



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

'RESPONDING TO THE SOCIAL CRISIS:'
THE BAPTIST UNION OF WESTERN CANADA
AND SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY, 1908-1922

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate School
of the University of Ottawa
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy

By
John Brian Scott



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-82549-9

Canada



UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation was written under the direction of Dr. Emilien Lamirande, formerly Full Professor and presently Professor Emeritus in the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Ottawa. The author wishes to express his appreciation to Dr. Lamirande as well as other faculty members, support staff and fellow graduate students for their support and encouragement, most notably: Dr. Naomi R. Goldenberg, Dr. Roger Lapointe, Ms. Lise Hotte, Ms. Sheila Redmond and Ms. Leslie MacDonald. A special thanks is owed Ms. Kimberly Short, Assistant Archivist of the Canadian Baptist Archives at McMaster Divinity College in Hamilton, Ontario, whose archival help, direction and friendship is much appreciated. Finally, this dissertation is dedicated to Judith Elaine Scott and Deanna Rae Scott, whose support, patience and technical help has been invaluable.

CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

John Brian Scott was born October 4, 1942 in Grande Prairie, Alberta, where he received his elementary and secondary school education. He attended Mira Costa College, Oceanside, California; Mount Royal College, Calgary, Alberta; and Baylor University, Waco, Texas, where he received his B.A. in Religion in 1976 and his M.A. in Religion in 1979. He enrolled in the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Ottawa in September 1980 and completed his Ph.D. in November 1988. He has been a part-time professor in the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Ottawa since September of 1981.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter	
I. NORTH AMERICAN PROTESTANT SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY: AN OVERVIEW	11
Introduction	11
American Protestant Social Christianity: 1870-1910	14
Prelude to a Social and Economic Revolution	14
The Protestant Response to a Changing America	14
The Churches and the City	22
The Rise of the New Theology	31
American Social Gospel, 1890-1910	37
Selected Social Gospellers of the Period	43
Canadian Protestant Social Christianity: 1890-1940	49
The Churches Respond to the Social Crisis	49
The Canadian Context	49
Three Decades of Growth	54
Two Decades of Decline and Revival	60
Selected Social Gospellers of the Period	65
Conclusion	74
II. <u>THE WESTERN OUTLOOK AND THE WESTERN BAPTIST</u> <u>AND SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY: 1908-1922</u>	77
Introduction	77
Editors	79
<u>The Western Outlook Frontispieces</u> and <u>Social Christianity: 1908-1915</u>	83
A Social Gospel Bias	83
The Rauschenbuschian Influences	83
Other Influences	86
<u>The Western Outlook Editorials and</u> <u>Social Christianity: 1908-1915</u>	90
A Social Gospel Bias	90
General Themes in Social Gospel	90
''Demon Rum''	94
The Unemployment Problem	94
Feminism: Woman's Suffrage and Women's Rights	95
<u>The Western Baptist and Social</u> <u>Christianity: 1916-1922</u>	98
Social Evangelism	98
The Inter-Church-Forward Movement	98
Social Service Concerns	107
Conclusion	113

III. THE BAPTIST UNION OF WESTERN CANADA AND SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY: 1908-1922	116
Introduction	116
Pioneers	117
Activists, Administrators and Organizers	121
Other Figures	127
A Blueprint for Moral and Social Reform	129
A.A. Shaw: The Social Ministry of the Church	129
H.F. Waring: The Baptist Programme for the Twentieth Century	137
D.R. Sharpe: Baptist Social Reform for the 1920's	141
The Baptist Union Social Service Committee Reports and Resolutions on Moral and Social Reform	149
The Baptist Convention's Social Service Committee Reports and Resolutions on Moral and Social Reform	168
The British Columbia Convention	168
The Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba Conventions	182
Conclusion	187
IV. BRANDON COLLEGE AND SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY: 1908-1922	190
Introduction	190
Educators	193
Other Figures	198
A Liberal Evangelical Bias	202
A "Social Gospel" Curriculum	209
Student Organizations: A Liberal Evangelical Flavor	212
Graduates: A "Social Gospel" Legacy	214
Conclusion	222
V. THE BAPTIST UNION OF WESTERN CANADA AND NON-ENGLISH WORK: 1908-1922	225
Introduction	225
German Work: 1886-1908	226
German Work: 1908-1922	230
Swedish Work: 1894-1908	236
Swedish Work: 1908-1922	239
Norwegian Work: 1905-1908	245
Norwegian Work: 1908-1922	246
Ukrainian Work: 1898-1908	248
Ukrainian Work: 1908-1922	251
Hungarian Work: 1901-1908	255
Hungarian Work: 1908-1922	256
Indian Work: 1889-1908	258
Indian Work: 1908-1915	261
Parr Street Mission for New Canadians: 1905-1922	262
British Columbia Mission for New Canadians: 1918-1922	264
Urban Mission Work: 1905-1920	266
Conclusion	269
CONCLUSION	272
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	284

INTRODUCTION

The Baptist Union of Western Canada is a Baptist Convention consisting of approximately 160 autonomous conservative, evangelical and liberal churches with an executive elected by delegates representing Baptists in the four Western Provinces, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. A twenty-eight member Union Board along with other standing Committees and sub-Committees chart policy decisions which are in turn implemented and administered at the provincial and local level. The Baptist Union general offices are located in Calgary, Alberta, where an Executive Minister correlates overall administration of Convention business in cooperation with Area Ministers located in each province. Each of the provinces has an organization modelled on the Baptist Union with separate annual meetings and area executives. An annual Convention brings together delegates from the various churches and ensures equal representation at the Baptist Union level. The churches within the Baptist Union support a common domestic and foreign mission effort and an extensive world hunger and refugee relief endeavor. The Baptist Union also organizes, directs and administers Christian education, evangelism, Christian literature production and Baptist men's, women's and youth programs. It also supports a Bible camp system, religious retreat centres, continuing religious education courses and a leadership training school as well as cooperates in a ministerial training centre.

The Baptist Union of Western Canada traces its history back to Ontario and Quebec Baptist mission efforts in 1869 when Rev. Thomas Davidson and Rev. Thomas Baldwin, two Ontario Baptists, arrived in Winnipeg, Manitoba, to study the possibility of beginning a Baptist

mission in Western Canada. Based on the collected evidence gained during the exploratory trip and buttressed by the strong appeals of Dr. R.A. Fyfe, a prominent Ontario Baptist educator, the Ontario and Quebec Baptist Convention decided to appoint Rev. Alexander McDonald of Sparta, Ontario as the first Baptist missionary to Western Canada. On June 1, 1873, Rev. McDonald arrived in Winnipeg and within days held the first Baptist service in Manitoba at the home of Mr. and Mrs. W.R. Dick, the only Baptists in the area. On November 8, 1875, the first Baptist church in Western Canada was organized and Rev. McDonald was installed as pastor. During the first year of its existence, Sunday School enrollment reached 80 and within four years the church was self-supporting. Baptist churches were soon organized at Emerson in 1876, Stonewall in 1878 and High Bluff in 1880 by which time the first Manitoba Baptist inter-church organization, the Red River Association, had been formed with four churches as participating members. In 1881, the Red River Association met in Emerson and organized the Manitoba Baptist Convention which was followed three years later by the amalgamation of both Baptist bodies under the name, the Baptist Convention of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories. Delegates from thirteen churches attended the first annual convention at the newly organized First Baptist Church of Brandon, Manitoba in 1885.

During the same period in British Columbia, American Baptists had extended their Northwest mission efforts as far north as Victoria and Vancouver as early as 1874. Ontario Baptists under the initiative of Mr. Alexander Clyde were holding Baptist services in Victoria in 1874 and subsequently organized First Baptist Church, Victoria in 1876. First Victoria would be followed by Olivet Baptist Church in New

Westminster in 1878 and First Baptist, Vancouver in 1887, although Baptist services in that city had been ongoing since 1883. In quick succession, First Baptist, Nanaimo in 1889, Mount Pleasant, Vancouver in 1891 and Emmanuel, Victoria in 1892, were founded. The Baptist Convention of British Columbia was formed in 1897 with a total of eleven churches participating. Partially due to its geographical location and partially due to its American Baptist roots, British Columbia Baptists remained a distinct and rather self-contained Baptist body with their own periodical, The Western Baptist and mission initiatives unique to the specific needs of West Coast Baptists.

During the second decade of Baptist activity in Western Canada, expansion into the Northwest Territories prompted extraordinary growth in Baptist membership. Mission efforts in the Alberta and Saskatchewan Territories had resulted in the founding of First Baptist, Moose Jaw in 1883, First Baptist, Calgary in 1888, First Baptist, Regina in 1891, First Baptist, Edmonton in 1893 and Strathcona Baptist in 1895. By the turn of the century, the Manitoba and Northwest Baptist Convention was publishing a periodical, The Northwest Baptist, and the Women's Home and Foreign Mission Society of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories was coordinating women's home mission work at both the Convention and association levels. An extensive non-English and Indian mission effort had been initiated and several educational experiments had resulted in the founding of Brandon College.

The years 1900-1908, were marked by continued remarkable growth in Baptist churches and membership. Baptist associations had been formed in the Northern and Southern regions of Saskatchewan and Alberta and efforts to unite Baptists from across the width and breadth of

Western Canada was gaining support. In 1903, the number of churches totalled over 100 and membership stood at 6,149 with fifty-nine pastors and thirty-three students serving in a ministerial capacity. A cross section of rural and urban churches were spread throughout the four Western Provinces providing Baptist services in both English and non-English locales. By 1908, the number of churches would stand at close to 200 with 11,000 names on membership rolls.

In 1907, the Baptist Convention of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories united with the Baptist Convention of British Columbia to form the Baptist Convention of Western Canada, due in large part to the tireless efforts of W.T. Stackhouse, the "'architect'" of Baptist Union. The following year, the united Baptists met for their first annual convention at First Baptist Church, Vancouver and elected the Hon. A.C. Rutherford, the first Premier of Alberta and the Hon. G.H.V. Bulyea, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Alberta, as President and Vice-President of the Baptist Convention of Western Canada. Within a year the Convention would change its name to the Baptist Union of Western Canada. At the same time, the Baptist Women's Missionary Society was formed, uniting the Women's Home and Foreign Mission Society of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories with the British Columbia Women's Convention. By 1910, each of the four provinces had formed provincial conventions to provide for the direction and leadership of local churches. The headquarters of the Baptist Union was located in Winnipeg but would later be moved to Edmonton in 1929 and finally to Calgary in 1962. The Baptist Union became a part of the Canadian Baptist Foreign Mission Board in 1912 and in 1944 was a founding participant in the creation of the Baptist Federation of Canada.

Canadian Baptists have been traditionally served a cornucopia of denominational pamphlets, historical sketches, statements of faith, doctrine, ordination standards, polity and educational policy as well as short devotional books, pamphlets and brochures on such diverse subjects as regional Baptist history and Baptist foreign missions. Until recently, very little critical scholarship on Canadian Baptist themes, outside the area of Baptist doctrine and theology, has been produced. With the successful 'Study Conference on the Believer's Church in Canada' in Winnipeg in 1978; the International Symposium, 'Baptists in Canada,' at Acadia University in 1980; the McMaster Conference, 'Canadian Baptist History and Polity,' and the McMaster Conference, 'Celebrating the Canadian Baptist Heritage,' at McMaster Divinity College in 1982 and 1984; and most recently the 'Baptist Heritage Conference,' at Acadia Divinity College in October 1987, a new age of critical interest in Canadian Baptist historical themes seems to have arrived.

A theme in Canadian Baptist history which has been too long neglected is 'Canadian Baptists and Social Christianity.' Initial discussion has included John S. Moir's exploratory essay, 'The Canadian Baptist and the Social Gospel Movement, 1879-1914,' from the first Acadia conference which analyzes briefly the attitudes of the editors of the Canadian Baptist towards the Social Gospel Movement in Canada during the period 1879-1914. Walter E. Ellis has contributed helpful insights into the subject in a number of articles and papers which for the most part focus on other themes. Richard Allen in his excellent treatment of the Social Gospel in Canada, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928, comments on the role of the Baptist

Convention of Ontario and Quebec in the movement but only marginally reflects on the Western Canadian Baptist contribution.

Stewart Crysdale, writing in his book, The Industrial Struggle and Protestant Ethic in Canada, rejects out of hand any evidence of concrete Baptist contributions to social reform in Canada and for the most part, suggests that Baptists and the Social Gospel were barely on speaking terms. In a more positive vein, Richard Allen observes, in a summary manner, that "the chief evidence of the social gospel in the Baptist church in 1918 lay in the West," and that "by 1918 the social gospel had a decade of history behind it among Western Baptists."¹ Walter E. Ellis confirms Allen's suspicions when he states that:

In the period of 1900-1930, a strong social gospel emphasis permeated Baptist circles in urban Western Canada. Rhetorically positive and reformist, it soon gave way to a nondescript traditional orthodoxy in response to the bitter fundamentalist-modernist controversy.²

Ellis concludes that "the main stream of Baptist eschatology was post-millennial and readily embraced the basic concepts of social reform, missionary endeavor, and the prospect of social evolution toward a more enlightened, moral, and just society."³ When confronting the

¹Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 70.

²Walter E. Ellis, "Baptist Missions: Adaptation to the Western Frontier," in Canadian Baptist History and Polity: The McMaster Conference, ed. Murray Ford (Hamilton, Ont.: McMaster Divinity College, 1982), p. 176.

³Walter E. Ellis, "Baptists and Radical Politics in Western Canada, 1920-1950," in Baptists in Canada: Search for Identity Amidst Diversity, ed. Jarold K. Zeman (Burlington, Ont.: G.R. Welch Co., 1980), p. 163.

contributions of many of the individuals profiled in this study, Ellis correctly identifies their "'commitment to the education, the theology and values of progressive social Christianity.'"⁴ The comments of both Allen and Ellis indicate that the subject area, "'Western Canadian Baptists and Social Christianity'" remains a fertile ground for further exploratory and indepth inquiry.

Employing the historical method, this study will identify, isolate and analyze those elements within Western Canadian Convention Baptist history during the period 1908-1922, which are foundational to understanding the Baptist response and reaction to the social crisis of the day. This time period is noteworthy for a number of reasons. The year 1908 saw the creation of the Baptist Union of Western Canada and an influx into the West of a large number of socially motivated Baptist pastors from Central and Eastern Canada. A social gospel bias pervaded the Baptist Union for the following fifteen years waning only in 1922 with the H.L. MacNeill episode at Brandon College and the onset of the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy. Drawing from primary and secondary materials, much of which is found in the Canadian Baptist Archives at McMaster Divinity College, Hamilton, Ontario and Brandon University Archives, Brandon, Manitoba, hereafter cited as CBA and BUA respectively, the thesis will focus upon those themes that indicate a particular mood or temperament conducive to and appreciative of the foundational tenets and world view of American and Canadian Social Christianity. The primary emphasis will be placed upon the attitudes of

⁴Ibid., p. 165.

the editors of the Baptist Union periodicals and the members of the Baptist Union social service committees. Particular attention will be directed towards the faculty, curriculum and graduates of Brandon College. Baptist Union non-English mission work will be advanced as a concrete example of a practical Baptist Union response to a major social problem of the period. In light of the well deserved Baptist reputation of rugged individualism, the contributions of selected Baptist individuals will be accentuated. Therefore, a strong biographical emphasis permeates the thesis. The role of women in this chapter of Western Canadian Baptist history will only be treated summarily which is to do it an injustice. The history of Baptist women in Western Canada is an extremely fertile field of study that has, to this point, been neglected by scholars of both genders.

Chapter I will introduce the reader to the general subject area of American and Canadian Social Christianity and its underlying philosophy and worldview as well as its social and economic agenda. Particular attention will be directed towards those individuals who played a major role in the growth and development of Social Christianity's societal and religious programs and initiatives. Chapter II explores the social gospel bias of the two Baptist Union periodicals of the period and Chapter III analyzes the reports and resolutions of the social service committees of both the Baptist Union and the provincial Baptist Conventions. Chapter IV evaluates the role of some of the Brandon College faculty members and graduates in the areas of social service, education, foreign and domestic missions and reform politics. Chapter V serves as a general introduction to a specific manifestation of a Baptist Union social liberal evangelical initiative.

For the purposes of this study, Social Christianity will be defined as the concerted response of American and Canadian Protestant churches and individual Protestant churchmen and churchwomen to the social crisis of the last two decades of the nineteenth and the first three decades of the twentieth centuries. This response ''involved a criticism of conventional Protestantism, a progressive theology and a social philosophy, and an active program of propagandism and reform.''⁵ It profoundly influenced liberal theological education, ethnic and city mission endeavors, reform politics and to a lesser degree, medical services and research and liberal arts education. The term liberal will be defined as a ''point of view...which denotes both a certain generosity or charitableness toward divergent opinion and a desire for intellectual liberty...,'' and which places ''a strong emphasis on ethical preaching and moral education accorded with the liberal view of (humankind).''⁶ Social Christianity will be further defined as that type of social and religious thought that borrowed heavily from a Ritschlian world view as introduced to North America by Horace Bushnell and best exemplified in the writings of Walter Rauschenbusch and Shailer Mathews. The term evangelical will refer to that impulse within American and Canadian Protestantism that identifies the necessity to carry the Christian message of spiritual and social salvation to all people without regard for social status or racial origins. In the

⁵Charles Howard Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism: 1895-1915 (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 1940, 1967), p. 3.

⁶Sydney E. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 779.

tradition of North American Social Christianity, it will also refer to the reliance, for spiritual and social guidance, upon the ethical and social teachings of Jesus. Social gospel, that peculiar episode within the larger history of American and Canadian Social Christianity, will be defined as a gospel or code of ethics "resting on the premise that Christianity (is) a social religion, concerned with the quality of human relations on this earth," and is "a call for men to find the meaning of their lives in seeking to realize the Kingdom of God in the very fabric of society."⁷

Throughout this study a concentrated attempt will be made to let the facts and the evidence speak for itself. This is a study of a Baptist response to the social crisis of the day. The importance of the individual efforts of numerous Western Baptists to deal with the social ills of the day cannot be overstated. The many instances of Baptists holding key positions in prominent social service and social reform agencies during the period in question and beyond bears this out. The individualistic tendencies constantly at work within the Baptist Union infrastructure cannot be discounted either. The Baptist Union, the provincial conventions, the editors of Baptist Union periodicals and the faculty and students of Brandon College, to some degree, existed in separate solitudes. Consensus was always difficult to come by but on the other hand there is real evidence of cooperation between the various denominational agencies and committees with regard to moral and social

⁷Richard Allen, "The Social Gospel and the Reform Tradition in Canada, 1890-1928," The Canadian Historical Review 69 (4) December 1968: pp. 381-382.

reform. There is also strong evidence of close cooperation between Baptists and other denominational bodies.

The thesis will argue that the Baptist Union of Western Canada, through its periodicals, social service committees, liberal arts college and non-English mission endeavor, exhibited a liberal evangelical social Christianity rooted in a "'Kingdom of God'" ideal best exemplified in the writings of Walter Rauschenbusch. It will also be argued that the undergirding philosophy and world view of this peculiar Baptist social Christianity locates its theoretical and theological roots in the American liberal evangelical Baptist tradition but finds its practical roots in the unique ebb and flow of Western Canadian Baptist educational, social and religious history. The thesis will also argue that this uniquely Western Canadian Baptist response to the social crisis of the day had national and international implications because of the influence of many of its major personalities. Finally, the thesis will establish that the years 1908-1922 are a watershed moment in Canadian Baptist social history.

CHAPTER 1

NORTH AMERICAN PROTESTANT SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY: AN OVERVIEW

Introduction

North American Social Christianity, forty-five years after the last vestiges of denominationally inspired social reform, remains a fascinating topic of discussion among religious historians in the United States and Canada. The Protestant response to the ''social crisis'' of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has inspired voluminous scholarship on a variety of themes ranging from the abolition of slavery to pacifism and disarmament. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the general subject area with a particular focus directed toward the response of the Protestant denominations and individual churches and churchmen and churchwomen to American and Canadian urban malaise, mass immigration, rampant industrialism and the rise of new streams of liberal theology. Specific attention will be given to the rise of the social gospel in North America with a special focus on selected individuals who left a personal imprint upon social Christianity during the period under exploration. Because of the necessity for brevity, radical expressions of the North American social Christianity will be given only a cursory examination. The chapter will also serve as an introduction to predominant themes to be explored later in the context of Western Canadian Baptist social Christianity.

In order to provide the reader with a general feel for the larger subject of American and Canadian social Christianity, an overview chapter is appropriate. The focus will be directed toward the reaction of the Protestant churches to the social crisis of the day. This chapter is not intended to serve as a historiographical essay. Rather, it is an exploration of a number of general themes and topics in Canadian and American religious history during the periods, 1890-1940 and 1870-1910, respectively. The amount of attention given to American social Christianity justifiably reflects the pervasive influence of American social gospel figures, schools of thought and educational institutions upon a large number of Western Canadian Baptist personalities in the arena of social and moral reform. The source material is drawn from the notable writings of the leading religious historians, both American and Canadian, working in the area of North American social Christianity.

Recent scholarship has broadened the discussion to include an exploration of the conservative evangelical contributions to social and moral reform during the period in question. Three of the most important American books are William R. Hutchison's The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism, George Marsden's Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925, and Ferenc Morton Szasz's The Divided Mind of Protestant America, 1880-1930. These volumes explore the interplay between fundamentalist, conservative evangelical and modernist impulses within social Christianity as well as highlight the evangelical Christian role in social and moral reform.

Recent works in the general subject area of evangelical Christianity that throw light upon attempts at progressive reform in a

variety of more conservative Protestant traditions include Donald Bloesch's The Evangelical Renaissance, Donald Dayton's Discovering an Evangelical Heritage, William G. McLoughlin's The American Evangelicals, 1800-1900, D. Moberg's The Great Reversal: Evangelism and Social Concern and Leonard L. Sweet's The Evangelical Tradition in America.

Within the boundaries of Canadian social Christianity, Edward Pulkar's We Stand on Their Shoulders: The Growth of Social Concern in Canadian Anglicanism (1986) and Brian J. Fraser's The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915 (1988) discuss Anglican and Presbyterian participation in the social gospel movement. Two recent doctoral dissertations, Phyllis D. Airharts's The Eclipse of Revivalist Spirituality: The Transformation of Canadian Methodist Piety, 1884-1925 and Marguerite Van Die's Nathaniel Burwash: A Study in Revivalism and Canadian Culture, 1839-1918, probe revivalist antecedents of Canadian Methodist social spirituality and social action.

American Protestant Social Christianity:

1870-1910

Prelude to a Social and Economic Revolution

The Protestant Response to a Changing America

Charles Howard Hopkins, in his definitive study of the rise of the ''social gospel'' in America, identifies the movement as ''typically American,'' and calls it ''America's most unique contribution to the

great ongoing stream of Christianity."¹ Other commentators are more reticent when called upon to afford the social gospel American indigenous status. Noted American church historians, Sydney Ahlstrom, Martin Marty, Winthrop S. Hudson and Robert T. Handy are more inclined to point out the many European impulses that seem to give both impetus and design to American social Christianity. The question of the social gospel's originality remains a matter of debate but there can be little doubt that American Protestantism gave social Christianity a flavor and a substance that enabled it to respond to a myriad of social problems with a distinctly American Protestant liberal evangelical spirit and fervor.²

¹Hopkins, Social Gospel, p. 3.

²See Sydney E. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 735-804; Martin E. Marty, Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America (New York: The Dial Press, 1970), pp. 103-220; Winthrop S. Hudson, Religion in America (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), pp. 237-334; and Robert T. Handy, A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 299-303; for a good general overview of American Social Christianity from 1865 to 1920. For an in depth discussion of the subject area from 1865 until 1940, see the aforementioned Charles Howard Hopkins classic and also Aaron Ignatius Abell, The Urban Impact On American Protestantism (Hamden, CT.: Archon Books, Inc., 1962); Paul A. Carter, The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel: Social and Political Liberalism in American Protestant Churches, 1920-1940 (Hamden, CT.: Archon Books, 1971); Kenneth Cauthen, The Impact of American Religious Liberalism (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1962); James Dombrowski, The Early Days of Christian Socialism in America (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1966); William R. Hutchinson, ed., American Protestant Thought: The Liberal Era (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1968); William R. Hutchinson, The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976); Henry F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1963); Donald B. Meyer, The Protestant Search for Political Realism, 1919-1941 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).

(Footnote Continued)

American Protestantism, in the years following the Civil War, found itself in the precarious position of defending time worn religious traditions in an increasingly industrial environment rife with social problems that were alien to a predominantly rural America. Within the time span of one generation, America was transformed into a manufacturing nation and the population had shifted radically from the country to the city. Dramatic shifts in immigration patterns brought non-Protestants to the cities in record numbers threatening the entrenched Protestant nativism and crippling urban church outreach for several decades. With the growth of the factories and the subsequent rise of the cities that housed the workers, a myriad of social problems began to plague the churches that were ill-prepared to solve them.³

While new immigrants crowded into urban ghettos, living in substandard housing, freely exploited by slum landlords and working at poorly paid jobs with atrocious working conditions, the "robber barons" and "Buccaneers of business" amassed large fortunes in what Mark Twain called the "gilded age." Political corruption flourished and business operated with total disregard for ethical responsibility and moral duty. In response to the growing strength of the corporations, workingmen of all rank and file formed counter organizations and the labor unions began to build a national network

(Footnote Continued)

1960); Robert Moats Miller, American Protestantism and Social Issues, 1919-1939 (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1958); and Ronald C. White, Jr. and Charles Howard Hopkins, eds. The Social Gospel (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976).

³Hopkins, Social Gospel, pp. 11-16; Ahlstrom, Religious History, p. 735.

acting in direct opposition to the American "'myth of rugged individualism'" and the laissez faire business practices of the entrenched Protestant champions of the "'Age of Enterprise.'" At a loss to respond constructively to these "'alien strangers'" to America's shores, many of the established churches preached a "'gospel of wealth,'" applauding those who aspired to riches and endorsed a tired and anachronistic individualism more at home in an earlier mythic Puritan America but morally bankrupt and ill-equipped to deal with the problems facing an industrial America on the verge of exploding into the twentieth century.⁴

Celebrity preachers, "'the princes of the pulpit,'" those custodians of established protestant churches, defended the evangelical values of an earlier age and bonded them with a new creed, "'Social Darwinism,'" the social-scientific theories advocated by Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner. In the purest form, Social Darwinism preached the "'survival of the fittest'" in the context of religious salvation. Those who achieved great wealth were simply providing an essential service in the natural scheme of things and were obviously blessed by God while those who were cast aside by the machinery of progress were the natural clutter of a competitive landscape. This new Protestantism, a kind of evangelical Social Darwinism, "'opposed state intervention, attacked rights of labor to organize and strike and advocated the most modest and restricted charity to the poor.'"⁵

⁴Marty, Righteous Empire, pp. 144-146.

Over and against pure ''Social Darwinism'' these names shine like beacons in American religious history: Henry Ward Beecher from Plymouth Congregational Church of Brooklyn, Phillips Brooks from Trinity Episcopal Church of Boston, George Angier Gordon and Russell Conwell of Boston, T. DeWitt Talmadge of New York City, Theodore Munger and Newman Smyth of New Haven . These larger than life religious figures addressed the nation on a plethora of themes usually related to the moral and intellectual dilemmas of the day. Enigmatic figures to a man, they held forth from lofty pulpits in impressive churches filled with the leaders of business, industry and politics. Defending and interpreting Christianity to a modern world, they touched on the entire gamut of contemporary social concerns: slavery, reconstruction, immigration, taxes, women's rights, civil service reform, municipal corruption, etc.⁶ Conversant with the new evolutionary theories, biblical criticism and the emerging Christian and secular social thought, the ''princes of the pulpit'' attempted to reconcile Christianity to a rapidly changing social landscape. Drawing from impressive intellectual learning and speaking in a stirring and articulate fashion, these men of the Age of Enterprise influenced the cream of American leadership and enthralled enthusiastic parishioners who treated their services like theatrical events. Preaching to Protestants of all stripes, these articulators of

(Footnote Continued)

⁵Hopkins, Social Gospel, pp. 19-20; Ahlstrom, Religious History, pp. 738-740; Marty, Righteous Empire, pp. 147-154; May, Protestant Churches, pp. 64-72.

⁶Ahlstrom, Religious History, p. 739.

'benign and genteel humanism',⁷ strove to deal with the inherent contradictions of excessive wealth and destitute poverty coexisting inside the boundaries of the communities to which they hoped to minister. The theology was optimistic, however misguided, and the essence of the message extolled mankind as the family of God and accentuated the 'nobility of man as the children of God.'⁸ They did not allow the inequities of American life to cloud the rainbow hue of a earlier mythic time. Suffering, for these comfortable celebrity clergymen, was caused by poverty and injustice and, for the most part, was deserved. In due time, in God's good time, this would all pass away and a new order would prevail. Embracing much of the new theology, they stressed the love of God and developed his justice and majesty. Romantic optimism tempered divine judgement and progress became paramount as the 'sympathizing Jesus replaced the Christ of Calvary',⁹. Their contribution to social Christianity is clear. They addressed the social issues of the day and they attempted to respond to the new theological thinking that was beginning to pervade American Protestant social and secular thought. They also succeeded in awakening the social consciences, however benign and emasculated, of many of the leaders of American business, industrial and political life. They posited the idea that the natural and spiritual world was evolving forward towards a

⁷Ibid., p. 740.

⁸Ibid., p. 739.

⁹Hopkins, Social Gospel, p. 19.

higher plane and a new social order, not free from crisis but more hopeful and less unjust. They had no solutions to the social ills of the day but in a benign and yet idealistic fashion drew attention to them.¹⁰

Political reform, when it did exist, was not committed to democratic ideals but more often was composed of a transparent attempt to further support the status quo. The harsh reality of the winds of theological change blowing from Britain and Germany divided churches, creating sectarian congregations and leaving a legacy of bitterness and hate. Under the banner of a distinctly reactionary evangelicalism, usually claiming nondenominational allegiance, religious crusades were begun and the obvious evils of intemperance and unchurchiness were attacked with an imperialistic vengeance. Instead of responding to the social ills of the day with programs of reform and renewal, the evangelical forces of American Protestantism set out to "'Anglo-Saxonize'" the world. Christianizing the unwashed masses and at the same time allowing for the excesses of the "'Great Barbeque,'"¹¹ hardly seemed a contradiction to these champions of religious orthodoxy. At the other end of the Protestant spectrum, the mainline churches were

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 18-19, 44-46; Handy, History of the Churches, pp. 299-303; Hudson, Religion in America, pp. 303-307.

¹¹ A term coined during the period to describe the carving up of America by the new landed gentry, powerful industrialists with an insatiable appetite for wealth.

simply moving out of the inner city and establishing new beachheads in the outlying areas.¹²

Catholicism, on the other hand, was making inroads into traditionally Protestant areas, assuming a position of strength that influenced the social and political mosaic of the city and usurped the Protestant prerogative in matters of religion and public policy. Jewish immigration to the cities compounded the Protestant church's dilemma as it neglected or simply refused to respond to the flood of new city dwellers and the myriad of social problems that accompanied them. The stock market panic of 1873, the railroad strike of 1877, the Pullman strike and the Haymarket Square disaster of 1886,¹³ demanded the church's social criticism. Widespread unemployment, pervasive poverty and labor discontent failed to halt the leaders of industry and finance and awaken their sense of social responsibility. For the Protestant churches, the 'moral dilemmas of industrialism were compounded by problems created by science, scholarship and the philosophic speculation of the age.'¹⁴ The church, unsure of its evangelical calling and its divine mission, confused by the new forces of progress and industry and

¹²Ibid., pp. 11-13; Ahlstrom, Religious History, pp. 740-743; Hudson, Religion in America, pp. 320-323.

¹³During labor unrest in Chicago, a bomb exploded among police dispersing a group of protesting anarchists.

¹⁴Ibid.

disillusioned to the point of utter distraction, responded to the new urban reality with limited resources and inadequate organization.¹⁵

The Churches and the City

The Protestant churches were ill-prepared to deal with the population explosion in the major American cities. Buildings deteriorated, tenement houses proliferated, once affluent neighborhoods became congested with traffic and rapid commercial growth and the building of factories encroached upon quiet residential communities. Ghettos of non-British immigrants taxed the limited resources of humanitarian agencies still in the nascent stages of development. The churches that remained in the city core were left with the social ills endemic in the rapidly urbanizing environment. The poor, the hungry and the homeless, regardless of religious affiliation, turned to the churches for help. This was a ministry that few churches could carry on for any period of time. The churches that moved out of the city center, for the most part forgot about the problems of their old neighborhoods. Those churches that remained active in the city were unable, because of financial restraint and lack of manpower, to carry on the social ministry and evangelical programs that the situation demanded. Large pockets of the population went unchurched, usually in the inner city, while in the outlying areas affluent congregations worshipped in impressive buildings. The cleavage in the population along Protestant and

¹⁵Marty, Righteous Empire, p. 182; Abell, Urban Impact, pp. 57-61; Drombrowski, Christian Socialism, pp. 74-76; May, Protestant Churches, pp. 91-111.

non-Protestant lines caused tensions that would simmer and then erupt into widespread nativist confrontations. The champions of business and industry and the champions of the church seemed, in the eyes of the slum and ghetto dweller, to be in league with each other, sharing in the rewards of unregulated profits at the expense of the working class.¹⁶

Josiah Strong, a social gospel pioneer, bemoaned the emergence of the city as a menace to American civilization in his widely read book, Our Country. Strong's critique of the city, to the ear of the contemporary reader, rings of racism and Christian imperialism but in the literature of social Christianity, remains a fertile body of source material chronicling the rise of the city in America. The perils of the city included immigration, intemperance, socialism, "'mammonism,'" materialism, prostitution, gambling, among others. The attraction of the city, particularly for the young, drew people away from the church. The new immigrants, to Strong's dismay, gravitated toward Catholic churches and Jewish synagogues or ceased to attend church at all.¹⁷

Some attempts to initiate inner city ministries were begun by the Protestant churches, liberal and conservative, but the initiative came, for the most part, from revivalists who had few solutions for dealing with urban problems and preached what Martin Marty has called a

¹⁶Hopkins, Social Gospel, pp. 102-104, 249-252; Abell, Urban Impact, pp. 1-26; Hudson, Religion in America, pp. 292-300; May, Protestant Churches, pp. 112-124.

¹⁷Marty, Righteous Empire, pp. 155-161.

'watered down Social Darwinism.'¹⁸ Dwight L. Moody, an exception among the 'fire and brimstone' crowd, inspired B.F. Jacobs, a wealthy real estate broker, to promote the Sunday School Union. Subsequently, Teacher's Institutes were founded across the country to educate young children who came, in most cases, from poor families. Moody had served as an independent city missionary and as the president of the large Chicago Y.M.C.A. and was well aware of the spreading social malaise. Moody's message 'was a simple and relatively innocuous blend of American optimism and evangelical Arminianism,' that heralded the 'second coming' of Christ which would institute a new order on earth.¹⁹ Moody's ministry, although not lacking in human compassion, was caught up in the conversion and transformation of individuals while reform was a secondary concern. Samuel Porter Jones and Benjamin Fay Mills took up Moody's cause, providing a direct link between the revivalist tradition and social Christianity. Mills, in particular, applied the 'arts of business and administration' to revivalism while later Billy Sunday added a vaudevillian excitement to mass revivalism.²⁰

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 163.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 163-165; Ahlstrom, Religious History, p. 745.

²⁰ Ahlstrom, Religious History, pp. 741-748; May, Protestant Churches, pp. 39-50. See also Donald Bloesch, The Evangelical Renaissance (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1973); Donald Dayton, Discovering an Evangelical Heritage (New York: Harper & Row, 1976); William G. McLoughlin, The American Evangelicals, 1800-1900 (New York: Harper & Row, 1968); D. Moberg, The Great Reversal: Evangelism and Social Concern (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1972); and Leonard L. Sweet, The Evangelical Tradition in America (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1984).

Evangelical efforts under the auspices of the American Christian Commission to enlarge the scope of church work were undertaken by Dwight L. Moody, Thomas K. Beecher, Theodore L. Cuyler and Stephen H. Tyng, Jr. Beecher of Elmira, New York, a Congregationalist, and Tyng, of Holy Trinity Church in New York City, established social service programs with their communities in Tyng's church gaining a reputation as one of the great mission churches of America. Organizations with religious roots, most prominently the Y.M.C.A. and the Salvation Army, carried on social ministries in the city on a more permanent basis. Successful examples of rescue missions in urban areas included Chicago's Pacific Gardens Mission and New York's Saint Bartholomew's Church. Pierpont Morgan's St. George's Church under the direction of W.S. Rainsford, a Canadian, undertook a ministry that responded to the social ills of the day: intemperance; poverty; prostitution; illiteracy; and unemployment.²¹

The Episcopal Church Congress in 1874 and 1876 were two of the first denominational meetings that treated social issues on a large scale. The topic "'morals of politics,'" devoted to corruption in all levels of political life, received a great deal of attention. The Evangelical Alliance held a world meeting in New York in 1873 to discuss among other things, "'Christianity and Social Reforms.'" Rev. Joseph Cook, the minister of First Congregational Church in Lynn, Massachusetts, began a reform movement in the shoe factories of that

²¹Hopkins, Social Gospel, pp. 154-155; Abell, Urban Impact, pp. 137-165; Hudson, Religion in America, pp. 300-302; May, Protestant Churches, pp. 182-187.

community. In his Boston Monday Lectures, Cook called upon the church to 'assert a democratic and theocratic standard over and against the power of the plutocracy and the secularization of morals'.²² Jesse Henry Jones, leader of the Christian Labor Union of Boston, the earliest known American organization dedicated to the advancement of social Christian principles and the reformation of relations between labor and business, called upon the churches to 'support an economic order based upon the labor theory of value.'²³ In 1874, Equity: A Journal of Christian Labor Reform, was established as a means to criticize the social ineffectiveness of Protestantism. Many of these social Christian pioneer organizations called for the creation of mutual-benefit societies to provide for those within the church and outside its ministry during times of illness and financial duress. Although they were ignored, they remain the first indications of a new emerging social order.²⁴

In 1845, Rev. William A. Muhlenberg, an Episcopalian minister, founded the Church of the Holy Communion in New York City to minister to the material and spiritual needs of the poor. In 1857, Muhlenberg founded St. Luke's Hospital and St. Johnland, a Christian Industrial Community on the Hudson River. Included in the complex was a church and

²²Ibid., p. 40.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 43-44; Abell, Urban Impact, pp. 27-56; Ahlstrom, Religious History, pp. 790-791; Handy, History of the Churches, pp. 299-303; May, Protestant Churches, pp. 170-181.

a home for crippled children and the aged. In 1865, the Episcopal Committee on Home Evangelization, with Daniel P. Noyes as secretary, responded to social problems in Philadelphia's urban center. That same year, George R. Leavitt's Pilgrim Congregational Church in Cambridgeport, Massachusetts, began a social community service.²⁵ Both established social philanthropy as a priority.

The Evangelical Alliance and Christian Union were organized in 1867 with social problems the main focus of their agenda. The Church Congress of the Episcopal (Protestant) Church established church clubs in New York, Boston, and New Haven the same year. During the late 1860's in New York City, the Latimer Club, later the Church Conference, was founded and served as a mechanism for social change. In 1875, the Alliance of the Reformed Churches (Presbyterian) was formed followed by the Free Lutheran Diet, both of which committed themselves to a social Christian ministry. In 1879, the Methodist Ecumenical Conference was established and in 1882, the Baptist Congress for the Discussion of Current Questions was organized. These Protestant social service organizations all stressed a strong urban missionary effort with special ministries to youth. Efforts to combat particular forms of evil, most notably intemperance, were also paramount. Training of city missionaries was also a priority.²⁶

Udenominational mission work was represented by the Five Points Mission and House of Industry in New York City, founded in 1850; the

²⁵Ibid., pp. 6, 155; Ahlstrom, Religious History, pp. 736-738.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 24-40.

Howard Mission for Little Wanderers in the same city, founded in 1861; the North End Mission in Boston, founded in 1867; and the Water Street Mission in New York City, founded in 1872. All four provided for the material needs of the poor. Five Points Mission ran a working woman's home and used seven buildings for assorted welfare work. The Howard Mission erected model tenements and ran a Hospital for poor sick children. The North End Mission operated a home for the training of children while the Water Street Mission carried on an extensive anti-prostitution campaign. Meanwhile, Unitarians created Unions for Christian Work with centers in Boston, New Bedford, Salem, Lowell, Cambridge, Brooklyn, New York City, Chicago and San Francisco. New York Protestant Episcopal City Missions were in operation and Lutheran emigrant houses in Brooklyn, New York City and Baltimore were being established.²⁷

Temperance societies flourished during the 1870's with the most active being the Church Temperance Society (Protestant Episcopal) and the Unitarian Church Temperance Society. The woman's Christian Temperance Union was founded in 1874 to carry on an active anti-drink campaign. T. DeWitt Talmadge, the Presbyterian pastor of the Brooklyn Free Tabernacle, founded the Tabernacle Lay College in 1872 to fight intemperance and provide a training curriculum for city missionaries and

²⁷ Ibid. For further discussion of Conservative Evangelical contributions, see Norman Furniss, The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1954); George M. Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); and Ferenc Morton Szasz, The Divided Mind of Protestant America, 1880-1930, (Alabama, University of Alabama Press, 1982).

care for orphans and train nurses. On the labor front, the Christian Labor Union was founded in Boston in 1872 under the initiative of E.H. Rodgers, T. Wharton Collens and Jesse H. Jones. Jones, a Harvard and Andover graduate, edited Equity and Labor Balance, periodicals that criticized the excesses of industry and business. Lutheran social endeavors included Rev. William H. Passavant's hospital in Pittsburgh; his orphan asylum in Zelienople, Pennsylvania; the Lutheran Hospital of St. Louis, Missouri; the Passavant Memorial Hospital in Chicago, Illinois; and the Wartburg Orphan's Home in Mt. Vernon, New York.²⁸

In 1877, the New York Society, a humanitarian agency, completed its first model tenement project. The same year, Dr. Stanton Coit established the "'Neighborhood Guild'" in New York City, the first social settlement in America. Settlements quickly grew up in St. Louis, Chicago and Philadelphia. At the turn of the century the settlement house movement, under the direction of Florence Kelly and Jane Addams, expanded humanitarian ministries in the city without the help of the Protestant churches, a force that they considered to be in league with business and industry as oppressors of the poor and the powerless. Attempts to socialize Christianity or Christianize socialism fell, for the most part, on deaf ears. "'Social Utopianism,'" fueled by Edward Bellamy's best selling book, Looking Backward: 2000-1887, attacked private enterprise as wasteful and poverty producing. Bellamy's social agenda and his futuristic orientation became indispensable elements in the rising social optimism of his day. Another best seller, Henry

²⁸Ibid., pp. 56-66.

George's Progress and Poverty, was a searing indictment of the American social system. George's larger influence was his ''root-and-branch'',²⁹ critique of the American economic system and the theories that undergird it. George's utopian ''single tax'' scheme became a cause celebre among nascent social reformers. Lester Ward, the first American to write a sociological treatise, challenged the Social Darwinism of his day. Populism and progressivism, began a concerted attack on ''the alliance of wealth and politics'',³⁰ and agitated for anti-trust legislation and laws that would protect consumers and instigate economic reform. In most instances, these instruments of reform worked in direct opposition to the Protestant churches whose professed ideals and scriptural rationale were antithetical to the agenda of social change. Women's suffrage and the cause of the freed slaves received little sympathy from the churches still hamstrung by their archaic orthodox attitudes toward women and non-whites. Seminaries began to focus attention on the social aspects of Christianity with leadership in this venture taken by Francis G. Peabody at Harvard, William J. Tucker at Andover, Graham T. Taylor at Hartford, Albion W. Small at Iowa (Grinnell) College, Charles R. Henderson at the University of Chicago, Shailer Mathews at the same school and Walter Rauschenbusch at Theological Seminary-Rochester. A social ethics and political economy curriculum quickly became common place in America's seminaries and divinity schools. The religious schools which were quickly becoming secular centres of educational

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid.

reform often found their agenda at loggerheads with the repressive doctrines and policies of the Protestant churches. Professors of political economy and social ethics began to critique the relationship of the church and business and industry and a curriculum of sociology became commonplace in the prominent institutions of higher learning. The tension between those private citizens who operated out of the religious schools and the leaders of the major denominations forced a re-evaluation of the church's mission in the industrial age. A new social order appeared both necessary and immanent.³¹

The Rise of the New Theology

The theological climate of the second half of the nineteenth century presented Protestants with two distinctive and conflicting ideologies. One was orthodox and reactionary while the other was liberal and progressive. The latter included both conservatives and liberals and was strongly tinged with an evangelical flavor and an inclination toward a biting critique of the status quo and the champions of business and industry. On one hand, orthodox Protestantism preached an other worldly dualism with a preoccupation with personal salvation and the perfection of the individual along with a supernaturalistic view of life, accentuating heaven as a reward for individual virtue and suffering. On the other hand, evangelical liberalism, its social roots in the abolition crusades, found its progressive attitudes toward the individual and social responsibility more conducive to the new

³¹Ibid; Abell, Urban Impact, pp. 88-117; Ahlstrom, Religious History, pp. 792-793; May, Protestant Churches, pp. 136-147.

humanistic and naturalistic theology coming from Britain and Germany and fast becoming a theological force in American seminaries and divinity schools.³²

Charles Howard Hopkins observes that "'conventional, institutionalized orthodox Protestantism provided a frozen complacency,'" that was ill-equipped to assume a social leadership, adding that "'conservatism was not deaf to the social outcry, it just reacted or responded simply out of tradition.'"³³ Hopkins is quick to say that there were "'enlightened conservatives'" who tried to "'reconcile the truths of Christianity with the new science and to reorient Protestant ethics to the needs of a newly industrialized society.'"³⁴ Despite its resistance to the new "'liberal theologies'" Protestant orthodoxy had a noble heritage of mission work, children's aid activity and the education of blacks after the Civil War. Nevertheless, under attack from the rising scientific movement and an increasingly vibrant call for social reform in light of the industrial revolution, orthodox Protestantism withdrew from the public arena and preached personal salvation and individual regeneration. The exception would be in the arena of prohibition. Sydney Ahlstrom cautions that although social Christianity finds its roots in a liberal theological milieu and

³² Ahlstrom, Religious History, pp. 774-784; Marty, Righteous Empire, pp. 188-198; Hudson, Religion in America, pp. 266-276; May, Protestant Churches, pp. 73-87. For a more extensive exploration, see William R. Hutchinson's The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism.

³³ Hopkins, Social Gospel, p. 16.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 14.

initially developed primarily out of an evangelical liberal social conscience, it should not be assumed that all socially concerned Protestants were liberals or that all liberals were social gospellers. A great many of the avowed critics of social Christianity in America espoused liberal theological views.³⁵

As has been indicated, social Christianity in America owes much of its theological and ideological underpinnings to British and European influences. From Britain came the Christian socialism of Charles Kingsley, Frederick D. Maurice, John Ruskin, William H. Freemantle as well as Fabian socialism which provided the socialistic base for the former. From Germany came the biblical and theological foundation as well as the social world view and social economic theory. Albrecht Ritschl gave the movement its "chief integrative idea," a "Jesus-centered antimetaphysical" theology of the Kingdom of God.³⁶ Adolph von Harnack, Ritschl's renowned disciple, modified Ritschl's views sufficiently enough that they became appealing to an American audience. Simply put, Ritschl's theology advocated a God who was immanent in history and revealed in Jesus. Jesus could serve as an example for all Christians and established that all Christians had the potential to be like him. Ritschl understood religious experience and

³⁵ Ahlstrom, Religious History, p. 788. See also Bloesch, Evangelical Renaissance; Dayton, Evangelical Heritage; Marsden, Fundamentalism; McLaughlin, American Evangelicals; Moberg, The Great Reversal; Sweet, Evangelical Tradition; and Szasz, Divided Mind.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 789; Hutchison, The Modernist Impulse.

consciousness as being as authoritative as scripture. For Ritschl, progress rather than providence was the key concern.³⁷

On this side of the Atlantic, Horace Bushnell contributed an American liberal theology sympathetic to aspirations of working men and women and the unemployed who were being victimized by the industrial revolution. Bushnell preached the "'Jesus of History,'" a loving, compassionate figure that identified with the misery and suffering of the common person. Added to this was a progressivistic vision of the universe which radically softened the old Calvinist views of original sin, predestination and election and attacked America's basic contempt for poverty, a contempt that fueled Social Darwinism and the "'gospel of wealth.'" The new theology was "'progressivistic and optimistic'" and postmillennial. It was informed by a European theological and secular social thought that was repulsed by the human carnage left in the wake of the new industrial order. Concurrently, the new theology advocated the radical ideal of a "'terrestrial social kingdom'" that could be realized on earth. The "'Jesus of History'" scholarship was advancing Jesus' social teachings as an intellectual foundation for social reform in America. Charles Howard Hopkins argues that "'the growing force of socialism and its increasingly effective appeal to the clergy acted as a leavening agent,'" while "'the developing techniques of sociology'" brought a "'methodological effectiveness and scientific sanction'" to

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 774-784; Hopkins, Social Gospel, pp. 55-66; Hudson, Religion in America, pp. 266-276, 310-311; Marty, Righteous Empire, pp. 188-198. See also Hutchison, American Protestant Thought and The Modernist Impulse.

social Christianity.³⁸ Hopkin's adds: "'Christ's teaching of the kingdom and ethical pronouncements afforded a frame of reference within which either a theistic or a humanistic social creed might be phrased.'"³⁹

A disproportionate number of books writtten by leading figures of the emerging social Christian movement treated the "'social teachings of Jesus'" theme. Lyman Abbott's Christianity and the Social Problems and The Ethical Teachings of Jesus, Shailer Mathews' The Social Teachings of Jesus, Francis Greenwood Peabody's Jesus Christ and the Social Question all promoted the social teachings of Jesus as a model of human endeavor and societal relationships. Later, Walter Rauschenbusch would expand this discussion to establish the relevance of Jesus' social message to all of life's activities. John Bascom, of Williams College, and the author of The Natural Theology of Social Science, developed a Kingdom Theology that strongly influenced his student, Washington Gladden.⁴⁰

The "'Kingdom of God on Earth'" became the overriding goal of a nascent social Christianity. Drawing from an earlier evangelical moment, these champions of social reform postulated divine initiative as the missing ingredient which would make the Kingdom of God on earth a present reality; "'The Kingdom of God is at ever present and future and

³⁸ Hopkins, Social Gospel, p. 203.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid; Ahlstrom, Religious History, pp. 774-784; Hudson, Religion in America, pp. 312-315.

awaits the enthusiasm of humanity which moves every member of the divine society.'⁴¹ The Darwinian influence seems pervasive in social Christianity's utopian understanding of the imminent Kingdom of God. The doctrine of immanence was predicated upon an understanding of the divine presence working in nature and human society. Moral and religious improvement became important ethical complements to the burgeoning optimistic belief in progress. The theology of the immanence of God and the kingdom of God on earth undergirded by the social teachings of Jesus came together in a perfect configuration providing both the impetus and the design for a progressive Protestantism aching to do battle with the forces of rampant industrialism.⁴²

To suggest that American social Christianity was totally indebted to European theological and secular social thought would be an error. The heart and soul of the movement was distinctly American with many of its presuppositions rooted deeply in the abolitionist crusades and the spirited revivals of an earlier moment in American history. Charles Howard Hopkins observes: 'With the rise of the young republic and the egalitarian aspirations of the early nineteenth century, the democratic ideal and the kingdom hope blended in a climate of opinion highly favorable to the germination of the modern social gospel.'⁴³

⁴¹Ibid., p. 23.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid., pp. 3-4.

American Social Gospel, 1890-1910

Sydney Ahlstrom, borrowing from Walter Rauschenbusch, identifies three assertions that reveal the essence of the social gospel. First, it was a form of millennial thought. Secondly, it pointed to the latent perfectibility in human nature. Thirdly, it stressed the fact that mankind had to gain control of the social forces and the bond of evil must be broken. Charles Howard Hopkins continues in the same vein when he locates four types of problems that faced the pioneer social gospellers: unrestricted competition; conflict between labor and capital; the business ethic, or lack of one, of the 'Great Barbeque;' and the problems of urban life. Martin Marty, on the other hand, prefers to discuss the typology of the social gospel in terms of two distinct types of Protestantism; private Protestantism and public Protestantism. Drawing from Josiah Strong, Marty argues that private Protestantism was distinctly conservative evangelical and stressed individual salvation, otherworldly expectations, a devout and moral personal life and the use of revivalistic techniques to encourage conversion and the reaffirmation of faith. Public Protestantism on the other hand, was more exposed to the social order and pursued a social Christianity and offered the kingdom of God on earth as an alternative to a heavenly kingdom. In public Protestantism, evangelical programs still had merit but the cause of social reform took precedence. The education of the young and the social ministry to the poor and the weak was as important, if not more important, as the study of the Bible and personal regeneration. Church union, political reform, industrial reorganization and international peace were extremely important issues that the church had to face. All three historians agree that the social

gospel, as a distinct phenomena, achieved its greatest success during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century.⁴⁴

The first salvo fired by the social gospellers was directed towards corporate America's business practices and subsequent rationale. The attack upon classical economys began to draw support from academics and churchleaders in the 1880's and would later occupy a central position in the platform of the social gospel, particularly in the thought of Walter Rauschenbusch. Washington Gladden, Richard T. Ely, Francis Greenwood Peabody, Albion W. Small, Shailer Mathews and Charles Stelzle were all prominent leaders in the movement to reform industrial America. Later, more radical figures joined the crusade. William Dwight Porter Bliss, Graham Taylor, George D. Herron were in the vanguard of a radical social Christianity that promoted utopian ideals and attempted to create, with some opposition from less radical social gospellers, socialistic communities where class distinction would become nonexistent.⁴⁵

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, social Christianity had awakened the conscience of much of Protestant America. Its effect upon theological schools was remarkable. By the turn of the century most seminaries were teaching some type of ethics course and many had developed undergraduate and graduate offerings in the area of

⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 24-25; Ahlstrom, Religious History, pp. 785-786; Righteous Empire, pp. 177-187.

⁴⁵ Ahlstrom, Religious History, pp. 792-793. See also Hutchison, The Modernist Impulse.

social ethics. On the denominational front, the Episcopal and Congregationalist churches formed commissions to deal with urban and labor issues in 1901. By 1900, the National Federation of Churches and Christian Workers had organized an international conference where social issues received a great deal of attention. In 1908 the Federal Council of Churches of Christ was organized and a commission on the Church and social issues was established with Charles Stelzle as its "voluntary secretary." The Federal Council of Churches provided a motivating force which brought social gospellers of every rank together in a common cooperative effort to combat the social ills of the day. When the Men and Religion Forward Movement was launched in 1912, the social service division was the most active in the movement.⁴⁶

Denominationally, the Congregational, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Northern Methodist and Northern Baptist churches assumed leadership of the social gospel movement. The most active participants were "seminary professors, editors, gadflies, heads of brotherhoods and similar movements,"⁴⁷ but rarely parish ministers. While these social reformers concentrated their attention on restoring an industrial balance and championing the cause of workers and slum dwellers they were generally not familiar faces or names to the people in those jurisdictions. One explanation for that irony might be that the social gospel was, for the most part, a bourgeois impulse. The social gospel

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 783-804; Abell, Urban Impact, pp. 88-113; Hopkins, Social Gospel, pp. 280-301; Marty, Righteous Empire, pp. 199-209; May, Protestant Churches, pp. 170-181.

⁴⁷ Marty, Righteous Empire, p. 206.

was, first and foremost, an evangelical movement. Its leaders relied upon the prophets, the teachings of Jesus, the Bible and its eschatological message and its particular emphasis upon the Kingdom of God motif. Sadly, the race problem and women's rights were blind spots and received little, if any, attention. Much of the theology of prominent social gospellers was shaped by their personal experience in the city. Washington Gladden and Walter Rauschenbusch honed their social gospel message in the inner city cauldrons of Columbus, Ohio, and Hell's Kitchen, New York City. The social gospel 'founded its claims upon a fresh emphasis on the social and humanitarian aspect of the second commandment',⁴⁸ stressing the need 'for the development of an adequate sociological technique with which to apply the law of love to the complexities of modern society.'⁴⁹ Christian ethics were to be based upon the teachings of Jesus and salvation was to be understood in ethical-social terms. The 'Church and her ministers' were called 'in the name of God and humanity' to create a new social order.⁵⁰ In the words of Richard T. Ely: 'The social character of Christianity may be found in the teachings of Christ who proclaimed a social as well as an individual salvation.'⁵¹ To the social gospellers, social salvation was to be included 'within the broader universalism of the kingdom of

⁴⁸Hopkins, Social Gospel, p. 106.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Cited by Hopkins, Social Gospel, p. 108.

heaven on earth.'⁵² Christianizing society was now the order of the day.⁵³

Social Christianity during the last two decades of the nineteenth century had been marked by the creation of institutes or associations of socially active academics and churchmen. The Christian Social Union, with Frederic Dan Huntington as director and Richard T. Ely as secretary, organized what Ely called "'a social university,'" publishing The Economic Review and organizing conferences devoted to the discussion of social reform. The American Institute of Christian Sociology had been organized at Chautauqua, New York in 1893, providing an impetus and design for the Christian Social Union. The Oberlin Institute of Christian Sociology, with Washington Gladden as president, had been founded in 1894, providing a means of informing social gospellers on the relevant concerns of the day. More radical associations included W.D. P. Bliss' American Fabian League, later expanded into the Union Reform League in 1895 and which later spawned the Convention of Christian Workers, the Congress of Liberal Religious Societies and the Union for Practical Progress. All these organizations grew and thrived during the first decades of the twentieth century.⁵⁴

⁵²Ibid., p. 109.

⁵³Ibid., pp. 280-301; Abell, Urban Impact, pp. 88-113; Ahlstrom, Religious History, pp. 793-804; Marty, Righteous Empire, pp. 199-209; May, Protestant Churches, pp. 170-181.

⁵⁴Ibid.

The most successful and socially relevant of the research and retreat centres was the Baptist Brotherhood of the Kingdom. Leighton Williams, Samuel Zane Batten, Charles R. Henderson, Shailer Mathews, Francis Wayland and Walter Rauschenbusch are the best known members of the Brotherhood. E. Tallmadge Root, Nathaniel Schmidt and William Newton Clark were also frequent participants. As the fame of the organization spread, the membership grew to include almost every prominent social gospeller in America. Growing out of the Baptist Congress for the Discussion of Current Questions, the Brotherhood of the Kingdom became a platform for the kingdom ideal beyond the immediate confines of the Baptist experience. Charles Howard Hopkins argues that "'The almost Franciscan quality of the Brotherhood's quest evidences the fundamentally religious nature of the growing social gospel,'" adding that "'the group provided the forum in which was formulated much of the epochal social Christianity of Walter Rauschenbusch.'"⁵⁵ The purpose of the society was to stress the kingdom ideal and promote the "'social aims'" of Christianity. Social issues of the day were treated during twenty conferences which discussed such topics as socialism, business ethics, the labor question, social work, the single tax and the whole gamut of urban problems plaguing American cities. With reference to the prophets, the early Church fathers, the Catholic saints and the Protestant reformers, the Brotherhood eventually brought an eclectic flavor to the ongoing dialogue of Social Christianity. In 1907, Rauschenbusch's Christianity and the Social Crisis introduced the

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 131.

Brotherhood's major ideas to the attention of the general American public. Later publication of Rauschenbusch's Christianizing the Social Order, The Social Teachings of Jesus, the Prayers of the Social Awakening and A Theology for the Social Gospel, exposed the Brotherhood's "'kingdom ideal'" to an eager readership. Samuel Zane Batten's The New Citizenship, The Christian State and The Social Task of Christianity also carried the stamp of the Brotherhood. The Brotherhood's publication, For The Right, although shortlived, provided its readership with a dynamic discussion of social issues drawing from the expertise of a diverse and ecumenical group of contributors.⁵⁶

Selected Social Gospellers of the Period

Any discussion of prominent social gospel figures would of necessity include the likes of Francis Greenwood Peabody, Albion W. Small, Josiah Strong, Graham T. Taylor, George D. Herron, William Dwight Porter Bliss, Lyman Abbott, Charle Stelzle, Charles H. Henderson, Shailer Mathews, Washington Gladden, Richard T. Ely and Walter Rauschenbusch. Others, including academics, parish ministers and socially active individuals contributed in some part to the propagation of social Christian ideals in an increasingly industrial America. Due to a brevity of space, only a select number can be treated at any length.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 131-134; Abell, Urban Impact, pp. 88-117; May, Protestant Churches, pp. 190-191.

⁵⁷ Ahlstrom, Religious History, pp. 783-804; Marty, Righteous Empire, pp. 199-209.

Francis Greenwood Peabody, a Unitarian, was the first American academic to teach a course in social ethics in an American theological school. His book, Jesus Christ and the Social Question, was a definitive text on that subject. Influenced by Schleiermacher, Peabody placed a strong emphasis upon the use of cooperative, enlightened philanthropy and advocated the establishment of insurance and social security systems. He was one of the few socially active Christians of his day who did not suffer from a blind spot when it came to the question of black's and women's rights. Peabody fought for the rights of blacks and women on a number of fronts and constantly kept these concerns at the forefront of Unitarian church social advocacy.⁵⁸

Josiah Strong, whom Sydney Ahlstrom called 'the most irrepressible spirit of the social gospel,'⁵⁹ regarded the city as the central locus of the young nation and the church. Strong's book, Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis, introduced many nascent social Christians to the emerging human crisis in America's urban centres. As an organizer of social conferences and as the general secretary of Evangelical Alliance, Strong lobbied for the revitalization of interdenominational agencies to carry on urban evangelism. Strong was the leading founding figure of the League of Social Service, later the American Institute of Social Service, which implemented programs of social research and public education. Despite his obvious

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 793-804; Hopkins, Social Gospel, pp. 207-212; May, Protestant Churches, pp. 170-181.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 798.

'anglo-saxon' bias, Josiah Strong can be accurately described as a founding father of social Christianity in America.⁶⁰

William Dwight Porter Bliss and George D. Herron represent a more radical social Christianity. Bliss, a Congregationalist, was influenced by Henry George, Edward Bellamy and British Christian Socialism. He founded the Church of the Carpenter, a socialist church and edited the newspaper, The Dawn, a well known periodical that advanced the social Christian cause. He was also the author of the critically acclaimed Encyclopedia of Social Reform. Bliss was an active member of the Christian Socialist Fellowship and the Socialist Party. George D. Herron, a professor of applied Christianity at Iowa (Grinnell) College, brought a thoroughgoing Marxist socialism to his social advocacy. Along with Bliss he acted as a more radical exponent of social Christianity, bringing a mystical utopian flavor to his critique of the social ills of the day. Later in his career, Herron inspired a community of social Christians in Georgia, the Christian Commonwealth Colony, where people lived a communal life and strove after utopian ideals. Both Bliss and Herron moved toward a radical social Christianity which alienated them from the more moderate exponents of the movement.⁶¹

Washington Gladden has been properly called 'the father of social Christianity' in America. Educated at Williams College, where

⁶⁰ Hopkins, Social Gospel, pp. 258-263; Ahlstrom, Religious History, pp. 798-799; Hudson, Religion in America, pp. 320-323; Marty, Righteous Empire, pp. 155-156.

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 184-200; Ahlstrom, Religious History, pp. 799-800; Marty, Righteous Empire, pp. 181-187; Dombrowski, Christian Socialism, pp. 96-108, 171-194.

he came under the tutelage of John Bascom, he left a journalistic career to enter the Congregationalist ministry. While a minister in New York City he attended classes at Union Theological Seminary and read Horace Bushnell. Impressed by the latter's concept of the divine love and justice of God, he moved closer to the liberal world view that was quickly pervading the social Christianity of the day. While ministering to churches in North Adams, Massachusetts and Springfield, Massachusetts, Gladden became involved in labor capital conflict and chose to take the side of the workingman. He would remain a champion of labor over his long career as a social activist. As the religious editor of The Independent, a Congregational periodical, he discussed a wide range of religious, social and cultural topics. Called to the pulpit of the First Congregational Church of Columbus, Ohio, Gladden developed a national reputation as a spokesman for social Christianity. His books, Applied Christianity, Social Salvation, The Church and the Modern Life and The Labor Question served as blueprints for the emerging social Christianity. As a commentator on the labor/capital conflict and as a writer and speaker on the social discontent of the day, he gave American social Christianity its initial impetus and design.⁶²

Richard T. Ely gave social Christianity a strong economic foundation for its critique of industrial America. His criticism of classical economies fueled the debate on social ethics and provided a sociological basis for social Christianity's attack on the abuse of power and wealth

⁶²Robert T. Handy, The Social Gospel in America, 1870-1920: Gladden, Ely, Rauschenbusch (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), 19-32; Ahlstrom, Religious History, pp. 794-795; Marty, Righteous Empire, pp. 179-180.

among America's business and industrial elite. Ely had studied in Germany at the University of Halle and the University of Heidelberg where he was influenced by Karl Knies and his socialist tendencies. Taking an appointment at John Hopkins in the department of political science he began to develop a strong affinity for the workingman. Further influenced by Hegel and F.W. Maurice from Europe and W. H. Freemantle in England and Elisha Mulford in America, he became a founding force in the American Economics Association, later serving as a secretary and president. The organization, under his direction, focused its attention on the social malaise of the day providing a forum for social Christians to lobby for more equitable distribution of wealth and power. Ely also served as the secretary of the Protestant Episcopal Church's Christian Social Union and held the position of the first secretary of the American Institute of Christian Sociology. His books, Social Aspects of Christianity and the Social Law of Service became economic manifestos for social Christianity and served to inform social activists and reformers on the "errors" of individualistic, laissez faire economies. As the director of the School of Economics, Political Science and History at the University of Wisconsin, Ely continued his attack on the industrial status quo influencing economists, political scientists and historians alike.⁶³

Walter Rauschenbusch remains the focal figure in American social Christianity. As the "prophet of the Kingdom of God in America," he

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 173-183; Ahlstrom, Religious History, pp. 796-797; Dombrowski, Christian Socialism, pp. 50-59; Marty, Righteous Empire, pp. 204-214.

is one of the few writers of the period whose message is still socially relevant today. Raised in a pious Baptist home, Rauschenbusch received a strong moral and ethical education from his parents. His father held an appointment as a Professor of German at the University of Rochester and Walter began his post-secondary education at the same school, receiving his theological training at Rochester Theological Seminary after a period of study at the University of Berlin. Influenced, like so many other social Christians of the day, by German social liberalism, Rauschenbusch began his pastoral ministry with an acceptance of a call to the Second Baptist Church of New York City located in the infamous Hell's Kitchen district. Strongly influenced by Schleiermacher, Bushnell, Ritschl and Harnack, Rauschenbusch preached a Christology shaped by the 'quest for the historical Jesus,' and advocated an optimistic view of humankind unified by the 'Kingdom of God' ideal. Early in his pastoral career he became aware of the inequities inherent within the American free enterprise system. He was one of the early supporters of Henry George's single tax scheme and played an important role in the Baptist Congress for the Discussion of Current Questions. He was a founding father of the Brotherhood of the Kingdom, an association that would bear his imprint over its 20 year history. In 1897, Rochester Theological Seminary offered him an appointment as professor of German and in 1902 appointed him professor of Church History. His book Christianity and the Social Crisis is widely believed to be the social manifesto that triggered the onset of the wide spread legitimacy that social Christianity enjoyed during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Rauschenbusch's legacy includes the respect of a wide cross section of American religious, business and educational

leaders up to the present day. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s civil rights crusades of the fifties and sixties relied heavily upon the social thought of Rauschenbusch. As the following discussion of Western Canadian Baptist social Christianity will indicate, Rauschenbusch exerted a pervasive influence as far afield as Winnipeg, Manitoba, Calgary, Alberta, and Vancouver, B.C.⁶⁴

Canadian Protestant Social Christianity:

1890-1940

The Churches Respond to the Social Crisis

The Canadian Context

Richard Allen, in his seminal work, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928, observes that "The social gospel was not a uniquely Canadian movement, but was a part of a widespread attempt in Europe and North America to revive and develop Christian social insights and to apply them to the emerging forms of collective society."⁶⁵ Along the same lines John Webster Grant describes Protestant social concern as "an overflow of the American

⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 252-263; Ahlstrom, Religious History, pp. 800-802; Cauthen, Religious Liberalism, pp. 85-107; Marty, Righteous Empire, pp. 204-214; White, Social Gospel, pp. 36-48.

⁶⁵ Allen, Social Passion, p. 4.

Social Gospel',⁶⁶ which was profoundly influenced by Walter Rauschenbusch's Christianity and the Social Crisis and the Federal Council of Churches' social creed which appeared in 1907 and 1908 respectively. In Professor Grant's opinion, the distinctive Canadian features included the campaigns of moral reform and the ''nationalistic flavor',⁶⁷ of the Canadian churches' efforts to assimilate foreign immigrants into the Canadian mosaic. It is in this context that Professor Grant identifies J.S. Woodsworth's All People's Mission as the ''seedbed of advanced social thought'' in Canada.⁶⁸ Both Allen and Grant agree that the social gospel in Canada began as an urban movement and later spread to an agrarian setting. Allen explains further:

Clearly, the social gospel of the agrarian revolt first derived from urban rather than agrarian responses to industrialism. Its framework of thought derived from urban universities, urban civil servants, and urban pastors, and it was popularized by urban-presses and urban-trained preachers. ⁶⁹

As was the case in the United States, Canadian social Christianity was influenced by the European strains of socialism and liberalism pervading North America during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The social critique of Comte, Darwin, Marx, Tolstoy, Maurice, Kingsley,

⁶⁶John Webster Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966), pp. 101.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Richard Allen, ''The Social Gospel as the Religion of the Agrarian Revolt,'' in The West and the Nation, eds. Ramsey Cook and Carl Berger (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), p. 185.

Ruskin, Fremantle, Harnack and most pervasively, Ritschl, provided the theoretical and theological foundation for the Canadian brand of social gospel. From the United States, the social thought of Horace Bushnell, Henry George and Walter Rauschenbusch along with the social activism of Graham T. Taylor and Charles Stelzle informed an increasingly active group of Canadian churchmen who were struggling to deal with a social crisis that had seemingly arrived on Canadian shores with hurricane force and seem to threaten the very social fabric of Canadian society. Salem Bland, a Methodist minister and later a powerful exponent of social reform, remained for the most part, a singular voice calling for the reappraisal of Jesus' social teachings in light of the social crisis.⁷⁰

Stewart Crysdale correctly points to the Printer's Strike of 1872 as a pivotal moment for Protestant churches in Canada as they attempted to deal with labor strife by applying an outmoded Calvinistic critique

⁷⁰ Stewart Crysdale, "Social Awakening Among Protestants, 1872-1918," in Religion and Canadian Society, eds., Stewart Crysdale and Les Wheatcroft (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1976), p. 192; Grant, Canadian Era, pp. 91-159; Stewart Crysdale, The Industrial Struggle and the Protestant Churches in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1967) pp. 76-136; Robert T. Handy, History of the Churches, pp. 360-364; for a general overview of Canadian Social Christianity during the period, 1872-1940. Richard Allen's Social Passion remains the seminal work in this subject area but is, for the most part, a history of Methodist and Presbyterian social Christianity. Other material edited by Richard Allen includes, Religion and Society in the Prairie West (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975). Articles treating denominational expression include G.N. Emery, "The Origin of Canadian Methodist Involvement in the Social Gospel Movement, 1890-1914," in The Bulletin 26 (1977); Brian Fraser, "Theology and the Social Gospel among Canadian Presbyterians: A Case Study," in Studies in Religion 8 (1979); W.W. Judd, "The Vision and the Dream," in The Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society 8 (December 1965); and W.H. Magney, "The Methodist Church and the National Gospel," in The Bulletin 20 (1965).

to a rising social crisis that would consume the better part of their energies for almost one half of a century. The initial response of the churches was, without exception, opposition to the first concerted efforts of Canadian labor to win the right to strike for fair wages and reasonable working conditions. It would not be until 1919 and the Winnipeg Strike and its attendant strife, that the Protestant churches in Canada would face the necessity of supporting workingmen in their battle to participate in industry on an equal basis with the leaders of industry and the champions of business.⁷¹

Stewart Crysedale argues convincingly that early social Christianity in Canada can be described in two fairly clear stages. The first stage covers the period from 1872 to 1905 and the second stage, the period from 1906 to 1918. As Richard Allen's Social Passion indicates, the social gospel in Canada remained a force until 1928, which might suggest the necessity to argue for a third stage which would see social Christianity through its season of maturity and into its decline. The renaissance of social Christianity during the depression years and into the forties might indicate a fourth stage when the movement had transcended denominational boundaries and political ideology and for the most part had become the domain of secular forces for social transformation and social reform. The C.C.F., and later the N.D.P., found their socio-religious roots in the social activism of the

⁷¹Crysedale, "Social Awakening," pp. 203-205. See also D.C. Masters, The Winnipeg General Strike (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950) and Alan Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914 (Montreal: McGill-Queens Press, 1975).

'dirty thirties' but had shed the last remnants of theological baggage long before their agenda had taken on national proportions.⁷²

During the period 1872-1905, many of the Canadian churches chose to support the status quo and argued for a Protestant work ethic with its emphasis upon individualism, personal freedom and self sufficiency. In religious terms, personal conversion was joined to economic idealism and free enterprise was promoted as a cure all for social malaise. Laissez faire attitudes and a reliance upon the laws of supply and demand led to a period of social lethargy which rivalled Social Darwinism in the United States. Canada entered into a period of industrial growth and immigration unparalleled in its history and the social crisis that followed caught the Protestant churches by surprise and unable to cope with the human carnage left in its wake.⁷³

From 1906 to 1918, according to Crysedale's chronology, 'fundamental changes occurred in the Canadian economy and in the attitudes of the three largest non-Roman churches, Methodist, Presbyterian and the Church of England.'⁷⁴ All three denominations called for radical changes in the social system with the Methodists the most radical, calling for public ownership and fair wages, regulation of profits and social security measures. By the year 1918 social Christianity in Canada had become a force to be reckoned with and the

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid.; Allen, Social Passion, p. 7.

churches, with few exceptions, had come to grips with their social duty and were actively involved in the social transformation of Canadian society. For many of the leaders of the social gospel movement in Canada the Kingdom of God on Earth was almost at hand.⁷⁵

Three Decades of Growth

The first indications of growing social gospel strength in Canada came with the introduction of the Lay Brotherhood Movement from England during the 1890s. At the same time the YMCA and the Methodist Epworth League of young people began to show some evidence of being influenced by social gospel thought. N.W. Rowell, a leading exponent of social Christianity, was instrumental in spreading the message of social reform in this milieu. Isolated events such as a sermon by J.B. Silcox, a Congregationalist, entitled "'Social Resurrection'" presented to the first Toronto Brotherhood group in April 1895, and the attendance by prominent Canadian church leaders at interdenominational conferences on social issues in the United States in 1887, 1889 and 1893, indicated social gospel inroads in Canada. Although the message of social reform was supported by only a minority of Canadian pastors, social gospel sermons became commonplace in Methodist, Congregationalist and Presbyterian churches in most of the major urban centres.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Ibid.; Grant, Canadian Era, pp. 101-103.

⁷⁶ Grant, Canadian Era, pp. 101-103; Allen, Social Passion, pp. 3-17; Handy, The Churches, pp. 360-364.

In the 1890s, T.B. Macaulay, a Congregationalist layman, brought the Brotherhood Movement to Montreal. Institutional Churches and Settlement Houses, built on a British model with some American modifications, began to gain a foothold in the larger Canadian cities. During the same period, S.S. Craig and Herbert Casson attempted to found a labor church in Toronto and the Fred Victor Methodist Mission was created in order to minister to Toronto's inner city dwellers. Throughout the 1890's, temperance campaigns saw limited success but temperance leaders continued to lobby for prohibition. Nevertheless, prohibition remained one of the central most important feature of Canadian social gospel. G.M. Grant of Queen's University, organized lectures on social gospel themes under the auspices of the Queen's Theological Alumni Conferences, which served to influence new Presbyterian church leaders. By 1902, Sara Libby Carson had begun her settlement houses at the University of Toronto and McGill University. The Toronto house would serve as a model for the Department of Social Service founded at the University of Toronto in 1914. In 1902, the Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Moral Reform of the Methodist Church was set up to deal with immigration problems. James Woodsworth, the father of J.S. Woodsworth, while acting as a Methodist missionary superintendent for the North-West, introduced a 'humanitarian approach' to solving the problem of mass immigration. J.S. Woodsworth would later carry on that tradition.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Ibid.; Crysedale, 'Social Awakening,' pp. 191-206.

In 1906, a coalition of church and labor groups succeeded in pressuring the federal government to pass the Lord's Day Act indicating the growing strength of the forces for social and moral reform. At the Seventh General Conference of the Methodist Church in 1906, criticism of the existing competitive order was commonplace and advocacy of a ''radical revision of the social order'' received strong support among the delegates. In 1906, the Methodist Committee on Sociological Questions attacked the prevalent Christian response to social issues, arguing that the existing social order was lacking in Christian brotherhood. The Committee identified selfishness as a contributing factor. Salem Bland, one of the more radical social activists, advocated more direct action on the part of the Methodist church.⁷⁸

The Presbyterian Church also began to display changing attitudes toward social policy when it organized a Standing Committee on Temperance and Other Moral and Social Reforms in 1907 at the General Assembly. On a larger scale, the major denominations joined forces in 1907 to create the Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada led by such religious social gospel luminaries as Archbishop Sweatman, primate of the Church of England; A. Carman and James Simpson, Methodists; T.A. Moore and J.G. Shearer, Presbyterians; and Harry Moyle, a Baptist. Out

⁷⁸ Ibid. For a further discussion of Methodist revivalist tendencies, see Phyllis D. Airhart, The Eclipse of Revivalist Spirituality: The Transformation of Canadian Methodist Piety, 1884-1925 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1985) and Margaret Van Die, Nathaniel Burwash: A Study in Revivalism and Canadian Culture, 1839-1918 (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1987).

of this organization would come the Social Service Council of Canada in 1913 and the Christian Social Council in 1914.⁷⁹

Other indications of the spread of social Christianity in Canada included the interdenominational Maritime Home for Girls in Truro, Nova Scotia, founded in the middle of the decade and the wide acceptance of Walter Rauschenbusch's Christianity and the Social Crisis, which quickly became the "'Bible'" of Canadian social Christianity. J.S. Woodsworth's settlement approach to the immigration crisis in North Winnipeg, the inspiration for Stranger Within Our Gates and My Neighbor, served as a national model. The Church Union movement which had its inception in 1902 was gaining strength and would continue to be a national force for three decades. The social gospel was featured at the Ecumenical Methodist Conference in 1911 and later at a pre-assembly congress in 1913. During 1911, the Methodist and Presbyterian Boards co-operated with the appointment of field workers to study urban problems in Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver. Recommendations to establish settlement houses and to press for legislation to improve housing, working conditions, education and welfare, were endorsed. In 1914, the Social Service Council of Canada issued a statement of Christian social principles which were endorsed by the Church of England, the Methodists, the Presbyterians, the Baptists, the Congregationalists, the Salvation Army and the Y.M.C.A. The social gospel in Canada reached its pre-war apogee with the Social Service Congress in Ottawa held during March of

⁷⁹Crysdale, "'Social Awakening,'" pp. 191-206; Allen, Social Passion, pp. 3-17. See also Brian J. Fraser, The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915 (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1988).

1914 when the leaders of the movement met to discuss a wide array of social concerns.⁸⁰

By 1915, Canadian social Christianity had made impressive headway on numerous fronts: temperance laws had been secured; progressive labor legislation had been passed; Royal Commissions were investigating the civil service for patronage; a national network of free labor bureaus had been established to protect workers from being exploited; government public works projects had been created; extended farm credit was a reality; and programmes to secure employment for the unemployed were being implemented. Ironically the onset of World War I seemed to give the movement added impetus and the Methodist and Presbyterian Boards of Social Evangelism attacked the social ills of an increasingly industrial society with a new fury. Methodist calls for old age insurance, nationalization of natural resources and solidarity with labor was the most radical to date. For the first time in its Canadian existence, the Church of England began to respond to the social crisis. In 1915, the Standing Committee on Moral and Social Reform, formed in 1911 but heretofore impotent, made its first recommendation to the General Synod calling for the Church of England to "take its full responsibility for bearing social witness to the faith in the rapidly changing industrial situation."⁸¹ The General Synod responded by creating a Council for Social Service and later recommended the adoption

⁸⁰ Ibid.; Allen, Social Passion, pp. 3-17; Grant, Canadian Era, pp. 101-103.

⁸¹ Ibid.

of the social principles articulated by the American Federal Council of the Churches of Christ. The same year, the Council went so far as to identify individualism, competition and materialism as false concepts and a hindrance to Christian social reform.⁸²

The year 1918 proved to be an important year on a number of fronts. The Social Service Council of Canada launched its periodical, Social Welfare and by the end of the year 29 units of the council were functioning throughout the country with fourteen provincial secretaries working full time. Temperance, child welfare, housing, education, unemployment, orphan and immigrant care, gambling, amusements and recreation, were social concerns that demanded the attention of these social activists. Also during 1918, William Ivens founded the first labor church in Winnipeg. It would become a gathering place for those social activists who supported the Winnipeg iron workers seeking certification during 1918-1919. From this locale the labor church movement spread to other cities in Western Canada. Independent congregations were organized on socialistic principles based on the social teachings of Jesus. The labor churches, for the most part, took their names from earlier British models and were led by radical churchmen from a variety of denominational backgrounds. The labor churches would later drop most of their religious trappings and eventually became a forum for labor issues. The Winnipeg Strike of 1919 served as a coalescing agent and gave the labor church movement its

⁸²Ibid.; Allen, Social Passion, pp. 63-80; Crysdale, Industrial Struggle, pp. 76-136, Grant, Canadian Era, 101-103; Handy, The Churches, pp. 360-364.

initial impetus. Supporters as influential as Canon F.G. Scott of the Church of England gave the movement national prestige.⁸³

Two Decades of Decline and Revival

During the years 1920 to 1925, proponents of the social gospel in Canada seemed to lose their sense of common purpose and interest in social reconstruction giving way to the issues of war and pacifism. The Printer's Strike of 1921, which adversely affected the Methodist publishing house, along with the denomination's unwillingness to grant labor demands, undermined the church's social gospel stance. Pacifism was uppermost in the minds of radical exponents of the social gospel with W.B. Creighton, the editor of the Christian Guardian, the unofficial leader of the movement. During the years 1925 to 1930, such social gospel notables as S.D. Chown, George C. Pidgeon, N.W. Rowell and Canon H. J. Cody joined the pacifist movement and promoted inter-church dialogue as a means of discovering an alternative to war. In 1929, R. Edis Fairbairn wrote that "'war was a product of capitalism',⁸⁴ in the New Outlook and further advocated that it was the church's responsibility to do away with both capitalism and war. By the year 1931, conservatives, liberals and radicals alike could meet at a disarmament rally at Upper Canada College, chaired by W.L. Grant. In 1934, J. Lavell Smith led a campaign against participation in future wars. With the

⁸³Ibid.; Allen, Social Passion, pp. 36-62; Grant, Canadian Era, pp. 121-122.

⁸⁴Grant, Canadian Era, p. 150.

province of Ontario's abandonment of prohibition in 1926 and Church Union a reality, the social gospel in Canada, with few causes left, seemed no longer to be a major force in Canadian society.⁸⁵

With the onset of the 'great depression' Canadian social Christianity underwent a startling renaissance. Borrowing most of its ideas from earlier American and British models, the reborn movement or 'neo-social gospel,' made inroads on a number of fronts. In 1931, the Movement for a Christian Social Order was founded upon a platform of an equitable Christian order. In 1934, the movement became the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order and during the years 1934 to 1940, contributed numerous columns on a variety of social concerns in the New Outlook and other denominational periodicals. In 1936, the Fellowship published a symposium entitled Towards the Christian Revolution. Prominent Anglican leaders, M.J. Coldwell and Robert Connell, gave the organization prestige and leadership. The United Church, of the major denominations, led the way in establishing concrete programs to deal with social reconstruction. From 1930 until 1939, a series of emergency funds for unpaid clergy were established and ministers were encouraged to contribute on a sliding scale. In 1931, Carlton Street United Church members met to develop a program of social action and on the national level, a United Church Commission on the Church and Industry advocated the denomination take a more active role in the arena of social reform. In 1933 at a conference on social questions in Toronto, Professor John Line of Emmanuel College proposed a series of radical resolutions that

⁸⁵ Ibid.; Allen, Social Passion, pp. 36-62, 81-103, 104-119, 159-174.

were all passed during the session. A year later a commission on the social order under the direction of Sir Robert Falconer, called on the church to create a society approximating the Kingdom of God on Earth. Demands for radical social change were coming from conferences in both Saskatchewan and British Columbia. During the period 1930 to 1939, the United Church advocated penal reform, birth control and civil liberties and without exception, promoted pacifist ideals at every church conference. Strangely, when war broke out in 1939, the United Church advocated rights of conscience but cooperated in the appointment of chaplains while lay groups provided entertainment for the troops. When 75 United Church ministers issued a pacifist stance in 1939, the declaration was overwhelmingly defeated by the General Council. The denomination would later split on the issue of pacifism, a rift that continues to this day. Yet the General Council, meeting in 1940, declared that the "'paramount authority of conscience'" be maintained during wartime.⁸⁶

The Anglican contribution to social reconstruction during the depression years was spotty at best but demands some attention if only to mention the efforts of Canon C.W. Vernon and Canon F.G. Scott. Canon Vernon served admirably as the secretary of the Anglican Council for Social Service and Canon Scott, the Anglican Church's most prominent labor activist, provided untiring service in the social gospel arena until his death in 1934. Dr. S.H. Prince, an Anglican clergyman and

⁸⁶ Ibid.; Allen, Social Passion, pp. 284-301, 313-330, 331-346; Crysedale, Industrial Struggle, pp. 76-136; Grant, Canadian Era, pp. 121-124.

professor, served as an advisor to a number of Ontario government social committees and helped formulate much of Ontario's social legislation during the years 1935-1940. As early as 1931, Anglicans had called for emergency measures to deal with a depression weakened economy. But as a denomination, the church suggested little in the area of social reform at yearly synods during the 1930s. During the 1940s, the Anglican Church provided leadership on a number of social gospel fronts. Influenced by the socially motivated Malvern Conference in Britain and the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Temple, whose columns appeared in the Canadian Anglican newsletter Canada and Christendom, social reform became a priority for the Anglican church. The Beveridge Report in 1942 promoted a welfare state ideal and the same year, a series of Arundel Conferences in Montreal promoted the social thought of Archbishop Temple. In 1945, Temple's social welfare concerns were accepted by Anglican social gospel leaders, culminating in the founding of the Anglican Outlook, a periodical devoted to social issues. The Anglican Fellowship for Social Action took over the responsibility for the Anglican Outlook in 1949, with H.H. Walsh installed as editor. As early as 1943, the Anglican Church had called for a national program of social security.⁸⁷

Throughout the entire period of the social gospel's tenure in Canada, the Protestant church colleges in the West had served as

⁸⁷ Crysdale, Industrial Struggle, pp. 76-136; Grant, Canadian Era, pp. 140-143; Handy, The Churches, pp. 360-364. For a further discussion of Anglican social gospel, see Edward Pulkar, We Stand on Their Shoulders: The Growth of Social Concern in Canadian Anglicanism (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1986).

disseminators of social thought and action. Wesley College, Manitoba College, Brandon College, Regina College and Alberta College were all in the vanguard of those institutions training future social gospel leaders. Wesley College, with W.F. Osbourne and Salem Bland on its faculty, introduced the first sociology course to prairie students. As will be indicated in a later chapter, Brandon College would serve as a Baptist training ground for socially motivated church leaders. During this period the agrarian reform movement in Western Canada drew much of its intellectual leadership from the prairie colleges. Many of the students came from agrarian roots and later applied the lessons of sociology to the problems of rural Canada.

During the 1930's in Western Canada, a number of political organizations were founded upon social and religious principles, the most notable among these being the Social Credit Party in Alberta under the leadership of the flamboyant Baptist, William Aberhart. The C.C.F. was founded in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, under the leadership of Tommy Douglas, J.S. Woodsworth, William Irvine, Stanley Knowles and M.J. Coldwell. The C.C.F.'s League for Social Reconstruction founded in 1932, grappled with social questions, employing a religious argument for social reform and social change. Despite the social activism of the major Protestant denominations and the C.C.F., little public outcry followed the violation of the rights of religious minorities, such as the Jehovah's Witnesses in the early 1940s and the Hutterites in Alberta in 1947. The forced sale of Japanese-Canadian properties and the subsequent Japanese-Canadian relocation to internment camps in British Columbia, Alberta and elsewhere during the second world war, failed to arouse the ire of social Christians in any part of Canada. During the

War years, domestic social issues received scant attention and socially motivated organizations focused upon issues of war and disarmament. The glaring exceptions were the Canadian Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council both active in the mid 1940's, which were both organized to provide constructive social action in the arena of social reform and social reconstruction.⁸⁸

Selected Social Gospellers of the Period

Canadian social Christianity provided the social milieu in which an extraordinary group of Methodist and Presbyterian church leaders could thrive and flourish and in the process leave an indelible imprint upon Canadian social and religious history. To focus arbitrarily upon just a few of these prominent social Christians is to do an injustice to many others whose contribution is equally remarkable but for the sake of brevity a select group will be highlighted in an introductory fashion.

Salem Bland is easily the most notable figure in Canadian social Christianity, bringing to the social gospel movement a Rauschenbuschian presence far exceeding any other personality of the period. Influenced by most of the liberal thinkers of the day: Carlyle, Tennyson, Emerson, Channing, Thoreau, and most importantly, Albrecht Ritschl; as well as

⁸⁸ Grant, Canadian Era, pp. 140-143; Crysdale, "'Social Awakening,'" pp. 191-206. See also Michael Horn, The League for Social Reconstruction: Intellectual Origins of the Democratic Left in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980); J.A. Irving, The Social Credit Movement in Alberta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959); S.M. Lipsett, Agrarian Socialism: The C.C.F. in Saskatchewan (Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1950); W.L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950) and Paul F. Sharp, The Agrarian Revolt in Western Canada (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1948).

the literature of evolution: Darwin, Drummond, Kidd, and the literature of utopia: Bushnell, Bellamy and Henry George, Bland gave Canadian social Christianity a blueprint for social reform and a vision of the Kingdom of God on Earth.⁸⁹ As a Chautauqua lecturer, college professor, journalist, labor supporter, church union advocate and peace activist, Bland's social critique of Christianity, his rejection of capitalism and espousal of the social teachings of Jesus, provided the movement with its ''raison d'être.'⁹⁰ His controversial book, The New Christianity, served to motivate two generations of Canadian social Christians in the same way that Walter Rauschenbusch's Christianity and the Social Crisis influenced American social Christianity during its apogee. Writing for the Grain Grower's Guide, Bland spoke to the concerns of the agrarian revolt and through his association with the Free Trade League, Single Tax and Direct Legislation Association and the New Partisan League, was thrust into the vortex of progressive reform in Canada.⁹¹ Teaching at Wesley College in Winnipeg, a hotbed of social Christianity, Bland was introduced to other prominent figures in the movement and allowed to experiment, in an intellectual and cultural environment, with the philosophy of social reform. Later as a writer for the Canadian Student, a periodical of the Student Christian Movement, and even later ministering to the needs of young people as pastor of Broadway

⁸⁹ Allen, Social Passion, p. 9.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 81.

⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 148-158, 208-210. See also Horn, Social Reconstruction; Lipsett, Agrarian Revolt and Morton, Progressive Party.

Tabernacle in Toronto, Bland was able to leave an unrivalled legacy of social advocacy.⁹² His developmental view of Christianity--Christianity in progress--was essential to the growth and spread of social Christian ideals nationally. Even his major failure, the stillborn New Canada Movement with its premier objectives of national social reform, served as a model for social reformers of his day and those of later periods of Canadian social reform.⁹³

S.D. Chown, a general superintendent of the Methodist Church, was a liberal exponent of social Christianity who brought his strong social and moral advocacy to the issue of church union. With an ecumenical zeal, he provided leadership by wedding diverse elements within the social gospel movement toward a common attack on the myriad of social ills plaguing Canadian society during the first quarter of the twentieth century. His creative social advocacy was not limited to any one issue or cause and so not surprisingly he was a leading participant in the formation of the Baptist Social Service Committee in an advisory role and proved to be a major force in the prohibition campaigns. A strong supporter of democratic social reform across denominational lines, he was, according to Richard Allen "the most consistent formulation of the liberal, evangelical and nationalist social Christianity of the Church Union Movement."⁹⁴ A untiring administrator, Chown left a legacy of

⁹²Ibid., pp. 151, 223-224.

⁹³Ibid., pp. 41, 152.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 252.

social advocacy, his monumental efforts to achieve Christian cooperation culminating with the union of the Congregational, Presbyterian and Methodist denominations into the United Church of Canada, an event that many observers consider the high water mark of social Christianity in Canada.⁹⁵

The career of W.G. Shearer, general superintendent of the Presbyterian Church, in many ways parallels that of S.D. Chown. As social service secretary of the Presbyterian Church and later as the secretary of the Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada and the joint secretary of the Social Service Council of Canada, Shearer brought to his innovative administration the same flavor of ecumenical sympathies that marked Chown's remarkable career. Also a leading figure in the creation of the Baptist Social Service Committee, along with Chown, and a major force in various inter-denominational organizations, most notably his role of general secretary of the Social Service Council of Canada and editor of Social Welfare, the council's periodical, he advocated the cause of labor and argued for a more equitable distribution of the profits of industry and business. He also played a major role in the establishment of the General Council of the Brotherhood, serving as a president for a term, promoting the egalitarian ideals of that organization for social reform in Canada.

⁹⁵Ibid., pp. 68-72, 127-128.

Administrator, editor, writer and activist, W.G. Shearer provided strong leadership in the arena of inter-denominational social Christianity.⁹⁶

W.B. Creighton and C.W. Gordon served social Christianity as powerful propagandists for social reform and social reconstruction. W.B. Creighton, a Methodist, edited the Christian Guardian a periodical which espoused strong support for the labor cause. An avid progressive, Creighton promoted the merits of unionism and argued for the right of socio-religious organizations, as in the case of the United Farmers of Ontario, to enter the political arena. Richard Allen observed that Creighton "'represented the prophetic passion of the social gospel,'"⁹⁷ and was a consistent ally of progressive reform in Canada. As an outspoken critic of the excesses of capitalism, Creighton's acid pen and rapier wit gave Canadian social Christianity a wider readership and an enduring legitimacy. C.W. Gordon, a Presbyterian, writing under the pseudonym of Ralph Conner, popularized many of the social gospel's ideals through his best selling novels that "'fused romance, religion and social problems,'"⁹⁸ and introduced the movement to a much larger audience. His series of social gospel novels treated the concerns of the movement in fictional settings familiar to the general reader. Utopian ideals and humanitarian concerns pervaded his writing. Human development, brotherhood, an immanent God involved in the human

⁹⁶Ibid., pp. 13-17, 31, 64, 111, 232.

⁹⁷Ibid., pp. 76, 82, 112-113, 179, 212.

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 33.

struggle, a vibrant socially relevant church and emphasis upon morality rather than orthodoxy, were all overriding themes in his novels. As a social activist, he served as the chairman of the Manitoba Social Service Council and achieved some notoriety as a passionate and eloquent spokesman for social reform at the Ottawa Social Congress in 1914. A proponent of liberal values and ecumenical cooperation, he gave Canadian social Christianity a "'higher calling toward a more noble cause.'"⁹⁹

William Irvine and William Ivens, students of Salem Bland and radical exponents of social Christianity, brought diverse talents to the cause of social reconstruction. William Irvine, publisher, editor and writer, became a major force in the labor church movement. Initially a presbyterian and later a Unitarian, he proved too radical for both denominations. An editor of the Nutcracker, an Alberta Non-Partisan League periodical and later the Alberta Non-Partisan, he was active in the Calgary Labor Church and achieved fame as a strong supporter of agrarian reform. He promoted the cause of progressivism on both the urban and rural fronts. His radical interpretation of the social teachings of Jesus alienated him from many of the prominent social Christians of his day. His tenure as member of parliament in Ottawa allowed Irvine to carry the progressive cause to the nation's capital and a much larger audience.¹⁰⁰

William Ivens, a radical pacifist and pioneer in the labor church movement, was a integral player in the tumultuous history of Canadian

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., pp. 46, 159-174.

social Christianity. A controversial minister at McDougall Methodist Church in Winnipeg, Ivens' support for the Winnipeg Sympathetic Strike thrust him into the cauldron of labor strife that swept the Manitoba city. Dismissed from his church, he founded the first labor church in Canada. As a member of the Winnipeg Strike Committee, operating out of his labor church which doubled as strike headquarters, he tested the ragged patience of the city fathers and the legal authorities, eventually going to prison for his acts of civil disobedience. While an active participant in the Dominion Labor Party, he edited the Western Labor News and was elected to the provincial legislature while serving a prison term. Eight labor churches grew out of his labor church and spread throughout the city of Winnipeg serving a large segment of the working men and women of that city. Later he served as member of the legislature under the banner of the Independent Labour Party. William Ivens' legacy to Canadian social Christianity was his unswerving support for the labor cause and his willingness to sacrifice personal gain for social reconstruction. As a peace activist, he lobbied long and hard for demilitarization and disarmament and here again, displayed a remarkable loyalty for a generally unpopular cause.¹⁰¹

T.A. Moore and A.E. Smith represent another stream of social Christian thought and action. Both Methodists and social activists, Moore chose a more moderate path while Smith became the archetype for radical social Christianity. A social service secretary for the Methodist Church and the General Secretary of the Board of Evangelism and

¹⁰¹Ibid., pp. 50-53, 98, 159-174.

Social Service, Moore remained on the acceptable side of denominational opinion. His participation in the Brotherhood Movement included a term as member and secretary of the General Council and later as president of the Canadian Federation and vice-president of the international movement. A prohibitionist and peace activist, his administrative skills gained him wide respect. Stated criticism of the labor church movement and ambivalence to Salem Bland kept Moore on the moderate and acceptable side of Methodist opinion.¹⁰² A.E. Smith, on the other hand, became a constant irritant to Methodist leadership. He resigned from his church in order to pursue the labor cause but remained an embarrassment to a denomination that had at times, most obviously during the Printer's Strike of 1921, given in to conservatism and orthodoxy when under fire. He founded a thriving People's Church in Brandon, Manitoba and edited and wrote for The Confederate, a Dominion Labour Party periodical in that city. Aptly called 'the missionary of the labor church movement,'¹⁰³ he founded labor churches in Victoria, Vancouver, Calgary as well as the first labor church in Toronto in 1923. A socialist, Smith had twice served as chairman of the Manitoba Methodist Conference. Later in his career as a social activist, he became a member of the Communist Party and serving in the Manitoba legislature from 1924 to 1936. The churchman turned secular humanist,

¹⁰²Ibid., pp. 79, 232-235, 259.

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 164.

to use more contemporary language, was not an infrequent metamorphosis for many social gospellers of the period.¹⁰⁴

It is only fitting that any discussion of the prominent personalities of Canadian social Christianity conclude with J.S. Woodsworth. An extraordinary presence during the entire span of Canadian social reform from the turn of the century through the 1940s, Woodsworth served as a coalescing agent for the movement. The architect of the settlement approach to immigration reform and a respected authority in the emerging field of social welfare, Woodsworth brought a humanitarian spirit to the social problems of the day that influenced church members, businessmen, champions of industry and politicians alike. He founded the All People's Mission in Winnipeg, a model for other similar projects, and established "'people's forums,'" as a means of listening to the concerns of common people. A radical exponent of social Christianity, Woodsworth espoused strong support for the labor church movement and played a pivotal role in the Winnipeg Sympathetic Strike. As an active member of the Canadian Welfare League and the Federated Labor Party, he promoted egalitarian ideals to a wide audience.¹⁰⁵ Of course, Woodsworth is best known for his political career in the Canadian parliament where he sat under the Progressive Party banner and later his pioneer role in the founding of the C.C.F. Working with other "'fathers'" of the political left in Canada, among them the pugnacious Tommy Douglas and the scholarly Stanley Knowles, both products of that little Baptist college

¹⁰⁴Ibid., pp. 57, 90, 116, 164, 167.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., pp. 12, 47-48, 81, 168, 218.

in Brandon, Woodsworth played a pivotal role in the creation of a multitude of social programs that eventually became an integral part of the Canadian social legacy. J.S. Woodsworth, A.E. Smith, T.A. Moore, William Ivens, William Irvine, W.G. Shearer, W.B. Creighton, C.W. Gordon, S.D. Chown and Salem Bland remain representative of Canadian social Christianity but reflect a Methodist and Presbyterian predominance in the movement.

Conclusion

American and Canadian Protestant social Christianity was a powerful force for social change and social reform during a tumultuous era in the history of both nations. It has been argued, and often with some justification, that the legacy of North American social Christianity has been overestimated at the expense of programs of secular social reform but considerable historical documentation suggests that many of the social initiatives carried out during the period in question fell well within the domain of Protestant social reform. To be sure, in both countries, the larger social gospel support was found among middle class congregations led by professionally trained clergymen, progressive thinking church leaders and forward thinking businessmen. There is little evidence that the attitudes of the leaders of large corporations were modified and conversely, that the allegiance of working men and women was gained. Nevertheless, a thorough reading of American and Canadian religious and social history indicates that denominationally motivated and directed programs of moral and social reform combatted, on numerous fronts, a myriad of social ills that

confounded civic leaders and politicians at all levels of government across the width and breadth of both nations.

Initially, non-denominational expressions of social Christianity in the United States and Canada led to the establishment of philanthropic and humanitarian ventures. The settlement houses, hospitals, orphan homes, immigrant missions and the like, responded to the social crisis in a real and practical fashion. Later expressions, usually denominational, revolved around the organization of committees and councils and relegated practical social initiatives to the back burner. These councils, alliances and fellowships of like-minded social gospellers created a wide-spread interest in social and moral reform, but for the most part, engaged in rhetoric and theological discussion and debate. The legacy of the social gospel was most evident in the creation of programs of progressive reform, the labor church movement, agrarian relief initiatives and facilities that provided, in a practical fashion, for the large numbers of new immigrants flooding the shores of both nations. Church union and joint or cooperative denominational efforts to lobby governments for constructive social reform were also an important part of the legacy of social Christianity in the United States and Canada. The individual efforts of highly motivated churchmen and churchwomen, outside the denominational umbrella, also led to progressive reforms as well as constructive analysis of the social problems of the day. Through a plethora of publications, the message of social and moral reform was spread far beyond the narrow confines of the Protestant church community eventually influencing citizens of good will the width and breadth of North America. With the onset of the great depression, many of these early social reform initiatives were easily

re-implemented in a vastly different setting and environment. Ultimately, the demise of the social gospel can be traced to a number of factors: two world wars; an unrealistic idealism; the inability of the movement to make inroads in the social milieu it sought to serve; and most importantly, its failure to adjust to an increasingly secular society.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Grant, Canadian Era, p. 122.

CHAPTER II

THE WESTERN OUTLOOK AND THE WESTERN BAPTIST

AND SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY:

1908-1922

Introduction

In November 1907, a group of delegates from the Baptist Convention of British Columbia and the Baptist Convention of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories met in Calgary, Alberta to create the new Baptist Convention of Western Canada and also arrange for the merger of the Western Baptist and the North-West Baptist into a new periodical called the Western Outlook. The first issue appeared January 1, 1908 and would be published semi-monthly with D.B. Harkness as editor-in-chief. Professor P.G. Mode of Brandon College acted as an assistant editor from October 1, 1908 until July 1, 1909. With D.B. Harkness' resignation as General Secretary of the Baptist Union of Western Canada and editor of the Western Outlook in 1911, Rev. J.N. MacLean and Rev. A.M. McDonald were appointed co-editors of the periodical. In 1915 Rev. F.W. Patterson took over the Outlook's editorial duties until 1922 and his appointment as President of Acadia University in Wolfville, Nova Scotia.¹

¹Walter E. Ellis, 'Organizational and Educational Policy of Baptists in Western Canada, 1873-1939.' Unpublished Bachelor of Divinity Thesis, McMaster Divinity College, 1962.

The Western Outlook, during the years 1908-1915, provides important insights into the social attitudes of Western Baptists, particularly those expressed by the editors of the Baptist Union periodical. The Western Outlook frontispieces and editorial pages seem to suggest a pattern of social thought and social concern as well as a formula for an attendant general blueprint of social action and social reform. The first section of this chapter will focus on the major spheres of influence, both individual commentators and schools of social thought and action, which have helped shape a social Christian mood and temperament during the years 1908-1915. An analysis of the frontispieces and editorial statements and commentary will serve as a vehicle to explore the depth of social Christian bias in Western Canadian Baptist history.

The Western Baptist, during the years 1916-1922, also treats a plethora of themes arising out of the milieu of Social Christianity. The impetus and design, as the material will indicate, gradually takes a definite shift away from a liberal social Christian bent and begins to reflect a distinctly evangelical flavor. The Inter-Church-Forward Movement and social evangelism, in part due to the editorship of F.W. Patterson, begin to dominate the pages of the periodical. Social service remains a concern but evangelism and religious education draw the lion's share of the Western Baptist's attention. Frontispieces, editorial pages and speciality features such as the "'Department of Evangelism'" and the "'Department of Religious Education'" along with "'The Library Table,'" will be isolated and analyzed. Each section and subsection of the text will be treated in a chronological order to preserve the continuity and flow of the Western Outlook's and the

Western Baptist's treatment of social issues and social concerns. The periodical title, Western Outlook and Outlook will be used interchangeably throughout. A brief biographical sketch of the principal editors during the period in question will introduce the reader to an eclectic and multi-talented corps of socially motivated activists working on both religious and secular fronts.

Editors

D.B. Harkness was born in Ontario and received his theological training at McMaster University. He went to Western Canada as a General Missionary to the Ukrainian churches in 1904 and later in 1907 was appointed Supervisor of Slavic Missions. That year he became Assistant Supervisor of Missions for Western Canada and in this capacity, coordinated mission work among the English, German, Scandinavian, Galacian, Hungarian and Cree churches throughout the West. From 1907 to 1912, he held the position of Assistant General Secretary and later became the General Secretary for the Baptist Union of Western Canada. He was co-editor of the North-West Baptist and the Western Outlook from 1910 to 1916, infusing a strong social Christian emphasis into those periodicals. In 1916, he resigned from his administrative and editorial positions with the Baptist Union and was appointed General Secretary of the Social Service Council of Manitoba and editor of the Council's periodical, The Statesman. In 1923, Harkness was appointed the first Judge of the Juvenile Court for Winnipeg and District. After three years on the bench he became the Educational Secretary for the Social Service Council of Ontario. In 1919 he was appointed General Secretary of the Dominion Prohibition Committee. At the same time he was a member

of the Ontario Provincial Relief Committee and advisor to the Ontario government as it distributed direct relief throughout the province. His larger contribution to national social reform as a juvenile court judge and Social Service Council administrator and editor reflects an ecumenical and secular concern for constructive social change in Canada.²

Archibald Menzies McDonald, also a McMaster graduate, pastored Baptist churches in Medicine Hat, Edmonton and Winnipeg before taking up his duties as a co-editor of the Western Outlook and the Western Baptist. Along with D.B. Harkness and J.N. MacLean, McDonald edited the Western Outlook during the highwater period of Baptist Union social advocacy in Western Canada. In 1919, he left the Western Baptist and began a second career as Superintendent of the Department of Neglected Children for the Province of Alberta. After a year in that position, he left the West to become the Superintendent of Baptist Missions for the Cleveland Baptist Association in Ohio and later served as the pastor of First Baptist Church in St. Paul, Minnesota. McDonald also held the positions of Executive Secretary of the Cleveland Baptist Association, Executive Secretary of the Baptist Union of St. Paul and Minneapolis Baptist Association and Secretary of the Chicago Baptist Executive

²Margaret E. Thompson, The Baptist Story of Western Canada (Calgary, Alta.; The Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1973), pp. 145-146; C.C. McLaurin, Pioneering in Western Canada (Calgary, Alta.: Published by Author, 1939), pp. 151, 192; McMaster News, February 25, 1926; January 1933; February 7, 1940; April 30, 1941; February 20, 1947; and February 25, 1948.

Council. A.M. McDonald's major contribution to Western Baptist Union Social Christianity lay in the domain of editorial social advocacy.³

J.N. MacLean is a Western Baptist figure who defies a label. His skills as an organizer and activist were formidable but his contribution as an editor for the Western Outlook during the years 1912-1915 was particularly essential to that periodical's social advocacy. Born in Ontario and a McMaster graduate, he moved to Winnipeg to take the pastorate of the Tabernacle Baptist Church, already known for its social gospel emphasis. As co-editor of the Western Outlook, he joined forces with D.B. Harkness and A.M. McDonald, to identify and comment on major social issues and concerns of the period. Leaving the post in 1917, he was appointed chairman of the Law Enforcement Board of Manitoba. He would later serve as the Secretary of the Social Service Council of Manitoba and as Commissioner of Prohibition for Manitoba. As Secretary of the Social Service Council, he edited that organization's periodical, The Statesmen. In 1942, MacLean was appointed Law Enforcement Officer for the Manitoba Government which included responsibility for the Manitoba Temperance Act, Juvenile Offender's Act, the Criminal Code of Canada and the School Attendance Act. He also held the position of Chief Inspector for the Temperance Act. J.N. MacLean, like his colleagues at the Western Outlook, was an active participant in Baptist Convention activities, often serving on social service committees of the Baptist Union of Western Canada.⁴

³McMaster News, October 15, 1919; May 15, 1920; and November 30, 1930.

F.W. Patterson was born in New Brunswick in 1877 and educated at the New Brunswick Teacher's College in Woodstock. His ministerial career included early pastorates in Minnedosa and Roseneath, Manitoba followed by influential terms at First Baptist Church, Calgary; First Baptist Church, Edmonton; and First Baptist Church, Winnipeg. While the pastor of First Baptist, Calgary, he was a leading figure in the temperance and prohibition movement and was a much sought after lecturer on temperance themes throughout the province of Alberta. He was also a prime motivator of the Inter-Church-Forward Movement in Western Canada. His contributions to the province of Alberta as a prohibition organizer and activist was recognized with a honorary Doctor of Law degree from the University of Alberta in 1922. In 1922, Patterson left Alberta to take up the prestigious appointment as President of Acadia University in Wolfville, Nova Scotia where he carried out a successful fund raising and building program and established an excellent liberal arts curriculum.⁵ As in the case of so many Western Baptists of the period, F.W. Patterson's contribution to the Canadian Baptist effort transcended

(Footnote Continued)

⁴McMaster News, March 15, 1917; October 15, 1917; October 15, 1918; and January 15, 1942; McLaurin, Pioneering, p. 182.

⁵Evan M. Whidden, "'A Man of Single Minded Devotion,'" An Address Delivered For Dr. Frederic William Patterson, Sunday, February 14, 1965, Acadia Divinity College, Wolfville, Nova Scotia, CBA. See George E. Levy, "'Frederic William Patterson,'" A Tribute, CBA, Lucy Lowe Bagnall, At The Sixtieth Milestone: The Story of the First Baptist Church, Calgary, Alberta (Calgary, AB.: Published by the Jubilee Committee, First Baptist Church, Calgary, Alberta, May 15, 1948), pp. 17-20, CBA, A History of Progress, 1893-1955: A Historical Sketch of First Baptist, Edmonton (Edmonton, AB.: First Baptist Church, 1955), pp. 3-5, CBA, and Thompson, Baptist Story, pp. 169-171, and McLaurin, Pioneering, pp. 196-203. See also F.W. Patterson Biographical File, CBA.

a single category to include pastoral, editorial, administrative, organizational and activist duties.

The Western Outlook Frontispieces and Social Christianity:

1908-1915

A Social Gospel Bias

The Raushenbuschian Influence

Throughout the years 1908-1915, the Western Outlook turned often to the "'major prophet'" of American social gospel for advice and direction, prominently presenting a wide selection of Rauschenbuschian book excerpts, commentary and prayers on the frontispieces of the periodical. Initial statements dealt with general social concerns and later focused on specific problem areas such as the role of the church in the new social order and the responsibility of ministers and churchmen in Christianizing the very fabric of society and finally, a concern for the retrieval of the city from the slum landlords and the purveyors of vice and crime.

Choosing a selection from Christianity and the Social Crisis, the Outlook identifies apathy as a major stumbling block hindering the ushering in of the new Christian order:

The (Old Testament) "'false prophets'" correspond to those modern preachers who act as eulogists of existing conditions, not because they desire to deceive the people, but because they

are really so charmed with things as they are and have never had a vision from God to shake their illusions. 6

In the same vein Rauschenbusch observes that, 'One of the most persistent mistakes of Christian men has been to postpone social regeneration to a future era to be inaugurated by the return of Christ.'⁷ Although this hope '...still 'enshrines' the social hope of Christianity and concedes that some time the social life of men is to pass through a radical change and be ruled by Christ,'⁸ the real hope of the future is defined as follows:

The evangelism of the future will offer fullness of life to the soul now and hereafter demand the redemption of the social life of the nations from the collective sin and promise the reign of God in justice and brotherhood. 9

A concern for the role of the church in the process of Christianizing the social order also commands the attention of the Western Outlook. Quoting Rauschenbusch, the Outlook declares that the church is '...set amid...the perplexities of a changing order,' and is face to face '...with a great new task of giving up her life to humanity.'¹⁰ She remains '...the most remarkable institution from a viewpoint of sociology and the most inclusive institution next to the

⁶ Western Outlook, May 15, 1908, p. 1.

⁷ Western Outlook, September 15, 1908, p. 1.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Western Outlook, October 16, 1911, p. 1.

¹⁰ Western Outlook, March 15, 1912, p. 1.

State and the home.'¹¹ Still drawing from Rauschenbusch, the Christian church is identified as the ideal vehicle for social reform:

The Church has furnished the most important social outlet to the people, and through it people have learned to stand on their own two feet...(she) has created in us a real spiritual experience and emancipation, a realization of our moral freedom...(she) is the greatest voluntary institution, the most powerful, the most extensive, the most numerous and the richest institution, representing ideal thoughts and social fraternal relations, engaged in a social transition that is going on all over the world. ¹²

Having applauded the church universal, the Outlook turns to the Canadian scene and exposes a shortcoming hindering the Baptist Union churches in their mission of Christianizing the social order, particularly ''...the graft practiced by the church in underpaying their pastors, using their wives as unpaid workers, and turning them off on a pittance or on nothing when the magnetism of youth has been worked out of them.'¹³

The Western Outlook isolates the city as an arena of social change where the church may begin to instigate and direct the transformation of society into a new Christian order. A Rauschenbuschian prayer implores God to ''...make our city the common workshop of our people, where everyone can find his own place and task, in daily achievement building up his own life to resolute manhood....'¹⁴ The vision of the city transformed is vintage Rauschenbusch:

¹¹Western Outlook, July 15, 1913, p. 1.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Western Outlook, March 15, 1913, p. 1.

¹⁴Western Outlook, July 1, 1912, p. 1.

(The) vision of our city, fair as she might be--a city of justice, where none shall prey on others; a city of plenty, where vice and poverty shall cease to fester; a city of brotherhood, where all success shall be founded on service, and honor shall be given to nobleness alone; a city of peace, where order shall not rest on force, but on the love of all the city. 15

The Western Outlook includes, in typical Baptist fashion, an excerpt from a Rauschenbusch prayer condemning liquor as the pervasive evil undermining the renaissance of the city:

But still we cry to Thee in the weary struggle of our people against the power of drink. O God, bring nigh the day when all men shall face their daily tasks with minds undrugged and with tempered passion; when the unseemly mirth of drink shall seem a shame to all who hear and see, when the trade which debauches men shall be loathed like the trade which debauches women; and when all this black remnant of savagery shall haunt the memory of a new generation but as an evil dream of the night. 16

The final word in this Western Outlook-Rauschenbusch marriage is found under the title For a Share in the Work of Redemption: "'Lay thy spirit upon us and inspire us with a passion of Christ-like love that we may join our lives to the weak and the oppressed, and may strengthen their cause by bearing their sorrows.'" ¹⁷ Beginning with the publication of Rauschenbusch's series of essays "'Why I am a Baptist'" in 1910, the Outlook had given him a particularly high profile over the years.

Other Influences

Over the period 1908-1915 the Western Outlook drew from a number of social gospel commentators who espoused an immanent transformation of

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Western Outlook, July 1, 1914, p. 1.

¹⁷ Western Outlook, January 15, 1913, p. 1.

the social order. The Outlook quotes William DeWitt Hyde who states that the "'...demand of the hour is ethical insight...an awareness of (the) meanness and cruelty and misery-producing power of specific sins.'"¹⁸ Henry Frederick Cope writes that "'Society has a spiritual hunger, and the spiritual organization has a social message,'"¹⁹ and then poses the question, "'...will the men of our day correlate the power of the church to the problem of society?'"²⁰ Francis Peabody captures the essence of social gospel when he observes that, "'What gives pathos and power to the modern Social Question is not the economic programme which it proposes, but the human note it utters, of sympathy, pity, justice, brotherhood, unity.'"²¹ He elaborates further that:

The Social Question is the demand of human beings for a humanized life. It is the protest of character against conditions, rather than the pressure of conditions on characters. Within the Social Question...lie ethical questions of duty, compassion, humanity, service, which are the signs, not of a degenerating social order, but of a regenerated social conscience. ²²

Charles H. Rust locates the arena of social transformation in the Christian pulpit which is "'...big enough to discuss any and every subject which is vital to humanity's development.'"²³ He idealistically adds that the Christian "'...believes that Christianity in its

¹⁸Western Outlook, November 1, 1910, p. 1.

¹⁹Western Outlook, November 1, 1911, p. 1.

²⁰Western Outlook, July 15, 1912, p. 1.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid.

²³Western Outlook, April 15, 1913, p. 1.

principles and spirit should be applied to every phase of human life until the entire social order has been Christianized.'',²⁴ He is also convinced that the mission of the Christian pulpit is to ''...instruct men in the School of Christ so that they will go out and be constructive forces in making the social order Christian.'',²⁵

George M. Stratton, under the title The Permanent Place of the Fighting Instinct, exhorts Christians in the following fashion:

We need anger, but anger against wrongdoing right at hand; against those in our cities who oppose justice; against men who place business above honor and country; against those who oppress the poor; against those who spread disease and vice. Against these the fighting blood must be kept hot. 26

In the same mood, an anonymous selection entitled The Unshaken Hope decries the pillage and carnage of an unjust war an ocean away:

We have heard of men torn and dying and we have rejoiced. We have read of women and little children who suffer in the lands of the enemy, and we have not mourned....We have seen that guns and armor destroy peace, and do not protect it. We have learned that they who dress in gold braid and parade to martial music are lying prophets. We have read again the page of sacred experience that they who take up the sword shall perish by the sword, and that multitudes of the guiltless shall perish with them. 27

With a renewed hope fostered by prospects of an emerging Christian order, the author proposes an alternative scenario:

Thus, yet again, this unconquered faith in love and peace hurls forth its challenge against hate and war.... Therefore out of

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Western Outlook, March 2, 1914, p. 1.

²⁷Western Outlook, January 1, 1915, p. 1.

war shall we fight our way to peace; out of hate shall we think our way to love. The heart of man believes it. 28

Paraphrased, the commentary continues in the same optimistic vein. Weapons of war will be used to break down the barriers that separate nations and the engines of might will carve out the highways of intercourse between old enemies. The forces of war will build channels of trade and cooperation and merchandise and fellowship will flow freely throughout the world.²⁹ Stratton then argues:

Thus we will believe, and thus think until we have bred peace and love and brotherhood into the blood of the children of men. Even as hate has begotten hate, and as the plans of war have overshadowed war, so shall love beget love, and the policies of peace nurture peace over the whole earth. 30

Edwin Hatch is left with the final word in a commentary entitled Christianity Holds the Key, when he passionately declares that Christianity's "...unaccomplished mission is to reconstruct society on the basis of brotherhood."³¹ Hatch visualizes the following social gospel utopia:

To you and me and men like ourselves is committed, in these anxious days, that which is at once an awful responsibility and a splendid destiny, to transform this modern world into a Christian society, to change the socialism which is based on the sense of spiritual union, and to gather together the scattered forces of a divided Christendom into a confederation in which organization will be of less account than fellowship with one Spirit and faith in one Lord, into a communion wide as human life and as deep as human need, into a church which shall

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Western Outlook, September 1, 1915, p. 1.

outshine even the golden glory of its dawn by the splendor of its eternal noon. 32

The Western Outlook Editorials and Social Christianity:

1908-1915

A Social Gospel Bias

General Themes in Social Gospel

As mentioned, the Western Outlook editors, during the period 1908-1915, included such social gospel luminaries as D.B. Harkness, A.M. McDonald, P.G. Mode and J.N. MacLean, thus a prevalent emphasis upon social concerns and social issues might be expected. A continuum of social commentary graces the editorial pages of the Western Outlook from late 1908 until late 1915 with a variety of topics and themes given serious consideration and analysis. General statements and commentary on the wider subject of social Christianity will be given initial attention with specific concerns such as the liquor trade, the unemployment problem and women's rights, treated later in summary fashion.

Under the title The Message Must be Social, the Outlook locates the pulpit as the primary theater of nascent social change. The Outlook states that "This age demands the principle that it accepts for its guidance and the life which is outlined to it as the correct thing shall

³²Ibid.

be in terms of society,'³³ adding that evangelists, preachers and teachers can no longer emphasize soul salvation because the man in the street ''...no longer thinks of his brother in the old theological terminology of the soul.'³⁴ The editorial goes on to stress that the man in the street is ''...the concrete man whose concrete choice in the ordinary affairs of every day life are even now deciding his destiny''.³⁵ The editor continues by saying that ''...(the) religious message that will appeal to these men must be in terms of these concrete choices'' and that the preacher or teacher ''...will find his message to be more concrete than even the enunciation of the laws of sociology: and it ''...will arouse and create a social atmosphere that will be pre-eminently spiritual.'³⁶

Commenting on the church and moral progress, the Outlook argues: ''We must always remember that Christianity through the ages has permeated human society and it has taken to itself the science and the social customs and the methods of thought of each age.'³⁷ Taking the argument further, the Outlook observes that ''...a great many present day methods are socially inefficient because we have not studied the peculiar conditions surrounding our individual churches and have failed to invent

³³Western Outlook, October 1, 1909, p. 4.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Western Outlook, January 1, 1910, p. 2.

or furnish the best kind of machinery to let our spiritual energy exert itself.' 38 Providing a social gospel model, the Outlook proposes that

...time honored methods of prayer, praise and preaching...supplemented with a system of institutions, educational and philanthropic...(will) enable the church to touch in a helpful way man's physical, mental and social nature as well as his moral and spiritual being. 39

Passing judgement on the church's inability to face social change, the Outlook reminds the reader that ''...for years the church has been seeking to save individuals; (because) saved individuals would save society....',⁴⁰ In the same vein, the Outlook states that ''...as long as slums are permitted they will have inhabitants...(and) as long as brothels are permitted countenanced vice will have its victims.',⁴¹

Under the title Christianizing the Social Order, the Outlook establishes a Rauschenbuschian model for a blueprint of social reform. Pointing to Jesus as the architect of social Christianity, it reminds the reader that Jesus blessed the children, exalted virtue, honored woman, had compassion on the weak and erring and proclaimed ''...a new law of life--(the) law of love.',⁴² Drawing from Rauschenbusch's Christianizing the Social Order, the Outlook identifies the true spirit

³⁸Western Outlook, May 15, 1911, p. 2.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Western Outlook, March 1, 1913, p. 15.

of the teachings of Jesus as 'love, democracy and fraternity.'⁴³

Providing proof of the spreading social reform, the Outlook establishes

...(that) men of wealth and high social standing have been punished for their crimes against society, both by fine and imprisonment; corporations have been compelled to conduct business according to the law...corrupt political leaders have been dislodged from positions in which they felt secure...employers have been compelled to give more attention to the social needs of their employees and to share more equitably the profits of business...corruption in politics and business has been vastly reduced. 44

Focusing on the 'deceitfulness of riches' as a major social evil, the Outlook laments that '...humankind have become obsessed of the idea of owning things, usable or unusable, needful or unneedful, just for the sake of storing and having.'⁴⁵ Citing the example of one Henry Clay Frick, a New York multimillionaire, who built a house on Fifth Avenue for the sum of \$2,000,000.00, the Outlook delivers the following indictment:

...the day draws near when it will be considered a disgrace to have accumulated--stored away for selfish or silly uses--these immense fortunes...Henry Clay Frick will slip away into the dark, even as others and be forgotten...Fifth Avenue will change even as it has changed so greatly already...'Clay to clay, ashes to ashes,' shall be read over him as if in mockery of the very name he bears but the growth of brotherhood, the love of humankind, the spread of social justice, the sense of right and truth and equity, shall make impossible the repetition of such news items in the days of our children's children, and obliterate forever the memory of such achievement as this daub of printer's ink records. 46

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Western Outlook, December 1, 1915, p. 2

⁴⁶ Ibid.

'Demon Rum'

As might be expected, the Western Outlook identified the liquor traffic as the major 'bogeyman' of modern civilization. The following abstract under the heading The Liquor Traffic best describes the sentiments of the editors:

(The liquor traffic)...is a deadly cancer eating at the very heart of civilization...(it is) the overshadowing cause of crime, pauperism, insanity, domestic infelicity, divorce,...broken-hearted wives, half-clad underfed children...(it) curses and blights the progeny of thousands and thousands; it destroys the nation's wealth, debauches suffrage, corrupts politics and bribes office-holders; it strikes at the foundations of real liberty under the cloak of personal license; it handicaps its victims physically and mentally, morally and socially, commercially and financially; it discounts the desirability and capability of its victims in the industrial, commercial and the professional realms; it cohabits with the gambler, the profligate, the white slaver; it has long had a strangle-hold on the throat of state and nation through the indefensible license system. 47

An optimistic note, depending upon personal preference, is ventured under the title Banish the Bar: '...the time is not far distant when the bar-room will be as great an anomaly to American civilization as the whipping post or the block of the slave auctioneer.' 48

The Unemployment Problem

The unemployment problem also garnered the attention of the Outlook editors but for the most part it was not a high profile concern. The Outlook found it '...deplorable that in a country like Canada, with the enormous amount of work to be done, conditions should arise which

⁴⁷Western Outlook, February 1, 1914, p. 2.

⁴⁸Western Outlook, April 1, 1914, p. 2.

leaves tens of thousands of willing hands idle and empty.'⁴⁹ Commenting on the existing economic system, the Outlook argues that ''...there is something radically wrong with the economic system which cannot bring idle hands and idle money together.'⁵⁰ Questioning the present economic policies further, the Outlook suggests that ''...instead of this investment in citizenship for the development of our immense raw resources we are keeping the money in sterile banks and forcing able and eager men to walk the sterile streets.'⁵¹ In a later commentary, the Outlook stresses that ''...there is no domestic problem before the Canadian people today that is as pressing as that of the unemployed.'⁵² With a prophetic voice the Outlook continues:

...again we say, they must face the problems of unemployment and they must find reasonably satisfactory solutions or the people will take their candlesticks out of their places, and their problems shall others solve...the grappling with the unemployment problem in a intelligent and courageous fashion will mean more by way of social uplift to the masses and ultimate support to the dignity of the nation than many Moral and Reform conventions. ⁵³

Feminism: Woman's Suffrage and Women's Rights

Surprisingly, the Western Outlook gives a seemingly inordinate amount of attention to the issue of women's rights. Beginning with a

⁴⁹Western Outlook, May 1, 1915, p. 2.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Western Outlook, July 1, 1915, p. 2.

⁵³Ibid.

commentary entitled Feminism which gives a qualified endorsement to the suffrage movement, the Outlook observes that

...men as a rule are less outwardly emotional than women may perhaps be granted...how much due to difference of sex and how much due to generations of training...history shows women are not as physically belligerent as men...(and that) women would likely throw their influence against avoidable war...(and would) not be disposed to its brutalities...(and) when (the vote) comes probably no greater evil will follow than followed the recognition of the voting right of the average man. 54

Later the Outlook emphatically adds that ''...the women's suffrage is inevitable...the movement is irresistible...'' and that there are ''...few problems that engage the attention of public men today in which the intelligent women of our land have not an equal concern with the men.'',⁵⁵

Under the title Woman's Suffrage, the Outlook discusses the extremist tactics of the militant suffragettes with obvious ambivalent feelings noting that the ''...outrages of the militant suffragettes continue to shock the sensibilities of Canadians,'' but adding that ''...(a) woman's place is in the home 'expresses' a beautiful sentiment but has little force with the thousands of women who have no homes.'',⁵⁶

The editorial concludes that

...when we ridicule the methods of the militant suffragettes and deplore their criminal acts we are prone to forget that in their main contention they are right...when there was no agitation it never occurred to surly gentlemen to grant women the franchise. Now that she is determined to have it he demands that she proceed in a more orderly way...the leaders are not daunted by public ridicule, imprisonment or death. You may question their methods, but their sincerity is patent...the battle for the

⁵⁴Western Outlook, February 15, 1909, p. 2.

⁵⁵Western Outlook, January 15, 1913, p. 2.

⁵⁶Western Outlook, May 1, 1913, p. 2.

ballot will still be waged, with more reason and less frenzy, let us hope, but it will be waged until women are accorded the franchise. 57

Discussing women's rights in the larger context of universal social Christianity, the Outlook forwards the contention that the suffrage movement is

...but a phase of the world's great movement toward equal treatment of every human being...it is well that we face the issues raised by feminism with that candor and openness of mind which should be characteristic of sympathetic and forward-thinking men and women. 58

Continuing in that vein, the Outlook applauds the feminist movement as

...a movement which seeks to face without prejudice the questions as to the true place of women in the social organism...justice towards one section of society can never involve injustice toward any other section...only as woman has her rightful place and natural rights can the dignity of either men or women be truly preserved and cultured. 59

In a later editorial entitled A Woman's World, the Outlook takes this argument much further:

...everywhere throughout the whole earth where men and women have acquired the elements of rudimentary thinking there is a great social unrest which is primarily and fundamentally the demand of the feminine in humanity for its rightful place in the system of human life...liberty shall no longer be withheld...and women shall become lawmaker and priest...every sound and forward-looking mind irrespective of the sex of the body...welcomes each movement toward equity and freedom and a social system wherein nature's laws interpret the thought of nature's God for his creation...a world wherein men and women shall be citizens, equals, comrades, co-workers, lawmakers, voters, and workers-together in mutual understanding for the common weal. 60

⁵⁷ Western Outlook, August 1, 1913, p. 2.

⁵⁸ Western Outlook, May 15, 1914, p. 2.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Western Outlook, July 15, 1915, p. 2.

Relating the feminist movement to the Western Canadian scene, the Outlook comments on a recent defeat of a suffrage proposition in New Jersey, predicting that "...even the present male-partisan electorate of New Jersey must pass away and with it will go another of the refuges of prejudice."⁶¹ The editorial reminds the reader that:

Baptists of Western Canada were well guided when some years ago they declared themselves in favor of woman suffrage. We believe they were the first Canadian Church to do so in regular convention and that Dr. R.H. Mode had the honor of drafting and submitting this modest but none the less epochal resolution.⁶²

The treatment of these and similar social concerns would not be given the same kind of attention as the Baptist Union periodical moved into a new phase of its development and mandate.

The Western Baptist and Social Christianity:

1916-1922

Social Evangelism

The Inter-Church-Forward Movement

With the advent of the Western Baptist in 1916 and the editorship of F.W. Patterson, a new evangelistic fervor dominated the Baptist Union periodical. F.W. Patterson's enchantment with the high profile American social evangelistic Inter-Church-Forward Movement transformed the editorial pages of the Baptist paper into a platform

⁶¹Western Outlook, November 1, 1915, p. 2.

⁶²Ibid.

endorsing a myriad of programs designed to increase Baptist church membership, home mission spending, ministerial recruitment, religious education and foreign mission involvement. The March 1916 issue of the Western Baptist heralded the new denominational emphasis with the prominent title, 'The Program and the Passion,' identifying a 'Five Year Program' for carrying out the aims and goals of the Forward Movement.⁶³ The social service concerns that dominated the frontispieces and editorial pages of the Western Outlook were now relegated to a considerably lower profile. The most marked change in the format of the periodical was the inclusion of two new features, the 'Department of Evangelism' and the 'Department of Religious Education.' The main thrust of the Forward Movement is captured in the words of the Western Baptist editor:

The Baptist Union of Western Canada has been brought into being by the Baptists of Western Canada that the unsearchable riches of Christ may be carried to the neglected areas of this new land and the unevangelized portions of the world. ⁶⁴

The Western Baptist would carry this message of 'Christianizing the World' in the pages of the Baptist Union periodical well into the 1920s.

Borrowing from a Shailer Mathew's excerpt in a Northern Baptist periodical discussing the Northern Baptist Five Year Plan, the Western Baptist identifies seven areas of denominational concern: the gospel must be greater than the creed; salvation can not be dependent upon personal works; baptism and the Believer's Church must remain an

⁶³Western Baptist, March 1916, pp. 1-2.

⁶⁴Western Baptist, June 1916, p. 1.

essential element in evangelism; religious liberty and separation of church and state must be paramount in any Baptist evangelistic endeavor; democracy must be spiritualized; and the spirit of Christ within the individual must remain a test of the validity of any expression of personal evangelism.⁶⁵

In more specific terms, the Western Baptist sets out the basic elements of the Forward Movement, locating "'Evangelism and Extension'" as the primary aim. Baptist church membership was to be doubled, 100 new fields were to be created, 50 men recruited for the Western ministry and young women were to be trained as pastor's assistants, social workers and deaconesses.⁶⁶ Education was to be given top priority, with efficient Sunday Schools a primary aim. The needs of students and training of Sunday School leaders were also identified as major concerns. Teacher's conferences would serve as initial training grounds.⁶⁷ Expanding the thrust further into the larger church community, D.R. Sharpe eloquently articulates the social spirit of the program, describing it as

...a single spirit governing not only the life of the individual in the simpler personal relationships, but the whole common life of communities as it expresses itself in art, education and literature, in social and industrial aim and conditions, in movements of reform and religious undertakings in the home, the school and the church. 68

⁶⁵ Western Baptist, November, 1916, p. 1.

⁶⁶ Western Baptist, October 1917, p. 12.

⁶⁷ Western Baptist, January 1918, pp. 12-13.

⁶⁸ Western Baptist, October 1919, p. 4.

Frontispieces served often as a platform for accentuating the urgency of carrying out and completing the Five Year Program. Under the heading 'The Forward Movement and The Western Baptist: An Update on Maritime and Ontario and Quebec Baptists,' the Western Baptist expands upon the definition of the movement, identifies cooperating churches and outlines the purposes, proposals and in particular, the financial demands, that Western Baptists must accept in order to complete the initiative.⁶⁹ The title 'The Baptist Forward Movement: Let Us Pray,' exhorts Baptists in the West to pray specifically for the success of the program. Each day of the week is set aside for a particular concern: Sunday, 'great blessings;' Monday, 'new and thorough dedication;' Tuesday, 'a sense of stewardship;' Wednesday, 'increased enlistment of ministers and missionaries;' Thursday, 'wisdom, patience, persistence and leadership;' Friday, 'great spiritual quickening,' and Saturday, 'the establishment of Canada as a light among nations.'⁷⁰

Later frontispieces highlight the successes of the Forward Movement introducing reports of the various church leaders in the Western conventions. General Secretary Edgar T. Tarr, Superintendents W.C. Smalley, C.C. McLaurin, D.R. Sharpe, M.L. Orchard and President H.P. Whidden, all of whom were active in social service as well as evangelistic endeavor, identified the goals and accomplishments of the

⁶⁹ Western Baptist, January 1, 1920, p. i.

⁷⁰ Western Baptist, January 15, 1920, p. 1.

Forward Movement.⁷¹ The frontispiece is also used to advertise and promote a special \$250,000.00 drive for funds under the banner "'Victory Bonds for a Victory Budget.'"⁷² Other frontispieces use similar military and patriotic language with headings such as "'The Enlistment Call,'"⁷³ "'Lest We Forget,'"⁷⁴ "'Finish the Forward Movement,'"⁷⁵ and "'I Will Pay It Now.'"⁷⁶

The "'Editor's Page'" is another venue for promoting the merits of the Forward Movement, not surprisingly in part due to the zeal for the program displayed by F.W. Patterson. Pulpit education, personal evangelism and continued financial support for Brandon College occupied the early interest of the editor.⁷⁷ In an editorial on the subject of evangelism and religious education, assistant editor Rev. George Webb poses the question: "'Who Will Do It?,'" and sends a rallying cry to the constituency to get involved in the Program.⁷⁸ Under the title "'Forward Movement,'" a charge in itself, the editor exhorts that "'the call to the church is that she go forward.'"⁷⁹ Updates on the progress

⁷¹Western Baptist, February 1, 1920, pp. 1-4.

⁷²Ibid., p.1.

⁷³Western Baptist, February 15, 1920, p. 1.

⁷⁴Western Baptist, March 1, 1920, p. 1.

⁷⁵Western Baptist, April 15, 1920, p. 1.

⁷⁶Western Baptist, June 1, 1921, p. 1.

⁷⁷Western Baptist, March 1917, p. 2.

⁷⁸Western Baptist, October 1917, p. 2.

⁷⁹Western Baptist, November 1, 1919, p. 2.

of the Five Year Plan dominated the "'Editor's Page'" for much of the first seven years of the Western Baptist. Headings such as "'The Forward Movement: A Review of the Baptist Role in the National Movement,'" with updates by prominent leaders along with interviews of the major players in the program, were frequent.⁸⁰ Updates on progress at the national and international levels were printed at regular intervals.⁸¹ The financial responsibilities for carrying on the program demanded more attention as the Five Year Plan progressed.⁸² Often under the title "'Lest We Forget,'" the editor drew the attention of the readers to financial goals that had to be met.⁸³ Sometimes the language was firm: "'Canvas Now,'" "'Do It Now,'" "'Prepare for the Real Forward Movement.'"⁸⁴ In the last year of fundraising for the program, a desperate edge to the call suggested a drop in enthusiasm. By 1921, the heading cried out: "'Forward Movement...the pledge must be paid...subscriptions must be paid.'"⁸⁵

The "'Department of Evangelism'" was a short-lived feature in the Western Baptist, dedicated to promoting evangelism as the primary plank of the Forward Movement's Five-Year Plan. Under the direction of J.H. Huntley of First Baptist, Calgary, the larger subject of personal,

⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 10-16.

⁸¹ Western Baptist, February 1, 1920, pp. 2-4, and Western Baptist, February 15, 1920, pp. 2-4.

⁸² Ibid., pp. 2-3; Western Baptist, March 1, 1920, pp. 1-2, 8.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Western Baptist, April 15, 1920, p. 1.

⁸⁵ Western Baptist, June 1, p. 1.

church and community evangelism received in depth treatment. Initiating the feature in the April 1916 issue of the Western Baptist, Huntley attacks the "'great evils'" of "'Drink, Commercial Selfishness, Business Immorality, Social Snobbery, Unlawful Privilege, Political Graft.'"⁸⁶ In a later issue, H.R. McGill, of First Baptist, Edmonton, as guest commentator outlines six essential points to evangelistic success: saner evangelism; reception of new Christians into church membership; training of converts; group activities within the church; loyalty to the church and to Christ; and discipline in the guidance of new converts.⁸⁷ Huntley observes along the same lines, that home missions as well as foreign missions must be given top priority if the Forward Movement is to be successful.⁸⁸ He argues that the "'God of the Evangel'" hates sin but loves the sinner and at all times cares for the sinner.⁸⁹

Another major concern was the training of "'Western Recruits for Western Ministry.'" In two separate issues, Dr. A.P. McDiarmid points out the importance of Brandon College as a training ground for Western Ministers.⁹⁰ D.R. Sharpe, in a guest commentator role, expands the discussion to include teacher training and evangelism in the context of

⁸⁶ Western Baptist, April 1916, p. 4.

⁸⁷ Western Baptist, May 1916, pp. 4-5.

⁸⁸ Western Baptist, August 1916, p. 9.

⁸⁹ Western Baptist, June 1916 p. 4.

⁹⁰ Western Baptist, October 1916, p. 4.

the Sunday School.⁹¹ All three commentators agreed that better efficiency and proper curriculum in both settings was paramount.

The "'Department of Religious Education'" replaced the "'Department of Evangelism'" after one year and a half, indicating a concrete shift in emphasis from a strictly evangelical approach. Early in the Baptist Union's Five Year Program, the Western Baptist's Evangelism Department had been designated as the propaganda vehicle of the movement. By the fall of 1917, the feature had been discontinued and a new feature entitled "'Department of Religious Education,'" was created. For one and one half years, this feature would promote the importance of a strong religious education element in the Forward Movement. Initially, the training of teachers and curriculum and organization, demanded the attention of the Rev. George Webb, the director of the "'Department of Religious Education.'"⁹² Particular attention was directed toward the Sunday School program in Baptist Union churches. Efficient schools with an emphasis upon the needs of the pupils, the proper training of teachers and the necessity for teacher's conferences and workshops were advanced as constructive alternatives to the present system.⁹³ Newer approaches to education employing psychology and sociology and child development were suggested.

Prof. W.J. McGlothlin, writing as a guest commentator, under the title "'Baptist Young People and Social Service,'" provides a criterion

⁹¹Western Baptist, November 1916, p. 12.

⁹²Western Baptist, October 1917, pp. 1-2.

⁹³Western Baptist, January 1918, pp. 12-13.

for instilling a proper motivation in young people training for social service. He identifies the service of society--the service of the group--as paramount with good will, knowledge of the world and the creation of a "'proper environment'" as essential to successful social service.⁹⁴ In the same vein, the Department of Religious Education extols the merits of teacher training in the area of world welfare. Under the title "'Teacher Training Drive,'" a list of goals are provided for the reader: one teacher training class in every Sunday School; a monthly worker's conference in every Sunday School; a mid-week training class; and the proper selection and use of recent literature and books on religion, with an emphasis upon psychology, pedagogy, Sunday School organization and management.⁹⁵

A column in the September 15th, 1920 Western Baptist captures the full intent of the Forward Movement in its final year and stripped of the usual financial requests. Under the title "'Suggestions of the Forward Movement Continuation Committee for Completing the Forward Movement,'" the stress is placed upon special evangelistic services, theme sermons in the pulpit, religious workers conferences and educational campaigns. Throughout the period 1916-1920, the Forward Movement demanded the giant share of the Western Baptist's attention and social service themes were relegated to a secondary status but not entirely neglected.

⁹⁴Western Baptist, April 1918, p. 11.

⁹⁵Western Baptist, June 1918, pp. 12-13.

Social Service Concerns

The Western Baptist under the editorship of F.W. Patterson, as has been suggested, identified the Inter-Church-Forward Movement as the primary concern of the Baptist Union periodical in the same fashion that the Western Outlook understood its responsibility to advocate and advance social reform and social change. Early in its publication, under the title ''Religion and Social Service,'' the Western Baptist applauded the Social Service Congresses taking place across the West and extolled their ''practical value...and importance to vital religion...as a dynamic in social service.''⁹⁶ Although often ambivalent about the more radical expressions of Social Christianity, the Western Baptist provided a platform for debate of social issues and concerns. An article by Professor D.A. MacGibbon of Brandon College is a case in point. MacGibbon argues for the radical reform of the Canadian prison system and identifies the judicial system as antiquated. He calls for improved physical conditions, reform of prison work and a review of the judicial process.⁹⁷ He also questions the style of prison architecture, the organization of prison life and judicial procedure in general. Although, for the most part, a liberal critique, MacGibbon's argument would most likely appear controversial in many conservative Baptist quarters.

The Western Baptist's rather ''wishy washy'' response to the Winnipeg Sympathetic Strike also suggests that, in contemporary

⁹⁶Western Baptist, September 15, 1920, pp. 4-5.

⁹⁷Western Baptist, January 1917, p. 2.

language, the periodical was soft on radical social action. Commenting on the 'Editor's Page,' Patterson describes the strike as a complex issue but labor was 'badly led' by 'unwise leadership' and due to this fact 'labor was set back five years.'⁹⁸ In addition to the critique of labor leadership, Patterson argues that 'We may overcome great strikes by the positive power of public opinion, but we can overcome the unrest issuing in the strike only as we define and remove the cause.'⁹⁹ In an interview with a former Western Baptist editor, A.M. McDonald, Superintendent for the Department of Neglected Children in Alberta, the periodical allows for criticism of its Christian ennui. Responding to the interviewer's question 'What do you regard as the chief defect of the church today?' McDonald replies:

(The church) is a slave of routine and the dredge of convention. It mistakes services for service. Social Service is seen as secular. I fail to see how one can regard one's self as an apostle of Christ unless one's whole life, personal and social, ...and in all its relations, expresses the Christian spirit. 100

Throughout the period under discussion, the Western Baptist, very much in the style of the Western Outlook, drew quotes and comments from prominent American and Canadian social gospel leaders. Under the title 'The Church and the Social Task,' Henry Sloane Coffin writes: '...all strata of society must be shown a sense of social responsibility...social responsibility is the chief sacrament of

⁹⁸ Ibid., pp. 4-5.

⁹⁹ Western Baptist, July 1919, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

religion.'¹⁰¹ A quote from the periodical Social Welfare, pleads for better recreational facilities for children and attacks the evils of society and the neglect of youth.¹⁰² Periodically, the Western Baptist devoted space to leaders of other denominations. In one issue, Archdeacon Cody's tribute to the Y.M.C.A. was featured¹⁰³ and in another issue, Dr. J.G. Shearer, the Presbyterian leader, reported on the concerns of the Social Service Council of Canada.¹⁰⁴

The 'Editor's Page' often highlighted social concerns, although not with the frequency found in the Western Outlook. Corruption in politics draws the ire of the editor on one occasion. The 'menace of party politics,...party bickering...and interference by the federal party' come under attack.¹⁰⁵ The moral standards of politicians are called into question as well as the frequency of party prejudice.¹⁰⁶ Another indication of social concern, albeit partial to Baptist chauvinism, is the reprint of the three issue series 'Why I Am A Baptist,' by Walter Rauschenbusch, from the Western Outlook in 1910. A special essay by A.J. Welch entitled, 'Baptist Contributions in the Work of World Reconstruction,' is given priority in the September 1918

¹⁰¹Western Baptist, October 1, 1919, p. 4.

¹⁰²Western Baptist, April 1917, p. 3.

¹⁰³Western Baptist, May 1, 1920, p. 1.

¹⁰⁴Western Baptist, April 1918, p. 9.

¹⁰⁵Western Baptist, December 1922, p. 10.

¹⁰⁶Western Baptist, July 1917, p. 3.

issue of the Western Baptist.¹⁰⁷ A similar article by F.W. Patterson, from the Manitoba Free Press is excerpted in the same issue. Patterson, under the title "'Lest We Forget,'" pays a moving tribute to the returning soldiers and calls for Baptists to extend a helping hand to the wounded veterans.¹⁰⁸ Other commentaries stressing the need to support the Lord's Day Alliance,¹⁰⁹ the rehabilitation of criminals¹¹⁰ and the assimilation of "'New Canadians',"¹¹¹ are evident but much less frequent than in the pages of the Western Outlook.

A fertile area of indirect social commentary is found in a feature entitled "' My Library Table.'" Beginning as early as June 1918, the editors of the Western Baptist selected several notable books each issue, reviewing initially numerous items written by prominent social gospellers of the period. In the June 1918 Western Baptist, a collection of essays entitled Modern Problems as Jesus Saw Them is critiqued. A laudatory review of the main premise that Jesus was the inspiration of social reform and the spirit of his teachings was primarily social indicates a social gospel bias. Chapter headings such as: "'Jesus and the War; Jesus and Crime; Jesus and Wealth; Jesus and Poverty; Jesus and Labor; Jesus and Social Reform; and Jesus and the Kingdom of Heaven,'" are established as pertinent topics of

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Western Baptist, September 1918.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 1.

¹¹⁰ Western Baptist, February 1, 1921, p. 2.

¹¹¹ Western Baptist, June 1922, p. 2.

discussion.¹¹² In the same issue, Henry Sloane Coffin's Day of Social Rebuilding and Harry Emerson Fosdick's The Meaning of Faith are reviewed favorably. The reviewer quotes Coffin's argument that "'Both the individual and the social demand and promises of the Gospel must enter into a truly Christian evangelism,'"¹¹³ in his positive response to the writer's social gospel message. Later issues included favorable reviews of William De Witt Talmadge's Outlines of Social Theology,¹¹⁴ F.A. Robinson's Religion Revival and Social Betterment and D.C. MacIntosh's Religion and the War, all of which fit comfortably in the social gospel genre. By 1920, a shift in subject choice is discernible. Reviews of Lord Beaverbrook's Success and Roger Babson's Religion and Business, both strong arguments for the "'Gospel of Wealth,'" suggest that the Western Baptist was moving away from a social gospel bias.¹¹⁵ "'My Library Table'" during the period 1920-1922, had become a platform for espousing primarily theological and doctrinal viewpoints. Of course, evangelistic concerns were still paramount. Titles such as The Foundations of Faith by John Kellman,¹¹⁶ Constructive Evangelism by B. Bill,¹¹⁷ The Christian Religion: Its Doctrinal Expression by Edgar

¹¹²Ibid., p. 3.

¹¹³Western Baptist, June 1918, p. 13.

¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 9.

¹¹⁵Western Baptist, February 1919, p. 2.

¹¹⁶Western Baptist, March 1919, pp. 9-10.

¹¹⁷Western Baptist, January 15, 1920, p. 4.

Young Mullins,¹¹⁸ Sermons for the Great Days of the Year by Russell H. Conwell,¹¹⁹ The Art of Preaching in the Light of History by E.C. Dargon¹²⁰ and Is The Bible the Inerrant Word of God by R.A. Torrey,¹²¹ among others, were the rule rather than the exception. The final irony was a review in the September 1922 issue of the Western Baptist of a book by May De Witt Talmage, entitled The Wit and Wisdom of T. De Witt Talmage,¹²² reducing a giant of American Social Conservative Christianity to the stature of a humorist. The lightweight material included in later Western Baptists paralleled the increasingly theological mood of the Western Baptists during the early 1920's. Surprisingly, almost like an aberration, the Western Baptist of October 1922 included several favorable reviews of books in the social gospel mold. Norman L. Robinson's Christian Justice, the "'Bross Lectures," entitled Christianity and Problems of Today and Robert Bruce Taylor's Personal Religion and Public Morals, were favorably highlighted.¹²³ But by January of 1922, the interest of the Western Baptist had turned entirely to evangelistic concerns. At the same time F.W. Patterson was preparing for his new appointment as President of Acadia University in

¹¹⁸Western Baptist, March 1922, p. 9.

¹¹⁹Western Baptist, April 1922, p. 9.

¹²⁰Western Baptist, July 1922, p. 9.

¹²¹Ibid.

¹²²Western Baptist, October 1922, p. 10.

¹²³Western Baptist, December 1922, p. 9.

Wolfville, Nova Scotia and H.L. MacNeill was under the cloud of the 'fundamentalist-modernist' controversy at Brandon College.

Conclusion

To summarize, the Western Outlook, employing a Rauschenbuschian model, castigates the church for its apathy and shortsightedness and calls for it to put its house in order and return to New Testament basics, the social 'Gospel of Galilee,' implemented with zeal and vigour in the twentieth century. Identifying the pulpit as the most important vehicle for social reform, the Outlook calls Baptist Union ministers to resist the status quo and preach a concrete message that will touch concrete men in a physical as well as spiritual context. The Outlook advises that the message of Christ, adapted to modern needs and modern situations with all its humanitarian and egalitarian uniqueness, will serve to usher in a new social order and hasten the establishment of the 'Kingdom of God' on earth in the present age. Promoting the city as a common workshop or laboratory for social reform, the Outlook advocates the retrieval of urban areas from the purveyors of vice and crime: the opportunistic speculators; the corrupt city politicians; and the parasitic exploiters of the vulnerable, poor and the hungry. The Outlook extends, as a solution, the marriage of old and tried techniques with new and modern machinery, anticipating an emerging social order that will adopt as its constitution the model of Jesus: love, democracy and fraternity.

Commenting on the problems afflicting both the local, national and global scene, the Outlook isolates the liquor traffic, the unemployment problem and the issue of women's rights as significant concerns.

Liquor remains the all pervasive evil retarding social reform and contributing to the breakdown of modern civilization. With the advent of the ''Banish the Bar'' movement inroads were being made in the all consuming battle against ''Demon Rum.'' The problem of unemployment demanded a more equitable economic system that would restore the pride and dignity of thousands of idle and able workers whose only crime was their inability to find suitable and gainful employment. Women's rights were easily the most pressing problem for the Outlook editors. Freedom and equality for all humankind must precede any Christianized social order. Until all men and women were equal partners sharing concretely in the task of societal reform, Christendom would be divided and fall far short of the utopian expectations visualized by the social prophets of the day.

The Western Outlook brings to the subject of Canadian social Christianity or social gospel a distinctly Baptist flavor. With a focus on the general theme of Christianizing the social order, the Outlook isolates the church and pulpit as vehicles of social reform and the city as the theater of social change. Unlike other Canadian manifestations of social Christianity or social gospel--Methodist, Presbyterian and Catholic--the Western Outlook model dismissed labor as a hindrance to any concrete program for Christianizing the social order. A Calvinistic reverence for the pursuit of rugged individualism in the form of free enterprise, within reason, seems to set Western Baptist social gospel apart from its prairie counterparts. A distinctly Baptist compulsive obsession with the evils of ''Demon Rum'' combined with the former phenomena, serves to give an unique if not often bizarre and flamboyant texture to the Western Baptist model for societal reform.

The Western Baptist quickly established social evangelism as its primary focus and the Inter-Church-Forward Movement as the vehicle for Baptist growth in Western Canada. While neglecting many of the social gospel concerns of the Western Outlook, F.W. Patterson and the Western Baptist turned its attention to the Five Year Program and its practical mandate for increased membership, religious education, home and foreign missions, ministerial training and personal evangelism. Returning to a distinctly Baptist theological and doctrinal platform promoting personal salvation, 'Believer's Baptism,' religious liberty and missionary zeal, the Western Baptist identified concrete evangelical goals and financial commitments essential to realizing the ambitious vision of the Forward Movement's Five Year Program. Enlisting the support of numerous leading Baptist Union figures, the periodical constantly kept the Forward Movement uppermost on the reader's mind. Pleas for support and testimonials to the success of the venture dominated the pages of the Western Baptist while social service concern received secondary attention. The models for social reform so evident in the pages of the Western Outlook were replaced by new models of social evangelism. The larger community, national and international, which had commanded the attention of the editors of the Outlook was replaced by the increasingly local and regional interest and bias of the Western Baptist. The national Inter-Church-Forward Movement in turn soon gave way to the Baptist Union Five Year Program as the Western Baptist began to promote an increasingly isolationist Baptist model of social evangelism. The model was still liberal evangelical but the stress was located firmly upon the latter.

CHAPTER III

THE BAPTIST UNION OF WESTERN CANADA AND SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY: 1908-1922

Introduction

The formation of the Baptist Convention of Western Canada in 1907 ushered in a new era of Baptist cooperation in the domain of social service and moral and social reform. Within the parameters of this study, the first annual meeting of the unified Baptist Conventions in November of 1908 will serve as a beginning point for the exploration of a Baptist response to the ''social crisis'' of the day.

Initially, the chapter will introduce the reader to selected prominent figures who played major roles as organizers, activists and administrators in Western Canadian Baptist social Christianity during the period 1908-1922. Included in this group are three pioneer figures whose contribution to early Baptist mission, educational and union efforts set them apart as the original architects of the Baptist Union of Western Canada.

A series of addresses on a variety of moral and social reform themes by three prominent Baptist Union pastors in the Rauschenbuschian mold will identify a unique theoretical model of Baptist social Christianity. An extensive analysis of Baptist Union Social Service Committee and Board of Moral and Social Reform reports will allow for an indepth evaluation of the predominant moral and social concerns of Western Canadian Convention Baptists. A similar analysis of the Baptist

Union Resolutions pertaining to social reform and Provincial Baptist Convention social service reports will further illuminate the prevalent Baptist moral and social mood and temperament. The relevant material will be treated in a chronological fashion in order to reinforce the underlying argument for an evolving Western Canadian Baptist social Christianity.

The primary intent of the chapter revolves around the crucial issue of a Western Baptist response to, and an awareness of, the social crisis of the day. The biographical sketches provide relevant background material on each of the major players in this drama. Obviously, there were other individuals who played prominent roles at the various levels of Baptist Union administrative and committee involvement. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the reader will be able to capture some of the flavour of Western Baptist social awareness and social concern emanating from the addresses and lectures of the leading exponents of social Christianity and the resolutions and reports of the various social and moral reform committees and departments within the Baptist Union of Western Canada.

Pioneers

C.C. McLaurin was a contemporary of many of the following Baptist figures but unlike the others committed himself to an extended career of mission work in Western Canada. After hearing an address promoting Western missions by the noted Baptist educator, Dr. R.A. Fyfe of the Canadian Literary Institute, McLaurin decided to attend college and train for the Baptist ministry. In January 1885, after seven years at the Canadian Literary Institute and summers as a student pastor,

McLaurin accepted a call to First Baptist Church in Brandon, Manitoba. After four years at Brandon, he was appointed Missionary at Large for the three prairie provinces by the Mission Board of the Baptist Convention of Manitoba and the North-West Territories. As a pioneer missionary, he travelled extensively throughout Western Canada, establishing eighty churches over the span of twenty three years. After his retirement as a longtime Superintendent of Alberta Mission work in 1924, McLaurin toured extensively in Ontario fundraising for Western missions. Churches in Edmonton and Grande Prairie, Alberta, bear McLaurin's name in memoriam to his remarkable mission work in Western Canada. McMaster University recognized his contribution to Baptist work in the West by awarding him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. C.C. McLaurin's long career as a missionary pastor in Western Canada, chronicled in his autobiography Pioneering in Western Canada, remains a remarkable chapter in Baptist Union history. Along with A.J. Vining and W.T. Stackhouse, C.C. McLaurin provided the initial impetus and design for Baptist Union mission and educational efforts in the West.¹

Wesley T. Stackhouse was born in King's County, Nova Scotia in 1865 and educated at Horton Academy and Acadia University. He began his pastoral career at First Baptist Church in Vancouver in 1897. While pastoring First Baptist, he held the position of Secretary for the newly formed Baptist Church Extension Society of British Columbia which

¹ J.E. Harris, The Baptist Union of Western Canada; A Centennial History 1873-1973 (Saint John, N.B.; Lingley Printing Co., Ltd.), pp. 39, 49-50, 58; Thompson, Baptist Story, pp. 476-479; C.C. McLaurin Biographical File, CBA.

was an organization committed to creating mission churches in urban and rural areas of the province. His pastoral work in the mining centres of Southeastern British Columbia led to the formation of four Baptist churches in the towns of Nelson, Rossland and Trail. The introduction to the deplorable working conditions of miners in those centres is reputed to have played an important role in the development of his social conscience. As General Superintendent of Baptist Work in the West, Stackhouse provided the main leadership in the creation of the Baptist Union of Western Canada. He handled the duties of General Secretary as well as General Superintendent during the first year of the newly formed Convention and was later appointed General Secretary in 1908. His strong support for the Laymen's Missionary Movement in Western Canada--he acted as Field Secretary for Canada at one point--led to the establishment of numerous chapters in major centres throughout Western Canada. He left Canada in 1910 to accept the appointment of Field Secretary for the Northern Baptist Convention in the United States. In recognition of his work on behalf of Baptist missions and the church union effort, Acadia University bestowed the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity upon him in 1909.²

A.J. Vining was born in Thorndale, Ontario and educated at Woodstock College and McMaster University, Toronto. After a successful pastorate at Logan Avenue Baptist Church in Winnipeg, Vining was appointed Superintendent of the Manitoba and North-West Baptist

²Ibid, pp. 38, 55; Thompson, Baptist Story, pp. 132-135; McLaurin, Pioneering, pp. 143-144, 164; W.T. Stackhouse Biographical File, CBA.

Convention and served in that capacity from 1897 to 1901. He organized the Dominion Baptist Congress in Winnipeg in 1900, drawing attention to the needs of Baptist missions in the west. In 1903, he was appointed full-time Eastern Representative for both the Manitoba and North-West Baptist Convention and British Columbia Baptist Convention and toured extensively throughout Ontario, Quebec and the Maritime Provinces fundraising for Baptist missions and education in Western Canada. The following year he undertook a three year fundraising tour of Great Britain drawing attention to the financial needs of Baptist mission efforts in Western Canada. During World War I, he served as a Y.M.C.A. Chaplain in Europe and when he returned to Canada was appointed General Secretary of the Armenian Relief Association of Canada. He would later serve terms as the Associate Secretary and Secretary of the Social Service Council of Canada during its second decade of Canadian social activism. Also on the national front, he was the President of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec and a member of the Board of Governors of McMaster University. In 1935, he was presented with the Royal Jubilee Medal for his long career in the field of social service in Canada. A.J. Vining's initial influence in Western Canadian Baptist history revolves around his deep interest in missions and education but his larger contribution is tied to his successful efforts to instill within Canadian Baptists, a concern for social service.³

³Ibid., p. 39; Thompson, Baptist Story, pp. 12-14; McLaurin, Pioneering, pp. 134-135, 157; 'A.J. Vining, Biography' in A.J. Vining Biographical File, CBA.

Activists, Administrators and Organizers

J.C. Bowen was born in Osgoode, Ontario and received his education at Brandon College. He pastored Baptist churches in Dauphin and Winnipeg, Manitoba and Edmonton, Alberta and early in his ministerial career was the Secretary of the Board of Education of the Baptist Union of Western Canada. He also served as Field Secretary for Brandon College and later the Chairman of the Board. His first government post was Vice-Chairman of the Board of Public Welfare of the City of Edmonton. He also held the position of the Chairman of the Board of Health which was followed by his election as city Alderman. He was elected to the Alberta Legislature in 1921 and chosen leader of the Liberal Party of Alberta. While in the legislature, Bowen stressed the importance of post-secondary education and social reform. He was defeated in 1926 and remained out of the political arena until 1937 when he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Alberta. His influence as a strong voice for Baptist educational expansion and social service involvement combined with his civic and government accomplishments set an example for numerous Brandon College graduates who planned careers in public service. J.C. Bowen also played an important role in the Baptist Convention of Alberta and the Baptist Union of Western Canada as an active participant on social service committees as well as helping formulate resolutions sympathetic to the cause of social reform.⁴ As Chairman of the Board of Brandon College from 1930 to 1943, he strove to

⁴Who's Who in Canada (1951-1952), p. 1370; McLaurin, Pioneering, p. 303.

identify a liberal arts curriculum as a necessary plank in Baptist post secondary education.

A.E. Haydon was born in Brampton, Ontario in 1880 and educated at McMaster University and the University of Chicago, completing a Ph.D. in 1918. He pastored Baptist churches in Dresden and Ft. William, Ontario before becoming the pastor of First Baptist, Saskatoon in 1911. From 1913 to 1916, Haydon held the position of General Secretary of the Saskatoon Y.M.C.A. but returned to pastor First Baptist in 1916 during a time of theological controversy at the Saskatoon church. Upon his return he tried to enlist the support of the members of the church in an attempt to meet the social needs of Saskatoon's inner city community. In 1918, he accepted a call to the First Unitarian Church of Madison, Wisconsin and the same year completed his Ph.D. at the University of Chicago. He accepted a teaching appointment in the Department of Comparative Religion the same year and later chaired the department from 1921 to 1945. He contributed regularly to The Institute of World Unity and was the associate editor of the liberal American Review. He edited two books, The Great Religions of the New Age and Modern Trends in World Religions and was the author of three books, The Quest of the Ages, Biography of the Gods and Man's Search for the Good Life: An Inquiry Into the Nature of Religion. Like many disillusioned Baptists of the period, Haydon and his colleagues at Chicago--Shailer Mathews and Leighton Williams among them--moved towards a more inclusive understanding of religious expression and experience. During his

pastorate at First Baptist, Saskatoon, Haydon served frequently on the social service committees of the Baptist Union of Western Canada.⁵

Born in Queen's County, New Brunswick, M.L. Orchard was educated at the University of New Brunswick and Rochester Theological Seminary in Rochester, New York. A student of Walter Rauschenbusch, he expressed an early interest in foreign missions and served as missionary to India from 1910 to 1917. He pastored First Baptist Church, Brandon, from 1919 to 1921, and taught part-time at Brandon College. In April of 1921 he assumed the duties of Associate Secretary of the Baptist Union Foreign Mission Board and undertook extensive deputation trips throughout the nation promoting foreign missions. From 1923 to 1928, he was the General Secretary of the Baptist Union of Western Canada which was followed by an appointment to the chair of Evangelism and Missions at McMaster in 1928, a position he held for eleven years.⁶ As in the case of other former Rauschenbusch students, M.L. Orchard's contribution to Baptist Union missions and education was both eclectic and substantive.

C.R. Sayer's contribution to the Baptist Union revolved around his considerable skills as a fundraiser, editor, administrator and liason person between the business community and the various Baptist denominational committees and agencies. An Easterner, he went West to encourage mission activity and to gain money and support for Baptist missions in Western Canada. He also travelled extensively from

⁵Frank W. Anderson, The Story of First Baptist Church, Saskatoon (Saskatoon, Sask.: First Baptist, 1980), pp. 7-11, CBA; McMaster News, April 1930; A.E. Haydon Biographical File, CBA.

⁶Thompson, Baptist Story, pp. 171-173; Canadian Baptist, May 15, 1966, p. 8; McLaurin, Pioneering, pp. 206-207.

Yarmouth, Nova Scotia to Ft. William, Ontario and throughout the Northern Baptist Convention in the United States securing support for educational and evangelistic programs in the West. Inadequate wages paid Baptist pastors in the rural churches was a particular concern for Sayer. From 1914 to 1919, he served in the capacity of General Secretary of the Baptist Union of Western Canada and at the same time was responsible for securing support for the American Home Mission Society and the American Publication Society within the Baptist Union constituency. In a concurrent career, Sayer acted as Interprovincial Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. for the area from Port Arthur, Ontario, to Victoria, British Columbia. In this capacity he directed the expansion of the Y.M.C.A. in Western Canada, supervising the erection of buildings in Victoria, Vancouver, New Westminster, Nelson, Cranbrook, Calgary, Edmonton, Moose Jaw and Regina. Upon his retirement, he was appointed Secretary of the Winnipeg Central Y.M.C.A. He remained an active participant in Baptist Union activities until his death.⁷

D.R. Sharpe was born in Pembroke, New Brunswick and educated at the University of New Brunswick. He continued his studies at Rochester Theological Seminary and pursued post-graduate courses at the University of Chicago. While at Rochester, he was the student secretary of Walter Rauschenbusch. Ordained by the United Maritime Baptist Convention in 1908, he moved west to pastor Baptist churches in Edmonton, Calgary, and Moose Jaw. While serving First Baptist, Moose Jaw, Sharpe was appointed Superintendent of the Baptist churches in Saskatchewan. He was active

⁷Thompson, Baptist Story, p. 152; McLaurin, Pioneering, pp. 183, 193-195.

in the labor movement during the years 1912 to 1925 and was also a prominent leader in inter-denominational and civic movements. From 1917 to 1919, he was the director of the Forward Movement for the Protestant churches in Saskatchewan and also served as the chairman of the Sunday School Board of the Baptist Union of Western Canada and Sunday School Superintendent for the Saskatchewan Convention. He left Western Canada in 1925 and began an illustrious career in Baptist work in Cleveland, Ohio holding a variety of offices including President to the Cleveland Church Federation, Chairman of the Cleveland Community Relations Committee (N.A.A.C.P.), Chairman of the Inter-Racial Committee of Cleveland, Director of the Church Civic League, Chairman of the State Hospital's Betterment Committee, Chairman of the Commission on City Missions, Chairman of the Commission of Public Education and President of the Ohio Mental Hygiene Association. He also was the Director of the Baptist Home of Northern Ohio and Chairman of the Ohio Commission for International Peace and Justice. Honors bestowed upon him for his social activism included the Lasker Award from the National Committee of Mental Hygiene and three honorary doctorates. He was the official biographer of Walter Rauschenbusch and the author of three books, The Light of Liberty, The Triumph of Religious Liberty and The Call to Christian Action. His career was marked by a commitment to social reform within the denominational context and outside the boundaries of church agencies.⁸

⁸Dr. Sharpe: A Biography, a biographical sketch CBA; W.J.N. Stephens, Souvenirs of the Fiftieth Anniversary, 1883-1933: A History of First Baptist Church, Moose Jaw (Moose Jaw, SK.: First Baptist (Footnote Continued)

Thomas Underwood serves as an excellent example of a Baptist layman who contributed to Baptist social service both as a deacon and a civic leader. He was born in Leicester, England and came to Canada as young man first working as a carpenter in Winnipeg and later as a Canadian Pacific bridge gang laborer in Calgary. Baptist Union lore suggests that the young Underwood was converted by the pioneer Baptist pastor, Rev. Alexander Grant on a prairie chicken shoot near Calgary. His illustrious career in Baptist Union circles includes the Presidency of the Manitoba and North West Convention, three years as Superintendent of Missions for Alberta, leadership on the Home Mission Board, leadership on the Baptist Bible Society and a term as the President of the Baptist Union of Western Canada. He built the first sanctuary for First Baptist Church, Calgary and was leading force on the building committee of the present church which was built in 1912. As a long time deacon of First Baptist, Calgary, Underwood was active in Christian educational efforts in Calgary and was a zealous mission church organizer partly responsible for the founding of five churches. As a civic leader he served the city of Calgary as alderman and mayor and sat on the Calgary Welfare Board and the board of the Calgary Y.M.C.A.⁹

(Footnote Continued)

Church, 1933), pp. 8-10, CBA; Who's Who in America, Vol. 32 (1962-1963), p. 2822; McLaurin, Pioneering, p. 323.

⁹Bagnall, Sixtieth Milestone, p. 35; Harris, Baptist Union, pp. 58-59; McLaurin, Pioneering, pp. 171-172.

Other Figures

J. Austin Huntley was born in Nova Scotia in 1876 and educated at Horton Academy and Acadia University, graduating with a B.A. in 1900. After further training at Rochester Theological Seminary where he was a student of Walter Rauschenbusch, he pastored First Baptist Church in Brooklyn, New York and First Baptist Church in Calgary from 1915 to 1918. Later pastorates included churches in New York, New Brunswick and Hamilton, Ontario. While at First Baptist, Calgary, Huntley became active in Baptist Union social service and social advocacy, particularly in the Inter-Church-Forward Movement.¹⁰

H.R. McGill, another student of Walter Rauschenbusch, pastored Strathcona Baptist, Edmonton, from 1912 to 1917. While at Strathcona, he was the leading force in the establishment of a Christian Education Centre. Resigning from the Baptist ministry, McGill served a Presbyterian church in Kamloops, British Columbia and later Marpole United Church in Vancouver. Although McGill was affiliated with the Baptist Union of Western Canada for only two years he participated actively in social service activities.¹¹

A.A. Shaw was yet another Rauschenbusch trained pastor who left his social service imprint upon the Baptist Union of Western Canada. Educated at Acadia University and Rochester Theological Seminary, he pastored Baptist churches in Nova Scotia, Manitoba, Massachusetts, New York and Ohio. As a Baptist pastor at First Baptist, Winnipeg, Shaw

¹⁰ Hamilton Spectator, April 4, 1936; Canadian Baptist, April 9, 1936; Bagnall, Sixtieth Milestone, pp. 25-26; McLaurin, Pioneering, p. 198-199.

¹¹ Strathcona Baptist Church Story: Seventy-Five Years (Edmonton, Alta.: Strathcona Baptist Church, 1970), pp. 13-14, CBA.

took an active participation in Baptist Union social service committee activity and his address to the Baptist Union in 1908 served as a clarion call to social action. He promoted the social message of his mentor, Walter Rauschenbusch, as a pastor and activist and later as the President of Denison University in Granville, Ohio.¹² A.A. Shaw, J. Austin Huntley and H.R. McGill were representative of the type and calibre of Rochester graduates who served at various times in Western Canada.

Other figures that deserve some mention include H.C. Brewster, a British Columbia Baptist, who led a social reform Liberal Government in British Columbia during the years 1916-1920, and introduced Woman's Suffrage and prohibition and anti-corruption legislation.¹³ J.W. Farris, a transplanted Maritimer, served as an Attorney General and Minister of Labor in Brewster's Cabinet and acted as an agent for moral and social reform.¹⁴ A.C. Rutherford, the first President of the Baptist Union of Western Canada, served as the first Premier of Alberta and during his administration directed the creation of the Alberta Normal College and the University of Alberta. As a member of Strathcona Baptist, Edmonton, he played a pivotal role at the local, provincial and Union level of Baptist organization.¹⁵ G.H.V. Bulyea, also a member of

¹²First Baptist Church, Winnipeg: Fiftieth Anniversary, 1875-1925 (Winnipeg, Man.: First Baptist Church, 1925), p. 12, CBA; McLaurin, Pioneering, p. 182; A.A. Shaw Biographical File, CBA.

¹³Canadian Encyclopedia, Vol. 1 (Edmonton, Alta.: Mel Hurtig Publishers, 1985), p. 217.

¹⁴Who's Who in Canada (1922), p. 1473.

Strathcona Baptist and the first Vice-President of the Baptist Union of Western Canada, was appointed the first Lieutenant-Governor of Alberta. He was also active at all levels of Baptist Union administration.¹⁶

A Blueprint for Moral and Social Reform

A.A. Shaw: The Social Ministry of the Church

Rev. A.A. Shaw, a Rauschenbusch trained pastor, can be given a great deal of credit for raising the "'social consciousness'" of Western Baptists. His series of addresses to the Baptist Convention of Western Canada in November of 1908, later printed in the Baptist Union of Western Canada Year Book, is a clarion call to Baptist moral and social action. Entitled, "'The Challenge,'" "'The Quest,'" and "'The Altar Fire,'" the three lectures under the general theme of "'The Social Ministry of the Church,'" were an indication of "'a growing conviction in the hearts of the leaders of Christian thought and life, that the church has a definite social ministry to perform, and that it has too largely failed to perform that ministry.'" ¹⁷ In his first address, Shaw spoke of the "'The Challenge of the Social Need,'" identifying five areas of concern: the industrial crisis; corruption in public life; social vices or "'the social evil;'" the plight of new immigrants; and

(Footnote Continued)

¹⁵ Who's Who in Canada (1928-1929), pp. 915-916; Western Baptist, February 20, 1947; A.C. Rutherford Biographical File, CBA.

¹⁶ Who's Who in Canada (1922), p. 110.

¹⁷ 1908 Year Book of the Baptist Convention of Western Canada, p. 117.

the challenge of the city. Responding to the industrial crisis, he provides a searing critique of capitalism's neglect of the working poor and the unemployed:

I think, for instance, of the persistent antagonism of the two great warring industrial classes; the one, great in numbers and in power of productive labor, the other, few in numbers but great in influence. We see these classes in open conflict, now working in sullen distrust, never nearer together than a state of armed neutrality. I think of our immense resources, of our vast accumulation of capital, and at the same time of the great army of the poor and of the able bodies unemployed. I think of the terrible loss of human life through the greed of great corporations who are unwilling to pay the necessary price of human safety. I think of the lightning rate in the increase of corporate wealth and the snail like pace in the improvement of the lot of the 99 per cent of those who produce that wealth. I become aware of the comparatively small number of trades union men in our churches and of the increasing feeling on their part that their interests do not have a due share of the thought and the sympathy of the church. 18

Political corruption, social vices and the immigrant 'problem,' are identified as concerns that the church has chosen to ignore. He exhorts the church to prove the genuineness of its faith and to act in the best interests of the Kingdom. He also calls upon the church to give the new immigrants 'a more just and adequate idea of the church as we know it.'¹⁹ Responding to the challenge of the city, he warns that the social evils that flourish in the rapidly expanding urban areas must be recognized and a programme to combat them must be created and employed.

Continuing on, he devotes his attention to 'The Challenge of the Church Outside the Church' and those individuals or groups that are

¹⁸Ibid., p. 118.

¹⁹Ibid.

'as much in love with the person and the purpose of Jesus Christ as we are, (but) who no longer associate themselves with the church because they believe that they can realize His ideals outside the church....',²⁰ He points out how easy it is to criticize the remedies proposed by 'the socialist agitator' but reminds his listeners of the challenge, 'What do ye more than he.'²¹ He calls on Baptists to 'make good (their) claims or cease boasting of them.'²² Calling spirituality 'Christlikeness' he poses the question whether 'the church that shares Christ's spirit and Christ's passion will fail of brotherly kindness and social ministry.'²³ He then critiques the notion that Jesus presented no formal social program and that therefore the church need not have a definite social ministry. The enunciation of the Kingdom in terms that those around him understood allowed Jesus to prepare the church for the Kingdom which was to come without incurring the wrath of the Roman authorities. Shaw throws out the challenge, 'What signs are you showing of the Kingdom's approach?'²⁴

Under the heading 'The Challenge Within the Church,' Shaw focuses upon the malaise within the church and the church's unwillingness to act in a prophetic manner. Quoting W.J. Dawson, he locates the underlying problem:

²⁰Ibid., p. 120.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid., p. 121.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid.

If the church were alive the people would not be able to stay away from it.... I discovered that the church had turned its back upon the real facts of life.... Thirty years ago she turned her back upon the prophets of a new science, who were opening a new heaven and a new earth to the astonished eyes of men. She refused to listen to them. She derided and denounced them, and the result was that she lost the leadership of thought among intelligent men. Today she turns her back in precisely the same way upon the new scholarship which devotes itself to the investigation of religion. She does not so much as ask whether these scholars are right or wrong; she simply does not choose to listen to them, and the result is that she has lost the leadership of religious thought and as she has lost the leadership of scientific thought, and intelligent men prefer to do their own thinking upon religion without any guidance from the church. But worse than all, she has lost the knowledge of her own mission. 25

He suggests that the accusations against the church are well founded and the failure to respond to these accusations only further authenticates them. He argues that the 'only and the adequate response is to live the life and do the works Christ expects of us' and 'If his defense is to be justified, then His call must be immediately obeyed.'²⁶

A.A. Shaw's second address was entitled 'The Quest' and was directed toward the church's responsibility to conquer the hostility and indifference that it confronts in society in order to realize 'Christ's vision of a Kingdom of Righteousness, Truth and Love.'²⁷ He outlined a master plan or blueprint which would enable the church to reclaim its former role of reformer of man and society. He concedes that the church's primary function is the regeneration of human character but he challenges the church to go further and realize a greater aim, that of

²⁵Ibid., p. 122.

²⁶Ibid., p. 123.

²⁷Ibid., p. 124.

organizing and directing the regenerated life for social betterment.

The first duty of the church is 'to see the actual.'²⁸

There are so many influences in modern life that distorts men's vision. It is easy to see only what we wish to see, and to view the unlively through the rosy glasses of a superficial optimism. It is not easy to see the evils of a slum if we are deriving revenue from the tenements. The vices of a corporation are not so very hideous to the holders of its stock.... The woes of the poor and of the unemployed do not seem so bitter to those who have never wanted for food or ample clothing.... But to be Christian in any true sense is to see with the eyes of Christ; and that means to see things as they are, and to look behind the facts that produce them. 29

The second duty that he identifies is that of social repentance. He insists that if it is 'a good thing for a man to confess his own sin and to repent of it' then it is 'a better and a larger thing for him to confess the social sins with which he is inevitably connected and to repent of them.'³⁰ A third duty calls for a vision of Christ's ideal. He stresses that while Christ had a gospel for the individual, the main thrust of his message and ministry was social. Christ won individuals in order to establish his Kingdom. Quoting Shailer Mathews, he elaborates further:

The church can prepare men for heaven only by teaching them how to live upon the earth. The gospel of the Risen Christ is also the gospel of regenerate men building the eternal life into a fraternity that must some day include all social relations. 31

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 125.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

Shaw adds that Christians must believe in Jesus not only as saviour and spiritual leader but as a great moral leader of society as well as individuals.³²

Finally, Shaw puts forward a four part blueprint that will enable the church to heroically and deliberately achieve Christ's social ideal. The church must first become a Kingdom of God in miniature. It is essential that 'all of the church's activities and the lives of its members are in harmony with the ethics of Christ.'³³ He adds that 'the church see to it that none of its members derives revenue from any property that is a source of vice and social misery.' Then he argues: 'Let it see to it that church manifests the spirit of love among its members' and 'that all distinctions and barriers between its members (be removed) until they become a true Christian brotherhood.'³⁴ For Shaw, the pulpit must become a 'centre of social evangelism' and social regeneration must be a common pulpit topic.³⁵ Drawing from Walter Rauschenbusch, he questions:

If it is religious to advocate rebuilding a church, why is it non-religious to advocate tearing down and rebuilding a slum district? If it is religious to encourage the church to re-carpet the aisles and cushion the seats for the feet and the backs of the worshippers, why is it non-religious to advocate play grounds for young feet and old aged pensions for aged backs? 36

³²Ibid., pp. 125-126.

³³Ibid., p. 126.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid., p. 127.

³⁶Ibid.

Shaw argues that it is not enough for pastors to attack social abuses but it is imperative that they attempt to show the relation of the gospel's truth to the causes of social misery. He advocates the necessity for a campaign of education in all departments of the church based on the model of the study guide created by Josiah Strong's American Institute of Social Service. In addition, there should be a constant emphasis on the fact that the gospel of Christ may be directly applied to all phases of human life.³⁷ He goes on to say that is not enough to just educate and inspire but there must also be an outlet for the individual's social energies:

The church should keep a wise and regulative hand on all the social activities of its members. It should lead the new life along well defined and carefully considered channels. The light, having been generated, must be turned towards the dark corners where the lost coin may be found. The salt must be rubbed into the social mass by wise and energetic effort. As salt has a two-fold ministry, antiseptic and aseptic, directed towards these two ends. She must rescue human wreckage and seek to make it sea-worthy again. Every church in a city or town should have a life saving station right in the place where the wreckage multiplies. Then she must have a care for the diseased body, must relieve the hungry, clothe the naked, aid the out of work, in all ways to seek to remedy the results of wrongs.... There must be set on foot influences 'to improve the public health, to improve the wage-earner's lot, to improve home conditions, to supply uplifting recreations, to shut off the cause of crime.... 38

A.A. Shaw's third address was entitled ''The Altar fire,'' and focused upon the Cross of Christ as the focal point for a social dynamic in Christian social evangelism. He reminds his audience that ''the great moral and spiritual dynamic of the church and of the world is

³⁷Ibid., p. 128.

³⁸Ibid.

'Jesus Christ and Him crucified.'',³⁹ He continues by saying: ''We can never get away from that altar and have warmth and energy for our service of the world. But that altar must also be the altar of our own sacrifice.'',⁴⁰ In a passionate plea for Christian sacrifice in the arena of social service, he calls for a new dedication to the great commission:

We have looked on the heroism of the slum worker, of the home missionary, of the apostle to the jungle tribes of Africa or to the cannibals of the South Seas with an easy complacency, as though that were a peculiar brand of consecration not to be expected of the church as a whole. But it is the sheerest self deception to think for a moment that Christ can be satisfied or the work of the Church accomplished with anything less than the absolute and complete surrender of our lives on the altar of sacrifice. ⁴¹

It was this comprehensive challenge that A.A. Shaw threw out to the assembled delegates to the Baptist Convention of Western Canada in Vancouver in November 1908. In the inaugural year of that Convention it served as a symbolic ''call to arms'' in an emerging Baptist initiative against social vices, particularly that of intemperance. The importance of his series of lectures was not immediately apparent but the substance of his critique of the church's hesitancy to become involved in social ministry would be an irritant in Western Baptist endeavor for years to come. The call to action would be repeated by other social Christians of the period but none would phrase it in such powerful, eloquent and passionate language as A.A. Shaw.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 133.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

H.F. Waring: The Baptist Programme for the Twentieth Century

On February 2, 1913, at the Baptist Union of Western Canada annual meeting in Regina, Saskatchewan, Rev. H.F. Waring of Vancouver, also a former student of Walter Rauschenbusch, addressed the delegates on the subject of the church's social mission. In a style not unlike that of A.A. Shaw, Waring challenged his listeners to face up to the "great intellectual questions and pressing social problems" that confronted the church in a rapidly changing world.⁴² Waring called for Baptists to meet the challenges of the twentieth century and its social problems; rising religious skepticism and religionless quests. Under the general title of "The Challenge of its Social Wrongs," Waring began to list the social problems that confronted the church. With unequal distribution of wealth heading the list, he delivered a searing attack on the excesses of capitalism:

To say nothing of their often worse than useless heirs, multi-millionaires get more than they are entitled to for their superior knowledge and skill. The amassing of their fortunes commonly means chicanery and always means social wrong. The poorer classes are better informed than in the centuries past. The price of the newspaper is within the means of practically all. Laboring men read their labor journals as the early Christians read their Bibles. They see that they are producing the wealth and others are getting it. Many are fretting against their exacting employers. Others, who cannot do this because of the sterling character of their employers, are fretting against the system which makes possible such inequalities. The result is practically a civil war between capital and labor. ⁴³

⁴²1913 Year Book of the Baptist Union of Western Canada, p. 182, hereafter cited as Year Book.

⁴³Ibid.

He then goes on to ask: 'Have Baptist anything to do to make this disastrous, soul-embittering war issue a victory for humanity?''⁴⁴

Borrowing from the language of militarism, he asks:

How shall the swords be beaten into ploughshares, the incubus be lifted, the criminal waste be turned into beneficent channels, the cost of dreadnoughts be converted into the comforts of dwellings for the people and the enormous expense of mighty guns be directed to the destruction of the slums into and in which so many citizens are being damned?''⁴⁵

Identifying intemperance as another social ill, he asks: 'Have not the Baptist in their twentieth century programme something for the righting of this and other social wrongs?''⁴⁶ He then locates those areas where the church might begin its social mission: 'In our social gospel we will magnify the home...because every social problem has its vitally important 'home end' and more than to any other institution we turn to the home for help and to help. Of all our schools, home is the most important.''⁴⁷ Expanding on this theme, he locates two other areas where social change can begin:

Through education and legislation, what possibilities through the united efforts of all who desire social reform! Educationally, socially, scientifically and philosophically the age is athrill with opportunities for Christianity to go in and possess the land. There would be resident in a united Christianity power enough to shame the greed that values property more than persons to loose militarism's crippling grip upon the nations, to down the drink and lust traffic in body and soul and to lift home into its priceless opportunity of incalculating truth and

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 183.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 183-184.

shaping character, in which rather than ideas is the goal of righting our social wrongs. 48

Attacking Baptists for their exclusive spirit and selfish individualism, he calls for them to enter into cooperative programs with other church bodies and to reject petty denominationalism:

To this end we rejoice that Biblical criticism in all its parts (Textual, literary, historical and theological) is giving us a vision of a Jesus and so of a Christ, too big to be the authority of a denominationalism that disastrously retards co-operative effort for the social salvation of man. 49

A second area of concern is discussed under the title "'The Challenge of Religious Skepticism.'" To those Baptists that desire some sort of antidote against the "'rising skepticism'" of the age, Waring, quoting Shailer Mathews, provides relief:

To science, philosophy and religious skeptics we say, we believe in honest doubt. It is often the only climbing path to the heights of truth. As you are seeking truth we would join you in the quest. Theologically we are unhampered. 'Our insistence on the simplicity of evangelical religion; our championship of liberty of thought and freedom from authoritative creed and organizations enables us to bring the gospel home to a world that is thinking scientifically.' 50

Continuing in the same vein, he goes on to stress that Baptists must ground their faith in the Christian scriptures but cautions against religious bigotry. At the same time he makes a strong argument for Biblical criticism:

Biblical criticism has surprised and confused the church. It would be amusing, were it not so pathetic, this desperate clinging to some dogma, this fancied danger. Fancied it is. Nothing of supreme worth has been jeopardized. Instead, Biblical criticism has made for progress along the way of truth among

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 184.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 185.

the heights of God.... To meet the challenge of this century's skepticism our programme is: Forward, more persistently and consistently even than our fathers, in absolute confidence in truth. 51

With much less good will than A.A. Shaw, Waring responds to those social reformers that would chose to transform society from outside the church. He criticizes their Marxist agenda and calls into question their true motivation. In typical Baptist language, he dismisses their actions as selfish, based on a desire for personal satisfaction and pleasure:

To the religionless social reformers, then, we say: It is this Christlike deity (which is the very essence of Christianity) that makes for the unconquerable, cross-bearing altruism that is the *sin qua non* of social reform. To the religionless moralists we say that this sense of God makes for the ethical culture of which they speak. Cases of those religionlessly moral are often found to be explained by their religious environment, i.e. by the vicarious functioning of this Christ-like sense of God. To the religionless seeker of pleasure we say that the supreme joy of life is in Christ-like co-operation with God for the weal of the world. 52

Waring concludes his address with a challenge to the church to locate its program for social reform in a vision of the Kingdom of God on Earth:

What is needed is an overmastering conviction of God. Where but from the Church of Christ should this conviction come? To the whole Church standing before the momentous possibilities awaiting this dynamic, comes a mighty call. To no denomination is it louder or clearer than to ours. Democratic and anti-sacerdotal, and so easily brought into intimate touch with the social forces of the present; creedless and so unfettered by the dead hand of the past; and foundational on a personal experience of fellowship with God, and so in living touch with the cosmic dynamic that the age needs: ours is a wonderful opportunity. It is for us as a people to yield to the urge divine and bringing in an over-mastering conviction of the immediacy, the immanency, of

⁵¹Ibid., p. 186.

⁵²Ibid., p. 188.

God to electrifyingly unify the forces of Christendom that they may give to the century abiding faith, social salvation and full-orbed joy. 53

It was this challenge, so eloquently delivered by H.F. Waring, that carried the message of social reform to the Western Baptist constituency and beyond. In the tradition of other Rauschenbusch trained pastors in Western Canada before him, he argued for the centrality of social reform and social salvation in the dynamic mission of the Church of Christ based on and motivated by a Kingdom of God ideal. With a heightened emphasis upon social evangelism, he repeated A.A. Shaw's clarion call to social action in the Baptist Union of Western Canada.

D.R. Sharpe: Baptist Social Reform for the 1920's

D.R. Sharpe, the Superintendent for the Baptist Convention of Saskatchewan, presented his annual report to the annual meeting of Saskatchewan Baptist churches in 1920, focusing on the social mission of the Christian church. The report was published in the 1920 Year Book of the Baptist Union of Western Canada. Sharpe, Rauschenbusch trained and the Baptist Union's most tireless social activist, laid out in crystal clear terms the overwhelming urgency for a far reaching programme of social initiatives among the Baptists of Saskatchewan. In the preamble to his report to the Convention, he calls Baptist to action:

We meet as Christians, as those convinced that the Kingdom of God on earth is deeply involved in what we say and do in this Convention, and that a just and abiding reordering of the entire human family is the chief enterprise, not only of the Church but of every individual Christian. From this basic conviction we

⁵³ Ibid., p. 189.

waged war upon fraud and oppression. In the contest we felt the orientation of a spiritual glow because we fought for life's unalterable good.... The abolition of evils that menace nations, labor, capital, classes, is a sacred duty incumbent upon society at large and a duty which will not wait on the whims of false prudence or the designs of calculating and sordid selfishness. 54

Pointing to Jesus as a prototype for societal change, he argues for a model of social reform based upon the militancy of his response to the status quo:

He had dared to oppose the forces of reaction, the money changers, the ecclesiastical and commercial autocrats. He made His appeal and dedicated His life to the despised, the lowly, the outcast, and the oppressed. He refused to gain the comfort and the security of one who stands by the ruling class. He dared to stand out against the 'Rulers in high places.' He chose 'men of low degree' for His companions and apostles. He was the Founder of a New Kingdom, the Herald of a New Day and the Champion of a New Order--in which justice would supplant greed, brotherhood displace class privilege, and love conquer selfishness. 55

Having identified the centrality of Jesus in any program of social reform, Sharpe poses the following rhetorical question to the Christian church: "'Do they celebrate His victory over the evil of His day? Are they drawing all men unto them--without distinction of class or wealth or worldly power? Are they giving the good news to the poor? Have they stood by the oppressed and the underprivileged?'"⁵⁶ His answer is brutal and to the point:

The answer is an array of appalling facts. A blood-stained world of famine and starvation on the one hand and colossal self-indulgence on the other, with God's human family torn and separated by international suspicion, class hatred, political partisanship and industrial conflict. Nine-tenths of the wealth of the United Kingdom is possessed by less than one-tenth of the

⁵⁴1920 Year Book, p. 64.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid.

people, and nine-tenths of the people possess only one-tenth of the wealth, a system which cannot be defended for one single moment, and for the reason that the greatest Founder of Social Institutions the world has ever seen laid it down two thousand years ago, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' 57

Sharpe, rather than continue to lament the many failures of the Christian church in dealing with the social crisis, goes on to outline the future task of the church if it is to become a relevant force in the present society:

The most characteristic demand of our day is for a new order of society, a society built upon the sure principles of the Kingdom of God.

Are we to attempt after the war to restore old, decayed, ruinous practices, or is there to be a radical recasting of all our business and labor methods? We report at length on the labor situation because it is the most acute phase of our present-day life and the one in which the church must interest itself or miss its greatest opportunity for helping this vast group of citizens.

A new day is dawning, the new order approaches. Will the Christian church awaken to its privilege and meet the responsibility?.... God grant that it may not be too late before the whole church, in pulpit, pew and practice, shall come to reconsider the moral, social meaning and bearings of its faith, and having estimated afresh their importance in the full presentation of the Christian message to the world, be prepared to make the sacrifices involved in acting frankly and fully upon the principles of brotherhood and of equal value of every human life. 58

Applauding the church's labors in 'the cause of personal character and in the cause of charity,' Sharpe criticizes the church's hesitancy to deal with the root causes of social evils. He identifies avarice and selfishness and 'mammon and grinding competition' as 'strongholds of evil' that 'work havoc over the broad spaces of

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 65.

human life.''⁵⁹ He calls for a ''strenuous reaffirmation of the principles of justice, mercy and brotherhood as sovereign over every department of human life.''⁶⁰ He then outlined three challenges the church must accept and respond to. The first was ''the challenge of intelligence.''. The church must be intelligent enough to deal with social problems of great magnitude and complexity. The second was ''the challenge of foreign missions:''

If we believe, Christianity is adapted to the whole human race, if it can solve the perplexities, meet the needs and promote the welfare of all nations, now is the opportunity of its adherents as never before to prove this and to win their way among all peoples. Never were the motives for the spread of pure religion so strong as they are to-day. The nations of the earth can no longer live in ignorance of one another. The foreign missionary is no longer the ambassador of a chimerical idea, the apostle of a forlorn hope, an enthusiast to be admired and smiled at. He is the representative not only of the religion of Jesus Christ, but of international good-will; the creator not only of Christian churches, but of all international civilization; not a sectarian ecclesiastic, but an ambassador of all communions and a world statesman. ⁶¹

The third challenge was that of ''character.''. As the representative and custodian of the missionary spirit, the church must ''express the spirit by the sending of preachers of the Gospel, physicians and teachers to other nations'' and also establish the spirit at home as the ''keynote of our international policy.''⁶²

Sharpe proposes that the church has a twofold duty to the world. On one hand, through the pulpit, by the printed page and through proper

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 66.

⁶²Ibid.

conduct, it must promote the "'great principles of Jesus.'"⁶³ On the other hand, the church must "'make clear that the values of the world are in human lives:'"

All are entitled to a fair share of the goods of life. Human slavery in every form is unchristian. The civilization that sacrifices personalities to things, or the welfare of the many to the greed of the few, is unchristian and is not worthy to live. Moreover, human welfare is achieved not by each individual, each family, each class and each nation seeking its own welfare, but in all seeking the welfare of all. The problems of society, national and international, are solved by the Golden Rule intelligently applied. They can be solved in no other way. The duty of the hour is the acceptance of the law of love as the principle of action, as individuals, families, classes, churches, nations. The nation, the class, the church that seeks aggrandizement of itself rather than human welfare has missed the path of Jesus, the only path of prosperity. 64

Under the title, "'The Creation of Christian Personalities,'" Sharpe describes the church's central task in establishing the new order:

It is not the business of the church as such to create or lead political parties. It is not its business as such to settle strikes, or to champion economic programs. It is not its business to negotiate, conduct law courts or to appoint ambassadors. It is business, jointly with the family, and the school, to produce the men and the women who, with clear vision, high purpose, and trained ability, will do all of these things, and doing them will save the nation and the world. 65

And finally, Sharpe elaborates upon the type of Christian that the times demand. They must "'create and maintain Christian homes'" and "'found and conduct schools'" and "'manage great business enterprises'"

⁶³Ibid., p. 67.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 68.

employing Christian principles.⁶⁶ The end result of their labors must be ''instruments for promoting the welfare'' of humanity.⁶⁷ Those who hold government office must be of the ''highest moral purpose.'' They must be ''men and women who will look at the world as Jesus saw it, and find their joy not in exploiting it, but in promoting its highest welfare.'' ⁶⁸ Locating the pastor as the keystone of any program of home mission work, he describes the attributes necessary for success:

He should be more than a preacher depending mainly upon public assemblies for his opportunities and results. He should carry his message of salvation into the homes of the people, and face the careless, the scornful, the neglected, and even the hostile, with the claims and the blessings of the Gospel, and so extend his ministry, persistently and consistently, unto all the homes of his parish and into the unchurched settlements, and communities that they may be contiguous thereto.... He should be an expert 'personal worker,' while never losing sight of his opportunities as a preacher of the Gospel and as a minister to the social needs of the community. ⁶⁹

In an address to Saskatchewan Baptists the next year, D.R. Sharpe continued with his blueprint for social reform. Under the title ''To the Baptists of Saskatchewan: A Statement and a Challenge,'' he prefaces his address in eschatological language:

Four or five times in human history has there been such a time as this and this is the greatest of them all. A thousand years of human history stretch out before us and we are privileged to live and make our contribution of life and substance on the threshold of the most significant era in human history.... Thoughtful men are persuaded now as perhaps they never were before that religion alone can conserve the true values and promote the highest interests of society, and that religion is an indispensable factor in the reconstruction of the

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 71.

world and in the restoration of social harmony. All races and classes of men cannot be taught these lessons without the motives and experience of religion. 70

He then goes on to identify the ''Baptist Heritage'' and tradition as being particularly suited to the social reconstruction and the ''social fellowship of the races.'',⁷¹ Recounting the names and the contributions of such Baptist luminaries as: Balthazer Hubmaier, Alexander Carson, William Carey, Judson, John Bunyan, Roger Williams, Sharpe applauds their special brand of ''Baptist independence'' which allowed them to arrive at a ''unanimity of essential convictions'' that set them apart from other religious individuals.⁷² Using these revered figures as models, Sharpe calls for a new evangelism to spread the message of the new order and the coming ''Kingdom.'',⁷³

Under the title ''The Driving Force,'' Sharpe critiques the efforts of the church in the social arena. He argues that although it had raised the moral tone of society, it had failed to identify with the teachings of Jesus especially in the social sphere: ''A church which is not strikingly and indisputably better than the world cannot convince the world of sin.'',⁷⁴ He then calls on the church to realize the demands of society upon it:

The Church must uncompromisingly proclaim the deadly peril of riches. She must substitute co-operation for the absolutely and incurably unchristian principle of competition. The

⁷⁰1921 Year Book, p. 81.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 82.

⁷²Ibid., p. 82.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 84.

dominant aim of commerce and industry must come to be, not profits, but service. The sacred task of government must be lifted from its present level, too often marked by sordidness and immorality. The Church must, in short, do in regard to the business and political immorality of our day what she did in regard to slavery and intemperance--she must create a new conscience.

All civilized nations are convinced that the great social reconstructions are inevitable. Masses of men without the church would hail her leadership in superceeding social and economic relations, admittably intolerable, by relations more equitable, more scientific, more brotherly. In multitudes of our young people is the yearning for a great and heroic task. 75

Sharpe finishes his address with a call to the church to fully accept the evangelical nature of the Christian gospel:

The Church has only to realize that her surrender must be complete; that the implications of Christian discipleship must be followed to the end; that the whole man in all his network of relations, family, civic, economic, must be dominated by the leavening influences of the Gospel of Christ, and the divine stream, now choked and damned, will carry its fertilizing waters into the moral deserts of the world.

The secret of a mighty and irresistible evangelism is a full-orbed gospel. The evangel must be as definitely, fervidly, aggressively personal as ever of old. At the same time, her evangel must gather into itself that new divine passion for fighting disease, and abolishing poverty and crime, and saving the child life, and making cities clean and healthy and beautiful--a passion which is, perhaps, the special gift of the Holy Spirit of our age. 76

Religious education is then put forward as a first consideration of the church. Sharpe, a longtime Superintendent of Sunday Schools in Saskatchewan, understood better than most of his colleagues, the importance of religious training both in the home and in the church:

With industrial and economic stringencies weakening the agencies of moral and spiritual uplift, with commercialized amusements lowering the moral sanctions, the home and the church cannot be indifferent to the religious nurture of their children.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 85.

⁷⁶Ibid., pp. 85-86.

A better knowledge of childhood, better standards for training, a more adequate organization and equipment in the church school, a keener sense of community interests and the recognition of the necessity of closer co-operation of all forces serving the welfare of the child are the first steps to an improvement of conditions. ⁷⁷

A.A. Shaw, H.F. Waring and D.R. Sharpe are representative of a small but influential group of Western Baptist leaders that promoted a reformist approach to the moral and social crisis based on a liberal evangelical ideal and a 'Kingdom of God' motif. The impact of their critique of the church's performance in the social sphere and the subsequent call to action and suggested plan of attack reached a large number of the Baptist Union's constituency. Whether or not the grass roots of the Baptist Union were motivated to respond in a positive and constructive fashion remains debatable. If the various Baptist Convention and Baptist Union committees are indicative of the social mood and temperament of the rank and file of Western Baptists, then the agenda of moral and social reform was of paramount importance. As early as 1907, the Convention Baptists of Western Canada had formed a Committee on Moral and Social Reform and a Board of Moral and Social Reform was being contemplated.

The Baptist Union Social Service Committee Reports and
Resolutions on Moral and Social Reform

The first annual meeting of the Baptist Convention of Western Canada at First Baptist Church, Vancouver from November 20 to November 24, 1908, was the setting for the Convention's initial attempt to

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 88.

constructively deal with the myriad of social problems that confronted Canadian society during the first two decades of the twentieth century. The first report on moral and social reform was read by Rev. P.C. Parker of Vancouver. In the preface to the report, the general board of the Convention conceded that their work had not been as effective as it might have been and certainly not as effective as its importance called for yet there existed a sense of gratitude that the department had been formed:⁷⁸

No more important work has ever been attempted in the interests of National and Provincial righteousness than that which belongs to this and similar organizations. It is directly in the interest of applied Christianity, is in accordance with the spirit and trend of the times and by it we may be able to direct some of our pastors and churches who having anticipated work have already given considerable attention under suspicious and adverse criticism to questions of a sociological nature. They will feel greatly encouraged by the sympathy, support and organized co-operation of the denomination.⁷⁹

The Convention had been forced to deal with a growing social concern among the Baptist pastors and the gathered delegates were informed in uncompromising language that social reconstruction was the demand of the hour and that no church or ministry could turn a deaf ear to these demands:

The unemployed, the wage-slave, and the woe-slave have called long and loud and we have refused. They have stretched out their hands and no man has regarded. How in their thousands they have in the old land stormed the parliament buildings, the city halls, the cathedrals and the churches, and have insisted that their burdens shall be shared. With these come the calls

⁷⁸1908 Year Book, pp. 50-51.

⁷⁹Ibid.

of others, the drunkard, the feeble-minded, prisoners, and of the neglected and cruelly conditioned children. ⁸⁰

The report continued with Rev. Parker identifying the principal concerns of the board. The prohibition of the liquor traffic, the suppression of gambling, the promotion of integrity in business and in political life, the observation of the Lord's Day as a day of rest and worship, charity, the protection of children against neglect, child labor, cruelty or moral injury and better enforcement of the law, were all of paramount importance. The study and use of sociology in relation to domestic, industrial and commercial life along with the relation of the church to the wage earner and his problems were topics of discussion. A number of recommendations were put forward by the committee as an initial step in dealing with the social crisis. Pastors were encouraged to begin temperance campaigns as well as undertake special studies of sociology and similar subjects that related to the social and industrial betterment of society. The necessity for the adoption of a definite policy in the area of social and moral reform along with the appointment of an executive to work in cooperation with social service organizations was stressed. Pastors were urged to familiarize themselves with those questions and concerns that were arising between business and labor. The report further recommended that the denominational paper list the publications and magazine articles touching on the subjects of social and moral reform.⁸¹ It was also recommended that a Board of Social and Moral Reform be created which

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 52.

would include twenty members and an explicit goal of the ''cultivation and development of the highest Christian citizenship and the elimination of those evils which threaten the social and moral welfare of the country.''⁸² The maintenance of the Lord's Day, the suppression of ''the liquor traffic'' and gambling, the elimination of corrupt practices in public life and a sympathetic study of problems affecting labor and business were subjects that the proposed board would address. Finally, the report recommended that the board cooperate with the Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada.⁸³

The next major report on moral and social reform was presented to the Baptist Union of Western Canada at the annual meeting in 1910. The Committee on Social and Moral reform reported that a great deal of interest had been stimulated in the efforts of the department over the course of the years, 1908-1910:

While we do not wish to make unnecessary comparisons in the work of our Lord, we do believe that the man who cleans up the ward of the city is doing a work which is not secondary to that of the pulpit.... The influence of the organized work of moral and social reform of the various denominations is such to have caused the civic authorities of many of our cities to curtail the hours of drinking.... Some of the provincial governments also have shown their anxiety to give heed to the awakened conscience of the Church by giving legislation which will greatly restrain some of the evils of the liquor traffic. ⁸⁴

The Committee was adamant in its condemnation of the ''segregation of the social evil'' in many of the cities of Western Canada and the semi-official acceptance of the practice. The Committee urged all

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴1910 Year Book, p. 63.

pastors to familiarize themselves with this issue and to cooperate with other similar bodies, groups or individuals, to prevent it. Another concern of the Committee was the growing white slave traffic. It advocated the raising of the legal age of consent from 16 to 18 years of age with the distinction between an inmate and a frequenter of houses of ill repute being abolished in law and in practice. Those people found frequenting houses of ill repute would be treated as possible carriers of venereal disease and would be quarantined until "'proven free"' of the disease. It was also recommended that an educational campaign be instituted in order to prevent young people from entering marriage while suffering from venereal disease. As was the case in the 1908 report, the Committee argued for the creation of a permanent Board of Moral and Social Reform with a chairman and a representative from each of the provinces which would work in close cooperation with other similar minded organizations. The appointment of a permanent Secretary of Moral and Social Reform was suggested. Finally and predictably, a resolution was passed reaffirming the unequivocal support of the Baptist Union of Western Canada for the total prohibition of the liquor traffic.⁸⁵

At the annual meeting of the Baptist Union of Western Canada in 1911, several resolutions relating to social issues were passed. In the sphere of political corruption, it was moved, seconded and carried that "'political corruption, resulting in the control or undue influence of administration by the reactionary element of society, calls for the most thoughtful consideration and vigorous action by the members of our

⁸⁵Ibid., pp. 63-65.

churches irrespective of their party.''⁸⁶ On national insurance it was resolved that ''In the light of recurring widespread poverty and distress which is the result of existing economic conditions...we hereby record our deep sense of gratitude for the legislation recently introduced into the British House of Commons, seeking to give relief to those suffering from sickness, accident or unemployment,...''⁸⁷ A resolution condemning war as a great crime and recognizing international arbitration as a proper mechanism in resolving disputes between nations was also passed. On the question of intemperance the Union was adamant, stating that:

...whilst recognizing the stronger restrictive influences of the new liquor law, declares its attitude as decidedly unsatisfied with any legislative enactments which do not provide a local option ordinance or law, to be submitted for the decision of the majority of the people of any municipality or district, and that does not provide for the total prohibition of the manufacture, distribution and sale of intoxicating liquors by vote of the people. ⁸⁸

The Union enthusiastically endorsed the work of the Local Option League of British Columbia for its progress in educating and organizing temperance sentiment throughout the province.⁸⁹

At the 1912 Convention, the ''Commission on Future Policy,'' including such social gospel luminaries as N. A. Harkness, A.E. Haydon and A.M. McDonald, presented its report to the Union with the motto ''Without the vision the people perish.'' Singling out four problematic

⁸⁶ 1911 Year Book, 1911, p. 132.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

areas: city missions including extension, resource work, immigration and evangelism; the church's place in social and moral reform and in the labor movements of the nation; and the relation of the Union to non-English missions; the Committee proposed a commission which would gather data and report its findings to the Union periodically. It was resolved by the ''Commission on Future Policy'' to negotiate with the Social Service Committee of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec in reference to cooperation in the support of a Superintendent of Social Service for the Baptists of Canada.⁹⁰

On the issue of ''world peace,'' a resolution committee submitted its report including the following preamble:

Whereas, determined efforts are at present being made to encourage and foster the spirit of militarism among the people of Canada, and...there is a growing opinion among thoughtful people that war between civilized nations is not necessary, that it is wasteful and wicked and that the burdens and losses of war, as well as the worst sorrows and sufferings of war, fall upon the workers and the producers.... And whereas, the people generally are uninformed regarding the causes of war, and the despicable and sinister commercial interests which in many instances impel politicians and journalists to ferment the war spirit.... And whereas, the undoubted teaching of Our Lord Jesus Christ, is opposed to war and makes it incumbent on His followers to give their earnest support to everything that makes for Peace and Good Will among the nations. 91

The Union then went on to pass a number of resolutions supporting the interests of peace. The language chosen is unequivocal: ''We deprecate in the strongest terms the attempts that are made by means of the Strathcona Fund especially, to impose upon the public school systems of Canada forms of military training;'' adding ''...we call upon all

⁹⁰1912 Year Book, p. 62.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 63.

pastors, teachers and leaders of our churches, to seek every favorable opportunity of instructing those under their charge, in the true principles of international peace:'⁹² The resolution went on to read:

We appeal to both political parties at Ottawa to make it clear to all the world that that the people of Canada maintain their loyalty to the Empire in all that makes for justice, freedom and unity, and are ready to work for the strengthening of the bonds of peace among all nations...and ask the Government at Ottawa to make respectful appeal to his Majesty's Imperial Government at Westminster to exhaust every means in its power (to) promote the worldwide movement in favor of international arbitration (and) seek for a great reduction of armaments at the earliest possible moment. 93

On the subject of moral reform, the Union adopted a resolution indicating a great cause for serious anxiety over the growth of the liquor traffic, the white slave traffic, gambling and violations of the Lord's Day Act. Problems arising out of the increasing tide of immigration and the attendant social vices and the necessity for adequate immigrant educational programs, were also identified. The area of "'irregular employment'" was discussed and the attention of the delegates was directed toward the continual migration of hired workers from the farms, lumber camps, mining camps and fishing areas to urban areas. It bemoaned the attendant social problems such as overcrowding, city crime and "'disruption of city life.'"⁹⁴ The Union resolved to request from the Provincial Governments that a full investigation be made into the causes of this migration and that those Governments attempt to provide a solution. Copies would be sent to the premiers of

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴Ibid.

the four Western Provinces. It was also resolved that the Union appeal to the Federal Government for amendments to the criminal code eliminating distinctions between inmates and frequenters of immoral houses which would, hopefully, penalize the owners and agents of such businesses. The resolution also requested that book making at race tracks be made a criminal offence. Finally, it was resolved that while

...a great world movement among Christian nations is giving the right of franchise and whereas, this extension of the franchise promises much for the rapid advance of Social and Moral legislation, (and) that the Union expresses its hearty support of the principle and trusts that the day may soon come when the women of Canada have equal rights with our men at the ballot box.⁹⁵

The Union expressed its appreciation for the offer of support for an agent of Moral Reform but indicated, rather surprisingly given previous rhetoric, that it would not assume any financial responsibility for the office. The union recommended that the name of the Committee on Moral and Social Reform be changed to the Social Service Committee. J.N. MacLean, A.M. McDonald and F.W. Patterson were among the individuals involved in the debate.⁹⁶

In 1913, a number of resolutions on issues of moral and social importance were passed. In typical Baptist fashion, the Union strongly disapproved of the sanctioning of Sunday baseball by the Western Baseball Association because it 'encroached upon the religious and rest purposes of the Lord's Day.'⁹⁷ It also resolved that the Union do all it could in each province to 'hasten the abolition of the liquor

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 63-65.

⁹⁷ 1913 Year Book, p. 45.

traffic."⁹⁸ A disproportionate amount of attention was directed toward the "'segregation of the social evil.'" The Resolution Committee argued that the "'latest and wisest word of medical and social science'" opposed it.⁹⁹ The Union further urged that the members of Baptist Union churches study the subject from the "'Hygienic and Economic'" and "'Moral and Religious'" points of view with the intent of overthrowing "'what is practically a licensing of impurity.'"¹⁰⁰ It was resolved that a committee representing the four Western Conventions be selected to take steps to cooperate with the Social and Moral Reform forces of the other denominations of the West to prohibit this "'evil.'"¹⁰¹ As a possible course of action, the Union suggested that all possible data on the practice be secured in order to throw more light upon the causes of the "'social evil.'" A strong case was made for exposing its widespread effects advocating the need of government action to build rescue homes under "'the proper moral and spiritual influences, where the unfortunate victims of the evil can be confined by judicial enactment.'"¹⁰² It was also resolved that the Union believed those penalties of the Criminal Code of Canada which related to the "'social evil'" and which were enforced by fines and imprisonment were inadequate to prevent these crimes against society. The resolution called for an amendment to the

⁹⁸Ibid.

⁹⁹Ibid. The "'segregation of the social evil'" was another name for unofficially sanctioned "'bawdy houses'".

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹⁰¹Ibid.

¹⁰²Ibid.

criminal code that would allow for the imprisonment of female offenders for determinate and indeterminate sentences and that would allow for male offenders to be imprisoned without the option of a fine. Amendments that would better protect young women between the ages of sixteen and eighteen and would place the penalty for white slave traffic on an equal basis with that imposed for rape, were also advocated.¹⁰³

The Union resolved to oppose militarism in all its manifestations and fully endorsed the Boy Scout movement, in particular its leadership, for ongoing efforts in opposing militarism. Member churches of the Baptist Union were urged to "resist by vote or voice...the persistent efforts being made to foster the military spirit, and to brand it as being contradictory to the life and principles of the Prince of Peace."¹⁰⁴ The Union also resolved that the Federal Government amend the criminal code as it pertained to the definition of prize fights and prohibit such contests from taking place anywhere in Canada. This was a reaction, in part, to a boxing fatality in Calgary during the previous year. It was also resolved that the Union express its gratitude to the individual who had provided the salary for a Social Service Secretary.¹⁰⁵

During the 1915 annual meeting, D.R. Sharpe reported to the Union on matters relating to moral and social reform. After several years when Union activity in this sphere was pronounced, the initiative for

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 46.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 111.

social reform seemed to have shifted to the provincial conventions. In Sharpe's report, as in past years, the Social Service Committee had resolved to continue efforts to stop the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicants anywhere in Canada. Pledges for further support of temperance forces in the Prairie Provinces and British Columbia were given.¹⁰⁶ It was also resolved that the Union express its "purpose and determination to work in co-operation with every social and moral reform agency which seeks the promotion of the Kingdom of God in the earth."¹⁰⁷ The committee recommended that all Union pastors begin a special study of sociology and similar subjects which related to "social and industrial betterment."¹⁰⁸ They were also encouraged to better inform themselves on questions arising out of the dialogue between labor and capital to the end that cooperation between these classes were in the best interest of the "kingdom."¹⁰⁹

The 1916 Convention reflected a continued interest in issues of moral and social reform. With the onset of the First World War, the Union had muted its opposition to the war effort. War profits were to be more fairly distributed and steps were recommended to ensure that excessive profits be used for the "good of the Nation."¹¹⁰ With a certain amount of ease, the Committee shifted its attention to

¹⁰⁶1915 Year Book, p. 45.

¹⁰⁷Ibid.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 85.

¹⁰⁹Ibid.

¹¹⁰1916 Year Book, p. 57.

evangelism, indicating an affinity to missionary endeavor as a means of gaining converts:

That whereas the call to evangelize is the one imperative call to the church and the response to that call is the life and genius of all movements looking for a world redemption; and whereas there are great movements on foot looking to economic, social political and commercial improvements, which are in danger of being robbed of their real value and permanency by unnecessary divorcement from evangelical life and spirit; therefore, be it resolved that we urge upon our churches increased vigilance and increased activity in the work of evangelization, looking to the wider service possible to her in these great material phases of our world life. ¹¹¹

The Union put forward resolutions condemning the liquor traffic and calling for a Dominion-wide prohibition vote by the people of Canada no later than June 1, 1917. The Committee also resolved to express its appreciation of "the Christian interpretation of social questions by various non-ecclesiastical organization" and urged upon the local churches the need to "interest their members in all movements for social reform" and to insure "their representation and largest contribution in and to the Social Welfare Conventions of the various provinces."¹¹² In a tone quite different from previous years, the Union resolved to reaffirm in the strongest terms possible its recognition of the cause of the Entente Allies as a distinctly Christian warfare. Support for the war effort was called for and prayers for the leaders was requested so "that they be strengthened in their efforts to

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 58.

prosecute the war to a victorious termination and to effect a stable and Christian peace.'¹¹³

In 1917, the Social Service Committee began its report with an expression of gratitude for the active part the local churches and the constituency had contributed to social service. It further recommended to the Union the new social service training course for women that was being offered at Brandon College. The Provincial Governments of Saskatchewan and Alberta were commended for their efforts in fighting venereal disease and encouraging public health programs. It was further recommended, ten years after the first instance, that the Social Service Committee seriously consider appointing a permanent Secretary of Social Service for the Baptist Union of Western Canada.¹¹⁴

The annual meeting of the Baptist Union of Western Canada in 1918 remains a high water mark of Western Baptist interest in moral and social reform. With the conclusion of the First World War, the Baptist Union turned its attention to the cause of 'social reconstruction' with a renewed fervor. For the first time in its short history, the Union submitted a 'Report of the Department of Social Service of the Baptist Union of Western Canada.' The Committee on Social Service reported with satisfaction that there was concrete evidence of a deepening interest in the area of social service throughout the West. The members of the committee had made an 'inconsiderable contribution' to the work in cooperation with similar organizations. The problems

¹¹³Ibid.

¹¹⁴1917 Year Book, p. 64.

arising out of the return of the soldiers and the work of demobilization and return to civil life had been of particular importance to the Social Service Committee. Baptists in Saskatchewan were a part of a program to raise \$10,000.00 for welfare work and education. Baptists in Manitoba were caught up in national reconstruction and Baptists in British Columbia were lobbying for a law providing a minimum wage for women and girls in certain kinds of employment. The Province of Manitoba had passed a law providing government aid for dependant mothers with families, an initiative that Baptists in that province strongly supported.¹¹⁵

The Social Service Committee put forward a number of recommendations that related to the ongoing national social reconstruction:

In view of the larger demands that are already being made upon the churches in connection with demobilization and National reconstruction, your committee would recommend that the scope of the work aimed at be enlarged; that the committee be reorganized with a view to enable the Baptist Union to take its place among National movements for reconstruction and that the name be changed to that of 'Committee or Council on Baptist National and Industrial and Social Welfare.' 116

It was further recommended that 'a definite campaign of education be started without further delay, by means of suitably prepared literature and public addresses.'¹¹⁷ It was reaffirmed that the church had a duty to cooperate with the various levels of government in order to 'secure the inculcation of the highest ideals in both the industrial and

¹¹⁵1918 Year Book, p. 27.

¹¹⁶Ibid., p. 28.

¹¹⁷Ibid.

economic as well as the social life of the Nation.''¹¹⁸ The Committee responded to the crisis in family life with the following statement:

Inasmuch as Social Service in the true sense aims at securing proper living conditions for the human family rather than work of a reformative nature rendered necessary through lack of these, we believe that conditions which will ensure the conservation of human life and the health of the Nation call for immediate attention.

The conservation of child life, so wantonly wasted in Canada, and the protection of the public health against the terrible ravages of venereal disease demand that the Church do its part in applying the one and only antidote for these evils, a knowledge of the truth--'And ye shall know the truth and the truth shall set you free. 119

Finally, a recommendation was put forward that called for efforts to use a unified programme with well defined objectives in cooperation with other denominations in order to save expenses and share brainpower as well as prevent the duplication of publications. The Department of Social Service would provide the literature and working expenses, including clerical work, free of charge.¹²⁰

The Department of Social Service of the Baptist Union of Western Canada published its first 'Social Welfare Leaflet' in 1918. The brochure served to identify the major social concerns of the Union beginning with a summary of the foundational premises of Baptist social action. These included: Jesus Christ the inspirer of all righteousness; the Christian conscience the hope of society; Christian standards in industry, economics, politics, and the general social order; human values as the first wealth of a Nation; organized use of

¹¹⁸Ibid.

¹¹⁹Ibid., pp. 28-29.

¹²⁰Ibid., p. 29.

the results of science for the benefit of all people; the race's debt to every child to be well-born, well-reared, well-educated, and to have liberty to realize himself in body, mind and spirit; and the rewards of labor to the laborer. Under the heading "'Studies in Specific Tasks,'" the following objectives were addressed; "'To arouse people to their duty of insisting on Christian principles in all social life'" and "'to inform the people that knowledge exists with which to abate present ills.'",¹²¹ Within these two areas of concern a list of questions to the church was proposed. Regarding the former:

May a Christian be silent while a Church, a State, or a Social Order of which he is a part is built up on other than the principles of Jesus Christ? May a Christian rightly reap the rewards of a wrong economic system? Is the Christian citizen blameless when human values are crushed in a materialistic industrial system? Is the Gospel potent to right the wrongs of organized society? ¹²²

And regarding the latter:

Knowledge has been acquired by which more than thirty thousand child lives might be saved annually in Canada. Is the Christian citizen individually responsible for the fact that this knowledge is not applied in a systematic and organized way on the behalf of the Nation's children? Is the conservation of Canadian citizens under a health policy, a prior duty to the importation of aliens under the immigration policy? Diseases that arise from vice are spreading. Scientific knowledge exists with which to combat them. Should the Church insist on the State effectively applying that knowledge? Many children are born into conditions that handicap their true development. Is the State responsible for any of these conditions? Can it change them? Some persons grow wealthy off the labor of others. Is this right? If not, is there a remedy? ¹²³

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 30.

The 1919 report on Moral and Social Reform followed in the same vein. It would be the last substantive discussion of moral and social issues to grace the pages of the Year Book of the Baptist Union for close to a decade. The Union would not treat these concerns with the same kind of urgency and enthusiasm again. The winds of theological controversy were beginning to sweep across the prairies and questions of evangelical commitment were replacing questions of social responsibility that had held the attention of Western Baptists for over a decade. Nevertheless, the 1919 report on moral and social reform responded to those issues that Baptists felt most strongly about and advocated the kind of response that Baptists had become familiar with.¹²⁴

The Committee on Moral and Social Reform reported a greater interest in the department in all the provinces and indicated that the churches were beginning to realize "that they not only need the Gospel of the Man of Calvary that the Kingdom may be advanced in the individual heart, but the teaching of the Man of Nazareth that the Kingdom of Heaven may be seen among men."¹²⁵ The Committee argued, as in past reports, that the time had come for the discontinuation of "the segregation of the social evil" and the semi-official government recognition of this "curse."¹²⁶ Every pastor in the Baptist Union was urged to familiarize himself with the facts concerning social evils in

¹²⁴1919 Year Book, pp. 63-64.

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 63.

¹²⁶Ibid., pp. 63-64.

his community and to take the lead in mobilizing his people to cooperate with other social and moral reform bodies to repress it. The white slave traffic was again attacked and the age of consent and the distinctions between inmates and frequenters of bawdy houses was rehashed. Educational programs to prevent the spread of venereal disease were again encouraged. Resolutions calling for the total prohibition of the liquor traffic were put forward. The Baptist Union went on record as opposing any policy that granted public lands or money or special privileges to any religious body. It was resolved that the Baptist Union should assume the responsibility of providing Oriental peoples with the gospel through the local churches. Further, the Union should, through a special committee or through its officers, print an appeal or invitation to these people in their own tongue.¹²⁷ Finally, the committee resolved:

...that this convention emphatically endorse prohibition and that every available ounce of energy be thrown into the referendum campaign to do away with the legalized liquor traffic, which has damned lives, perpetuated cruelties of every kind, filled jails and hospitals, caused misery, want starvation and murder, by men who fattened off the profits and posed as gentlemen and great people. ¹²⁸

The four Western Baptist Conventions would continue to report on moral and social reform through 1921 but the Baptist Union had turned its attention to other concerns. Frequent mention of social issues and proposed programs for social reform became the exception rather than the rule. Within a few short years the Union would be embroiled in a

¹²⁷ Ibid. pp. 63-65.

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 73.

theological controversy, although short-lived on the surface, that would simmer for a decade and have widespread ramifications in Western Canadian Baptist history. But concern for moral and social issues had not been the sole domain of the social service and resolution committees of the Baptist Union. The four Baptist Conventions of Western Canada, in particular the British Columbia Convention, had begun to show an initiative in the social sphere and were compiling reports for the Baptist Union Year Book as early as 1914. Unlike their B.C. counterparts, pastors and administrators from the three prairie conventions were more inclined to work within the confines of the Baptist Union of Western Canada.

The Baptist Convention's Social Service Committee Reports and
Resolutions on Moral and Social Reform

The British Columbia Convention

Of the four Western conventions, the Baptist Convention of British Columbia was far and away the most active in social service and moral and social reform. As early as 1914, the B.C. Convention could boast of a Social Service Committee. In a report to the Baptist Union in the 1914 Year Book, the committee reported increased interest in their work throughout the province. Rev. D.D. Spencer had travelled through the Okanagan for ten days lecturing on temperance and moral reform and Rev. G.R. Welch had delivered several lectures on social service in Vancouver. It was reported that progress was being made on the West Coast but the situation in the interior of the province was particularly difficult with gambling and lawlessness being tolerated by

the police. The Committee recommended that a larger committee be appointed with a representative in every district where there was a church with six in Vancouver and four in Victoria. Also it was recommended that the members at the Convention office be installed as an executive with the power to act for the Convention in any matter involving social service. A further recommendation advocated a more central place in the Convention programme for social questions.¹²⁹

Resolutions relating to social issues were put forward at the annual meeting of the Convention in Vancouver in July 1914. The resolution committee responded to the continuing labor strife in the coal mines of Vancouver Island, assailing the loss of business, depreciation of the facilities, loss of markets, destruction of property, disorder and riots and violations of civil rights. It was resolved that the Convention request that the Federal Government appoint a Royal Commission to investigate the causes of the strike with the intent of preventing a similar industrial 'upheaval' in the future.¹³⁰ It was also resolved that prohibition affirmed B.C. Baptist's 'belief in the principle of total prohibition as the only ultimate remedy for the drink traffic and its kindred evils.'¹³¹ The committee went on record as favoring the local option under the Canada Temperance Act as

¹²⁹1914 Year Book, p. 120.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.

¹³¹*Ibid.*, p. 122.

the "'best method at the present stage by which to meet this great menace to our Gospel work, our home and national welfare.'",¹³²

In the 1915 British Columbia Convention Social Service Report, the Committee continued to strive for cooperative efforts with local and interdenominational groups and agencies. The Committee was pleased to report a "'deepening interest among the churches in this branch of Christian service.'",¹³³ Mention was made of the strong temperance movement in British Columbia and a shift in attitude against the liquor traffic in the other Western provinces. One of the results of the combined efforts of Social Service organizations in British Columbia, including the Baptist Social Service Committee, had been the abolition of sweepstake lotteries and the application of legal restriction on race track meets in Vancouver and Victoria. The Committee recorded its appreciation for the public service given by the British Columbia Government and its department of movie censorship. There were signs that the police were attempting to control the "'social vice'" but the committee indicated that there was room for improvement, particularly in the area of prosecution of male offenders. There was strong support in favor of providing homes for "'fallen women'" where they could be brought under the influence of "'Christian direction.'",¹³⁴ The work of the Lord's Day Alliance in British Columbia was also encouraged. Among some of the pressing social questions that Christians should be aware of

¹³²Ibid.

¹³³1915 Year Book, p. 129.

¹³⁴Ibid.

were unemployment, pensions for widows and abandoned mothers, the abolition of sweatshops and minimum wages for women and girls in stores and factories.¹³⁵

The Resolution Committee put itself on record as favoring the abolishment of all liquor licenses during the war and opposing the renewal and issuing of other licenses after the war until a referendum on the issue could be held. It was also resolved that the practice of denying the right of ministers to hold public office be opposed by encouraging the Provincial Government to enact legislation to end this injustice. Reacting to the "'distressing revelation'" of political corruption in Canada, the Convention resolved to encourage the members of its churches to recognize the "'important responsibility'" of the franchise and the necessity to serve the country when opportunity allowed.¹³⁶

In 1916, the Convention repeated its unequivocal and determined hostility to the liquor traffic and resolved to endorse the Government's Referendum Bill as a positive step forward in "'battling the legalized saloon.'"¹³⁷ The Resolution Committee urged all the members of the Convention to do everything in their power to secure an overwhelming vote in favor of abolishing the liquor traffic.¹³⁸ The Committee "'in the midst of the most hideous and destructive war that mankind has ever

¹³⁵ Ibid., pp. 129-130.

¹³⁶ Ibid., pp. 131-132.

¹³⁷ 1916 Year Book, p. 127.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

known," reaffirmed its "deepening conviction of the righteousness of our cause."¹³⁹ Satisfaction was expressed that equal rights and privileges had been granted to all ministers in British Columbia to hold legislative office and it was placed on the record that the franchise should be extended to women in British Columbia.¹⁴⁰

The report of the Social Service Committee to the 1917 annual meeting of British Columbia Baptists, dealt with a myriad of social problems. The committee reported that 1917 had been a year of "gratifying progress" in the area of social welfare. The referendum on prohibition had resulted in an over-whelming majority vote in favor of prohibition but the overseas vote had defeated the majority vote. A commission had been created to investigate the overseas vote. The creation of the Equal Franchise for Women was lauded as an outstanding event in British Columbia history. The Equal Guardianship of Children, the Workman's Compensation Act and subsequent commissions to administer these acts were other developments in the area of social welfare that the committee was pleased to announce. The creation of a Labor Department aimed at improving industrial conditions and the enactment of the Civil Service Act aimed at freeing the civil service from the abuses of the patronage system were also applauded.¹⁴¹

The Committee reported that an appeal had been recently made by the National Council for Social Service to the Federal Government asking

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ 1917 Year Book, p. 139.

for amendments to the Criminal Code raising the age of consent and asking for the abolition of the moral double standard in morals so evident in the statutes of Canada. The Committee indicated that there was increasing evidence that members of the churches were taking a deeper interest in questions of moral and social improvement. Victories were claimed in a number of areas including pension for widows and deserted wives and children. But unemployment insurance was one of the pressing questions not yet resolved. The care and treatment of returned soldiers, soldier's pensions and 'the preparation necessary in the work of reconstruction of our social and industrial life after the war,' were also addressed.¹⁴² The committee strongly emphasized the continual need for social service work and reminded members that an amendment was still needed to the Election's Act which would remove any barriers that still prevented ministers from holding certain public offices.¹⁴³ The only resolution of note from the 1917 annual meeting recommended that pastors in Vancouver be encouraged to undertake work not only in regular congregations but also conduct services in 'shops, factories, docks, etc.,'¹⁴⁴

The years, 1918 - 1919, were high water marks in B.C. Baptist social advocacy. At the 1918 annual meeting, the resolution committee resolved:

In view of the certain increase of acute social and industrial, as well as serious religious problems which our country must face during the period of social reconstruction at the close of

¹⁴²Ibid., p. 140.

¹⁴³Ibid.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., p. 137.

the war, this convention requests the Baptist Union to take into serious consideration the desirability of a forward movement in the direction of denominational evangelistic and social service effort, first, by putting a qualified social service and evangelistic worker in the field. Second, by framing a definite policy of religious, social and industrial ideals. Third, by instituting an educational department, having in view a reasonable and efficient social service work in which our churches may exert their influence. 145

Responding to the advent of prohibition in British Columbia in October of 1917, the Convention pledged itself to the 'utmost endeavor to secure any necessary amendments to the present act, and procure for the Dominion statutory legislation prohibiting the manufacture and importation of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes.'¹⁴⁶ Regarding the question of the spread of venereal disease and the right to privacy of those suffering from the disease, the Convention resolved:

...that the provincial and federal governments be requested to take this whole question of sex delinquency, and the consequent spreading of this virulent disease, into consideration, with a view to the passing of legislation which will provide, first, for the compulsory notification by infected persons; second, reports by medical practitioners treating such cases; third, isolation in proper places under medical treatment of all such infected individuals; fourth, placing such restrictions upon infected persons who may make application for marriage as shall be deemed necessary to prevent the perpetuation of syphilis and other dire diseases arising from sexual immorality. 147

The resolution committee expressed its 'deep feelings of shame and regret' that the Dominion government had introduced an amendment to the Criminal Code raising the age of consent from sixteen to eighteen years and that the senate had chosen to throw the proposed amendment

¹⁴⁵1918 Year Book, p. 137.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., p. 138.

¹⁴⁷Ibid.

out. It was resolved that the Convention protest this action through proper channels. A more remarkable resolution dealt with the status of women in the Baptist ministry:

Whereas it may be admitted by the Mission Board last year that they had no solution to offer in regard to vacant fields, empty theological colleges, and the very urgent need of more trained workers; and, Whereas the State has been more ready than the Church to acknowledge the equality of the sexes, and has in our province removed the last barrier; therefore be it resolved that the Church, without delay, open the said college courses and the ministry of the Church to women on the same terms and recognition as men. ¹⁴⁸

After some discussion, it was reported by the committee, that the following resolution was moved and carried: "Inasmuch as all the privileges asked for in this resolution now before the meeting are already open to our sisters, Resolved, that the passing of such resolution is not necessary."¹⁴⁹ An important social question had been neatly sidestepped on a technicality.

The Social Service Committee report responded to a number of social issues. The committee first drew the attention of the members to the fact that the work of the committee was "largely that of registering efforts made in connection with the social service carried on by members of our churches in co-operation with other bodies and local organizations with which they are affiliated."¹⁵⁰ The report continued with an update on the committee's activities:

Among results of the work of previous years calling for gratitude, is the passing by the Provincial Government, at its last session, of an Act which aims at securing for women and girl

¹⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 138-139.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., p. 142.

¹⁵⁰Ibid.

workers in stores and factories, a living minimum wage. This marks one of the first single benefits to a large section of the community by the election of a woman, Mrs. Ralph Smith, to the Provincial House. Further legislation of a similarly just and humane character may be expected through the efforts of this same lady member in the near future. Pensions for widows and deserted children, insurance against unemployment, and the establishment of a Government Standing Board for the better adjustment of wages to the cost of living are among pressing questions that should be urged upon Parliament. 151

The committee reported that it regretted the resistance of the Police Commissioners of Victoria to the operation of the Lord's Day Act and the Police Commissioner of Nanaimo's 'tacit sanction' of a segregated vice district in that city. The committee suggested that a law should be enacted providing for the prosecution of police officials who failed to enforce laws that relate to commercial vice.¹⁵² The committee also recommended to the Convention that the churches give special consideration to the possibilities of service to the returned soldiers. Earnest consideration of labor problems was also urged and it was resolved that the Baptist Union of Western Canada be encouraged to realize that 'the time is ripe for the Baptists of the West to recognize the great importance of this branch of our denominational work, and to devise ways and means for its more vigorous prosecution on aggressive educational lines.'¹⁵³

The report of the British Columbia Convention Social Service Committee in 1919 responded at length to the larger subject of national

¹⁵¹Ibid.

¹⁵²Ibid.

¹⁵³Ibid., p. 143.

social reconstruction. The committee prefaced its report with the following general statement:

We are meeting as a Convention at a time when the industrial world is facing the greatest crisis in its history. Social unrest and economic discontent which have long been smouldering beneath the surface, at length have broke out in the Winnipeg strike, which threatens to spread through the whole industrial fabric of all of Canada.

Much sympathy is due labor in their attempt to obtain a higher standard of living, and a more equitable division of the profits of labor.

We are convinced that the only factor capable of bringing about desirable social reconstruction is the definite and constructive application of the principles of Jesus to the national, industrial, commercial, economic and personal relations of life. We cannot better express our view of the church's responsibility in this crisis, than to quote the declaration recently made by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America of the demand of the hour on the Christian Church. 'A more effective proclamation of fundamental verities; a new sense of world responsibility animating all departments of church life; a resolute effort to understand what a Christian social order in America should be and secure it; and a swiftly-increasing co-operation among the churches. 154

The resolution committee, drawing from this spirit of cooperation and unified effort advocated by the F.C.C.C., resolved:

That the teachings of Jesus are those of essential democracy, and express themselves through brotherhood and the co-operation of all groups. We deplore class struggle and declare against all class domination, whether of capital or labor. Sympathizing with labor's desire for a better day and an equitable share in the profits and management of industry, we stand for orderly and progressive social reconstruction instead of revolution by violence.... That an ordered and constructive democracy in industry is as necessary as political democracy, and that collective bargaining and the sharing of shop control and management are inevitable steps in its attainment.... That the first charge upon industry should be that of a wage sufficient to support an American standard of living. To that end we advocate the guarantee of minimum wage, the control of unemployment through government labor exchanges, public works, land settlement, social insurance, and experimentation in profit sharing and cooperative ownership.... We recognize that women played no small part in the winning of the war. We believe that

¹⁵⁴ 1919 Year Book, p. 134.

they should have full political and economic equality, with equal pay for equal work, and a maximum eight-hour day. We declare for the abolition of child labor; and for the provision of adequate safeguards to insure the moral as well as the physical health of the mothers and children of the race. 155

The resolution committee then put forward a list of local concerns in the area of moral and social reform. The church's inability to influence the returned soldiers needed to be addressed. Quoting from Rev. J.A. Huntley, the resolution committee argued:

If the church's message is 'piffle' and 'pap' and her method and mission unworthy of men who have identified themselves with a great cause for the good of humanity, to the very point of death, than it should repent and reform for her very life. But if she is swung away from steadfast adherence to principles and ideals by an over-anxiety to appeal to the returning men, if ethic or method will be altered simply to please them, then she will forfeit her right to claim their allegiance. For these men have been fighting for great principles. If the church can now demonstrate that she is the champion of an equally heroic cause, she will eventually win them. But no amount of amiable camouflaging of her ideals or ethics is going to trick them into an unsuspecting fellowship. 156

Another concern of the Social Service Committee was that of child welfare. It was reported that a number of cities had organized Child Welfare Leagues and real progress was being made in the areas of education and legislation. The committee also gave alarming statistics about children's disease. In the language of the day, the committee lauded the provincial government's provision of a home for "'mental defectives.'" ¹⁵⁷ Moving pictures were attacked for not being suitable for children's viewing let alone for adult viewing and the committee

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 135.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

advocated censorship or the removal of commercial movies and the limiting of movie making to the domain of education. It was also recommended that the Federal Government organize a Department of Child Welfare and that a thorough investigation be made of present conditions, followed by an active education program.¹⁵⁸

Gambling was also deplored, especially that taking place in Vancouver's Chinatown. The blame was laid directly at the feet of the mayor and police commissioners. The committee urged that race track gambling, outlawed as a war measure, continue to be illegal. The fact that the social evil was still rampant drew harsh criticism and the vigorous campaigns to rid British Columbia of prostitution were applauded. The committee praised the provincial government for passing several progressive reform measures during its last session including an act for the suppression of venereal disease. The Lord's Day Alliance was lauded for its efforts and the mining towns of the Kootenay region were assailed for allowing labor on Sunday. The "'allied forces of the liquor traffic'" were attacked with the committee accusing these people of deceptive propaganda and the manipulation and the distortion of facts. Members of the convention were encouraged to continue to fight against this evil. The "'promiscuous'" use of prescription drugs was also condemned and loss of medical licenses was advocated as a deterrent. Regarding national prohibition, the senate was again attacked for ignoring the will of the people. Blame was placed upon Quebec as a roadblock to prohibition along with the American modifications to liquor

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

laws. The tobacco habit also came under criticism with the increased use of tobacco by soldiers and young men and schoolboys the main irritant.¹⁵⁹ The committee's position on the tobacco evil was clear:

We cannot overestimate the waste and unthrift, the loss of athletic skill and physical vigor, the lowering of mental activity, and the deadening spiritual effect. Therefore we urge upon our churches the importance of a systematic, scientific educational propaganda against this evil. We advocate legislation making it illegal for young people under eighteen years of age to be given or sold tobacco in any form. We further deplore the leadership of boys passing into the hands of men whose example encourages the tobacco or cigarette habit.¹⁶⁰

The 1921 resolution committee dealt with many of the same social concerns of that of the 1919 committee. The 1920 annual meeting had not paid as much attention to moral and social reform and the 1921 report would be the last substantive response to social issues for a decade. Unemployment, ministerial disabilities, disarmament, prohibition and industrial unrest, were all treated at some length. The resolution on unemployment read much the same as past years:

Whereas the conditions of unemployment prevailing throughout Canada are notorious, and have become a source of keen and wide-spread suffering among large numbers of workers.... Resolved that this convention...respectfully urge upon the Provincial Government to institute a full and exhaustive investigation into the causes of, and remedies, thereof.¹⁶¹

In regard to ministerial disabilities, the convention resolved to request that the provincial government amend the statutes in order to place all ministers of religion on an equal footing with other citizens. On the issue of disarmament, it was resolved that the convention pledge

¹⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 136-137.

¹⁶⁰Ibid., p. 138.

¹⁶¹1921 Year Book, p. 150.

its unqualified support behind any policy that attempted to bring about the general disarmament of the nations of the world.¹⁶² The convention also reaffirmed its unwavering adherence to the principle of total prohibition of the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicants and pledged itself to the organization, education and other legitimate means of bringing British Columbia in line with other provinces where total prohibition existed. Church members were urged to scrupulously look for violations of the Liquor Act. Profit by the government from the sale of liquor and the use of these profits for schools and hospitals was to be resisted.¹⁶³ In the area of industrial unrest, the convention resolved to give its unqualified support to labor's just demands and reaffirmed its distaste of the idea that human labor was a commodity or article to be dealt with by the law of supply and demand. Management was urged to promote the welfare of their workers before the profits of business and encouraged to give workers a voice in determining the conditions under which they worked. The right of workers to unionize was also reaffirmed and the national extension of cooperative organizations in the area of production and distribution of goods was supported.¹⁶⁴ The rights of women in industry were also advocated:

The recognition of industrial rights of women, the assurance to them of equal opportunities with men in technical and vocational training; the determination of wages on the basis of service and not upon the basis of sex; the establishment of healthful

¹⁶²Ibid., p. 151.

¹⁶³Ibid., p. 152.

¹⁶⁴Ibid.

conditions of employment and an equal voice with men in the democratic control and management of industry. 165

Finally, the committee advocated "the freeing of racial and alien people" from economic discrimination and exploitation and recommended that the provincial government establish industrial councils of arbitration where all interested parties would be treated on an equal basis.¹⁶⁶ Over the course of an eight year period, the Baptists of British Columbia had responded through their social service and resolution committees to the entire gamut of "social ills" plaguing the province and the nation.

The Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba Conventions

The Baptist Conventions of the other Western Provinces paid much less attention to issues of moral and social reform at their annual meetings but the leaders of the Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba Conventions were more active on the Baptist Union level than their British Columbia counterparts. British Columbia Baptists, possibly due to their isolation but more likely because of their American Baptist mission heritage, chose to act more independently of the three prairie Baptist bodies. Nevertheless, the prairie Baptist Conventions attempted to identify and analyze social conditions and provide leadership in the area of social service. At their 1916 annual meeting, the Baptists of Saskatchewan prepared a report on social conditions that identified isolated vacant land held predominantly by business interests as a

¹⁶⁵Ibid.

¹⁶⁶Ibid.

'serious factor in the economic, social and religious development of the province.'¹⁶⁷ The report recognized the impact of the agrarian movement in the Province when it stated that:

An organization of great moral, and social, and indirectly, of spiritual potentialities, and one that the religious organizations cannot afford to ignore, is that of the Grain Growers. It is by far the most powerful single body in Saskatchewan to-day. It is shaping its programme for the material, moral and social uplift of the rural community.... Its present leaders are not hostile to religion, but in another generation it might be different, if the churches do not recognize and fulfill their obligation to enthrone Christ (Jesus) in all the institutions of men. ¹⁶⁸

The report proposed a revolutionary and expand land policy as an alternative to corporate ownership and as a fundamental religious, social and economic necessity.¹⁶⁹

Tackling the same issue, the resolution committee recommended that a survey of the moral and religious forces of the province should include the growth and power of the Saskatchewan Grain Grower's Association:

It has its program of material, moral and social uplift, and on the recent Grain Grower's Sunday, an announcement was made by its president that if the churches did not find means to unite the religious forces in the various committees for the meeting of the religious needs of the people the Grain Grower's would feel it incumbent upon them to take steps to relieve the situation. It behooves the churches to see to it that they do not fail of their great tasks through any considerations which are less important than the main mission of the Christian church.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ 1916 Year Book, p. 17.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 91.

As was indicated in D.R. Sharpe's reports to the Baptists of Saskatchewan earlier in the chapter, moral and social reform were of paramount importance to the convention.

The resolution committee of the Manitoba Baptist Convention responded to the prison reform issue in 1916, recognizing the "considerable discussion and agitation" within the province in regard to the methods employed by the province in dealing with criminals.¹⁷¹ The committee advocated that the province "be guided in its policies respecting prisons and reformative institutions by an enlightened and sympathetic public opinion."¹⁷² They further recommended that the Social Service Council of Manitoba, at this time headed by a Baptist, J. N. MacLean, initiate a study of prison reform within its programme of investigation and activity.¹⁷³ It was further resolved that the Convention give "its total support and approval" to the Social Service Council of Manitoba.¹⁷⁴

The resolution committee of the Manitoba Convention prepared a lengthy report on social issues during the annual meeting of 1921. The convention expressed its interest in all phases of the work carried on by the Social Service Council of Manitoba and pledged itself to work in closer cooperation with that body and to better educate the members of

¹⁷¹Ibid., p. 73.

¹⁷²Ibid.

¹⁷³Ibid.

¹⁷⁴Ibid.

the convention on questions related to social welfare.¹⁷⁵ Employing the language of the day, the committee resolved to deal with the problem of 'the feeble-minded.' Expressing the prevalent unenlightened approach to the mentally handicapped of the day, the convention resolved:

That this Convention view with approval the interest of the Government of Manitoba in the problem of feeble-mindedness and assure the Government that the civic and moral support of the Baptist people of this province is behind it in planning for the much needed care and training of the various classes of mental defectives and that the Convention desires to especially emphasize the view of immediate custodial care and training of those classes who by their presence in open community life are a menace to health, moral, and general social well-being. 176

The convention also expressed its satisfaction with the movement to secure a modern child welfare law in Manitoba and placed its emphatic endorsement upon its aims and goals. As in the past, the convention lobbied for a stronger more concerted effort on the part of the government in its policing of the liquor traffic. In the area of sex education, the convention offered its encouragement to those special branches of social research and education 'which have to do with the facts of sex in human life and all the social relationships dependent upon these facts.'¹⁷⁷ The convention declared itself in favor of a policy of education for parents, teachers and social workers 'to the end that social life may be purified by knowledge, by the use of chaste scientific language and by the application of Christian idealism to this the

¹⁷⁵Ibid.

¹⁷⁶1921 Year Book, p. 69.

¹⁷⁷Ibid., p. 70.

most difficult and most delicate problem of modern society.',¹⁷⁸ An appeal was made to the Federal Government to remove the clause from the Criminal Code that excludes those individuals who conduct horse races from being prosecuted under the law against commercial gambling. Finally, the convention expressed its deep regret and disapproval with the Manitoba legislature's decision to give ''its moral sanction'' to commercialized gambling in Manitoba.¹⁷⁹

The Baptist Convention of Alberta showed little interest in moral and social reform at the convention level although many of its leaders were active on a number of fronts in the war against the liquor traffic and the ''social evil'' and held prominent positions on the Baptist Union Social Service Committees. In a report to the annual meeting of 1921, entitled ''Some Conditions in Alberta to Which We Have Tried to Relate Our Work,'' the convention identified several areas of social concern and attempted to put forward solutions. In typical evangelical fashion, the report placed the blame for social decay upon the spirit of materialism, excessive pursuit of pleasure and the evils of liquor:

The Spirit of Materialism has always existed everywhere. But in these days, we feel the hot breath of this monster as he is pressing into our commercial houses, our homes and even into our churches.... Excessive pursuit of pleasure. This follows usually in the path of material success, the coming of the motor car, the moving picture theatre, questionable amusements, professional and amateur sports all are absorbing the minds of the people in greatly increasing numbers, taking them away from the influence of the Gospel.... We have a prohibition law in Alberta. It has done wonders to lessen drunkenness. The law is

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 70-71.

not enforced as it might be but this Hydra-Headed Monster, the Drink Traffic, is not easily destroyed. 180

On the subject of national church union, a movement that had garnered little support among Baptists in any part of the country, the Baptists of Alberta responded negatively:

Church Union. The religious atmosphere of the West is sur-charged with Union. It is on every Christian's thought and upon every Christian's tongue. Our Home Mission work is vitally related to this movement. We have very many small churches existing under the shadow of a Union Church. Can such churches continue to exist.... The time has come when we must show cause for our policy of separation and independent work. 181

By 1922, the Baptist Union of Western Canada was turning its attention away from moral and social reform issues and toward more theological and evangelical concerns.

Conclusion

Moral and social reform issues received a disproportionate amount of attention in Baptist circles over the course of the first fifteen years of the Baptist Union of Western Canada. The Social Service Committees, Boards of Moral and Social Reform and Resolution Committees, at both the Union and Provincial level, grappled with a variety of diverse and complex social problems of local, regional, national and international proportions. Almost always rhetorically reformist and progressive, the various Baptist Union and Provincial Convention committees argued for the establishment of far reaching municipal,

¹⁸⁰Ibid., pp. 28-29.

¹⁸¹Ibid.

provincial and federal government social reforms to check the spreading tide of moral and social decay.

Emanating from a seemingly Marxist critique of a society experiencing disintegrating moral and social values, the various Baptist spokespersons, organizers and activists advocated, in report and resolution form, a radical blueprint for societal reformation based on a well defined Kingdom of God ideal. Calling for the establishment of a new social order predicated upon the principles of liberal social democracy and located in the social teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, some key Western Canadian Convention Baptists, in the fashion of other Protestant denominations in Western Canada, attempted to respond constructively to the social crisis of the first two decades of the twentieth century.

It is abundantly clear that intemperance and the liquor traffic were the major irritants for the Baptist Union social and moral reform committees and departments. In the minds of most Western Baptists, the control, or better yet, the total prohibition of ''Demon Rum'' would serve as a panacea for all the social ills and vices of the day. Gambling, political and civic corruption, vices of all kinds, the ''white slave traffic,'' venereal disease, etc., all flowed from the use and abuse of alcohol. Other social problems: poverty, unemployment, militarism, violation of the Lord's Day Act, atrocious working conditions, inadequate housing, etc., although of grave concern to the various social service committees, were relegated to a lesser status behind the alcohol problem.

The sermons, lectures and addresses so prominently displayed in the Baptist Union year books reflected a much wider comprehension of

societal malaise. With a pronounced emphasis upon national and international programs for social and moral reform and a familiarity with the important relevant literature of the period, A.A. Shaw, H.F. Waring and D.R. Sharpe, spoke the language of American social Christianity. Trained by the leading social gospel figure in America, Walter Rauschenbusch, they articulated liberal evangelical solutions to society's social ills. In other words, the optimistic message of an immanent deity acting in history at a particular moment in time through the words, deeds and actions of Christian men and women of good will, would finally usher in the long awaited ''Kingdom of God on Earth'' in a very real and practical manner.

At the same time, on another front, the Baptist Union of Western Canada was building a denominational college with a liberal evangelical faculty, liberal curriculum, evangelical student organizations and graduates who were excelling at the highest levels of social service, mission endeavor and social reform politics.

CHAPTER IV

BRANDON COLLEGE AND SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY:

1908-1922

Introduction

In 1885, at a meeting in the newly dedicated First Baptist Church in Brandon, Manitoba, a committee of ten Baptist leaders decided to submit a plan to the annual meeting of the Baptist Union of Canada for a Baptist College in the West. The school would consist of Literary and Theological departments affiliated with the Manitoba University and McMaster University respectively. The committee, drawing from strong Eastern Baptist support for a Western College to train Western ministers, initiated the first concerted and cooperative effort on the part of Canadian Baptists to establish an educational presence in Western Canada. In 1899, Brandon College was founded and located above a downtown business block and A.P. McDiarmid of Woodstock College was installed as the first Principal. For forty financially fragile and theologically controversial years, Brandon College would provide a liberal arts and theological education for Western students from a variety of Christian denominational backgrounds. But the story of Brandon College really begins with the pioneer educational efforts of John Crawford of the Canadian Literary Institute and S.J. McKee of

Woodstock College and their efforts to create Prairie College and Rapid City Academy.¹

In 1879, John Crawford, an Edinburgh University and Regent Park College trained Irishman, of the Canadian Literary Institute in Woodstock, Ontario, made an exploratory trip to Manitoba with the intent of establishing a Baptist Academy to train ministers for Baptist work in the West. G.B. Davis, a Woodstock College and Morgan Park College trained minister, indicated his willingness to aid Crawford in the venture. C.C. McLaurin, then of Ontario, began a fundraising tour to help defray the initial expenses. In the spring of 1879, in Rapid City, Manitoba, Davis and nine students built a small two-storey stone structure with a basement dining room, two floors of classrooms and a first floor apartment for the Crawford family. In the fall of the same year, Prairie College opened with fifteen students enrolled. Crawford was the Principal and Davis was the Vice-Principal and carried the bulk of the teaching load. Burdened with debt from the beginning--both Crawford and Davis had invested their own money in the venture--the small prairie academy was doomed to failure from the outset and within a short period of time had closed.²

In 1884, S.J. McKee opened Rapid City Academy, initiating an eight year service to mature young people who had not had the opportunity to receive a high school education. With the growth of Brandon, twenty miles south of Rapid City, McKee decided to relocate in that

¹C.G. Stone and F. Joan Garnett, Brandon College: A History, 1899-1967 (Brandon, Man.: Brandon University, 1969), pp. 4-12.

²Ibid.

thriving community and in 1890, moved the academy to Brandon. Enrollment grew and despite financial difficulties, the Academy became an integral part of Brandon's religious and educational life. With growing denominational support nationwide, the realization of a Baptist College in the West began to take on a more concrete shape. With financial support from prominent Ontario Baptist and the fund-raising efforts of A.J. Vining, the Superintendent of Missions for the Baptist Convention of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, the dream of a Baptist College in Western Canada became a reality. Incorporating much of Brandon Academy and utilizing the administrative and teaching skills of S.J. McKee, Brandon College in its third incarnation--there was one more to come--began its long tenure as a Western Manitoba institution of higher education and a fertile milieu for intellectual, theological and social debate.³

During the tenure of A.P. McDiarmid, the school was organized into four departments; Liberal Arts, Commerce, Theology and Music and a fifth department, Swedish, was created. From the outset, McDiarmid lobbied for a Provincial Charter for Brandon College. Notable faculty members recruited during the McDiarmid period included H.L. MacNeill, H.P. Whidden, D.C. Macintosh, D.A. MacGibbon, W.Sherwood Fox and P.G. Mode.⁴ Through the presidencies of A.P. McDiarmid and H.P. Whidden, Brandon College took on the atmosphere of a Liberal Arts college, successfully or unsuccessfully, in the Ivy League mold. Through the

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., pp. 69-77.

presidencies of F.W. Sweet, David Bovington and the acting presidency of H.L. MacNeill, and finally with the long tenure of J.R.C. Evans, a commitment to academic excellence pervaded the college curriculum and programs. With the graduating class of 1930, which included T.C. Douglas and Stanley H. Knowles, the small Baptist school on the prairie was ready to establish a reputation that would spread far beyond the narrow confines of Baptist endeavor and the geographical boundaries of Manitoba and the prairie west.

This chapter will introduce to the reader the prominent educators at Brandon College who contributed to the development of a liberal arts curriculum and a liberal evangelical bias undergirded by a pronounced 'social gospel' philosophy and world view. A particular emphasis will be placed upon the social service and social reform legacy of Brandon College graduates from the period 1904-1930.

Educators

D.C. Macintosh belongs only briefly to Western Canadian Baptist history yet his story reflects the importance of Brandon College as a fertile terrain for the germination of social activism and advocacy. D.C. Macintosh was born in Breadalbane, Ontario in 1877 and educated at McMaster University and the University of Chicago where he received his Ph.D. in 1909. From 1907 to 1909, he was a professor of Biblical and Systematic Theology at Brandon College. While at Brandon College he took a considerable interest in the College Evangelistic Band, an organization that carried on a social as well as a evangelical ministry. Teaching at Brandon during the school year and studying at Chicago in the summer, Macintosh, like so many Brandon College figures, became a

part of the McMaster-Chicago-Brandon Connection. In 1909, he was recruited by Yale University Divinity School and appointed Assistant Professor of Theology and Philosophy, a position he held until 1916 when he became Dwight Professor of Theology and Philosophy of Religion. From 1920 to 1938, he was the chairman of the Department of Religion. While in New Haven, Macintosh was well known for his Y.M.C.A. work and social activism in numerous civic organizations. In 1929, he received national notoriety when he became involved in a court case revolving around his avowed pacifism. He was refused American citizenship by the U.S. Court of Appeals because he refused to bear arms in an unjust war. Although he had served as a Chaplain with the Canadian Forces in England and France and also served as a Y.M.C.A. Secretary in France. In 1930, citizenship was granted by the U.S. Court of Appeals and in 1931 denied by the U.S. Supreme Court. D.C. Macintosh was the author of numerous books, most of which reflected his controversial social liberalism. Of those, God in a World at War, The Pilgrimage of Faith in the World of Modern Thought and Social Religion were the most influential. D.C. Macintosh remained, after his retirement at Yale, an active participant in social Christian dialogue in both the United States and Canada.⁵

H.L. MacNeill was born in Bruce County, Ontario in 1871 and was educated at McMaster University, receiving a B.A. in 1890 and a second B.A. in Classics in 1894. After further study at the Toronto College of Pedagogy, he taught Latin at McMaster University from 1895 to 1898. A

⁵ McMaster News, July 1931 and October 1946; Who's Who in America, Vol. II (1943-1950), p. 337; D.C. MacIntosh Biographical Files, CBA and BUA.

brief teaching appointment at Washburn College in Topeka, Kansas was followed by an offer from Brandon College to become a professor of New Testament and Greek and Latin. In 1903, H.L. MacNeill began a long and eventful career at Brandon, a career that would influence a diverse collection of Baptist social Christians and a legacy that transcended theology, doctrine and ideology. While acting as Dean of Arts from 1912 to 1929 and Interim President from 1924 to 1927, he profoundly played a creative role in the development and direction of the small Baptist prairie college. With a leave of absence from Brandon in 1910, he completed a Ph.D. at the University of Chicago. When MacNeill resigned from Brandon College in 1929, at the height of the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy, he accepted the pastorate of Fairview Baptist Church in Vancouver, a church fast becoming a model for Western Baptist social gospel. He served Fairview Baptist until 1932 when he received an appointment as professor of New Testament at McMaster University, a position he would hold until 1942. Never a political radical, McNeill influenced by example, stressing the inclusivity rather than the exclusivity of the Christian ideal. As will be indicated later, his impact upon his students, among them Tommy Douglas and Stanley Knowles, arose out of his humanitarian approach to Christian doctrine and theology and a critical appraisal of New Testament teachings. Like many of his colleagues at Brandon College, H.L. MacNeill's legacy of social liberalism had national implications.⁶

⁶ J.R.C. Perkins, ed, Summer in His Soul: Essays in Honour of Harris L. MacNeil, Scholar, Teacher, Churchman (Hamilton, ON.: McMaster Divinity College, 1969), pp. 508, CBA; McMaster University (Footnote Continued)

A.P. McDiarmid was born in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia in 1852. Like C.C. McLaurin he was educated at Woodstock College and was strongly influenced by Dr. R.A. Fyfe. He received a B.A. from the University of Toronto in 1875 and graduated with his M.A., in 1876 winning the Silver Medal for distinguished scholarship. He also attended Rochester Theological Seminary for a brief period and after a brief stint as an examiner in Metaphysics and Logic at Woodstock, he pastored Baptist churches in Clarence, Strathroy and Port Hope, Ontario. After accepting the position of Principal of Brandon College, McDiarmid immediately began to recruit a faculty to teach liberal arts and theological courses and at the same time began a long and unsuccessful attempt to gain a Provincial charter for the school. In 1911, with no prospects of receiving a provincial charter, Brandon College affiliated with McMaster University, an arrangement that would endure until 1939 when Brandon College became a public Manitoba College. While still principal of Brandon College, McDiarmid served as the President of the Baptist Convention of Manitoba and the North-West Territories. After his retirement, he held the position of President of the Baptist Union of Western Canada for a one year term. His interest in Baptist foreign missions was expressed in his activity as the President of the Foreign Mission Society and his enthusiastic efforts to secure a Baptist mission in Bolivia. McDiarmid had also at one point served as Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec. Long after his retirement at Brandon College, the Baptist Union of

(Footnote Continued)

Contact (December 3, 1971), p. 1, CBA; H.L. MacNeil Biographical Files, CBA and BUA.

Western Canada honored him with the title of Honorary President of Brandon College. McDiarmid's long career as Baptist educator, foreign mission organizer and layman administrator reflects a lifetime of social activism in the service of the Baptist Union of Western Canada. His pioneer educational efforts at Brandon College influenced a diverse group of denominational leaders whose impact upon Canadian society transcended the limited confines of Baptist work in Western Canada.⁷

H.P. Whidden, one of the more controversial Baptist figures of the period, was born in Antigonish, Nova Scotia and educated at Acadia University and McMaster University, where he received his divinity degree, and the University of Chicago Divinity School, where he received a Ph.D. After a pioneer pastorate at Morden Manitoba, Whidden was appointed professor of Biblical Literature at Brandon College in 1900. From 1903 to 1912, he pastored the reputedly liberal First Baptist Church of Dayton, Ohio, where he established himself as a distinguished leader in the Northern Baptist Convention. With A.P. McDiarmid's retirement at Brandon College in 1912, Whidden accepted the appointment of President and began an illustrious career as a college administrator. In 1922, having established Brandon College as a viable liberal arts college, Whidden accepted the appointment of Chancellor of McMaster University, a position he had long coveted. As Chancellor at McMaster, he directed the school through the T.T. Shields controversy and undertook its move from Toronto to Hamilton and directed the school's

⁷ Ibid., pp. 1-13; McLaurin, Pioneering, pp. 297-304; Stone, Brandon College, pp. 69-77; A.P. McDiarmid Biographical Files, CBA and BUA.

expansion there. It can arguably be stated the H.P. Whidden was the architect of the modern McMaster University. After his long tenure at McMaster, Whidden served as the editor of the Canadian Baptist from 1941 to 1945.⁸

Other Figures

S.J. McKee, a pioneer in Baptist educational work in Western Canada, probably belongs in the pioneer section of this chapter but will be treated briefly as an educator. He was born in Wellesley, Bruce County, Ontario in 1849 and was educated at the University of Toronto graduating in 1872 with the Governor General's Award. After an eight year teaching career at Woodstock College, McKee moved to Manitoba and founded Prairie College in Rapid City in 1879. Prairie College later became Rapid City Academy in 1891 and was the forerunner of Brandon College. After the closing of the Academy at the end of the decade, McKee was appointed Vice-President and Registrar of the new college in Brandon. He also held an appointment as Professor of Philosophy at Brandon College until 1924. His legacy to Western Baptist educational endeavors was his successful efforts to create a Baptist liberal arts college on the prairie which was dedicated to humanitarian as well as theological ideals.⁹

⁸Canadian Baptist, April 15, 1952, p. 14; Toronto Daily Star, March 31, 1952 and April 2, 1952; G.P. Gilmour, Tribute to Chancellor Whidden, McMaster University, April 1952, CBA; Stone, Brandon College, pp. 79-105; McLaurin, Pioneering, pp. 305-308; H.P. Whidden Biographical File, CBA and BUA.

⁹Stone, Brandon College, pp. 8-10, 14; Western Baptist, October
(Footnote Continued)

Peter G. Mode is another enigmatic figure in the same mold as H.P. Whidden. Educated at the University of Chicago, he held the position of professor of Church History at Brandon College from 1908 to 1912. During the same period he shared editorial duties on the Western Outlook and was active at the executive level of the Baptist Union of Western Canada. Mode went to Brandon College from the pulpit of Broadway Baptist Church, Winnipeg. Leaving Brandon College in the middle of the decade, he received an appointment as Professor of Church History at the University of Chicago. P.G. Mode's influence as a scholar at Brandon is obvious, yet his role in advancing social advocacy and activism is questionable but he remains an example of the liberal intellectual strain that competed with the liberal evangelical thrust so prevalent at Brandon College.¹⁰

Other faculty members, that were recruited during the McDiarmid years, included W. Sherwood Fox and D.A. MacGibbon. MacGibbon taught political economy and Fox taught Greek and French at Brandon and both went on to distinguished academic careers elsewhere. MacGibbon, a McMaster graduate, was recruited by McDiarmid while working as a reporter for the Toronto Star in 1908. He went on to finish a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, winning the Hart, Schaffner and Marx Prize of \$1,000.00 for his dissertation, a sociological treatise on Canadian Railroads. After leaving Brandon College, he chaired the Department of Economics at the University of Alberta before joining the

(Footnote Continued)

15, 1937; S.J. McKee Biographical File, BUA; McLaurin, Pioneering, pp. 293-296; Harris, Baptist Union, pp. 28-29.

¹⁰ McLaurin, Pioneering, p. 302; Stone, Brandon College, p. 33.

faculty of McMaster University.¹¹ MacGibbon's strong liberal critique is reflected in an article in the Western Baptist where he calls for a radical reform of Canada's prison system. He calls for improved physical conditions, reform of prison work and a review of the judicial process and questions the style of prison architecture, the organization of prison life and judicial procedure in general.¹² W. Sherwood Fox, another McMaster graduate with strong liberal leanings, received his Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University, and had taught briefly at Princeton in the Classics Department before going to Brandon. He later went on to the University of Western Ontario where he was a Dean and eventually the President of that institution.¹³ MacGibbon left a strong imprint upon the political economy curriculum at Brandon College.

Prominent faculty members recruited during the Whidden period included W.A. Macintosh, C.W. New and William Burton Hurd. All three had impeccable academic backgrounds and went on to distinguished careers elsewhere. W.A. MacIntosh became the Principal of Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario and later was the Vice-Chancellor at that school. C.W. New went on to a long career at McMaster, as did Hurd who also was a prominent member of the Research Council of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the Social Science Research Council of Canada. Hurd, a professor of political economy at Brandon College from 1921 to

¹¹Stone, Brandon College, p. 101; D.A. MacGibbon Biographical File, BUA.

¹²Western Baptist, January 1917, p. 2.

¹³Stone, Brandon College, p. 25; W. Sherwood Fox Biographical File, BUA.

1929, also served as Dean of Arts from 1929 to 1935.¹⁴ Samuel Overton, a student of Walter Rauschenbusch, served on the faculty from 1920 to 1922 and M.L. Orchard, also Rauschenbusch trained, taught on a part-time basis while he served as Pastor of First Baptist, Brandon. Both men were harbingers of things to come.

Other figures of note include Samuel Overton, a Rauschenbusch trained student, who taught at Brandon College from 1920 to 1922 and David Bovington, an English Baptist, who also studied under Rauschenbusch and was a former professor at Rochester and an assistant to President Strong. He was President of Brandon for two years, 1925-1926. Bovington was a graduate of Woods College, B.A. 1895, and Rochester Theological Seminary, B.D., 1899 and was the pastor of First Baptist, Cleveland when he received his Brandon appointment. He had also served Baptist churches in Windsor and St. Thomas, Ontario. F.W. Sweet, Rochester and Chicago trained, was the President of Brandon College in 1923. He had served as a Y.M.C.A. organizer in the United States and overseas during the First World War. Sweet's career was cut short by his untimely death just a year into his term at the college.¹⁵

¹⁴ 'Reminiscences' by Dr. D.A. MacGibbon, Dr. Robert Harvey, Dr. H.L. MacNeill and Dr. W.C. Smalley in a collection of historical essays, BUA; Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. XVI (May 1950), pp. 143-144; W.B. Hurd Biographical File, BUA.

¹⁵ Stone, Brandon College, pp. 107-114; McLaurin, Pioneering, pp. 308-309; F.W. Sweet Biographical File, BUA.

A Liberal Evangelical Bias

The faculty of Brandon College, from its inception in 1899, reflected a liberal bias towards theological education. Although A.P. McDiarmid and S.J. McKee brought an evangelical spirit to their pioneer educational work in Manitoba, their intent was to create a liberal arts college on the model of McMaster. Ministerial training was of utmost importance but the curriculum, in both arts and theology, imitated that of Eastern schools. McDiarmid recruited a teaching faculty that was comfortable with the 'new theology' which pervaded many of the elite Northeastern American colleges and theological schools. The new recruits may not have had a prestigious American graduate school education when they arrived at Brandon College but almost to a man they had received one before they left. Academic excellence in a liberal arts milieu was the model and a liberal theological bias was the rule.

A.P. McDiarmid and S.J. McKee were both graduates of the University of Toronto. McDiarmid won the silver medal for distinguished scholarship when he graduated from Toronto with his M.A. in 1876 and McKee won the Governor General's Award in 1872. Both men had impeccable educational qualifications. McDiarmid was an examiner at Woodstock College when he caught the attention of the leading figures in the effort to create a Baptist College in Western Canada and McKee went to Manitoba after an eight year teaching career at Woodstock College. They were honored with Doctor of Divinity degrees from McMaster early in their careers but neither received his Ph.D. That would be the exception rather than the rule for later faculty members.

H.P. Whidden was appointed professor of Biblical Literature in 1900 and taught until 1903 when he left Canada to pastor First Baptist Church of Dayton Ohio. While in the United States, Whidden had received

his Doctorate from the University of Chicago Divinity School during the 'hey day' of that schools 'social gospel' advocacy and activism. During his tenure at Brandon, Whidden promoted a curriculum heavily modeled on an Ivy League ideal. His skill as an administrator did not escape the board of McMaster University and in 1922 he was appointed chancellor of that institution.¹⁶ A viable liberal arts college was his legacy but he never came close to solving the financial problems that constantly plagued the small prairie college. Of all the Brandon College faculty of the period, he was the most enigmatic.

H.L. MacNeill, also McMaster educated, was hired as a professor of New Testament and Greek and Latin in 1903. MacNeill received his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago where he studied under the tutelage of such noted liberal scholars as Ernest deWitt Burton, Edgar J. Goodspeed and Shailer Mathews. His doctoral dissertation was published by the University of Chicago Press and critically acclaimed by New Testament scholars James Moffatt and E.F. Scott. Further studies at Oxford University and the Union Seminary Summer School on International Studies in Geneva, Switzerland, broadened the scope of MacNeill's liberal training. A strong supporter of the League of Nations, he founded a League of Nations Club in Brandon, organizing special events and securing special speakers over the last few years he taught at Brandon College.¹⁷ In 1922 MacNeill's liberal tendencies ignited a

¹⁶ Canadian Baptist, April 15, 1952, p. 14; Toronto Daily Star, March 31, 1952 and April 2, 1952; Gilmour, Tribute, CBA; Stone, Brandon College, pp. 70-105; McLaurin, Pioneering, pp. 305-308; H.P. Whidden Biographical Files, CBA and BUA.

'mini-theological controversy' which heralded an evangelical shift in direction for Brandon College. The implications of the H.L. MacNeill episode were not fully apparent until after his resignation from Brandon College in 1929. Tommy Douglas testifies to H.L. MacNeill's impact upon him:

He had a profound influence on me. He was a radical for his day, not in political or economic terms, but certainly in religious terms.... He had come to the conclusion, which is not uncommon now, but certainly was thirty years ago, that refused to accept a literal interpretation of the Scriptures.... Dr. MacNeill believed that Jesus was essentially a child of his time. He thought in the framework of his time, and therefore thought of the Kingdom of God as Jewish Prophets have thought of it for centuries. But he projected this and gave it a new meaning; rather than an earthly kingdom based upon power and might and on the sword, it was to be a Kingdom of the spirit in men's hearts, made up of righteousness and justice. This was considered fairly radical thirty or thirty-five years ago.... In the aggregate. It liberalized my views. 18

Douglas Clyde Macintosh and Peter G. Mode, two liberal scholars of note, played only a fleeting role in the Brandon College drama. Both men came to Brandon as rising stars in the Baptist theological firmament and stayed only briefly and then went on to notoriety in the United States. Both men pursued Ph.D.s at Chicago while on staff at Brandon College. Macintosh is best known for his battle to secure American citizenship and the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court to deny his request on the grounds that he refused to bear arms in an unjust war. His books on social religion and Christianity and war were widely read

(Footnote Continued)

¹⁷Perkins, Summer, pp. 5-8, CBA; McMaster University Contact (December 3, 1971), p. 1; H.L. MacNeill Biographical Files, CBA and BUA.

¹⁸Lewis H. Thomas, ed., The Making of a Socialist: The Recollections of T.C. Douglas (Edmonton, Alta.: The University of Alberta Press, 1982), p. 50.

during his lifetime. His contribution to social empiricism is well chronicled in the general texts that evaluate the period. Mode, on the other hand went on to a distinguished career as Church Historian at the University of Chicago Divinity School. His Bibliographical Guide to American Religion and Frontier Spirit of American Christianity were considered minor classics of the period.¹⁹

With the retirement of H.P. Whidden in 1922, Brandon College turned to Colgate-Rochester for leadership, recruiting first F.W. Sweet and later David Bovington. The events of the period, the Whidden resignation and MacNeill controversy, heralded a radical shift away from Chicago and toward Rochester. Sweet, Rochester and Chicago trained, had served as a Y.M.C.A. organizer in the United States and overseas during the First World War and was President of Brandon College for one college year, 1923-24.²⁰ Bovington, a Rauschenbusch trained Englishman, who had been a professor at Rochester as well as an assistant to the President of the seminary, served as President of Brandon College during 1925 and 1926.²¹ J.W.A. Stewart, after twenty years as a Dean of Rochester Theological Seminary, had gone to Brandon College in 1923 to teach History of Philosophy, Ethics, Apologetics and Comparative Religion. A short quote from the Baptist Union Year Book of that year describes Stewart's motives: "'Dr. Stewart has come to us, not on the basis of

¹⁹ McMaster News, July 1931 and October 1946; Who's Who, p. 337; D.C. Macintosh Biographical File, CBA and BUA.

²⁰ Stone, Brandon College, pp. 107-114; McLaurin, Pioneering, pp. 308-309.

²¹ Ibid; David Bovington Biographical File, BUA.

adequate financial compensation but in the spirit of missionary devotion to practical training for Western Baptists at Brandon College.'²² Although the period of Rochester influence was brief, a strong evangelical spirit was infused into the social and academic life of the school.

Although much harder to identify than the liberal tendencies within the Brandon College faculty during the period in question, the evangelical mood and spirit--a concern for spreading the social message of Christ--that was evident from the pioneer efforts of S.J. McKee and A.P. McDiarmid demands equal attention. It might be said, with an Eastern bias, that going to Brandon College was, in and of itself, an evangelical statement. McDiarmid had pastored small churches in Clarence, Strathroy and Port Hope, Ontario, before he became the pastor of the influential First Baptist Church of Ottawa. McMaster had bestowed the honorary Doctor of Divinity degree upon him while he was still a young man. His appointment to lead a new and inadequately funded educational institution in the prairie west belies a courageous but rather ill advised evangelical spirit.²³ S.J. McKee, who left a teaching career in Ontario, also displayed a formidable devotion to the Baptist educational endeavor in the West. Both men, in light of earlier failures, committed their lives to a vision of a Baptist College in Western Canada. In 1912, during his last year at Brandon College, McDiarmid, in a true ecumenical spirit, presided over a student body of

²²1928 Year Book, p. 53.

²³Smalley, 'McDiarmid,' pp. 1-13.

106 Baptists, 103 Presbyterians, 92 Methodists, 37 Anglicans, 8 Lutherans and 1 Catholic. McDiarmid's commitment to foreign mission endeavor is reflected in his Presidency of the Canadian Baptist Foreign Mission Society and his efforts to secure a Baptist mission for Bolivia. At one point he served as Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec.²⁴ W.C. Smalley, a graduate of Brandon College and a General Secretary of the Baptist Union of Western Canada, says of McDiarmid:

What Dr. R.A. Fyfe was to the Canadian Baptist work of his day, Dr. McDiarmid was to his. The one was the inspiration of the mission to India, the other of the mission in Bolivia; the one was the founder of Baptist educational work in Ontario, and the other in Western Canada. 25

H.P. Whidden distinguished himself as an administrator but also served as an example to Brandon College students when he represented the Brandon Constituency in Robert Borden's Union government during the years 1918 to 1922. Winning the largest proportional majority in Canada, he served as Party Whip and devoted himself to matters of immigration and scientific research. At the same time he continued to act as President of Brandon College. Whidden's major contribution to Brandon College was the establishment of a broad liberal arts curriculum and a strong emphasis upon liberal theological education.²⁶

The faculty member during the McDiarmid and Whidden years who seems to have made a lasting imprint upon the academic and social life

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid., p. 12.

²⁶Gilmour, Tribute.

of Brandon College, is H.L. MacNeill. An active counsellor of the Evangelistic Band and the League of Nation's Club as well as a strong promotor of the Y.M.C.A. and later, the S.C.M., MacNeill also served in almost every teaching and administrative capacity. Tommy Douglas, in commenting on H. L. MacNeill's response to the attacks by fundamentalists upon his theological beliefs, observes:

It didn't take me very long to realize that he had much more of the spirit of Christ than the people who were attacking him for not being a Christian. Although he was reviled, he reviled not in return; despite the attacks made upon him he never indulged in personalities. When he was called before boards of inquiry, as he sometimes was, he answered questions truthfully.... He had certain convictions which were the result²⁷ of his studies, and he stated them honestly and fearlessly.

When he left Brandon College in 1929, MacNeill accepted the call to pastor Fairview Baptist Church in Vancouver, appropriately a congregation that had already developed somewhat of a reputation as a ''social gospel'' church.

During his short tenure at Brandon, D.C. Macintosh took a considerable interest in the Evangelistic Band, acting as a counsellor for the two years he taught at the school. P.G. Mode served as an editor of the Western Outlook, the Baptist Union periodical, during a period when the paper highlighted social issues and social concerns. M.L. Orchard and D.R. Sharpe, occasional instructors at Brandon College, brought a strong Rauschenbuschian tinged social emphasis to college life. F.W. Sweet and David Bovington infused a Rochester flavor of evangelical social Christianity into the Evangelistic Band and other

²⁷Thomas, Recollections, p. 51.

college activities. H.L. MacNeill's interim presidency from 1926 to 1928 continued to instill a liberal evangelical mood and spirit.

A "'Social Gospel'" Curriculum

The college curriculum, for the most part, reflects a typical liberal arts philosophy of education. In the 1914-15 and 1925-26 calendars, the courses were listed under the headings of History, Philosophy and Theology as well as Geology, Biology, Chemistry, etc. The Theological Department was organized into three areas; Church History, Systematic Theology and Practical Theology. Under the heading of "'Church History,'" modern missions were explored. Comparative religion and Christian ethics were included under Systematic Theology. Evangelism and Religious Education were located in the area of Practical Theology. The two areas of the curriculum that appear most relevant to this discussion are Political Economy and Sociology.

The course descriptions in Political Economy describe at some length the major focus and organization of each course. Under the title "'Introductory Political Economy,'" students were introduced to topics like "'Money, Credit and Banking'" and "'Capitalistic Organization,'" as well as "'Tariffs, Trade and Commercial Policy'" and "'Public Finance and Taxation.'" Major subject areas such as "'Labor Problems,'" "'Trade Unionism'" and "'Socialism'" were discussed at length.²⁸ Under the title "'Capitalistic Organization,'" the following quote sums up the topics of discussion:

²⁸Brandon College Calendar, 1914-15, pp. 36-38.

Growth of modern capitalism, of large-scale production and combination, representative trusts and corporations, their character, advantages, methods and evils, the law on restraint of trade, control of corporations and of trusts. 29

Under the title "'Labor Problems,'" the following themes are highlighted:

Origin and development of current labor problems. The legal and economic status of labor, methods of industrial remuneration, the minimum wage, women and child labor, prison labor, immigration, industrial accidents and their compensation, industrial diseases and their prevention, factory inspection, industrial education, etc. 30

Under the title, "'Trade Unionism,'" special attention is directed towards the "'aims, essential principles and characteristic methods of unionism.'" ³¹ Under the title, "'Socialism,'" the following is emphasized:

An examination of socialistic thought; the socialistic indictment of capitalism; the socialistic analysis of economic organization; schemes of social reform, a history of the movement in representative countries and an estimate of its power and value. 32

Under the larger subject heading, "'Sociology,'" the following themes are stressed:

A discussion of the relation of sociology to the other social sciences; the methods of social science; definitions and concepts in sociology; the origin of social life; the role of instinct, feeling, intellect, imitation, sympathy, and public opinion in social control, and their relation to social order and social progress. A more particular study of representative social groups, their origin, forms, development and function; an examination of the social problems such as poverty, crime,

²⁹ Ibid., p. 36.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., p. 37.

dependency, insanity, disease, intemperance, divorce;
discussion of theories of social amelioration and progress. 33

A course in 'Ethics' and 'Metaphysics and Ethics' in the Department of Philosophy and a course in 'Christian Ethics' in the Department of Theology complemented the material in Political Economy and Sociology. A course in Ethics treated '...the psychological analysis of moral phenomena, the use of ethical theory, the problem of a moral standard, the different methods of discovering and treating the facts of morality,...'³⁴ Metaphysics and Ethics introduced the student to '...the study of the philosophy of Kant' and 'Post-Kantian idealism' as well as Hegel with the intent to '...reach a definite theory of knowledge and of being, and to show its relation to morality and religion.'³⁵ This was complemented by a course in Christian Ethics which included '...a careful consideration of the ethical teachings of Jesus and their practical application to the affairs of life.'³⁶

A course in Comparative Religion introduced the student to other religious traditions and included '...a comparison of the essential truths of Christianity with the ruling conceptions of the other great world religions and of the Christian Scriptures with the Sacred Books of other religions.'³⁷ It also treated the '...nature and function of

³³ Ibid., pp. 37-38.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 39.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 40.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 51.

³⁷ Ibid.

religion in the life of man, the history of religion, and the origin and development of the Babylonian, Egyptian, Hindu, Buddhist and Confucian systems of belief.'³⁸ A course in the History of Modern Missions dealt with 'Christian Missions; principles and practices, significant missionary movements of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries; leaders of present-day problems in world evangelization and the conditions in non-Christian lands.'³⁹ Courses were also offered in the areas of Modern Evangelism and Religious Education which, for the most part, treated practical methods and techniques of evangelism, teaching and administration.

Student Organizations: A Liberal Evangelical Flavor

College organizations were aligned along liberal and evangelical lines of demarcation. The Literary Society and the Debating Society provided for a cultural and creative outlet and at the same time combined fellowship and community. The president of the Literary Society was always an important figure in college life. Alternate Friday evenings were reserved for programs that included a wide variety of vocal, instrumental, dramatic and literary entertainment.⁴⁰ Also on alternate Friday evenings, the Debating Society held contests between Brandon College participants as well as draw debaters from the Winnipeg colleges. Mock parliaments were also held, providing the opportunity

³⁸ Brandon College Calendar, 1925-26, p. 42.

³⁹ Brandon College Calendar, 1914-15, p. 50.

⁴⁰ Stone, Brandon College, pp. 36-37.

for public speaking and political debate. As will be indicated in the next section, graduates who later excelled in politics first distinguished themselves in the Debating Society. Religious organizations on campus included college chapters of the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. and later, after World War I, the Student Christian Movement, as well as the Student Evangelistic Band. These organizations combined religious worship with evangelistic social service and introduced Brandon College to the local community as well as rural districts surrounding the city.⁴¹

Some mention should also be made of the "'Brandon Institutes,'" that were held during the early summers of 1908 and 1909. These were academic retreats, modeled on a Chautauqua ideal. Participants in the 1908 Institute included J.W.A. Stewart, the Dean of Rochester Theological Seminary, later a faculty member at Brandon College, J.L. Campbell, of First Baptist Church, Cambridge, Massachusetts and C.R. Henderson, a noted social gospel writer from the University of Chicago Divinity School. Participants in the 1909 Institute included E.B. Bryan, the President of Franklin College of Franklin, Ohio, A.K. Debois of First Baptist Church, Chicago and H.P. Whidden then of First Baptist Church, Dayton, Ohio. All were noted liberal churchmen with strong social gospel leanings. A third Institute, that advertized the participation of Shailer Mathews, does not seem to have come to

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 39-40.

fruition. Social issues were the main topics of discussion during these retreats.⁴²

A sense of destiny, however idealistic, seems to pervade the college yearbook, The Sickle. A case in point would be the class of Arts 30 prophecy for Tommy Douglas: "'Then the scene shifts to Washington, where the president is welcoming the new Canadian Ambassador--the Honorable Tommy Douglas.'" ⁴³ While quality of education was stressed, elitism was not embraced, as is evident from a well placed quote in the December 1913 student newspaper, The Quill:

If the University of Toronto is travelling toward Oxford ideals, the west will scarcely follow her. We do not want an Oxford in Canada. We want a university for the people, not for the aristocrats. We are not desirous of creating caneswinging, monacled "'high brows.'" ⁴⁴

A further discussion of Brandon College graduates and their accomplishments might allow for a speculative assessment of the school's influence in the larger domain of education, home and foreign missions, social service work and social reform politics.

Graduates: A "'Social Gospel'" Legacy

It might be said that the pipeline that sent many of the faculty of Brandon College from Chicago to Brandon also served as a channel for sending Brandon graduates to Chicago for further training. On the one hand, it should be no surprise to the informed observer that Brandon

⁴²1908 Year Book, p. 64; Stone, Brandon College, pp. 55-56.

⁴³The Sickle, 1930, p. 26.

⁴⁴The Quill, December 1913, p. 21.

College graduates planning to do post-graduate work would choose the University of Chicago. The reputation of that institution of higher learning, a Baptist school heavily endowed by John P. Rockefeller, was established a few short years after its founding. Chicago was, in relative terms, accessible and desirable. The faculty of Brandon College, the majority with Chicago degrees, indicated an affinity for the school which probably held some influence. On the other hand, it would appear somewhat strange that few Brandon graduates, continuing on with their theological studies, chose McMaster for further training since the faculty at Brandon also shared, for the most part, the McMaster heritage. Arts graduates presumably chose Chicago because of the reputation of the graduate programs offered in a wide area of the arts and sciences. Few schools in Canada, with the exception of Toronto, could compete with the University of Chicago. Therefore, many of Brandon's best and brightest continued their studies at Chicago in a variety of disciplines. Their contribution to Baptist social Christianity in Western Canada and beyond is remarkable.

C.G. 'Kelly' Stone, Robert Harvey, Jennie Turnbull, Helen Mann, J.R.C. Evans and Tommy Douglas are cases in point that demand further attention. C.G. Stone received both a Chicago and Rochester theological education and returned to pastor churches in Brandon, Toronto and Edmonton. He also served the Baptist Union of Western Canada as the Chairman of the Baptist Union executive committee. On a national scale, Stone held the position of Chairman of the University Christian Missions

of the Canadian Council of Churches.⁴⁵ After a long association with Brandon College, he co-authored with Joan Garnett, also a Brandon alumnus, a history of Brandon College from 1899 to 1967.

Robert Harvey represents, in many ways, the classic example of Brandon-Chicago material. He was the President of the Debating Society, President of the college Y.M.C.A., editor of the Critic, department chairman of the Quill, chairman of the student council, scholarship medal winner, evangelistic band member and student pastor. Harvey pursued graduate work in theology at Chicago and after graduation was engaged in educational work among new immigrants under the auspices of the Y.M.C.A. He later embarked upon a long career of pastoral and social service work for the United Church of Canada.⁴⁶

Jennie Turnbull also represents a Brandon-Chicago 'over achiever,' serving the student body of Brandon College in a number of capacities: Vice-President of the Literary Society, Vice-President of the Arts Class, President of the Clark Hall Literary Society and President of the class of 1915. Graduating from the University of Chicago with a Ph.D. in French, followed by post-graduate work at the Sorbonne, Turnbull returned to Western Canada to serve as Dean of Women at Brandon College's Clark Hall from 1925 to 1927. Well known as a

⁴⁵Alumni News, Spring 1947, pp. 2-3; C.G. Stone Biographical File, BUA.

⁴⁶The Quill, June 1913, p. 15; Robert Harvey Biographical File, BUA.

writer and campaigner for women's suffrage she also is credited with developing the first public library in Brandon.⁴⁷

John R.C. Evans was another prominent Brandon College graduate who continued his studies at the University of Chicago, graduating with a Ph.D. in Geology. After an initial stint as a part-time instructor at Brandon College from 1917 to 1920, Evans became a professor of geology and chemistry in 1923. From 1923 to 1925, he was principal of the academic department and Dean from 1925 to 1928, when he became the President, serving in that position until 1959. His work with the Manitoba Association for Adult Education and the Brandon District League of Nations Society should also be noted.⁴⁸

Other alumni of note in the Brandon-Chicago connection include H.B. Cross,⁴⁹ who had an illustrious career as a missionary to India; Harold Bathos,⁵⁰ who earned a Ph.D. in physics at Chicago, taught at Brandon for four years before beginning a long career as a research scientist at the British Columbia Research Council and the British Columbia Cancer Institute; J.E. Moffat,⁵¹ who received a fellowship to do his Ph.D. in economics at Chicago and after further graduate work at the London School of Economics became the head of the Department of

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 35; Jennie Mason Turnbull Biographical File, BUA.

⁴⁸Brandon Daily Sun, June 15, 1963, p. 1; J.R.C. Evans Biographical File, BUA.

⁴⁹The Quill, Christmas 1910, p. 31; December 1913, pp. 37-39; Alumni News, Spring 1933, p. 3.

⁵⁰H.F. Bathos Biographical File, BUA.

⁵¹James Moffat Biographical File, BUA.

Economics at the University of Indiana, and Helen Mann,⁵² a graduate of the University of Chicago's School of Social Service and a Chautauqua campaigner in Ontario and Quebec before embarking upon a long career as a social worker. Axel Carlson⁵³ served as Baptist Young People's Secretary for the State of Washington and P.H. Peterson⁵⁴ carried on a successful Scandinavian mission work in B.C. One of the most renowned alumni of the Brandon-Chicago connection was Tommy Douglas who did post-graduate work in sociology at the University of Chicago before beginning his now legendary political career in Canada in the 1930's.

Brandon College, during the period in question, was a training ground for home and foreign missionaries, social service workers, educators, medical researchers and social reform minded politicians. Coming out of a liberal arts environment with an evangelical spirit, graduates of Brandon College excelled in a variety of endeavors falling within the boundaries of social Christianity. Graduates also made a substantial impact in the field of business with many achieving the upper ranks of leadership in that endeavor. The focus of this study limits the discussion of Brandon College alumni contributions to the former categories.

Archie Gordon, Bessie Turnbull, H.B. Cross, D.A. Gunn, H.H. Wolverton, E.H. Clarke, Leslie Glintz, E.J. Church, John Hart and Jean

⁵²The Quill, September 1928, p. 3; September 1931, p. 2; and Alumni News, Spring 1933, p. 3, and Spring 1943, p. 4.

⁵³The Quill, November 1912, p. 35.

⁵⁴The Quill, April 1926, p. 55.

Cameron all served as missionaries to India.⁵⁵ Among these Archie Gordon remains a celebrated name in Baptist mission history. He would later teach Modern Missions at Brandon College. Leslie Whitelaw⁵⁶ and Leslie Glinz⁵⁷ served as missionaries to China and Mae McLacklin⁵⁸ and Andy Rutherford⁵⁹ went to Japan. A.S. Olson⁶⁰ worked in the exotic surroundings of Tangiers, Morocco. On the home front, R.H. Standerwick⁶¹ began his long ministry in Western Canada as a superintendent to a Chinese mission in Calgary and G.W. Mayse⁶² worked with the native Canadians of St. Peter's Reserve in Manitoba. Don Kennedy⁶³ and H.S. Bagnall⁶⁴ both served as home mission workers in the Peace River Country. W.C. Smalley⁶⁵ was Superintendent for Missions in Manitoba and

⁵⁵Alumni News, February 20, 1943; The Quill, December 1922, p. 51, and February 1925, p. 53; The Quill, Christmas 1910, p. 31, and Christmas 1913, pp. 37-39; The Quill, November 1912, p. 35; The Quill, December 1914, p. 44; The Quill, March 1913, p. 38; The Quill, February 1924, p. 43, and December 1925, p. 48; Ibid.; The Quill, April 1926, p. 56; Ibid.; in order of appearance.

⁵⁶The Quill, March 1913, p. 38.

⁵⁷The Quill, February 1924, p. 43.

⁵⁸The Quill, December 1912, p. 42; November 1923, p. 37, and February 1925, p. 53.

⁵⁹The Quill, February 1925, p. 53.

⁶⁰The Quill, December 1926, p. 51.

⁶¹The Quill, March 1913, pp. 33-37.

⁶²The Quill, November 1911, p. 41.

⁶³The Quill, December 1912, p. 42.

⁶⁴The Quill, March 1917, p. 49.

⁶⁵W.C. Smalley Biographical File, BUA.

later the long time General Secretary of the Baptist Union of Western Canada.

In the arena of social service a number of Brandon graduates excelled with some developing a national and international reputation. H.S. Sneyd,⁶⁶ after a term as General Secretary of the Edmonton Y.M.C.A. became the General Secretary for the Y.M.C.A. for all of Japan. The aforementioned H.S. Bagnall⁶⁷ served as the Secretary of the Social Service Council of Alberta. May Reid⁶⁸ moved through the ranks of McGill's School of Social Work as instructor of social care work and later as supervisor of field workers. R.T. Terrier⁶⁹ held the position of Superintendent of Indian Education for the Dominion of Canada and the aforementioned E.H. Clarke⁷⁰ was the national secretary for the student Y.M.C.A. and Secretary of the Student Christian Movement of Canada. D.R. Poole⁷¹ was the Boy's Work Secretary for the National Council of the Y.M.C.A. Mildred McKee⁷² held the position of Directress of the Home Branch of Soldier's Settlement Work for Manitoba, Saskatchewan and

⁶⁶The Quill, Christmas 1912, p. 33; Christmas 1913, pp. 37-39, and November 1921, p. 51.

⁶⁷The Quill, March 1917, p. 49.

⁶⁸The Quill, April 1924, p. 46.

⁶⁹The Quill, December 1922, p. 52.

⁷⁰The Quill, November 1915, p. 41; March 1915, p. 39; November 1916, p. 53, and December 1922, p. 52.

⁷¹The Quill, March 1918, p. 48.

⁷²The Quill, March 1921, p. 55.

Alberta. Olive Freeman,⁷³ later Olive Freeman Diefenbaker, was a noted special education worker. C.S. Elsey⁷⁴ was the president of the Convention of Western Union Churches and a signator of the Basis of Union of the United Church of Canada in Toronto in 1925.

Brandon College graduates played an extraordinary role in Western Canadian provincial and Canadian Federal politics sending an disproportionate number of representatives to provincial legislatures and the federal parliament. Among these, Armand Stade⁷⁵ represented Maple Creek, Saskatchewan, as a member of the C.C.F.; Don Kennedy⁷⁶ represented the Peace River Country as a Liberal in the Alberta Legislature; Hubert Staines⁷⁷ served as Minister of Education in a Liberal government in Saskatchewan; Douglas Campbell⁷⁸ was a long time M.L.A., first as a Farmer's Party candidate and then as a Liberal Progressive and later Premier of the Province of Manitoba; J.C. Bowen⁷⁹ was an M.L.A. and the leader of the Liberal opposition in the Alberta legislature and later Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Alberta; Stanley Knowles,⁸⁰ and Tommy Douglas,⁸¹ contribution to Canadian

⁷³Olive Freeman Diefenbaker Biographical File, BUA.

⁷⁴Harvey, ''Reminiscences,'' p. 23, BUA.

⁷⁵Alumni News, Spring 1935, p. 2.

⁷⁶The Quill, April 1922, p. 60.

⁷⁷Smalley, ''Reminiscences,'' p. 29, BUA; Hubert Staines Biographical File, BUA.

⁷⁸Ibid; The Quill, December 1922, p. 52.

⁷⁹R.C. Bowen Biographical File, BUA.

politics is so well documented that it does not require further elaboration. Both men excelled in the Literary and Debating Societies. Both men were also active participants in S.C.M. and the Evangelistic Band. With the possible exception of Douglas Campbell, the overriding mark of the political record of the aforementioned remains a social reform mindset and a commitment to social and liberal educational ideals. Almost to a man, pastoral experience was an essential part of their political outlook and a influencing factor in the development of their social conscience.

Conclusion

Assessing and evaluating Brandon College in the context of social Christianity is a speculative exercise at best. That aside, it is quite possible and plausible to identify major characteristics within the liberal, evangelical and social attitudes of the faculty, the social substance of the course offerings, the liberal and evangelical emphasis of the student organizations and the "social gospel" contributions of the alumni in the fields of education, medicine, missions, social service and reform politics, and from there argue for a unique and particular model of Baptist liberal evangelical social Christianity. It does not fit the model so insightfully described by Richard Allen and Stewart Crysdale and neither should it. It does not have to. Although American and Eastern Canadian influences are clearly evident, the milieu

(Footnote Continued)

⁸⁰ Stanley Knowles Biographical File, BUA.

⁸¹ T.C. Douglas Biographical File, BUA.

in which Brandon College existed was typically Western Canadian and agrarian. Brandon College for all its pretensions was a small Baptist college in the prairie west. The faculty of Brandon College were middle class and bourgeois but the students, on the other hand, came from farms and modest homes throughout the West. They were met with a liberal educational philosophy, an evangelical mood and temperament, and more importantly, a social Christian emphasis. This broad mix, as reflected in the accomplishments of Brandon College graduates, contributed to a positive and reformist spirit and resulted in a rather remarkable social legacy in a relatively short period of time.

Brandon College, like similar denominational colleges, was created to provide a training ground for Baptist ministers in Western Canada and later evolved into a broad based post secondary liberal arts institution. To suggest that the faculty of Brandon College shared an ideological and theological world view with the Western Baptist constituency would stretch the limits of credulity. Brandon College, not unlike Wesley College in Winnipeg, represented a separate solitude, out of the mainstream of denominational activity yet essential to the development and growth of denominational social and educational initiatives. The faculty of Brandon College, as has been clearly indicated, was trained in liberal theology, reflected an American social gospel bias and stressed an intellectual model for social and moral reform. There is no question that the faculty leaned toward elitist ideals. For the most part, they were trained in American elitist institutions of higher education. All that aside, Brandon students arriving from small farming communities, rural villages and the larger urban centres across Western Canada, received their first introduction to

liberal evangelical ideals through their contact with these
''progressive'' thinkers. To put it more succinctly, they were
'liberalized' at Brandon College. The social gospel legacy of Brandon
College is clearly evident in the actions and deeds as well as the
career choices of Brandon graduates. It is a remarkable legacy indeed.

CHAPTER V

THE BAPTIST UNION OF WESTERN CANADA AND NON-ENGLISH WORK: 1908-1922

Introduction

Baptist non-English mission work in Western Canada during the period 1908-1922 remains both an enduring liberal evangelical and a conservative evangelical legacy in Canadian Baptist mission history. In order to adequately assess the impact of the Baptist mission effort during the period in question, it is necessary to retrace each non-English initiative back to its formative expression. Predominant themes that demand attention include the nascent attempts by Manitoba and Northwest Convention Baptists to open non-English mission fields in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, provide trained ethnic speakers as mission workers and engage Ontario and American Baptists in a cooperative mission effort. This chapter will provide a narrative history of each non-English mission work beginning with the initial attempts at surveying and studying the feasibility of organizing a comprehensive non-English mission effort. Drawing from a diverse body of historical sources including historical sketches, mission pamphlets, brochures, letters and periodical and yearbook reports, an attempt to assess and evaluate the impact of the Baptist mission effort during the years 1886-1922, will be made. A particular focus will be directed towards the growth and development of the mission effort during the period 1905-1918. The role of Convention Baptists in the creation,

direction and organization of non-English work will be noted. A discussion of the contribution of individual non-English mission workers and organizers will also be given special attention. The social impact of Baptist Union non-English work will be analyzed in light of the failed attempt to assimilate the non-English Baptists into the Convention. Urban mission activity, a peripheral concern, will be treated in a cursory fashion.

German Work: 1886-1908

In the Western Baptist's Diamond Jubilee issue of May 1933, a writer recalls enthusiastically that a German Baptist mission in Winnipeg in 1889 was 'the first mission among foreigners in Western Canada (operated) by any Protestant denomination.'¹ The report also identifies a F.A. Petereit as the missionary and consequently an important early figure in the attempts of Baptist Convention of Manitoba and the Northwest to begin a mission work among German Baptists in Manitoba.² In July of 1885, the Manitoba Convention met at Brandon and initiated an effort to secure a German missionary from the United States to minister to German Baptist in Winnipeg. A Mr. J.B. Eschelman from Kitchener, Ontario had been conducting a Bible study in Winnipeg and corresponding with German Baptists in the United States thus serving as a liaison between the two groups. The Baptist Women's Society of the Manitoba and Northwest Convention took the initiative and in cooperation

¹Western Baptist, May 1933, p. 9.

²Ibid.

with the American Baptist Missionary Society and the Manitoba Missions Board promised Rev. F.A. Petereit of Minneapolis, Minnesota, funding for an exploratory missionary trip to Winnipeg and Southern Manitoba. The promised money was not forthcoming upon his arrival and private funds had to be secured.³ Travelling to the Mennonite colonies near Winnipeg and to the German communities near Regina on personal funds, Petereit planted the seed of German Baptist evangelical work in Western Canada. In 1886, near Regina at Edenwold, the first German Baptist church in the West was organized, primarily through the efforts of Rev. Petereit. His missionary trips into Alberta to Josephsburg, near Medicine Hat, and Calgary were the first of any German Baptist and would later lead to the formation of churches in those centres. In 1889, after several exploratory trips to the Yorkton area of Saskatchewan, Petereit helped organize a German Baptist Church at Ebenezer and subsequently a Brother C. Poehlman was secured by Ontario Baptists to pastor the fledgling congregation. The same year, German speaking Baptists from First Baptist Church, Winnipeg formed their own church.⁴

After the initial missionary activity arising out of the early work of Rev. Petereit, the Manitoba and Northwest Baptist Convention

³Mrs. J.R. McDonald, Baptist Missions in Western Canada, 1873-1948 (Edmonton, Alta.: The Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1948), p. 37; Thompson, Baptist Story, pp. 305-306; Western Baptist Jubilee, 1873-1923 (Edmonton, Alta.: Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1923), pp. 57-58).

⁴Thompson, Baptist Story, pp. 305-306; Holding the Line in Western Canada (Edmonton, Alta.: Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1935), p. 15; Crusading in the Canadian West: A Survey of Baptist Missionary Endeavor (Edmonton, Alta.: Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1928), pp. 13-14; Western Baptist, December 1932, pp. 12-13.

began to search for German speaking pastors to carry on the German work. In 1890, the Manitoba Mission Board provided a small grant to a Brother Fenske to allow him to expand an already thriving mission effort in the province. At the same time the Convention encouraged the existing churches to apply for membership in the Manitoba and Northwest Convention. In 1892, Rev. F.A. Mueller, a Polish born German educated Baptist, began a mission at Rabbit Hills near Leduc, Alberta. He later returned to Poland to recruit 100 families from his former church and brought them to Leduc where they settled. In 1898, Rev. Abraham Hager began a ministry in Alberta which would eventually spread to British Columbia. Initially organizing a church in Edmonton and visiting German communities in north central Alberta, Hager expanded his mission to Fort George (later Prince George) and visited points in between. He continued as a missionary pastor until his retirement in 1912. Rev. G.A. Schulte, the General Missionary Secretary of the Baptist General Conference of North America attended numerous Manitoba and Northwest Convention meetings and periodically travelled throughout Western Canada visiting the German settlements and laying the groundwork for German Baptist missions. Schulte's efforts would be a contributing factor in the later development of cooperative mission initiatives between the American and Canadian Baptist mission boards. With the duties of General Missionary becoming too heavy for W.H. Mueller who had held the job for a year, the Manitoba Board of Mission recruited Rev. William Schunke for the position. Schanke, who was an American also served as pastor of the Winnipeg church. The Manitoba Board also hired Rev. J.P.

Siemens as a Missionary Colporteur to distribute Bibles and religious tracts among the German and Ukrainian settlements.⁵

In 1902, the German Baptist churches came together as the Northern Conference of the General Baptist Conference of North America and held their first annual meeting at Leduc, Alberta. Rev. G.A. Schulte of the American German Baptist body was an active participant as were Manitoba and Northwest Convention representatives. The Northern Conference would remain affiliated with both bodies and the funding of the German work would be shared. By 1904, Rev. H. Schwender of the American Conference was holding revival meetings in the Edmonton and Leduc areas further complementing the missionary efforts of Rev. Abraham Hager. The following year, Rev. D.B. Harkness was appointed Supervisor of non-English work for the three prairie provinces with Rev. William Schunke remaining the Missionary Secretary for the Northern German Conference. In his Mission Survey of 1906, Rev. Harkness reported that the membership of the Winnipeg German Baptist church was 294. A church at Whitemouth, Manitoba had been organized with 56 members and J.R. Rempel, a Rochester Seminary graduate, was serving as pastor. Churches at Morden, Plum Coulee and Bethel in Southern Manitoba were continuing "amidst diversity."⁶ A new church with 31 members had been organized at Tabor, near Strasbourg, Saskatchewan and Ebenezer German Baptist Church, near Yorkton, Saskatchewan, was thriving with Rev. Ferdinand Bloedow as pastor. Progress was being made at Edenwold and Newton,

⁵Thompson, Story, pp. 310-313; Holding the Line, p. 15; Crusading, p. 14.

⁶Western Baptist, December 1932, pp. 12-13.

Saskatchewan, under the leadership of Rev. C. Poehlman with the membership at Edenwold numbering 87. Churches at Lemberg and Rosthern, north of Saskatoon, were also doing well. In Alberta, where the strength of German Baptists was most evident, churches at Josephsburg, Knee Hill Creek, West Wetaskiwin, Bittern Lake, Leduc, Edmonton, Glory Hill and Rabbit Hill, were all progressing well. Rev. F.A. Mueller was ministering to 315 members at his Leduc church and Rev. A. Hager boasted an attendance of 150 in Edmonton with a further 50 attending at the Ellerslie outstation. Rev. Edward Wolf of Glory Hill and Rabbit Hill, south of Edmonton, had a total membership of 75 members.⁷ As the German Baptist work neared its 20th anniversary in Western Canada under the direction and funding of the Manitoba and Northwest Baptist Convention in cooperation with the Baptist General Conference of North America, Baptists in the West were putting the final touches to a cooperative effort that would result in the creation of the Baptist Convention of Western Canada later renamed the Baptist Union of Western Canada.

German Work: 1908-1922

With the advent of the Baptist Union of Western Canada, cooperative efforts between Canadian and American Baptists continued, with the new Superintendent of German work, Rev. F.A. Bloedow, reporting annually to both bodies. Appointed Superintendent in 1909, replacing Rev. William Schunke in that capacity, Bloedow initially combined his mission

⁷ Ibid.; North-West Baptist, February 5, 1905, p.9; North-West Baptist, April 20, 1905, p. 7; North-West Baptist, July 16, 1906, p. 9; North-West Baptist, March 1, 1907, p. 5; North-West Baptist, February 1, 1908, p. 4.

duties with pastoral work at Ebenezer Baptist Church. He would later become full-time Superintendent of German Missions in 1911 and would serve in that capacity until 1916. In his report to the Baptist Union of Western Canada in 1909, Bloedow listed 19 German Baptist churches with 1,867 members spread over the four western provinces. There had been an increase of 8 churches since the creation of the Northern Conference in 1902. The report also listed 11 ordained ministers and 2 missionary colporteurs in the field with two new churches being organized over the previous year. There were 40 Sunday Schools with 1315 students and 123 officers and teachers and the home mission offering for the year had totalled \$1430.00. In a precise accounting of the previous year's work, Superintendent Bloedow reported 1164 sermons preached, 534 prayer meetings attended and 2359 pastoral calls made by the pastors in the field. The 2 missionary colporteurs had preached 251 sermons, attended 264 prayer meetings, made 4127 calls and distributed 7973 Christian books and 666 Bibles and New Testaments as well as 32,361 pages of religious tracts.⁸

By 1910, there were 22 German Baptist churches in Western Canada with 12 churches self-supporting. New church buildings had been dedicated at Strome and Irvine, Alberta and land had been purchased in Calgary. A new building had been constructed at Freedantail, Saskatchewan and structures were planned at Nokomis and Yorkton, Saskatchewan.⁹ In his 1913 report, Superintendent Bloedow recounted the

⁸1909 Yearbook, p. 99; Western Outlook, October 15, 1908, pp. 9-10; Western Outlook, December 15, 1908, pp. 3-6.

extraordinary growth of the German Baptist mission effort over the previous ten years. In 1902, there were 987 members attending 16 churches served by 13 pastors. In 1912, there were 2142 members attending 28 churches and 21 pastors and 2 missionary colporteurs serving 64 localities. Sunday Schools were up from 18 to 37 and offerings totalled \$34,837.70 in 1912 compared to \$4,721.75 in 1902. Home mission offerings had risen from \$333.00 in 1902 to \$1,601.17 in 1912. In 1912, four Rochester Seminary graduates were serving in the field and a new church had been organized and 5 new buildings of worship had been constructed. The mission budget of \$6212.18 was evenly shared between the Baptist Union of Western Canada and the American Conference.¹⁰ Reports of mission activity on the German field in the Western Outlook remained optimistic.

The glowing reports continued in 1914 with Rev. Bloedow citing an increase in membership of 285 for a total of 2402 and meetings being held in 29 churches and 16 missions. Two new churches had been organized over the year and five new pastors had arrived on the field joining a work force that was serving 52 regular appointments. The superintendent had visited 36 different points, travelling 29,158 miles by train and 1,596 by team, attending meetings as far afield as Chicago, Illinois,

(Footnote Continued)

⁹1910 Year Book, p. 12. See the Western Outlook, January 1, 1909, pp. 6-9; Western Outlook, March 1, 1909, pp. 6-7; Western Outlook, July 1, 1909, p. 4; Western Outlook, April 1, 1910, p. 7; Western Outlook, September 1, 1910, p. 6; for reports on German Baptist mission work in 1909 and 1910.

¹⁰1913 Year Book, pp. 21-24; Western Outlook, April 15, 1912, p. 11; Western Outlook, May 15, 1912, p. 6; Western Outlook, August 31, 1912, pp. 6-7; Western Outlook, November 1, 1916, p. 6.

Madison, North Dakota; and Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan; as well as his regular stops. Mission offerings totalled \$2,135.38 with financial support from the Baptist Union at \$3,000.00 supplemented by strong support from the American Conference.¹¹

The 1916 Year Book report included an enthusiastic endorsement of the support that both the Baptist Union and the American Conference were providing the German Baptist cause in Western Canada. Calling 1915 a banner year, the German Superintendent reported that 18 mission workers, including three students and 9 full-time workers, were in the field. Four men were training for the ministry at Rochester and prospects for further expansion were considered good. Church membership had increased to 2,816 and Sunday School enrollment was 1,013. Rev. F.A. Bloedow's assessment along with reports in the Western Outlook of the German Baptist situation remained optimistic. Rev. Bloedow had travelled 32,602 miles by train and 1353 by team serving 32 points and giving 110 sermons. The Union contribution remained the same as the previous year, \$3,086.90¹² but it was becoming obvious that financial support for German missions was waning.

By 1917, there were 34 German Baptist churches in Western Canada with half the mission budget still coming from the Baptist Union. The regional breakdown of churches was: 3 in Manitoba, 14 in Saskatchewan, 16 in Alberta and 1 in British Columbia. The total German Baptist

¹¹1914 Year Book, pp. 11-12; Western Outlook, January 15, 1913, p. 8; Western Outlook, April 15, 1913, p. 15.

¹²1916 Year Book, pp. 32-33; Western Outlook, January 1, 1915, p. 8; Western Outlook, January 15, 1915, p. 3.

membership was 2700 and growing and fifteen of the churches were self-sustaining while 19 were receiving mission funds. Two new churches had been organized during the previous year, at Craigmyle, Alberta and Fort George, British Columbia. A new meeting house had been dedicated at Rosenfeld, Saskatchewan, near Maple Creek. The Superintendent could report that finances were relatively sound with a total mission budget of \$6,915.32 providing for mission expenses, benevolent purposes and ministerial education. The Union had given \$2,604.23 and the rest had been raised from the American Conference and individual German churches. There was still a necessity for an increased work force as 11 churches were without pastors. The German church directory listed mission churches operating in both rural and urban settings from Calgary and Edmonton to Germantown, Beaver Hills and Plum Coulee.¹³

The 1918 and 1919 Year Book and Western Baptist reports on the German work continued in the same optimistic vein as had earlier reports. There was little indication that cooperative efforts between the American Conference and the Baptist Union were at a low ebb. In his report, the Superintendent called the previous year the "best in our history."¹⁴ The Northern Conference counted 35 churches with 3000 members and 18 men being supported on the mission field. With 202 new members through baptism along with 61 others and "spiritual revivals" reported at the Winnipeg, Leduc and Edmonton churches, the future appeared bright. The churches at Forestburg and Fort George had doubled

¹³1917 Year Book, pp. 28-30; Western Baptist, August 1918, pp. 5-6.

¹⁴1918 Year Book, pp. 29-31.

their membership and a student pastor at the Germantown mission church had ''instigated'' a revival and baptized 20 converts. Home mission offerings totalled \$1,833.00 for the year.¹⁵ Three new churches had been organized at Lockwood and Homestead, Saskatchewan and Moosehorn, Manitoba. The Germantown, Alberta and Serath, Saskatchewan churches had erected new buildings and a new chapel had been constructed at Esk, Saskatchewan. Parsonages had been built at Beaver Hills and Nokomis, Saskatchewan. Rochester graduates were continuing to return west to serve in the mission field. Twenty men were being supported by the Baptist Union at a cost of \$1,812.00 and 18 churches were receiving Union support. The General Mission Society of the General Baptist Conference of North America continued to be a strong supporting force of the non-English mission effort.¹⁶

Amidst these glowing reports a dark cloud hung over the Baptist Union-Northern Conference mission effort. In 1918, the North American Baptist General Conference had severed connections with the American Baptist Home Mission Society and with Baptist Union funding in 1919 down to \$1,465.00 and the bulk of Western Baptist mission funds coming from the American Conference, the Northern Conference was left with the decision to choose between the two bodies. When the Baptist Union extended an invitation to the Northern Conference to join the Union, the German Baptists declined the offer. In 1920, the Northern Conference cut

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ 1919 Year Book, pp. 47-51; Western Baptist, February 1917, p. 5; Western Baptist, May 1917, p. 7; Western Baptist, August 1917, pp. 6-7; Western Baptist, October 1917, p. 5.

its ties with the Union and affiliated with the General Conference of German speaking Baptist Churches in America. The last Superintendent's report to the Baptist Union was decidedly ambivalent. After a number of years of solid growth no new churches were reported and membership in the 38 German Baptist churches had stabilized. The Calgary church had closed but the Winnipeg church was thriving. Although the ties between the North American German Baptists and the American Baptist Home Mission Society had been severed, the contribution of Rochester graduates was still being lauded. Relations between the Baptist Union and the Northern Conference would continue to be cordial but the 20 year experiment in cooperative German Baptist missions had come to a rather regrettable end.¹⁷

Swedish Work: 1894-1908

Although the first Scandinavian Baptist service in Western Canada was conducted by Rev. A.P. Ekman, a General Missionary from the United States, at the home of Mrs. M. Peterson in Winnipeg in 1884, the roots of Swedish mission work in the West are found in the efforts of Rev. Martin Bergh of Minnesota and North Dakota and were initiated, once again, by the Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society of Manitoba and the North West. With a grant of \$300.00 from the Women's Mission Society, Rev. Bergh visited the Winnipeg area in 1894 and conducted special services in the city and throughout Southern Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario. Under the direction of Rev. Bergh, Rev. Alexander

¹⁷Thompson, Baptist Story, p. 232; 1921 Year Book, pp. 23-25.

Grant of First Baptist, Winnipeg and H.G. Mellick, the Superintendent of Baptist Missions in Western Canada, the first Scandinavian Baptist church was organized in Winnipeg in 1894. The church would later be named Alexander Grant Memorial Baptist Church to commemorate the pivotal role that the pioneer Baptist minister played in its formation. Consisting of a mixture of Danish, Swedish and Norwegian Baptists, the congregation met in the upper floor of a rented hall, held Sunday School in a hotel and conducted baptismal services in a nearby English Baptist church. Rev. Bergh remained in Canada for a brief period and held special services in Scandinavian communities in such far flung centres as Rat Portage, Ontario (Kenora), Burnt Lake, Wetaskiwin, New Norway and Calgary, Alberta and Norman, Manitoba, laying the foundation for later Swedish missionary activity in Western Canada.¹⁸

In 1896, Rev. Martin Stolberg, the District Missionary of Western Minnesota pastored Grant Memorial Baptist Church and also visited Lethbridge, Red Deer and Wetaskiwin Scandinavian communities. Out of the combined efforts of both American missionaries and the financial funding of the Women's Mission Society of Manitoba and the North West, mission churches were organized at numerous points throughout the prairie provinces including Hilltop, Manitoba, in 1896; Battle River,

¹⁸Western Baptist, May 1933, p. 13; McDonald, Missions, pp. 41-42; Thompson, Baptist Story, pp. 324-326; W.C. Smalley, On the Western Front (Edmonton, Alta.: Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1941), p. 6; Walter Daniel, The West as a Mission Field (Toronto: Standard Publishing Co., 1912), pp. 9-11; Canadian Baptists: At Work Under the Great Commission in Western Canada (Edmonton, Alta.: Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1928), p. 6; Crusading, pp. 14-15; Jubilee, pp. 52-54; Letter to Mrs. J.R. McDonald from L. Hultgren, April 7, 1948, CBA.

Alberta, in 1900; and Midale, Saskatchewan, in 1903. On a return missionary visit in 1903, Rev. Bergh helped organize Swedish churches in Wetaskiwin and Calgary. During the period 1903-1905, Swedish churches were also organized at Tyndall, Manitoba; Wadena, Saskatchewan; and Beaver Lake and Camrose, Alberta. In 1905, the Swedish General Conference in the United States sent Rev. F. Palmborg as a missionary evangelist cementing the American commitment to Swedish Baptist missions in Western Canada. By 1906, the Swedish churches had formed a Conference with Rev. C.C. McLaurin, the pioneer Baptist missionary, serving as field Superintendent. A cooperative experiment, similar to the German example, had been initiated between the Canadian and American bodies. By 1907, 17 churches with 372 members made up two conferences; the Swedish Central which included Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Northern Ontario; and the Alberta Swedish Conference, which included Alberta and British Columbia. The organization of the Swedish Department at Brandon College in 1907, with Prof. E. Lundkvist as the first teacher, indicated a commitment on the part of the Baptist Convention of Western Canada to the Swedish Baptist educational and mission effort. When the Scandinavian Conference of Alberta met in Wetaskiwin in 1909, Dr. A.P. McDiarmid, President of Brandon College, gave the keynote address, using the opportunity as a platform to promote the Scandinavian Department of Brandon College.¹⁹

¹⁹Thompson, Baptist Story, pp. 326-328; North-West Baptist, February 5, 1905, pp. 9-10; North-West Baptist, February 20, 1905, p. 8; North-West Baptist, May 5, 1905, p. 3; North-West Baptist, November 15, 1905, p. 9; North-West Baptist, January 1, 1906, p. 7; North-West Baptist, February 1, 1906, p. 10; North-West Baptist, March (Footnote Continued)

Swedish Work: 1908-1922

The Swedish Conference of Alberta report to the Baptist Union annual meeting in 1909 applauded the outstanding work of Rev. C.C. McLaurin, the field Superintendent. In an address to the Conference, Rev. McLaurin emphatically pointed out:

...the need of co-operation between the Scandinavian brethren and the English Board; the distinctive work that the Scandinavian Baptist had to do among their own people; their duty in extending the bounds of their field of labor to new and heretofore untouched settlements;... 20

The resolutions passed by the Alberta Swedish Conference in 1909 reflect the close ties between the English and Swedish Baptists. It was resolved that:

...we express our thankfulness to the Western Baptist Convention for their christian sympathy and brotherly interest, and for their liberal support in promoting and maintaining our work...(and) that we seek their aid and assistance and solicit their helping hand in the future as they have upheld us in the past...(and) that we recognize the value of the educational work of Brandon College, and that we heartily appreciate the privilege and opportunity afforded, especially our young Swedish people in the Scandinavian department...(and) that we convey our thanks and appreciation to Prin. A.P. McDiarmid, D.D., for the interest in our work...(and) that likewise, we are indebted to our Field Superintendent, Rev. C.C. McLaurin, for his untiring services in keeping our work before our English brethren besides his helpful advice and ministry as he visits our churches. 21

In his mission report to the Baptist Union in 1910, Superintendent Rev. Fred. Palmberg announced that three churches had been

(Footnote Continued)

1, 1906, pp. 6, 10; North-West Baptist, March 15, 1907, p. 10; North-West Baptist, August 15, 1907, p. 5; 1909 Year Book, pp. 51, 101-102.

²⁰1909 Year Book, p. 101.

²¹Ibid., p. 102.

organized in the previous year at Trossacks, Saskatchewan; Water Glen, Alberta; and Matsqui, British Columbia. Rev. N.J.L. Bergen was serving as a missionary in Edmonton and had organized numerous Sunday Schools there. P.A. Peterson, a Brandon graduate, had given 33 sermons and addresses and travelled 7,680 miles, making 1147 pastoral calls as a missionary worker. The Superintendent had travelled to 35 different places between Port Arthur, Ontario and Vancouver, British Columbia during the year. Rev. Palmborg concluded his report by stating that; 'The Baptist Union had laid the foundation of a great work among the Scandinavians of this country....'²² By 1911, the Swedish work in Western Canada consisted of 22 churches with 500 members. Two new churches had been organized during the year at Metishow, Alberta and Vancouver, British Columbia. There were 21 workers in the field including 6 that were students at Brandon College. The total work effort consisted of 642 weeks of labor, 1675 sermons preached, 736 weekly meetings attended and 4043 pastoral calls made. The Superintendent had spent 52 weeks on the field and visited 45 different places one or more times, giving 286 sermons and addresses. The Baptist Union had contributed \$6,700.00 to the Swedish work supplemented by \$3,000.00 from the American Swedish Baptists. The Scandinavian churches had given \$1,194 to the mission effort.²³ During 1912, Rev. Fred. Palmborg had

²²1910 Year Book, pp. 59-63; Western Outlook, July 15, 1907, p. 4; Western Outlook, August 1, 1910, pp. 8-9; Western Outlook, September 1, 1910, p. 6; Western Outlook, September 15, 1910, p. 7.

²³1913 Year Book, p. 26; Western Outlook, May 1, 1911, pp. 4-5; Western Outlook, April 15, 1912, p. 11; Western Outlook, May 15, 1912, p. 7; Western Outlook, October 15, 1912, pp. 11-12.

resigned his position as Superintendent of missions and had been replaced by Rev. J.P. Sundstrom.

In a full report to the Baptist Union in 1915, Rev. Sundstrom lauded the efforts of the four student pastors from Brandon College who had spent five months on the field, attending 133 meetings, preaching 252 sermons, resulting in 49 conversions. The membership of the Swedish churches had increased to 777 and Sunday School enrollment was 479. Two new churches had been organized at Little Woody and Stockholm, Saskatchewan. The Baptist Union continued to provide half of the funding for the Swedish work.²⁴ By 1916, Scandinavian work in the urban areas of Western Canada was beginning to subside while rural membership was increasing. With grants from the American Swedish Baptists reduced, pressure had been placed upon the Baptist Union to increase its funding for the Swedish work. Nascent efforts at initiating a Norwegian mission program were hampered due to lack of funds. The number of churches remained the same but new buildings had been erected at Water Glen and Edmonton. There was a slight decrease in membership but the Scandinavian department at Brandon College was thriving under the direction of Prof. C.H. Lager who had replaced Prof. Lundkvist as director of the programme. A total of 35 churches and preaching stations were being served in the field.²⁵ Prof. Lager's missionary travels along with a band of Brandon College students received a special mention by the Superintendent in the 1917 report. Serving on the field

²⁴1915 Year Book, pp. 23-24; Western Outlook, December 1, 1914, p. 4.

²⁵1916 Year Book, pp. 38-31; Western Baptist, August 1918, p. 6.

from June 5th until October 1st, the group had visited mission churches throughout the West. With 19 workers ministering to Norwegian, Danish and Swedish Baptists, attendance in 1917 stood at 822 and the number of churches and preaching stations totalled 57. Sunday School attendance had risen to 625 and workers in the field had made 2093 pastoral visits. The work load of the Superintendent was extremely heavy, including 52 weeks visiting 42 different churches and preaching stations one or more times, 223 sermons and addresses, 108 prayer meetings and 68 committee and church meetings. The Superintendent had logged a total of 26,417 miles over the previous year.²⁶ Over the course of the year, five Brandon College graduates had been ordained to the Western ministry and had served churches at Stockholm and Midale, Saskatchewan; Camrose and Battle River, Alberta; and Port Arthur, Ontario. Among these, Axel Carlson and H.F. Widen would take on an increasingly active administrative role in the Conference.

Swedish Baptist work in 1918 and 1919 continued apace with Brandon College students playing an ever increasing role in the work. The Matsqui and Vancouver churches were being aided by Brandon students and A.H. Johnson's Stockholm church had seen its membership triple in three years. Baptist Union mission funds were supporting 21 workers in the field.²⁷ An indication of some malaise in the Swedish mission effort was reflected in the fact that some mission areas were neglected and others had been discontinued. The withdrawal of funding from the

²⁶1917 Year Book, pp. 26-27; Western Baptist, February 1917, p. 5; Western Baptist, August 1917, p. 6.

²⁷1918 Year Book, pp. 26-27.

American Baptist Home Mission Society over the course of the year was causing a financial strain and the increased need for more money from the Baptist Union to establish missions in new areas was of paramount importance. A continued demand for an evangelist to hold revival meetings throughout the West on a regular basis remained a priority for the Swedish Conferences. The Baptist Union had set aside \$8,000.00 for the Swedish mission effort but in reality, the Swedish Baptist mission effort was beginning to suffer from a severe shortage of workers. The number of workers in the field had fallen off sharply over the years 1916 to 1918 as had the number of churches and preaching stations served. The high cost of living was a major contributor but the lure of larger churches in the bigger centres was also a cause. Underfunding of the mission effort by the various Baptist bodies was a major irritant. The Superintendent's report to the Baptist Union in 1919 carries an undercurrent of desperation and disillusionment over the Union's degree of commitment to the mission effort. Rev. Sundstrom had visited 60 places over the year and had travelled 28,235 miles and the other mission workers had seen their work load increased as well but funding was down. Despite the muted criticism of Baptist Union mission resolve, the report gave a glowing endorsement of the efforts of Rev. C.R. Sayer, the general Secretary of the Baptist Union, on behalf of the Scandinavian churches.²⁸

In many ways the Swedish Baptist situation in 1920 and 1921 paralleled that of other years. With 15 missionaries on the field,

²⁸ 1919 Year Book, pp. 30-31.

including two students, and 17 churches and 40 outstations being served and membership stabilized at 643, the mission effort remained a somewhat diminished priority of the Baptist Union Mission Board. Rev. Sundstrom's report to the Union had become a desperate call for increased funding. Bemoaning the deteriorating conditions in the Swedish mission effort due primarily to poor working conditions and abysmal salaries, the Superintendent requested an increase in Baptist Union funding for the following year. Intimating a movement toward the American Swedish Conference as a source of funding, Sundstrom also announced a planned Forward Movement program as a means of raising mission funds. The 1921 report indicated a further collapse of Baptist Union support for the Swedish mission effort. With only 8 workers in the field earning poor salaries, the Union had dramatically cut its contribution while the American Swedish Conference had dramatically increased its contribution to the mission effort. A Forward Movement implemented over the previous year had helped considerably. Membership was up to 725 and a new work had been organized at Percival, Saskatchewan. The relationship between the Swedish Conferences and the Baptist Union remained strained.²⁹ Efforts by the Baptist Union to improve conditions in the Swedish work were duly noted in the 1922 Year Book report. A grant of \$11,000.00 had made a difference but the mission effort was still critically underfunded. Nevertheless, with only 9 workers in the field, new churches had been organized at Strasbourg, Saskatchewan and Eagle River, Ontario. A long sought after

²⁹1921 Year Book, pp. 15-16.

missionary evangelist had preached 206 sermons and made 326 calls which resulted in 35 conversions. Two Sunday Schools had been formed along with 2 Women's Circles. The evangelist had travelled 18,530 miles over the year. Membership remained constant in the 700 range. In his report, Rev. Sundstrom lectured the delegates on the 'rising social crisis' in the Swedish Baptist domain and called for a renewed concern for the physical as well as the spiritual needs of Scandinavian Baptist in Western Canada. With the retirement of Rev. Sundstrom in 1922 and the appointment of Rev. J.P. Erickson to the position, an era in Baptist Union-Swedish Baptist relations had come to an end. Cooperation between the two bodies would continue until 1948 but the problem of underfunding and diminished grants during the critical years 1918-1922, would remain an irritant.³⁰ For all intents and purposes, the Baptist Union had ceased to play a constructive role in the Swedish Baptist work by 1922.

Norwegian Work: 1905-1908

Although there is a tendency to group the Norwegian Baptists with the Swedish Baptists, the roots of a separate and distinct Norwegian mission effort can be traced back to the initial missionary efforts of Rev. J.O. Wold from South Dakota in 1903. Rev. Wold made an exploratory mission trip to Alberta that year, helping to organize a church in Camrose and remaining to pastor the new congregation. He later organized a mission church in nearby Killam, Alberta and from 1904 to 1907 continued to actively engage in mission activity in the area. In 1905,

³⁰ 1922 Year Book, pp. 28-31.

a Rev. E.S. Sundt, a homesteader in Cartwright, Manitoba, preached to Norwegian Baptists at a number of points in the province. Both Rev. Sundt and Rev. Wold remained in Western Canada, laying the groundwork for a cooperative Norwegian Baptist mission effort between Swedish Baptists and the Baptist Union of Western Canada.³¹

Norwegian Work: 1908-1922

When the newly formed Norwegian Baptist Conference of North America met in 1910, Canadian mission work was made a top priority. Rev. E.S. Sundt was commissioned to make a survey of the Manitoba field with the designated purpose of initiating a mission work in the province. After holding special services in the Birch Hills-Bracepeth area of Saskatchewan, Sundt was instrumental in organizing a church there in 1911. He was followed by a student preacher, C.N. Stabell who ministered to the congregation during the summer of 1912. From this rather inauspicious beginning the flagship Norwegian Baptist church in Western Canada was founded. Stabell would go on to pastor the Camrose Norwegian Baptist church from 1915 to 1917 and Rev. Sundt's mission efforts in the Winnipeg area would result in the organization of a Norwegian Baptist church. In 1915, a group of Norwegian Baptists left Grant Memorial Baptist Church to form Bethel Norwegian Baptist church with Rev. Sundt as one of the original pastors. Rev. N.K. Larson, the General Missionary for the American Norwegian Baptists, who had been

³¹H.G. Jorgehson, Norwegian Baptist Churches in Western Canada, Pamphlet, CBA; Smalley, Western Front, pp. 14-15; Holding the Line, p. 10; Canadian Baptists, p. 7; Crusading, p. 17; Jubilee, p. 54.

conducting special services in Winnipeg, served as a co-pastor. Rev. A.A. Bronnum, an American from North Dakota, was also active in the Norwegian Baptist mission effort, representing the British and Foreign Bible Society in Norwegian communities throughout the West.³²

In 1914, the Baptist Union of Western Canada's Women's Board allotted \$300.00 for Norwegian work in Western Canada and commissioned Rev. N.K. Larson to make a three month study of the mission field. Larson's mission endeavors resulted in the formation of the Winnipeg church as well as a Sunday School and Ladies Aid Society in Robsart, Saskatchewan. Larson also visited Birch Hills and Kingman, Alberta where large Norwegian communities were, for the most part, without Baptist services. A cooperative effort between the American Norwegian Baptists and the Baptist Union, through the work of Rev. Larson and Rev. Sundt led to the formation of churches in both Birch Hills and Robsart. In his first 100 days in Western Canada, Rev. Larson had attended 80 meetings, made 237 pastoral calls, organized a Norwegian Baptist church in Winnipeg as well as several church societies. His efforts in the mission field encouraged the Baptist Union's General Board to give a sympathetic hearing to a request from the American Norwegian Baptists for \$800.00 towards the Norwegian Baptist mission effort.³³

The 1917 Year Book reported increased interest in the Norwegian Baptist mission effort with two students employed in the field and the newly formed Robsart church progressing well. Funding was extremely

³²Ibid; McDonald, Missions, pp. 46-47.

³³1914 Year Book, p. 26; 1915 Year Book, pp. 25-26.

scarce but indications of further grants were encouraging. The 1918 report acknowledged the ongoing work of the Winnipeg church which was now being pastored by Rev. J. Simpson. Membership was 22, with 9 new members. The Robsart church was paying half of the pastors salary.³⁴ In 1918, a Rev. O. Breiding conducted evangelistic services in the Bracepeth-Birch Hills district and reported a number of conversions and baptisms.³⁵ The same year the Norwegian Baptist work came under the supervision of Rev. Sundstrom, the superintendent of the Swedish work, with representation from the Norwegian churches, the Baptist Union and the Norwegian General Conference of North America.³⁶ In 1921, Rev. J. Simpson of Bethel Baptist Church in Winnipeg became the Norwegian General Missionary for Western Canada. By this time, the Norwegian Baptist work in Canada was being jointly sponsored by the Baptist Union and the American Conference,³⁷ a cooperative work that continued until the late 1940s. With infrequent reports in the Year Book, the Western Outlook and Western Baptist, the amount of financial support during the years 1915-1922, appeared to be adequate.

Ukrainian Work: 1898-1908

The roots of Ukrainian Baptist Mission endeavor can be traced back to the arrival in Canada of Rev. A.H. Nickolaus of Romania in 1886.

³⁴1918 Year Book, pp. 26-27.

³⁵Jorgehson, Historical Sketch.

³⁶1920 Year Book, p. 38.

³⁷1921 Year Book, p. 18.

Bringing his family from Romania and settling in Saskatchewan, Rev. Nickolaus began to minister to a small colony of Ukrainians. A move to Liberty, North Dakota, led to the formation of the first Ukrainian Baptist church in North America in 1901. Meanwhile, the Women's Home and Foreign Mission Society of the Manitoba and Northwest Convention, as was their custom, began to pursue a mission initiative among the ''Galician'' colonies in the prairie provinces. With a modest grant, a Pastor George Burgdorff of Borden, Manitoba was persuaded to minister to Baptists of Russian origin in Manitoba. Not being proficient in the language, Borgdorff's mission effort failed and he returned to minister in English Baptist churches in Emerson and Dauphin, Manitoba. The next year, the Manitoba Mission Board hired a J.P. Siemens as a missionary colporteur, to minister to Russian Baptists in Southern Manitoba. The further appointment of Brother Sylvester Muzlow as a ''Ruthenian'' missionary was approved by the Manitoba Mission Board but also resulted in failure due to lack of language skills. Despite the failure to secure adequate missionary workers to carry on the Ukrainian work, the first Ukrainian Baptist church in Canada was organized at Stuartburn, later Overstone, Manitoba in 1901. Representatives from the Manitoba Convention who had fought long and hard for the Ukrainian Baptist cause included H.G. Mellick, A.P. McDiarmid, A.J. Vining and D.B. Harkness. The first three individuals gave addresses at the opening of the Stewartburn church.³⁸

³⁸ McDonald, Missions, pp. 44-45; Smalley, Western Front, pp. 8-14; W.C. Smalley, ''Ukrainian Baptist Work Through Fifty Years'' Home Mission Digest (1955), pp. 116-120; Holding the Line, pp. 11-13; (Footnote Continued)

The year 1904 marked a turning point in the Ukrainian Baptist mission endeavor due to two events. First, a young Ukrainian Baptist, Mykyta Krivetsky, who was visiting Winnipeg, met with a group of Ukrainian Baptists in the home of Ivan Shakotko, a local sailor and active mission worker. Through the efforts of these two men, the first Ukrainian Baptist church in Winnipeg was organized. Secondly, Rev. D.B. Harkness, pastor of the Emerson Baptist church and Manitoba Baptist mission organizer, was appointed Superintendent of the Ukrainian work with a mandate to learn the language and organize mission churches and train mission workers. Although Harkness would serve in that position only a short period of time, his contribution to the Ukrainian mission effort was profound. During the following year, both Ivan Shakotko and Mykyta Krivetsky were ordained to the Ukrainian Baptist ministry and became pastors of the Winnipeg and Overstone churches respectively. The same year, William Boobis was hired as a missionary colporteur to Alberta which resulted in the organization of a Ukrainian Baptist church in Leduc. By 1906, pastors were ministering to churches in Overstone and Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canora, Saskatchewan, and Edmonton, Alberta. During the years 1906-1908, Ukrainian Baptist churches were organized in Elbow, Hyas and Pertroph, Saskatchewan. With the advent of the Baptist

(Footnote Continued)

Crusading, pp. 14-16; Daniel, Mission Field, p. 11; J. Monus, Hungarian Work in Western Canada (Edmonton, Alta.: Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1933), pp. 1-11; A Salute to Ukrainian Baptists (Edmonton, Alta.: Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1969), pp. 1-4; Jubilee, pp. 60-62.

Union of Western Canada, the Ukrainian Baptist mission effort had become a priority in the minds of prominent Western Baptists.³⁹

Ukrainian Work: 1908-1922

The first annual meeting of the newly formed Ukrainian Baptist Conference within the Baptist Union of Western Canada, was held in Canora, Saskatchewan in May and June, 1909. With the title, Russian and Galician Evangelical Conference, Canada-wide, the conference installed Rev. Ivan Shakotko as President and Rev. J. Artmenko of the Winnipeg Ukrainian church as Secretary. Issues that demanded intensive scrutiny were a religious paper, Sunday School development and the need for a General Missionary for the mission field. The following year saw the continued development of existing churches as well as a broadening of the field. Rev. Eugene Diduke, a layman from the Hyas church, was responsible for establishing that congregation as one of the strongest in the conference. He would later serve as a missionary to Northern Alberta, helping to found the Leduc church and preaching as far afield as Franchere, Tomahawk and Spirit River, Alberta. With the appointment of D.B. Harkness to the position of General Secretary of the Baptist Union of Western Canada in 1911, the Superintendent of German Baptist

³⁹Thompson, Baptist Story, p. 340; Salute, pp. 1-4; 1908 Year Book, p. 39; 1909 Year Book, p. 50; North-West Baptist, September 3, 1904, p. 1; North-West Baptist, December 20, 1904, pp. 4-5, North-West Baptist, January 5, 1905, p. 2; North-West Baptist, January 20, 1905, p. 3; North-West Baptist, March 6, 1905, p. 8; North-West Baptist, November 1, 1906, pp. 3-4; North-West Baptist, March 1, 1907, p. 7.

Missions, Rev. F.A. Bloedow, took over the supervision of the Ukrainian churches as well as carry on his German Baptist duties.⁴⁰

The 1913 Year Book reported that the Russian and Ruthenian work was progressing steadily with five churches organized: one in Manitoba, three in Saskatchewan and one in Alberta with a total membership of 177. Four missionaries were serving in the field including one Brandon student working during the summer months. In all, 18 different points were being reached throughout the prairie provinces and a new church was being planned for Saskatoon. The cost for Ukrainian missions to the Baptist Union for the previous year had been \$2,188.50. A similar report in 1914 mentioned continued growth in the field with four missionaries being supported by the Baptist Union and three workers on the field without pay. A new church was being built at Leduc. Of the 16 churches, aside from preaching stations, 11 were in Saskatchewan. By 1915, the work force had risen to 6 men covering 20 points with a total membership of 203. A new church had been organized at Keppel, Saskatchewan and a group of Ukrainian Baptist were in the midst of organizing a church at Merryland, north of Alsask, Alberta. A church at Eagle Creek, Saskatchewan was being shared with the Mennonite Brethren. A total of 9 Sunday Schools with 136 students were operating.⁴¹

⁴⁰Smalley, ''Ukrainian Baptist Work,'' p. 121; Thompson, Baptist Story, pp. 340-342, 358-359; 1909 Year Book, p. 50; Western Outlook, December 15, 1908, pp. 3-6; Western Outlook, January 1, 1909, pp. 6-9; Western Outlook, June 1909, p. 5; Western Outlook, July 15, 1909, p. 7; Western Outlook, September 1, 1910, p. 6.

⁴¹1913 Year Book, pp. 24-25; 1914 Year Book, p. 15; 1915 Year Book, pp. 24-25; Western Outlook, August 31, 1912, p. 6; Western Outlook, October 15, 1912, pp. 11-12; Western Baptist, June 1916, p. 14.

From 1917 through 1918, the Ukrainian Baptist mission effort realized diminished fortunes. Not unlike the German and Scandinavian Baptists, the war took its toll on both the finances and available workforce of the Ukrainian mission effort. Despite little available funding the Conference could boast that a new church had been organized at Perdue, Saskatchewan and that \$1300.00 had been collected for Home Missions. A substantial amount of money had also been raised for the Russian Baptist Board of the Baptist Union of Western Canada to be distributed to war refugees in Russia. Four recent converts were studying for the ministry in 1917, an indication that the overworked missionaries in the field would soon receive some relief. By 1918, 12 Ukrainian churches and 4 mission churches were serving 285 members while 7 churches possessed meeting houses. Rev. Shakotko and Miss Herron's Parr Street Mission in North Winnipeg counted 20 children attending each Sunday. The churches at Overstone, Lizard Lake and Blaine Lake were highly successful but the Canora and Hvas churches were struggling with a solid nucleus of believers. The smaller churches at Merryland, Monitor and Leduc were surviving, at best.⁴²

The years 1919-1922, were both encouraging and disappointing for the Ukrainian mission effort. The number of churches remained the same at 12 with 4 mission churches. Very little new work was being initiated and the Superintendent of Ukrainian missions was reporting an evangelical slowdown. The mission work force was inadequate and funds for mission work were scarce. Yet there were also indications that the

⁴²1917 Year Book, p. 31; 1918 Year Book, pp. 32-34; Western Baptist, February 1917, p. 5; Western Baptist, May 1917, p. 6.

mission endeavor was on the verge of new successes in the field. The Eagle Creek church was undergoing a period of revival and growth and the Parr Street Mission under the tutelage of Miss Herron was reaching more children with Sunday attendance at 76 and a successful daily vacation school in place. A Women's Missionary Society had been formed at the mission and a monthly periodical, The Witness of Truth, was being circulated. The venture, with the cooperative efforts of Power Street Baptist Church, was thriving. The most encouraging sign of future progress was the arrival of Rev. Peter Kindrat who came to Canada in 1920 and was appointed Ukrainian missionary for Manitoba, travelling throughout the province to Overstone, Erwood, Benito, Hudson Bay Junction, The Pas, Dauphin, Swan River, Minitonas and Durban. He was responsible for building the Hyas church into the largest Ukrainian Baptist church in Western Canada. During his career in the Ukrainian Baptist work, Kindrat founded and edited The Herald The Christian Messenger, a Ukrainian-English periodical, compiled a Ukrainian hymn book and translated selected scriptures into Ukrainian. The tireless Rev. Diduke, on the other hand, served as a missionary in Northern Alberta over a 20 year span. In 1930, Rev. Ivan Kmeta arrived on the Ukrainian Baptist mission field and over the period from 1930 to 1935, ministered to churches in Saskatoon, Viceroy, Lizard Lake, Biggar, Eagle Creek and Eagle Hill, Saskatchewan.⁴³ Unlike other non-English mission

⁴³1921 Year Book, pp. 17-20; 1922 Year Book, pp. 40-42; 1923 Year Book, pp. 36-38; Smalley, "Ukrainian," pp. 117-121; Thompson, Baptist Story, pp. 358-359; Jubilee, pp. 60-62.

ventures, the Baptist Union of Western Canada continued to support the Ukrainian effort well into the mid-century.

Hungarian Work: 1901-1908

The first mention of a Hungarian mission initiative by the Baptist of Manitoba and the Northwest is found in the August 15, 1901 North-West Baptist where it was reported that a work had been started among the Hungarians in Winnipeg. Although no church was organized at that time, the North-West Baptist announced in the July 5, 1905 issue that the Mission Board had accepted the offer of a property and through the efforts of Rev. J. Blatherwick, Immigration Chaplain and Interim Pastor of Power Street Baptist church in Winnipeg, was carrying on a mission to Hungarian Baptists with a Brother Andreas Kandler working without salary from the board. The same year, Rev. D.B. Harkness baptized several Hungarian men in the Power Street church. In a letter to Rev. Harkness from J.N. MacLean, the pastor of Power Street Baptist, McLean recalls:

Some six years ago you baptized Alex Boeskai in the Power Street Church in Winnipeg. He returned to Hungary, returned to Canada and his work here, and that of his fellow-Christians reads like the acts of the Apostles. ⁴⁴

Indeed, Alex Boeskai would leave his personal imprint upon the Hungarian mission effort in Western Canada. From the initial mission outreach to Hungarian Baptists by the people of Power Street Baptist Church in Winnipeg and through the efforts of Rev. J.N. MacLean, Rev. D.B.

⁴⁴ McDonald, Missions, p. 48.

Harkness and Rev. J. Blatherwick, the seed of a Hungarian mission work was planted.⁴⁵

Hungarian Work: 1908-1922

In 1909, John Kovach ''drifted'' into Power Street Baptist Church, not unlike Alex Boeskai four years later, and was converted to the Baptist faith in a service conducted by Rev. J.N. MacLean. C.C. McLaurin recalled Rev. J.N. McLean telling him that:

One cold stormy night in the hard winter of 1909 there drifted into the Tabernacle prayer meeting a dejected little man. His serious face and sheepskin coat betrayed him as one of the many non-English whose disturbed spiritual equilibrium had not yet come to rest in this new land. His name was John Kovach. ⁴⁶

Kovach, Alex Boeskai and John Monus, another enthusiastic Hungarian Baptist who arrived in Western Canada in 1912, would serve as the nucleus of Hungarian missionaries to Hungarian Baptists in the West. In 1911, Alex Boeskai returned to Canada from North Dakota where he had served as a lay mission worker in a Hungarian colony there. Settling with the returning group of Hungarians near Kipling, Saskatchewan at Buffalo Plains and Bekevar, Boeskai began to hold religious services among the Hungarian colony eventually helping to organize a Hungarian Baptist church in Kipling in 1914. He would later move his Kipling congregation to Leask, Saskatchewan and found a church there. Meanwhile, John Monus had begun house to house visitation along with the

⁴⁵ Daniel, Mission Field, pp. 11-12; Smalley, Western Front, pp. 14-15; Holding the Line, p. 14; Canadian Baptists, p. 5; Crusading, p. 17.

⁴⁶ McDonald, Missions, p. 48.

distribution of Bibles and with a membership of 12, organized the Bekevar Hungarian church. The same year, Monus was appointed as Hungarian Missionary becoming the first Hungarian to receive financial funding from the Baptist Union Mission Board. The Bekevar church would eventually become the Kipling Hungarian Baptist church and the most successful of the Hungarian mission efforts. The church would be enlarged three different times over the span of 10 years and claim a superlative choir and brass band. It would remain the Hungarian flagship church well into the 1950s. The three Hungarian missionaries, now funded by the Baptist Union, travelled extensively throughout Saskatchewan and Manitoba, founding churches in Woodbridge, Manitoba and Kipling, Leask and Wakaw, Saskatchewan.⁴⁷

The first Year Book report on the Hungarian work in 1918 listed four churches in the field, including the church at Aldina, Saskatchewan which had been organized the previous year. The Woodbridge church had failed but churches were continuing at Wakaw, Kipling and Red Deer Hill, Saskatchewan. No mention is made of Alex Boeskai's Leask congregation but Rev. Boeskai and Rev. Monus were applauded for their work as Baptist Union missionaries to the Hungarian Baptists of Saskatchewan. A mention was made of Alex Boeskai's son attending Brandon College with 'an eye to the ministry.'⁴⁸ The 1920 Year Book reported that the four Hungarian Baptist churches had a total membership of 83 and each

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 48-49; J. Monus, Hungarian Work in Western Canada, Pamphlet, pp. 5-11, CBA; John Monus Letter to Mrs. J.R. McDonald, June 1948, CBA; Thompson, Baptist Story, pp. 364-365; Western Outlook, April 1, 1915, pp. 3-6; Western Outlook, May 1, 1915, p. 10.

⁴⁸ 1918 Year Book, p. 31; Western Baptist, May 1917, p. 7.

possessed its own building. The communities of St. Brieux, Middle Lake and Howell, Saskatchewan were identified as a new field being served by the Baptist Union Hungarian mission effort. By 1922, full-time missionaries had been secured for all the Hungarian churches and good progress was reported. Hungarian churches had given \$596.25 to home missions in 1919 and \$800.00 in 1920. John Kovach had arrived in Wakaw to carry on the ministry of the church there. At the middle of the decade, the Bekevar colony celebrated its 25th anniversary and the 13th anniversary of the Bekevar-Kipling Hungarian Baptist Church. Originally founded by four families in 1912, the church now numbered 250 families and 1,156 members. At a combined service with the Reformed and Presbyterian churches, the Lieutenant Governor of Saskatchewan addressed an audience of 1,200 people. The Baptist Union would continue to support the Hungarian mission effort well into the mid-century. In Mrs. J.R. McDonald's survey of the Baptist Union mission effort in 1948, John Monus is still identified as an effective evangelical catalyst in the Hungarian mission effort.⁴⁹

Indian Work: 1889-1908

Baptist Indian mission work in Western Canada can be traced back to the February 14 meeting of the Women's Mission Society of the Manitoba and Northwest Baptist Convention in 1889. A resolution was

⁴⁹ McDonald, Missions, pp. 48-49; Thompson, Baptist Story, pp. 364-366; Jubilee, pp. 59-60; 1920 Year Book, pp. 34-35; 1921 Year Book, pp. 17-18; 1922 Year Book, pp. 39-40; 1923 Year Book, pp. 36-38.

passed to 'assume the work among the Indians if the way opens up.'⁵⁰ The same year a Miss Phoebe Parsons volunteered as a missionary to the Indians at St. Peters Reserve, north of Winnipeg. Because of poor health, Miss Parsons could not stay in the field but in 1891, the Women's Missionary Society of Ontario initiated a cooperative effort with the Manitoba Women's Board to carry on an Indian mission work in Manitoba. William Henry Prince, the son of a chief at St. Peters Reserve and a recent convert to the Baptist faith, was received into the membership of First Baptist Church in Winnipeg under the guidance and direction of Alexander Grant. Prince accepted a missionary appointment to St. Peters from the Manitoba Board of Home Missions and in his first year in the field preached 73 sermons, attended 150 meetings, made 230 pastoral visits and took 12 trips around Lake Winnipeg. In 1893, the Manitoba and Ontario Indian Committees agreed to send Rev. B. Davies of Stonewall, Ontario as a missionary to St. Peters Reserve. During Davies' tenure at St. Peter's, a log chapel was built and a church was organized with the help of William Henry Prince. The chapel was completed in 1894 and dedicated in a special service by Alexander Grant of First Baptist, Winnipeg and Rev. H.G. Mellick, the Manitoba Baptist mission organizer. Rev. Davies also served mission churches at Long Plains Gardens and Swan Lakes Reserves near Portage la Prairie. From 1885 to 1897, Rev. S. Van Tassel carried on the St. Peters Reserve mission effort and was followed by R.W. Sharpe, an Ontario Baptist who left behind a thriving business in London to serve on the Western

⁵⁰H.B. Mellick, 'The Indians and Our Indian Mission,' Pamphlet, pp. 8, CBA.

mission field. Mr. Sharpe's most notable contribution to the St. Peters work was the formation of a Sunday School. During the same period, William Henry Prince was opening up new Indian mission work in the Northern Reserves at Fisher River Reserve and Fairford, Manitoba. With the transferral of the St. Peters Reserve title to the Dominion government and subsequent movement of many of the families to the Northern Reserves, the new work became the focus of Indian mission activity.⁵¹

The first decade of the twentieth century saw a renewed Indian mission effort on the part of the Baptists of Manitoba and the Northwest. In 1903, the Indian Board of the Manitoba and Northwest Convention appointed Mr. J.S. Clark, an Acadia graduate from Prince Edward Island, as a missionary to the Indians of Manitoba. A former editor of Rand's Dictionary of Canadian Indian Languages, Clark brought excellent linguistic skills to the mission work at the Northern Reserves. Having visited the reserves in 1901 with William Henry Prince, Clark was well aware of the work involved in setting up mission churches on the reserves. He oversaw the building of a school and a chapel while his wife acted as a medical missionary of sorts, dealing with minor medical problems and dispensing non-prescription drugs. The Clarks later moved to Winnipeg where Mr. Clark pursued his medical degree, making frequent mission trips to the Northern Reserves in the process. From 1907 to 1909, Rev. H.G. Mellick, former Superintendent of Home Missions for the Manitoba and Northwest Convention, served as missionary to the Indians of Manitoba. Recalling his work on the field, Rev. Mellick states:

⁵¹Ibid., p. 8; Daniel, Mission Field, pp. 8-9; Thompson, Baptist Story, pp. 384-385.

When I was Superintendent my wife and I took a three week trip of 500 miles among the Indians around Lake Manitoba and Winnipeg and 76 Indians were baptized and two or three missionary stations were established.... After four years at Regina, at the request of the Indians and the Board, we took charge of the Indian work, with headquarters at St. Peters where we served for two years.... 52

With the Clarks working on the Northern Reserves and the Mellicks at St. Peters, the Baptist Convention of Western Canada strengthened the missionary work force with the appointments of Rev. R.A. Mayse, a Brandon graduate, to St. Peters and John J. Flett and Albert Daffee to the Fisher River Reserve.⁵³

Indian Work: 1908-1915

For the first 8 years of the existence of the Baptist Union of Western Canada the Indian work in Manitoba continued with 7 missionaries on the field. In 1911, a church was organized at Fairford on the Northern Reserves while groups of native Christians were meeting at Lake St. Marten, Little Saskatchewan and Gypsumville. John Sanderson, a Scotsman, was responsible for building chapels at the three centres. From 1911 to 1913, Dr. Clark served as a medical missionary to the native Christians of the Northern Reserves. He was succeeded by Rev.

⁵²Western Baptist, May 1933, p. 10.

⁵³Thompson, Baptist Story, pp. 384-385; Mellick, "'Indian Mission,'" p. 8; Daniel, Mission Field, pp. 8-9; North-West Baptist, February 1, 1903, p.6; North-West Baptist, August 20, 1904, pp. 3-4; North-West Baptist, September 20, 1904, p. 5; North-West Baptist, October 5, 1904, p. 4; North-West Baptist, November 5, 1904, p. 4; February 5, 1905, p. 10; North-West Baptist, April 20, 1905, p. 5; North-West Baptist, July 5, 1905, p. 12; North-West Baptist, December 15, 1905, p. 5; North-West Baptist, July 16, 1906, p. 13; North-West Baptist, March 15, 1907, p. 10; July 1, 1907, p. 6; Western Baptist, May 1933, pp. 8-9.

F.C. Every and his daughter, Frances, who visited 100 homes on a regular basis during their tenure on the field. In 1912, Rev. John Blatherwick supplied the mission church at St. Peters and was followed by Rev. A.W. Mayse who carried on the work until 1914. The 1912 Year Book reported that the Baptist Union of Western Canada was contributing \$1600.00 a year to the Indian mission effort. Year Book reports in 1914 and 1915 also made passing mention of the Indian work but by 1916 no full-time missionaries were working in the field. Rev. A.W. Mayse and Dr. and Mrs. Clark had carried on the bulk of the work and with their resignations, the impetus for Indian mission work waned and for all intents and purposes, the churches on the Northern Reserves and at St. Peters either closed or ceased to be a concern of the Baptist Union. What had begun as a thriving mission effort with a well motivated and well trained corps of workers eventually gave way to the financial shortfalls that the Baptist Union suffered throughout the war years.⁵⁴

Parr Street Mission for New Canadians: 1905-1922

The Parr Street Mission for new Canadians in Winnipeg was organized by the Board of Missions of the Manitoba and Northwest Baptist Convention in 1905. Initially, the mission was intended as an outreach program to Russian immigrants and then was expanded to minister to new Canadians of German origins. Within a few years of its creation the

⁵⁴Thompson, Baptist Story, pp. 384-385; Mellick, "'Indians,'" p. 8; Western Outlook, December 15, 1908, p. 6; Western Outlook, February 1, 1910, p. 9; Western Outlook, September 15, 1910, p. 9; Western Outlook, February, 15, 1911, p. 6; Western Outlook, July 15, 1911, p. 11; Western Outlook, November 15, 1913, p. 13; Year Book, p. 19; 1914 Year Book, pp. 29, 56, 58; 1915 Year Book, pp. 42, 62.

mission became a city mission for the children of all non-English families, including Russo-Ukrainian, German, Hungarian, Polish and Italian. The mission would eventually consist of a Sunday School, with two teachers, a vacation school, eight groups of Canadian Girls in Training and young women, a Boy Scouts group and a young men's club. Rev. J. N. MacLean of Power Street Baptist Church, Winnipeg was an early avid supporter of the mission and partly responsible for its creation. Members of First Baptist, Winnipeg were heavily involved in the organization and maintenance of the mission.⁵⁵

In 1913, the Parr Street Mission was taken over by the Women of First Baptist Church, Winnipeg and expanded to provide a ministry to the wide spectrum of Winnipeg's non-English communities. A Miss Martens who was Russian born and trained as a nurse and a graduate of Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, was hired as the first missionary to the children of Winnipeg's immigrant families. Miss Martens carried on an extensive home visitation program and was responsible for the growth of the Sunday School and the daily vacation school. She was followed by a Mr. and Mrs. Ball and Miss Gertrude Herron, who in 1918 arrived to give the Parr Street Mission a strong focus and higher community profile. During Miss Herron's tenure at the mission, she organized a vacation Bible school and vastly increased the Sunday School membership. A Women's Missionary Society for Russo-Ukrainians was formed and the mission began to publish a monthly periodical, The Witness of Truth. The 1921 Baptist Union Year Book reported that the Sunday School enrollment was 86 students. In

⁵⁵, 'Parr Street Mission,' Pamphlet, CBA; Holding the Line, p. 4; Crusading, p. 8; Jubilee, p. 56; Canadian Baptists, p. 8.

1924, Miss Herron was succeeded by Miss Leila Smith who was the first graduate of the Home Mission course at Brandon College. The same year, a Miss D.M. Thomson was appointed as a deaconness for the mission with Miss Smith serving as director. From 1924 on the mission was supervised by members of Winnipeg's Tabernacle Baptist Church, formerly Power Street Baptist Church. Over the period of 1918 to 1924, the Parr Street Mission had become known in Winnipeg as Miss Herron's Mission and had taken on a city-wide mandate to minister to the spiritual needs of children of Winnipeg's immigrant population.⁵⁶

British Columbia Mission for New Canadians: 1918-1922

Although there is much less emphasis upon non-English missions in the British Columbia Baptist story, the B.C. Mission for New Canadians, originally the Italian Mission, serves as an example of Baptist concern for both the spiritual and physical well being of new immigrants to Vancouver. Founded in 1918 as a mission to Italians, the philanthropy of the mission effort far outrivalled Baptist Union immigrant missions on the prairies. Over a short period of time early in the mission's history, clothing was provided for 22 Italian families, thanksgiving boxes were distributed to 10 families, a ton of potatoes were dispersed throughout the Italian community and the mission provided a Christian

⁵⁶ "Parr Street Mission;" Jubilee, p. 56; 1921 Year Book, pp. 17-20.

burial for a Russian child and assisted an Austrian family to relocate to a ranch in Saskatchewan.⁵⁷

The initial supervision of the Italian Mission came from members of Jackson Avenue Baptist Church and the concerted efforts of a Mrs. Fanfetter but it was not until the arrival of Miss J.J. Baker of Toronto, that the mission began to minister to a wide spectrum of immigrant peoples including Russians, Swedes, Servians, Scots, Bohemians and Italians. As a missionary supported by the Baptist Union, Miss Baker directed a Sunday School and supervised a relief effort for new Canadians. The mission also provided an employment bureau for both men and women. The 1922 Year Book reported that the Sunday School attendance at the mission was 55 and classes were being provided for older boys and girls as well as primary girls. Miss Baker had made 437 pastoral calls and was carrying on a mission to the "'sick and poor'" and distributing clothing, medicine and providing medical help. Assisted by 15 volunteers, Miss Baker was reported contemplating forming a similar mission to the Chinese community.⁵⁸

In 1922, the Jackson Avenue Baptist Church and the Italian Mission amalgamated their Sunday Schools and evening service. As more members of the Jackson Avenue church began to assist in the supervision of the mission, Miss Baker limited her activities. With an enlarged Sunday School and a budget of \$1700.00 in 1921, the mission expanded its activities to the non-English communities. In the first few months of

⁵⁷ Jubilee, pp. 55-56.

⁵⁸ 1921 Year Book, p. 20; 1922 Year Book, pp. 42-43; Jubilee, pp. 55-56; Canadian Baptists, p. 8.

cooperation, 17 converts from the mission were welcomed into membership of the Jackson Avenue church. Pastor P.C. Parker, an active participant in Baptist social service, conducted a special membership service on Easter Sunday in 1922. The Jackson Avenue Church continued the mission effort well into the decade.⁵⁹

Urban Mission Work: 1905-1920

Although most urban Baptist churches in Western Canada engaged in mission outreach during the period 1900-1920, First Baptist, Calgary; Strathcona, Edmonton; Olivet Baptist, New Westminster; First Baptist, Vancouver; First Baptist, Moose Jaw; and First Baptist, Winnipeg, were leaders in this endeavor.

First Baptist, Calgary, under the direction of F.W. Patterson and Thomas Underwood, and later J.A. Huntley, a former student of Walter Rauschenbusch, was responsible for the creation of seven mission churches during the years 1905-1912. Heath, Hillhurst, Olivet, Westbourne, Crescent Heights, Emmanuel and Tuxedo Park Baptist churches were spread out in all four directions over the city of Calgary. D.R. Sharpe and H.S. Bagnall were two of the young pastors who served in the Calgary mission churches. Westbourne Baptist would later become noted for the flamboyant antics of its charismatic leader, William "Bible Bill" Aberhart.⁶⁰ First Baptist, Calgary was also a contributing force

⁵⁹1923 Year Book, pp. 33, 40-41; Western Baptist Jubilee, pp. 55-56.

⁶⁰Bagnall, Sixieth Milestone, pp. 20-22; Shirley Bentall,
(Footnote Continued)

in the development and supervision of a Chinese International Mission to Calgary's Asian community. Thomas Underwood served as the Chairman of the Board and R.H. Standerwick, a Brandon College graduate, was the pastor for a lengthy period of time.⁶¹

Strathcona Baptist, Edmonton, under the direction of J.C. Bowen and H.R. McGill and Samuel Everton, both former students of Walter Rauschenbusch, founded three mission churches during the years 1912-1920. On land donated by A.C. Rutherford, a member of Strathcona Baptist, the Allendale Mission was built in 1912. Later the Allendale Mission would be reorganized as McLaurin Memorial commemorating the work of C.C. McLaurin as a church builder in Western Canada. In 1916, the Bonnie Doon Mission was formed utilizing Baptist Union property and Strathcona Baptist funds.⁶²

Olivet Baptist, New Westminster and First Baptist, Vancouver, also spawned several mission churches during the period under exploration. Through the efforts of Rev. A.F. Baker, Olivet organized Sapperton Mission in 1911 and Edmonds Mission in 1912. The Queensboro Mission, operated under the supervision of Olivet members and A.F. Baker, carried on an evangelical and philanthropic work in New Westminster from 1910 to 1921.⁶³ Members of First Baptist, Vancouver,

(Footnote Continued)

Buckboard to Brotherhood: The Baptist Church in Calgary (Calgary, Alta.: Century Calgary Publications, 1975), pp. 31-37.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Strathcona Baptist, pp. 13-14.

⁶³J. Lewis Sangster, 75 Years of Service: A History of Olivet Baptist Church, 1978-1953 (New Westminster, B.C.: Olivet Baptist, 1953), pp. 37-43.

under the direction of Rev. H. Francis Perry, organized the Broadway West Baptist Mission in 1915.⁶⁴

In Saskatchewan, First Baptist, Moose Jaw was a hotbed of mission activity. Under the direction of such "'social gospel'" organizers as H.C. Speller and D.R. Sharpe, a number of Sunday Schools were organized throughout the city. In 1912, a mission church was founded in the district of Lynwood Heights. First Baptist, Moose Jaw had numerous members active in both church and civic activities during the years 1905-1920. Richard Pogue, a member of the first Public School District in Saskatchewan, served numerous terms as Mayor of Moose Jaw from 1885 to 1908. He was also the President of the Union of Saskatchewan Municipalities for 1908-1909. Harold McLean, Frank Grubb and Herbert Snell were all Aldermen with McLean serving a term as Mayor of Moose Jaw. Mary Alexander founded the Moose Jaw Y.M.C.A. and Snell served as the first President from 1905 to 1907. It would seem only a natural progression that the pastor that would start First Baptist, Moose Jaw into the 1920's was the Rochester trained Rev. Martin Storgarrd.⁶⁵

First Baptist Winnipeg was a mother church to numerous mission churches, both English and non-English. Through the efforts of A.A. Cameron, the legendary Alexander Grant, John McNeill, J.N. MacLean, A.A. Shaw and F.W. Patterson, First Baptist was either directly or indirectly involved with the creation of Grant Memorial Baptist Church, the first German Baptist church in Winnipeg, the first Hungarian congregation,

⁶⁴First Baptist Vancouver: 1887--These Sixty Years--1947 (Vancouver, B.C.: First Baptist, 1947), pp. 26-27.

⁶⁵Stephens, Souvenirs, pp. 8-12.

Manitoba Indian work as well as Power Street Baptist and Tabernacle Baptist churches. From the initial ministry of pioneer Alexander McDonald through the pastorate of Patterson in 1919, First Baptist Winnipeg had spawned a network of mission activity far beyond the boundaries of Winnipeg.⁶⁶

Conclusion

It can be argued that the Western Baptist mission effort grew out of an entrenched conservative and liberal evangelical desire to provide non-English Canadians with religious services rooted in the Baptist tradition. The initial mission efforts invariably included the strong leadership and motivation of Baptist women and later demanded the attention of the mission boards of the Manitoba and Northwest Convention and the Baptist Union of Western Canada. Early leadership and supervision was provided by the officers of the two conventions but ultimately was handed over to the non-English mission workers and superintendents. The contribution of American non-English Baptist organizations was pronounced. Early in the development of Western Canadian Baptist mission work the various Canadian and American mission boards embarked upon a cooperative approach to non-English mission work. What began as an effort to provide Baptist services in the native language of the various non-English groups ultimately led to a 'ghettoization' of ethnic Baptists. Assimilation of non-English Baptists into the Baptist Union, an initial priority, gave way to a

⁶⁶First Baptist Church, Winnipeg, pp. 10-16.

'hands off' isolated program of mission outreach. Although this study explores the subject up to and including the second decade of this century, it should be understood that cooperative efforts between the Baptist Union of Western Canada and the non-English bodies continued well into mid-century.

There is little doubt that the Baptist Union embarked upon its non-English mission endeavor with a strong evangelical intent of both Christianizing and Canadianizing the rising tide of new immigrants. The social impact of the various mission initiatives remains obscure except in the instance of the two missions for new Canadians. For every non-English mission venture, the Baptists of the Manitoba and the Northwest Convention and later the Baptist Union of Western Canada provided the impetus and design for mission growth and development. Financial funding and administrative support for the non-English mission effort continued even though Baptist Union coffers were bare. To be sure, in almost every instance, by the end of the second decade the bulk of the non-English mission effort was being carried out by dedicated and motivated missionaries and the role of the Baptist Union and the various American bodies was peripheral at best. The heroes, if there are any, were the original creators of the mission initiative and the tireless missionaries and pastors working in the field.

Two forces seem to have been at work throughout this chapter of Western Canadian Baptist history. The first force, liberal evangelical mission initiatives, led to the creation of numerous non-English mission ventures in both urban and rural areas. In the case of urban mission work, more than the requisite worship services were provided for as there were many new immigrants who chose to use these centres as an

entry point for assimilation into the Canadian way of life. The fact that many new Canadians in rural locations chose not to undergo, at least immediately, the process of Canadianization does not necessarily reflect badly on the well intentioned efforts of liberal minded Baptists in Western Canada.

A second force, more pronounced during the years 1908-1922, pursued a conservative evangelical approach to mission outreach. Less concerned with practical initiatives and more concerned with evangelizing the flood of European immigrants, evangelical conservative Baptists focused on the necessity of providing ethnic leadership and financial funding for the non-English mission effort. Drawing from a pool of ethnic missionaries and entering into cooperative agreements with American denominational bodies, these administrators accepted the status quo and ceased to provide hands-on innovative and creative leadership in this domain. Ultimately, the non-English missions became a financial drain on the Baptist Union coffers and were turned over to the American denominational missionary agencies. Many non-English churches formed their own denominational associations and again others ceased to exist at all. This is not so much an indictment of the conservative evangelical strain within the Baptist Union of Western Canada, but rather indicates the impossible financial constraints placed upon Western Baptists during the second decade of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, this chapter in Western Canadian Baptist mission history was a watershed moment and one that would not be repeated again. On the urban front, mission outreach also enjoyed great success as mission churches during the period 1905-1920, flourished with many still thriving at the present moment.

CONCLUSION

The response of the Protestant churches in Canada and the United States to the ''social crisis'' of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was in many ways a similar phenomenon. The root cause of the ever expanding ''hydra-headed social monster,'' at least in the minds of the theologically enlightened and socially motivated Protestant churchmen of the period, was the combination of a large influx of European immigrants and the industrialization of North America. In the United States, the excesses of the ''gilded age,'' rampant materialism, ''Buccaneer economics'' in tandem with the traumatic legacy of the American Civil War, demanded a radical social reconstruction of immense proportions. In Canada, a massive influx of immigrants to urban centres along with the accompanying ''social ills: poverty, hunger, intemperance, gambling, prostitution, venereal disease and political corruption, among others, called for an equally radical social restructuring of Canadian society. The settlement house, brotherhood and woman's suffrage movements, the rise of labor and progressivism, programs of urban renewal and agrarian reform, were seen as social necessities on both sides of the 49th parallel.

With the rise of the ''new theology,'' a unique blend of European social liberalism, modified by an American and Canadian social pragmatism and intellectual utilitarianism, key Protestant leaders in both countries began to build a cooperative social agenda in order to solve the myriad social problems of the day and initiate on North American soil the promised ''Kingdom of God on Earth.'' The less radical of these activists and agitators formed federations, associations and

brotherhoods and held congresses, retreats and seminars where the entire spectrum of social malaise was discussed and analyzed and blueprints for moral and social reform were created. For the most part, the participants in these meetings held teaching positions at the major Protestant seminaries and divinity schools in the United States and Canada and often published the results of their research in the plethora of periodicals and newsletters spawned by these collectives. A great many of these figures held influential positions in the Protestant denominational hierarchy and helped create and develop social initiatives at the state, provincial and national levels. Strong advocates of denominational cooperation, these socially progressive Christians lobbied industry, business and government for constructive social legislation to combat the increasingly complex societal ills of the day. Very few, if any, advocated radical reform and almost all attacked Marxist socialism as an anathema to constructive moral and social change. They held middle class Christian values and were intent on Christianizing the social order.

The more radical exponents of social Christianity were less comfortable with what they perceived to be status quo solutions for moral and social reform put forward by their moderate counterparts. Strong supporters of grass roots social reconstruction, this more militant corps of social activists and agitators did not hesitate to employ the tactics of protest and demonstration. They were not strangers to incarceration and detention and preached a social message honed out of the ebb and flow of confrontation. To a man and a woman, they were a thorn in the side of the champions of industry, business and government. Often, their crusades took on a revolutionary aura and led

to the creation of utopian communities inspired by mystical and apocalyptic tinted visions of the "'Kingdom of God on Earth.'" Yet in other instances, these radical reformers simply despaired of the social resolve of organized religion and through the democratic political process forged social reform parties and organizations out of labor and agrarian discontent. Not long after they had begun to see the fruits of their labor, the term "'social Christianity'" or "'social gospel'" ceased to apply. Although Christian values and sentiments were still expressed, the secular nature of the message and the program had become paramount. A Marxist agenda had superceded the social teachings of Jesus and class struggle had replaced the vision of the "'Kingdom of God on Earth.'"

Both brands of social Christianity made a remarkable impact upon American and Canadian society. The legacy of each is still evident in contemporary models of social reform. The list of socially oriented Christians active in the pursuit of a transformation of North American society who claim a debt to Washington Gladden, Walter Rauschenbusch, Salem Bland and J.S. Woodsworth is long and impressive.

It will be clear enough to the reader which category of social Christianity, Western Baptist activists, administrators, editors, educators and organizers fall into and which brand of moral and social reform was being advanced. While comfortable with a less radical agenda of social reconstruction, key Western Baptists responded to the "'social crisis'" with a decidedly liberal evangelical blueprint for moral and social reform. Employing the pages of the Western Outlook and the Western Baptist as a means of promoting a Rauschenbuschian model for Christianizing the social order, the editors attacked the excesses of

capitalism and called for legislation to combat a variety of ''social ills'' that plagued Canadian society. Both periodicals advocated a return to the ethical principles of Jesus as a beginning point for studying the ''social question.'' Pastors and church members were encouraged to reassess their commitment to a ''Kingdom of God'' ideal. The Western Outlook, under the editorship of D.B. Harkness, J.N. MacLean and A.M. McDonald, focused primarily on the necessity for societal reformation and preached the merits of the social teachings of Jesus. The Western Baptist, under the editorship of F.W. Patterson, stressed a more evangelical approach to the social problem, stressing personal spiritual growth and religious education. An evolving liberal evangelical response to the ''social crisis'' among Western Baptists is evident in both periodicals during the period under exploration. For the Western Outlook, the former strain held sway and for the Western Baptist, the latter strain was paramount.

At the Baptist Union and Baptist Convention levels, the various social service committees and the Board of Moral and Social Reform wrestled with a myriad of social problems seemingly threatening the very moral and social fibre of Canadian society and undermining the credibility of Baptist commitment to church, family and the social order. The social and moral reform and resolution committees responded to the ''social crisis'' in the fashion of the day with a strident rhetorical call for a complete social restructuring of Canadian society based upon a Christian moral value standard. A strong representation from the Baptist Union and the four Baptist Conventions contributed to a unified voice condemning government apathy and lethargy in the sphere of moral and social reform. The various social service committees attempted to

establish a moral and social reform agenda as well as create a Baptist programme for social reconstruction. It would be a gross exaggeration to suggest that the entire Western Baptist constituency was consumed with a moral and social reform fever but nevertheless, the Baptist Union through its periodicals and social service committees disseminated a unique brand of moral and social reform propaganda to the churches from Victoria to Winnipeg. It was also apparent that provincial models for social reconstruction were commonplace, particularly in British Columbia.

By the beginning of the third decade, individual Baptist churches had begun to exert a social gospel presence in some urban centres. Power Street-Tabernacle Baptist, Winnipeg; First Baptist, Moose Jaw; Strathcona, Edmonton; and Fairview, Vancouver, were the most notable. The best and the brightest of Western Canada's Baptist activists, administrators and organizers served on social service committees and boards of other denominational and organizational agencies. A number of these individuals occupied executive positions and edited some of the most influential social reform periodicals of the period. Many also held influential posts on civic and government boards working in the domain of moral and social reform. There was every indication that Western Baptists cooperated with local, provincial, regional and national denominational social service and social reform organizations.

The ''social crisis'' did not consume Western Baptists in the same fashion that it consumed the Methodists and the Presbyterians. Baptist individualism may have tempered the enthusiasm for labor and agrarian reform which was so evident among other denominations but Baptists responded at the Baptist Union and Provincial Convention levels

to the ''social crisis'' in a fashion not unlike their American counterparts in the Northern Convention. The model was liberal evangelical and the goal was the ''Kingdom of God on Earth.''

Brandon College provided both a liberal arts environment for intellectual debate and a social milieu for personal and group evangelism. It also served as a forum for debate on social and political issues where critical assessment was encouraged rather than discouraged. A liberal curriculum taught by a liberal faculty and a liberal evangelical student organizational structure impressed upon Brandon students the necessity to involve themselves, intellectually, spiritually and emotionally, in the moral and social realities of the early twentieth century.

The involvement of Brandon graduates of the period in social service, foreign and domestic mission endeavor and social reform politics suggests a remarkable pattern of practical consideration of theoretical models of social action. The faculty, while educated at eastern schools and committed to elitist ideals, brought an evangelical thrust to their teaching, research, college activities and student counselling. For many of the faculty members, Brandon College was just a way station on their academic pilgrimage but for others, the small prairie college was an important experiment in building a respectable Baptist institution of higher learning in Western Canada. It should not be forgotten that the motivating drive for the architects of Brandon College was the desire to establish a training facility for Western ministers. This broad mix of often conflicting motivations and commitments led to the creation of a fertile training ground for a diverse

group of social gospel pastors, foreign and home missionaries, social service workers and social reform politicians.

The grand design, if one exists, for the Western Baptist non-English mission effort remains a mystery. It can be argued that the impetus and design for non-English work originated with the various Ontario and Manitoba mission boards with the intent purpose of 'making Baptists' in Western Canada. It can also be argued that the primary motivation for the non-English mission endeavor was the perception of many Ontario and Manitoba Baptists that Baptists were losing out to the other Protestant denominations in the 'immigration sweepstakes' in Western Canada. A more plausible explanation, the one that is advanced in this study, is tied to the liberal evangelical mood and temperament of Manitoba Baptists as early as the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Baptist women in the West, through their various mission boards and agencies saw and responded to a critical need for a mission outreach program to the numerous non-English immigrant groups, many with strong Baptist roots in Europe, that were being neglected by Baptist and non-Baptist alike. The creation of the Baptist non-English mission effort in Western Canada arose out of the vision of a select group of Baptist pastors, mission organizers and Baptist women. Financial support, although sporadic and insufficient, was carried out by Manitoba Baptists with the cooperation of American non-English bodies. What began as an attempt to assimilate non-English Baptists into the Western Conventions failed and the recruitment of ethnic missionaries and missionary colporteurs followed. At the moment of Baptist Union, the Baptist Convention of Manitoba and the Northwest and the British

Columbia Convention were enthusiastically providing supervisory and financial support for the German, Swedish, Ukrainian, Hungarian and Indian mission effort.

With the advent of the Baptist Union of Western Canada, cooperative non-English mission work with the American Conferences was continuing apace and financial support was increasing. Over the first fifteen years of the existence of the Baptist Union, the enthusiasm for the non-English mission effort diminished along with the dwindling Baptist Union financial fortunes. By the beginning of the third decade of this century, the Baptist experiment in non-English mission work had ended. Continued support for the Ukrainian and Hungarian Baptists was from that point on, sporadic and minimal. Paradoxically, as Western Baptists began to concern themselves with more theological and evangelical issues and concerns, support for the non-English effort dwindled and cooperative efforts became an oddity rather than the norm.

Throughout this study, the 'H.L. MacNeill episode' at Brandon College has been alluded to as a turning point for Western Baptist social Christianity. The Modernist-Fundamentalist Controversy has received all the attention that it deserves in Baptist historical circles and for many, would be best forgotten. Nevertheless, the attacks upon H.L. MacNeill and other faculty members at Brandon College in 1922 and the subsequent commission and clearing of all involved of heretical tendencies remains an important milestone in Western Canadian Baptist history.

With the onset of Baptist Union in 1908, a liberal evangelical euphoria had moved influential Western Baptists to respond in an enlightened post-millennial progressive fashion toward a liberal

evangelical reconstruction of the Western Canadian social order. Aided in their crusade with a ''Kingdom of God'' ideal and an ethical message grounded in the social teachings of Jesus, these Baptist visionaries dominated the educational, social and missionary agenda of the Baptist Union of Western Canada for fifteen years. At the beginning of the third decade, the concerns of Western Baptists had begun to revolve around theological and doctrinal issues and the exodus of Baptist social gospellers out of Western Canada had begun.

By 1922, F.W. Patterson was the President of Acadia University; H.P. Whidden was the Chancellor of McMaster University; D.C. Macintosh was the Chairman of the Department of Religion at Yale University; A.E. Haydon was the Chairman of the Department of Comparative Religion and P.G. Mode was a Professor of Church History at the University of Chicago; A.M. McDonald was the Superintendent of Missions for the Cleveland Baptist Association; and J.N. MacLean was the Secretary for the Social Service Council of Manitoba.

By 1930, H.L. MacNeill was pastoring Vancouver's Fairview Baptist Church and preparing for a long and successful teaching career at McMaster University; D.B. Harkness was the Educational secretary for the Social Service Council of Canada; M.L. Orchard held the Chair of Evangelism and Missions at McMaster; A.A. Shaw was the President of Denison University in Ohio; D.R. Sharpe was probably the most honored Baptist ''social gospeller'' in the entire American Midwest; and Brandon College was preparing to graduate T.C. Douglas and Stanley Knowles. An era in Western Canadian Baptist history had come to an end and a new era, buffeted by the winds of religious controversy and prairie populism, was just beginning.

The successes and failures of Baptist Union social and moral reform initiatives are difficult to assess for a variety of reasons. Without a doubt, Western Baptists engaged in rhetorical hyperbole to the extent that much of the social reform message was blunted and subsequently ineffective. The resolutions and committee reports served often as a sop to the proponents of social and moral reform. Much of the frustration expressed by leading activists and organizers within the Baptist Union arose out of the unwillingness of the administrative leadership to move beyond simple rhetoric and create practical programs of social and moral reform. There is little indication that any long lasting reform initiatives grew out of the flood of well intentioned and strongly worded social and moral reform propaganda during the period, 1908-1922. The Baptist Union did not create any philanthropic and humanitarian institutions. The legacy of the Western Baptist response to the social crisis can not be gauged in those terms. It could be argued that the Modernist-Fundamentalist Controversy prevented the implementation of concrete social service initiatives many of which were enunciated in Baptist Union literature and rhetoric. The non-English mission effort, as has been stated, was a failed experiment. Although many of those churches created during the period continue to exist and thrive under the financial and administrative leadership of other denominational bodies.

On the plus side, Brandon College continued to produce solid leadership in the areas of social and moral reform long into the 1940s and served as a training ground for socially progressive Baptist leaders in Western Canada and beyond. Many of the major figures in this chapter of Western Canadian Baptist history went on to contribute to social and

moral reform programs elsewhere in Canada and in the United States. It can also be argued that the cooperative efforts between Baptist Union social and moral reform committees and other denominational bodies was a positive development for a denomination renowned for insular thinking and a resistance to inter-denominational cooperation. It is quite apparent that the efforts of dedicated proponents of social and moral reform to raise the social consciousness of Western Canadian Baptists of all stripes and theological bent was a positive development. One can only speculate whether the lobby efforts of the various Baptist Union social and moral reform committees had any real effect on the political agendas of the governments of the four western provinces. The extent to which the Baptist Union placed these concerns in front of its member churches and their congregations is remarkable in and of itself. The Baptist role in the battle against intemperance may be the most important component of Baptist social Christianity in Western Canada. As outspoken critics of the liquor traffic, Western Baptists provided the leadership in advocating prohibitive measures to control and ban "Demon Rum."

The thesis is meant to fill a void in the telling of Canadian Baptist History. It is hoped that it might encourage other students of Canadian religious history to explore relevant denominational themes. In regard to Western Canadian Baptist History, a number of themes seem both topical and pertinent. H.L. MacNeil and D.R. Sharpe are both imposing figures. Their contribution to Western Baptist growth and development in the social and educational spheres is considerable. The Evangelical Band and the various student organizations at Brandon College should be given closer scrutiny. Selected Baptist Union

churches instrumental in mission outreach and social and moral reform in the period preceeding that being discussed would be a fertile area for research. A further study of the continued role and contribution of selected ethnic missionaries is also a valid topic. As has been indicated earlier, the subject area ''Baptist women and Baptist missions,'' has not been explored in this study. It remains a fertile area of research and demands a thorough investigation of the role of Baptist women of Western Canada in the creation and support of domestic and foreign mission initiatives and programs. The contribution of various female figures in the area of women's suffrage should also be discussed at length. The contribution of Baptist women in the sphere of Baptist Union educational endeavors, for example, Sunday schools and Daily Vacation Bible Schools, as it reflects on non-English missions is another area of pertinent research. Finally, the second chapter of the story of Baptist social Christianity in Western Canada, from 1925-1940, should be written.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Manuscript Materials

Canadian Baptist Archives (McMaster Divinity College)

Biographical Materials (Tributes and Reminiscences):

Gilmour, G.P. Tribute to Chancellor Whiddon. Hamilton, Ont.: McMaster University, 1952.

Harvey, Robert and H.L. MacNeill, D.A. MacGibbon, W.C. Smalley.
'Reminiscences,' A Collection of Historical Essays.

Levy, George E. 'Frederic William Patterson.' A Tribute. Wolfville, N.S.: Acadia Divinity College, 1965.

Perkins, J.R.C. ed. Summer in His Soul: Essays in Honour of Harris L. MacNeill, Scholar, Teacher, Churchman. Hamilton, Ont.: McMaster Divinity College, 1969.

D.R. Sharpe: A Biography. n.d.

Smalley, W.C. A.P. McDiarmid: An Appreciation. McDiarmid Memorial Lecture, Number One. Foreword by J.R.C. Evans and Preface by J.C. Bowen. Edmonton, Alta.: Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1946.

Whidden, Evan M. 'A Man of Single Minded Devotion.' An Address in Honor of Dr. Frederic William Patterson. Wolfville, Nova Scotia: Acadia Divinity College, 1965.

Biographical Files:

A.E. Haydon Biographical File

D.C. Macintosh Biographical File

H.L. MacNeil Biographical File

A.P. McDiarmid Biographical File

C.C. McLaurin Biographical File

F.W. Patterson Biographical File

A.C. Rutherford Biographical File
W.T. Stackhouse Biographical File
A.J. Vining Biographical File
H.P. Whidden Biographical File

Brandon University Archives

Biographical Files:

H.F. Bathos Biographical File
David Bovington Biographical File
R.C. Bowen Biographical File
Olive Freeman Diefenbaker Biographical File
T.C. Douglas Biographical File
J.R.C. Evans Biographical File
W. Sherwood Fox Biographical File
Robert Harvey Biographical File
W.B. Hurd Biographical File
Stanley Knowles Biographical File
D.A. MacGibbon Biographical File
D.C. Macintosh Biographical File
H.L. MacNeil Biographical File
A.P. McDiarmid Biographical File
S.J. McKee Biographical File
James Moffat Biographical File
W.C. Smalley Biographical File
Hubert Staines Biographical File
C.G. Stone Biographical File
F.W. Sweet Biographical File

Jennie Mason Turnbull Biographical File

H.P. Whidden Biographical File

Letters:

Fred W. Benke letter to Mrs. J.R. McDonald on March 16, 1948.

Leonard Hultgren letter to Mrs. J.R. McDonald on April 7, 1948.

John Monus letter to Mrs. J.R. McDonald on June 1, 1948.

Published Yearbooks

The Year Book of the Baptist Convention of Western Canada (1907)

The Year Book of the Baptist Union of Western Canada (1908-1922)

Brochures, Pamphlets, Tracts

Canadian Baptists: At Work Under the Great Commission in Western Canada. Edmonton, Alta.: Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1928.

Crusading in the Canadian West: A Survey of Baptist Missionary Endeavor. Edmonton, Alta.: Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1933.

Daniel, Walter. The West as a Mission Field. Toronto: Standard Publishing Company, 1912.

Holding the Line in Western Canada. Edmonton, Alta.: Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1935.

Jergehson, H.G. Norwegian Baptist Churches in Western Canada. n.d.

Mellick H.G. The Indians and Our Indian Mission. Winnipeg, Man.: Baptist Union of Western Canada, n.d.

Monus, J. Hungarian Work in Western Canada. Edmonton, Alta.: Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1933.

Parr Street Mission: A Historical Sketch. n.d.

A Salute to Ukrainian Baptists. Edmonton, Alta.: Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1969.

Smalley, W.C. On the Western Front. Edmonton, Alta.: Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1941.

Newspapers and Periodicals

Newspapers:

The Alumni News (Brandon College), (1933-1947)

Brandon College Calendar (1914-1915), (1925-1926)

The McMaster News (1917-1946)

The Quill (Brandon College), (1910-1930)

The Sickie (Brandon College), (1930)

Periodicals:

The Canadian Baptist (1908-1922)

The North-West Baptist (1885-1907)

The Western Baptist (1916-1956)

The Western Outlook (1907-1915)

Denominational Histories

Church Histories:

Anderson, Frank. The Story of First Baptist Church, Saskatoon, 1904-1979. Saskatoon, Sask.: First Baptist, 1979.

Bagnall, Lucy Lowe. At the Sixtieth Milestone: The Story of First Baptist Church, Calgary, 1888-1948. Calgary, Alta.: First Baptist Church, 1948.

Bellamy, T. Pioneer Days of the First Baptist Church in Northern Alberta, 1892-1924. Edmonton, Alta.: First Baptist, 1924.

Carmichael, William M. These Sixty Years: A History of First Baptist, Vancouver, 1887-1937. Vancouver: First Baptist, 1937.

Diamond Jubilee, 1891-1951: A History of First Baptist Church, Regina. Regina, Sask.: First Baptist, 1951.

Easter, G. Ralph. Commemorating the 60th Anniversary of First Baptist Church, Brandon, 1885-1945. Brandon, Man.: First Baptist, 1945.

First Baptist Church, Winnipeg: Fiftieth Anniversary, 1875-1925. Winnipeg, Man.: First Baptist, 1925.

History of Emmanuel Baptist Church, 1895-1960. Victoria, B.C.: Emmanuel Baptist, 1960.

History of Progress, 1893-1955: A History of First Baptist Church, Edmonton. Edmonton, Alta.: First Baptist, 1955.

Sangster, J. Lewis. 75 Years of Service: A History of Olivet Baptist Church, 1878-1953. New Westminster, B.C.: Olivet Baptist, 1953.

Stephens, W.J.N. Souvenirs of the Fiftieth Anniversary, 1883-1933. Moose Jaw, Sask.: First Baptist, 1933.

The Strathcona Baptist Church Story, 1895-1970. Edmonton, Alta.: Strathcona Baptist, 1970.

Secondary Sources

Books

Western Canadian Baptist History

Bentall, Shirley. Buckboard to Brotherhood: The Baptist Churches in Calgary. Calgary: Century Calgary Publications, 1975.

Gibson, Theo T. Beyond the Granite Curtain. Winnipeg: Published by Author, 1975.

Harris, Joseph Edwin. The Baptist Union of Western Canada: A Centennial History, 1873-1973. Saint John, N.B.: Lingley Printing Co., 1976.

McDonald, Mrs. J.R.. Baptist Missions in Western Canada 1873-1948. Edmonton, Alta.: The Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1948.

McLaurin, C.C. Pioneering in Western Canada. Calgary: Published by Author, 1939.

Richards, John B. Baptists in British Columbia: A Struggle to Maintain Sectarianism. Vancouver: Northwest Baptist Theological College, 1977.

Smalley, Williams C. Come Wind-Come Weather. Saint John, New Brunswick: Lingley Printing Company, 1969.

Stone, C.G. and F. Joan Garnett. Brandon College: A History, 1899-1967. Brandon, Man.: Brandon University, 1969.

Thompson, Margaret. The Baptist Story in Western Canada. Calgary: Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1975.

Canadian Baptist History

Dekar, Paul R. and Murray J.S. Ford, eds. Celebrating the Canadian Baptist Heritage: The McMaster Conference. Hamilton, Ont.: McMaster Divinity College, 1984.

Ford, Murray J.S., ed. Canadian Baptist History and Polity: The McMaster Conference. Hamilton, Ont.: McMaster Divinity College, 1982.

Zeman, Jarold K., ed. Baptists in Canada: Search for Identity Amidst Diversity. Burlington, Ont.: G.R. Welch Co., 1980.

_____, Walter Klassen and John D. Rempel, eds. The Believer's Church in Canada. Brantford, Ont.: Baptist Federation of Canada and the Mennonite Central Committee (Canada), 1979.

Canadian Social Christianity

Allen, Richard, ed. Religion and Society in the Prairie West. Regina, Sask.: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1974.

_____, ed. The Social Gospel in Canada. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975.

_____. The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.

Artibise, Alan. Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914. Montreal: McGill-Queens Press, 1975.

Bland, Salem. The New Christianity or the Religion of the New Age. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1920.

Clark, S.D. Church and Sect in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948.

Cleverdon, C.L. Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950.

Cook, Ramsey, ed. Politics of Discontent. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.

_____. The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.

Crysdale, Stewart. The Industrial Struggle and Protestant Ethic in Canada. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1961.

_____, and Les Wheatcroft, eds. Religion in Canadian Society. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1976.

Fraser, Brian J. The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875-1915. Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1988.

Grant, John Webster. The Church in the Canadian Era. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1972.

Handy, Robert T. A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Horn, Michael. The League for Social Reconstruction: Intellectual Origins of the Democratic Left in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

Irving, J.A. The Social Credit Movement in Alberta. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959.

Lipsett, S.M. Agrarian Socialism: The C.C.F. in Saskatchewan. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press, 1950.

Mann, W.E. Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955.

Masters, D.C. The Winnipeg General Strike. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950.

Morton, W.L. The Progressive Party in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950.

Pulkar, Edward. We Stand on Their Shoulders: The Growth of Social Concern in Canadian Anglicanism. Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1986.

Sharp, Paul F. The Agrarian Revolt in Western Canada. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1948.

Thomas, Lewis H. ed. The Making of a Socialist: The Recollections of T.C. Douglas. Edmonton, Alta.; The University of Alberta Press, 1982.

American Social Christianity

Abell, Aaron I. The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900. Hamden, CT.: Archon Press, 1962.

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. A Religious History of the American People. New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 1972.

Bailey, Hugh C. Liberalism in the New South: Southern Social Reformers and the Progressive Movement. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1969.

- Bloesch, Donald. The Evangelical Renaissance. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1973.
- Brauer, Jerald C. Protestantism in America. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1953.
- Carter, Paul A. The Decline and Revival of the Social Gospel, 1920-1940. Hamden, CT.: Archon Press, 1971.
- _____. The Spiritual Crisis of the Gilded Age. Dekalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1971.
- Cauthen, Kenneth. The Impact of American Religious Liberalism. New York: Harper & Row, 1962.
- Dayton, Donald. Discovering an Evangelical Heritage. New York: Harper & Row, 1976.
- Dombrowski, James. The Early Days of Christian Socialism in America. New York: Octagon Books, 1966.
- Eighmy, John Lee. Churches in Cultural Captivity: A History of the Social Attitudes of Southern Baptists. Knoxville, TN.: University of Tennessee Press, 1972.
- Furniss, Norman. The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954.
- Gausted, Edwin S. A Religious History of America. New York: Harper & Row, 1966.
- Handy, Robert T. The History of the Churches in the United States and Canada. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- _____. The Social Gospel in America, 1870-1920. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1966.
- Hardesty, Nancy A. Women Called to Witness: Evangelical Feminism in the 19th Century. Nashville, Abingdon Press, 1984.
- Hopkins, C.H. The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915. New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 1967.
- Hudson, Winthrop S. Religion in America. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965.
- Hutchison, William R. ed. American Protestant Thought: The Liberal Era. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1968.
- _____. The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976.

- Marsden, George M. Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Marty, Martin E. Pilgrims in Their Own Land: 500 Years of Religion in America. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1984.
- _____. Righteous Empire. New York: Dial Press, 1970.
- Mathews, Shailer. Christianity and the Social Process. New York: Harper & Bros., 1934.
- _____. The Social Gospel. Philadelphia: Griffith & Rowland Press, 1910.
- _____. The Social Teachings of Jesus. New York: Macmillan, 1897.
- May, Henry F. Protestant Churches and Industrial America. New York: Harper & Row, 1949.
- McLoughlin, William G. The American Evangelicals, 1800-1900. New York: Harper & Row, 1968.
- Meyer, Donald B. The Protestant Search for Political Realism, 1919-1941. Berkely: University of California Press, 1960.
- Miller, Robert M. American Protestantism and Social Issues, 1919-1939. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1958.
- Moberg, S. The Great Reversal: Evangelism and Social Concern. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1972.
- Niebuhr, H.R. The Kingdom of God in America. New York: Harper & Row, 1937.
- _____. The Social Sources of Denominationalism. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929.
- Rauschenbusch, Walter. Christianity and the Social Crisis. New York: Macmillan, 1907.
- _____. Christianizing the Social Order. New York: Macmillan, 1909.
- _____. The Social Principles of Jesus. New York: Macmillan, 1916.
- _____. A Theology for the Social Gospel. New York: Macmillan, 1917.
- Smith, Timothy L. Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century America. New York: Abingdon Press, 1957.
- Spain, Rufus. At Ease in Zion: Social History of Southern Baptists, 1865-1900. Nashville, TN.: Vanderbilt University Press.

- Sweet, Leonard L. The Evangelical Tradition in America. Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1984.
- Szasz, Ferenc Morton. The Divided Mind of Protestant America, 1880-1930. Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1982.
- White, Ronald C. and C.H. Hopkins. The Social Gospel: Religion and Reform in Changing America. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1976.

Articles

Canadian Baptist History

- Ban, Joseph D. "'Tommy Douglas: A Case Study of the Conscientious Pastor.'" American Baptist Quarterly 2 (Spring 1983): 256-268.
- Ellis, Walter E. "'Baptist Missions--Adaptation to the Western Frontier.'" In Murray J.S. Ford, ed., Canadian Baptist History and Polity: The McMaster Conference. Hamilton, Ont.: McMaster Divinity College, 1982: 167-177.
- _____. "'Baptists and Radical Politics in Western Canada, 1920-1950.'" In Jarold K. Zeman, ed., Baptists in Canada: Search for Identity Amidst Diversity. Burlington, Ont.: G.R. Welch Co., 1980: 161-182.
- _____. "'Baptist Visions of The New Jerusalem in Western Canada.'" In Paul R. Dekar and Murray J.S. Ford, eds., Celebrating the Canadian Baptist Heritage: The McMaster Conference. Hamilton, Ont.: McMaster Divinity College, 1984: 58-71.
- _____. "'Gilboa to Ichabod: Social and Religious Factors in the Fundamentalist-Modernist Schisms among Canadian Baptist, 1895-1934.'" Foundations 20 (1977): 90-126.
- Handy, Robert T. "'The Influence of Canadians on Baptist Theological Education in the United States.'" Foundations 23 (January-March 1980): 42-56.
- Hudson, Winthrop S. "'The Interrelationships of Baptists in Canada and the United States.'" Foundations 23 (January-March 1980): 22-41.
- Levy, I. Judson. "'Canadian Baptist Ecumenical Relationships.'" Foundations 23 (January-March 1980): 84-96.
- Tonks, A. Ronald. "'Highlights of the Relationships of Southern Baptists With Canadian Baptists.'" Baptist History and Heritage 15 (April 1980): 5-13.

Pousett, Gordon H. "'Formative Influences on Baptists in British Columbia, 1876-1918.'" Baptist History and Heritage 15 (April 1980): 14-23.

Canadian Social Christianity

Allen, Richard. "'Salem Bland: The Young Preacher.'" Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society 19 (March-June 1977): 75-93.

_____. "'The Social Gospel and the Reform Tradition in Canada, 1890-1928.'" The Canadian Historical Review 69 (December 1968): 381-392.

_____. "'The Social Gospel as the Religion of Agrarian Revolt.'" In Ramsey Cook and Carl Berger, eds., The West and the Nation. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976.

Crysdale, Stewart. "'Social Awakening among Protestants, 1872-1918.'" In Stewart Crysdale and Les Wheatcroft, eds., Religion and Canadian Society. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1976: 191-206.

_____. "'The Sociology of the Social Gospel: Quest for a Modern Ideology.'" In Stewart Crysdale and Les Wheatcroft, eds., Religion in Canadian Society. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1976: 423-433.

Emery, G.N. The Origin of Canadian Methodist Involvement in the Social Gospel Movement, 1990-1914.'" The Bulliten 26 (1977).

Fraser, Brian. "'Theology and the Social Gospel among Canadian Presbyterians: A Case Study.'" Studies in Religion 8 (1979): 35-46.

Judd, W.W. "'The Vision and the Dream.'" The Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society 8 (December 1965).

Magney, W.H. "'The Methodist Church and the National Gospel.'" The Bulliten 20 (1968).

Moir, John S. "'The Canadian Baptist and the Social Gospel Movement, 1879-1914.'" In Jarold K. Zeman, ed. Baptists in Canada: Search for Identity Amidst Diversity. Burlington, Ont.: G.R. Welch Co., Ltd., 1980: 147-159.

American Social Christianity

Donovon, Mary Sudma. "'The Feminine Dimension of the Social Gospel.'" The Witness 70 (Fall 1987): 16-19.

Forsythe, Susan H. "'The Methodist Social Gospel and Woman Suffrage.'" The Drew Gateway 54 (March 1985): 56-73.

- Gaebelein, Frank E. "'Evangelicals and Social Concern.'" Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society 25 (March 1982): 17-22.
- Hutchison, William R. "'The Americanness of the Social Gospel: An Inquiry in Comparative History (1885-1925).'" Church History 44 (Spring 1975): 367-381.
- _____. "'Cultural Strain and Protestant Liberalism, 1875-1915.'" American History Review 76 (April 1971): 386-411.
- Jordan, Philip D. "'Immigrants, Methodists and a 'Conservative' Social Gospel, 1865-1908.'" Church History 54 (March 1985): 56-73.
- Lindley, Susan H. "'Women and the Social Gospel Novel (1870-1918)'" Church History 54 (March 1985): 56-73.
- Matheson, Robert R. "'Evangelicals and the Age of Reform, 1870-1930: An Assessment.'" Fides et Historia 16 (Spring-Summer 1984): 74-85.
- Pipkin, H. Wayne. "'The Neo-evangelical Alternative (re) Discovering a Social Gospel.'" Mid-Stream 22 (July-October 1983): 386-400.
- Smith, Gary Scott. "'The Men and Religion Forward Movement of 1911-12: New Perspectives on Evangelical Social Concern, Christianity and Progressivism.'" The Westminster Theological Journal 49 (Spring 1987): 91-118.

Unpublished Theses

- Airhart, Phyllis D. "'The Eclipse of Revivalist Spirituality: The Transformation of Canadian Methodist Piety, 1884-1925.'" Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1985.
- Allen, Richard. "'The Crest and Crisis of the Social Gospel in Canada, 1916-1927.'" Ph.D. Thesis, Duke University, 1968.
- Ellis, Walter E. "'Organizational and Educational Policy of Baptists in Western Canada, 1873-1939.'" Bachelor of Divinity Thesis, McMaster Divinity College, 1953.
- _____. "'Some Aspects of Religion in British Columbia Politics.'" Master of Arts Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1957.
- Fraser, Brian John. "'The Christianization of Our Civilization: Presbyterian Reformers and Their Defence of a Protestant Canada, 1875-1914.'" Ph.D. Thesis, York University, 1983.
- Imayoshi, K. "'The History of Okanagan Baptist College, 1907-1915.'" Bachelor of Divinity Thesis, McMaster Divinity College, 1953.

Pousett, Gordon H. 'A History of the Convention of Baptist Churches of British Columbia.' Master of Theology Thesis, Vancouver School of Theology, 1982.

_____. 'The History of the Regular Baptists of British Columbia.' Bachelor of Divinity Thesis, McMaster Divinity College, 1956.

Van Die, Marguerite. 'Nathaniel Burwash: A Study in Revivalism and Canadian Culture, 1839-1918.' Ph.D. Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1987.

Newspapers

Brandon Daily Sun, June 15, 1963.

Hamilton Spectator, April 4, 1936.

Toronto Daily Star, April 1, 1930, March 31, 1952 and April 15, 1952.

Miscellaneous

Canadian Encyclopedia. Vol. 1. Edmonton, Alta.: Hurtig Publishers, 1985.

Canadian Journal of Economics. Vol. XVI (May 1950): 143-144.

Who's Who in Canada. 1922, 1928-1929 and 1951-1952.