'evidence' was found that 'the British Empire is the peculiar possession of Messiah, and his promised naval dominion.'"[12] Thompson also noted that Anglo-Israelism was quite common among the followers of Johnanna Southcott who were active in the early 1800s, and that one group of her followers was actually known as the "Christian Israelites".[13] While it is impossible to determine where McDonald picked up this teaching, or when exactly he began to disseminate it on Prince Edward Island, the evidence suggests that the events of the revival, particularly the spectacular spiritual exercises, were an important catalyst in the development of his own peculiar brand of the tribes theology.

According to McDonald the lost Hebrews had been widely dispersed throughout the world and had been "blended together with the idolatrous nations."[14] He maintained, further, that this blending of the tribes among the heathen was so complete that it was impossible to identify them as a "visible, recognizable people, or class, or caste of people".[15] In other words, McDonald was not, strictly speaking, a believer in Anglo-Israelism, inasmuch as he did not identify the ten lost tribes with the Anglo-Saxons--or with any particular part of the British race. He did believe, however, that there were certain definite signs by which the true Israel might be discerned, and in his mind "the works" fell into that category. McDonald believed that these unusual demonstrations of the work of the Holy Spirit were evidence of God's vivification of his chosen people prior to the arrival of the blessed millennium.

An interesting allusion to this particular aspect of McDonald's theology appeared in a satirical poem which was printed in the Charlottetown Examiner in 1861. The writer of the poem, clearly no believer in the tribal theory, placed the following words in McDonald's mouth:

> I'm one of the missing ten tribes, mon,
> Who now in great numbers are found:
> They're known by a violent jerk mon,
> Which thrills from their top to the ground.
>
> Having proved myself one of the nation,
> Which God from the ancients did choose,
> I'm perfectly sure of salvation,
> Tho' I take an occasional boose.[16]

The "violent jerk" was obviously a reference to these "works" which were experienced by so many of McDonald's followers during the great revival, and which continued to be a feature of his ministry in succeeding years.

One of McDonald's favourite scripture passages was the striking description of the valley of the dry bones in the thirty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel. He believed that these dry bones, which the prophet depicted graphically as shaking and coming back to life, were an image of the ten lost tribes,[17] and that the "ingathering" of the ten tribes would, therefore, be " . . . distinguished by extraordinary, supernatural, and special dealings, and manifestations of divine favour and acceptance".[18]

Being such an important part of his thinking, it is not surprising that the doctrine of the lost tribes found its way into many of McDonald's hymns. One of them was entitled, "The Gathering of the Twelve Tribes", and included verses such as the following:

> Lift up, ye tribes, your heads on high,
> Redemption now is drawing nigh,
> Messiah comes, sing loud with glee,--
> Your scattered tribes shall gathered be.[19]

When McDonald's followers assembled for worship and joined together in the singing of this and other similar hymns, they apparently believed sincerely that they were a part of those tribes of whom they were singing and were doubtless greatly uplifted and reassured by the sense of election which was implied.

The willingness of the McDonaldites to assume this new identity

reveals a great deal about the feelings and self-image which they possessed. Because of their experience as immigrants and new settlers they had a profound sense of being a scattered and uprooted people, and were thus able to empathize readily with the plight of the outcast tribes. Moreover, the various ways in which McDonald and his followers conceptualized and articulated the saga of the ten lost tribes is very revealing, for in so doing they were projecting something of their own feelings and longings onto them. The very words and images which they chose must be regarded as important clues for discovering how the experience of emigration to the new world had affected them. In speaking and singing about the ten tribes they had discovered an appropriate means of expressing their own condition.

The attempt to relate this religious imagery to the everyday lives of the colonists is admittedly very slippery ground for the historian; and yet, viewed in this light the writings of McDonald and his hymn-composing elders would seem to indicate that in the period between the 1830s and 1860s there existed within the McDonaldite communities a lingering sense of exile and displacement.

In his hymn, "The Fall of Jerusalem", elder George Bears stated forcibly this feeling of estrangement:

> They are bow'd down and fallen, the ancient and honour'd;
> All, all have been into captivity led,
> Forsaken in exile, long, long do they wander,
> Forsaken as they that go down to the dead.[20]

The same despondent note was sounded in another of Bears' hymns, "The Call to the Supper":

Lovingly he calls his sheep,
To awaken them out of sleep,
See them on the mountains leap,
And by the running streams;
Long have they wander'd in exile and captivity,
The Shepherd is seeking the purchase of his pain
The Bridegroom is coming, etc.[21]

Another of the elders, Ewan Lamont, likewise explored the them of exile in his verse. His hymn, "On Zion", celebrated the imminent return of the city of beauty, the New Jerusalem, and proclaimed how those who were living in "woeful exile" would soon be gathered in:

From every land His hand them gathers,
Where all were scattered and peeled
Acknowledged of Jesus, free and happy;
Beneath his banner and shield.
The powers are quelled that held them captive,
Dispelled are darkness and gloom;
Tho' scattered afar, His call they answer,
They all, with gladness, come home.[22]

These passages, and scores of others like them, indicate that for many years McDonald's followers experienced a kind of provisional existence, without developing a very great feeling for Prince Edward Island as home--or as the centre of their lives. Rather, for some time they felt themselves to be, in Bears' phrase, a "long severed family",[23] or, as Ewan Lamont put it, "weary pilgrims so-journing".[24]

In adopting this ideology of the lost tribes, and in viewing themselves as the scattered sheep of Israel, McDonald and his people were able, first of all, to salvage a definite and meaningful sense of self-identification. They were able to transcent the confusion and anonymity of life in the colonies by believing that they were, in Lamont's words, "the good seed that were scattered".[25] Although they had wandered far

they were able to believe that they had retained their membership in God's special flock and, in Bears' words, there was considerable consolation in the knowledge that, "He [God] knows and names them all".[26]

Moreover, by identifying with the exiles McDonald's followers were able, not only to explain their distress in a meaningful and therapeutic fashion, but also to appropriate a sense of purposefulness and destiny in their lives. The imagery they employed conveyed the idea that they were only temporarily lost, and that soon they would be rescued from their dilemma. They were thus able to accept stalwartly their distressed position, and, at the same time, to regard it as a positive condition. As McDonald had taught them:

> . . . they [the Elect] are, even in their desolate condition among the nations, still in remembrance with their God, and therefore . . . they are still the covenanted people of God, and heirs according to the promise . . . He will come down and deliver them, as in the days of old, when their sighs and their cries, by reason of the hard bondage of Egyptian servitude, ascended to His ears, and he came down and delivered them.[27]

Thus, even in their scattered and uncertain condition, McDonald's people were able to possess the assurance that they were "still beloved as the seed of the blessed of the Lord".[28] Their sense of exile was thereby construed ingeniously as an important and eminently meaningful phase in their lives. It became possible for them--not only to endure their "Egyptian servitude"--but actually to rejoice in it, for surely the day of vindication and deliverence was near at hand!

As the years passed the settlers gradually became more comfortably established in the new land and their sense of exile gradually diminished

By the time of McDonald's death in 1867 a new generation of Island-born McDonaldites had arrived which was much less inclined to view itself as a dispersed remnant. But in the hymns which they still sang, and in the talk of the old people, there were many reminders of a time when it had meant something very special to be one of God's chosen people.

References

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[2]Donald MacLeod, Memoir of Norman MacLeod (Toronto, 1876) p. 157.

[3]Lamont, op. cit., p. 19.

[4]The person who provided this information, a resident of the area under discussion, wishes to remain anonymous. Perhaps only those who have themselves been raised in a rural area or small town can appreciate this reluctance to speak of matters affecting family and neighbours, though they occurred one hundred and fifty years ago.

[5]Lamont, op. cit., p. 34.

[6]Ibid.

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[13]Ibid., p. 879.

[14]Donald McDonald, The Subjects of the Millennium (Charlottetown, 1849), p. 104.

[15]Ibid., pp. 121-22.

[16]The Charlottetown Examiner, August 5, 1861.

[17]Donald McDonald, The Subjects of the Millennium, pp. 263-64.

[18]Ibid., p. 124.

[19]Donald McDonald and His Elders, Hymns for Practice (Charlottetown, 1910), p. 13.

[20]Donald McDonald and George Bears, Hymns for Practice (Charlottetown, 1880), p. 153.

[21]Donald McDonald and His Elders, Hymns for Practice, p. 209.

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[23]Ibid., p. 210.

[24]Ibid., p. 143.

[25]Ibid., p. 266.

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[27]Donald McDonald, Subjects of the Millennium, pp. 174-75.

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

by Janet Scarfe

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ralph Connor's Concept of God

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This was equally true of Ralph Connor.

Many of Connor's characters come to realise and acknowledge

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ralph Connor's Ministers of the Gospel

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ralph Connor's Women

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Footnotes.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

22. AG, p. 195.

23. HDUA, p. 113.

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

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

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

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

28. FF, p. v.

29. Ibid., p. ix.

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

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

32. Ibid., p. 36.

33. GSD, p. 108.

34. Ibid., p. 199.

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

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

37. BR, p. 233.

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

39. TTB, p. 278.

40. SP, p. 292.

41. SPNML, p. 190.

42. TTB, p. 264.

43. FF, p. 67.

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

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

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

47. BR, p. 118.

48. AG, p. 160-172.

49. SPNML, p. 57.

50. TTB, p. 4.

51. AG, p. 191.

52. Ibid., p. 109.

53. SPNML, pp. 39ff.

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

92. Also PA, pp. 151-152.

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

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

95. AG, p. 94.

96. GSD, pp. 289-90.

97. TTB, p. 5.

98. BP, p. 86.

99. PA, p. 9.

100. SP, pp. 261-62.

101. AG, pp. 199-204.

102. Ibid., pp. 211-212.

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

104. PA, p. 9.

105. FF, pp. 239-240.

106. TTB, p. 264.

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

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