“Ministering to an Unsettled World”:
The Protestant Churches, the Cold War, and Ontario 1945-1956

By

Julia Rady-Shaw

A thesis submitted in conformity for the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History
University of Toronto

Copyright by Julia Rady-Shaw 2017
Abstract

“Ministering to an Unsettled World”: The Protestant Churches, the Cold War, and Ontario 1945-1956

by
Julia Rady-Shaw
Doctor of Philosophy
Department of History
University of Toronto

During the aftermath of the Second World War in Canada the pace of change in society accelerated. The economy shifted from war-time industry to booming post-war reconstruction. Citizens attempted to define “normal” in the wake of a world war and the trepidation caused by the onset of the Cold War. Change, too, came to the place of religion in society. In an examination of the main Protestant Churches in Canada, my dissertation explores the tenor of post-war change and its implications on the place of religious institutions and religion in Canada. This work considers the most populous three Protestant Churches in Ontario as they sought to minister to a shifting population and tried to balance ideas about preserving traditional values with a desire to remain relevant and modern.

People remained nominally Christian and defined their identity based on their religion despite growing secular pressures and trends in the post Second World War decade. This project unsettles historical assumptions made about secularization in Canada by incorporating ideas of “diffusive Christianity” used up to this point by historians of modern England in order to evaluate the continued impact and importance of religion in
society, but also the way it altered or changed as a result of shifting values or norms. The churches’ attempts to modernize without sacrificing any of the values or ideas that they argued had helped to support, define, and strengthen Canadian society reflected the way the place of belief in society shifted but belief itself remained a strong touchstone of citizenship.

Between 1945 and 1956 the United Church of Canada, the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and the Anglican Church dynamically engaged in reformulating their place in society. Regardless of creed, churches created a space where citizens could find both a link to traditional values (as laid out in the Bible) and also a place where they could understand the changes in society. As a whole, my dissertation contributes to a growing literature in Canadian history on post-war society. The focus upon the Protestant churches and the changing place of religion provides a way of assessing shifting values and traditions in Canada in light of the war. To reinsert religion into the mainstream historical appraisal of the post-war period means a greater appreciation for how 1945-1956 was more than an interregnum between the war and the stability of staidness of the 1950s or even the radical 1960s.

The place of the Church in society and in the lives of Canadian citizens is traced through chapters on commemoration, radio-broadcasting and ministry, the Royal Commission on Education, immigration, and the ecumenical movement. Each chapter focuses on a key area of church activism or policy advocacy. Using evidence pulled from each of the mainline Protestant churches as well as the secular and religious presses, provincial and government archives, and the archives of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation moves this study of religion outside of a strictly denominational focus. The
Canadian social and religious components of this dissertation are not taken as discrete areas of history, but rather inform one another. From the everyday commemoration of the fallen to the broader ecumenical movement, understanding how religious belief was dynamic during this decade allows us to analyze better why religion remained important and relevant to Canadian citizens, and how it became diffused or even diluted in society.
Acknowledgments

It is exciting to experience this project coming to a close, and to contemplate the possibilities of a life and career beyond the dissertation. I have taken the long way around to finishing this work, but I believe the perspective of having two babies and balancing the priorities of family and career has enriched it. I have been so very fortunate in my life and training as a historian to be supported by mentors, friends, and family.

The Department of History at the University of Toronto, and the Jeanne Armour Fund for Canadian graduate students helped to support my work financially. I am appreciative of the many archives that I visited: Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa, the Archives of Ontario in Toronto, the Anglican Diocese Archives in Toronto, the Presbyterian Church in Canada archives, the United Church of Canada archives in Toronto, the CBC digital archives, records from the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, and the holdings of the University of Toronto library system have helped to provide the wealth of material upon which this study is based. Late in the game, Dave Gall kindly shared some of his own research with me to enhance the breadth and depth of my first chapter.

My graduate experience has been a very rewarding one, made the more so by the mentorship of my supervisor. I am deeply grateful to Dr. Mark McGowan whose keen eye for detail has made this work much better, and who has understood beyond question the need to balance the priorities of family and work. He has been a role model for positivity, work ethic, and integrity.

As my project came together, I have been lucky to have a number of people read, comment, or talk through various aspects of this dissertation. The lovely members of the Canadian Society of Church History have provided a warm and positive environment in which to present my ideas at the annual conferences. Their feedback has been very useful, and their collegiality rewarding. My committee members, Drs. Robert Bothwell and Doris Bergen have been encouraging and incisive in their comments. I am thankful for their time and help. I am also grateful to my colleagues Laura Smith and Michael Wilcox who not only provided insightful feedback during our writing group sessions, but also encouragement and friendship throughout graduate school. Michael, in particular, has kept me on my toes during our on-going games of scrabble!

My love of history has deep roots. I remember listening to my grandfather, with toothpick in his mouth, recount tales of his childhood. His stories and the time spent with him are happy early memories for me, and also a reminder that in between analyzing evidence we need to tell stories. Bill Mattys’ World Religions course at Central Secondary School in my hometown of London, Ontario first piqued my interest in the subject matter that has long dominated my historical apprenticeship. To the other teachers who encouraged me to think big: Phil Harris, John Cox, and Daina Janitis – thank you. Beyond these gifted teachers, I owe thanks to numerous colleagues and family: Warren, and Jude, and Zach and Shari Shaw, Sarah Teefy, and Scott Robson have all been my boosters. Peter Mersereau has been a friend from day one in the program. Denis McKim has set the bar high for scholarship, skillful adjective use, and kindness. His guidance and advice have been most appreciated, as has his continued friendship.

I am particularly lucky to have met Beth Jewett and Brad Miller. Beth and I bonded en route to tutorials in Scarborough and our friendship has been fast and strong
ever since. Her quiet encouragement and unfailing support has made her a true friend and a kindred spirit. Brad Miller has similarly become a person to whom I can always turn for insight, advice, encouragement, and friendship. He is wickedly smart, funny, and a sweetheart to boot. Truly some of the happiest evenings have been spent in the company of Brad and his partner, Josh. Beth, Brad, and Josh have become more than friends – they are my extended family and I treasure their place in my life dearly.

My own family has been incredible. I tease that I am the “black sheep” having not gone into the family business: law. Joking aside, I have never been made to feel this way. Meredith and Andrew are the best siblings a girl could ask for, and our shared history and continued friendship is something I cherish. From a very young age, my love of all things historical has been nurtured by family trips across Canada and through to the southern United States. My father, Andre Rady, is interested in a huge range of subjects but especially history, and never satisfied until he has read a copious amount on a topic. I admire him and his appetite for knowledge. My mom, Helen Rady, is similarly encyclopaedic in what she knows and what she can recall. My parents’ intellectual curiosity and fidelity to clear argument and good evidence is something I strive to replicate. They have been loving and supportive, and I happily look forward to our coffee pot chats each morning. I will always treasure my Mom’s company on a couple of my research trips to Ottawa. While I am certainly thankful for the room and board she helped me with on these trips, more importantly I value and remember the companionship (especially on one when I was 81/2 months pregnant!).

Jeremy Shaw and I have been married eleven+ years. We have two beautiful, bright, and energetic boys, Henry and Hayden, who have given me boundless perspective (and not just a few grey hairs). It is a privilege and my greatest pleasure to be their mother. It is difficult to express adequately how grateful I am to Jeremy for his unfailing support and love. In him I have a partner. My best supporter, he never questioned that I should pursue a project and career that I loved. And he makes me laugh – every day. I love the life that we have built and continue to build together, and it is to him that I dedicate this work.
# Table of Contents

Abstract .................................................. ii

Acknowledgments ....................................... v

Introduction – Locating the Protestant Churches in the “World of To-Morrow” .......... 1

1 – Let our Thanksgiving be our Thanks-Living .................................................. 33

2 – Preaching to the “Living-Room Congregants” ............................................... 81

3 – A New “Hope” in Religious Education ......................................................... 126

4 – “Custodians of Christian Tradition”: The Churches and Immigration ............ 183

5 – Light on the Horizon: The Canadian Council of Churches and the ecumenical moment .................................................. 240

Conclusion – “Between Earth and High Heaven” .............................................. 295

Bibliography .................................................. 301
Introduction: Locating the Protestant Churches in the “World of To-Morrow”¹

Published in 1944 and winner of the Governor General Award for Fiction that same year, Gwethalyn Graham’s *Earth and High Heaven* explored the place of racism, religion, and class in Canadian society. The best-selling novel examined the love affair between Mark, a Jewish man from a working-class Northern Ontario town, and Erica, a member of the Montreal Protestant elite against the backdrop of the Second World War. Not only did the book address the uncertainty caused by war, it highlighted the tensions between denominational and linguistic groups in Canada. Jewish and Protestant, and French and English fissures framed the interactions of the characters. The place and influence of faith was at the heart of the book. Over the course of Mark and Erica’s courtship, they confronted issues of religious and social prejudices, and discussed what the war meant for society as they contemplated their future.

The future preoccupied much of Erica and Mark’s thoughts. The characters tried to imagine what life would be after the war was over:

Change was to Erica the only permanent condition of life; she had no idea what tomorrow would be like, except that it would be different from yesterday and today. The more you could learn to do without, the safer you were; security consisted in travelling light and staking your happiness on a few fundamentals of a non-material nature which could not, or at least were unlikely to be taken away from you.²

The characters expressed concern about security in the post-war world. In part, this concern stemmed from the uncertainty about belonging in society, and the prejudices that could undermine communities such as a person’s religious background or ethnicity. The uncertainty the couple experienced manifested itself most poignantly when they

---

discussed in which faith tradition to raise their future children. Mark assumed the children would be Jewish; Erica did not and was concerned about how they might be treated by others. Despite all the hardships that Jewish people faced that the Holocaust had painfully brought to light, Judaism remained a source of social and class tension in Canada. Anti-Semitism prevailed.  

Despite the possibility (and uncertainty) that the future brought in terms of changing society, old attitudes and prejudices continued to influence social policy and decorum. In the novel, Mark asserts that it was easier to grow up knowing that you were Jewish, rather than learn about it in your adulthood and the forced assimilation to Catholicism or Protestantism like that which occurred in Austria and Germany. Mark goes on to comment that many immigrants or refugees who call themselves Catholic or Protestant were suspected of “really being Jewish.”

“What is a Jew?” Mark wondered. “Race, race suffering, and race achievement” informed his sense of identity more than religion did. Cultural clashes amplified any latent religious conflict. Such conflict was no more virulent than in Quebec where the French-Canadian Catholic majority looked with disdain upon the Jewish minority in the province. However, in the immediate post-war years, Anti-Semitism began to lessen in the province. A more socially tolerant clergy, the movement towards urbanization and the attendant secularization that accompanied such a change, and avenues of dialogue, which

---

5 Ibid
6 Ibid, 289.
opened amongst Catholic and Jewish intellectuals, helped to elicit a sea change, albeit a small one.\textsuperscript{8}

Graham’s novel effectively highlights the uncertainty about the future and how old traditions would continue to manifest in the post-war world. She articulated the way that religious prejudice did not exist in a vacuum. Judgments and ideas about faith were suffused with other social issues; ideas about class, politics, and culture modified and sometimes amplified underlying prejudice and tension. Graham’s work might portray the story of two religious “outsiders” within their communities, but her themes resonate more broadly. Canadian society and its deep ambivalence about the years to follow is distilled beautifully in this piece of literature. Religion was a touchstone for finding a way to comprehend changing society, and at the same time it was a ritual, institution, or tradition that was called into question by that society.

The decade after the war was a key moment for a generation of Canadians who had lived through so much hardship. It was a decade of reconstruction and hope, of Cold War and fear. It was a decade marked by the juggling of the promise and possibilities that modernization and peace provided with the harsh realities of a new geo-political climate. While the country was quick to mobilize for the start of the war, it took much longer to disengage fully from a wartime mentality, economy, and society. The generation that went to war was the same generation that returned. They were scarred. The Great Depression, too, had taken its toll on Canadian society, and the war exacerbated feelings of uncertainty initiated during the turmoil of the dirty thirties and deepened by the global conflict of 1939. After 1945, the quick rearmament and Cold War mentality complicated

\textsuperscript{8} Tulchinsky, \textit{Canada’s Jews}, 409-411
feelings of insecurity not only on a national scale but also at the level of the individual and the community. People sought answers to basic questions: why was there such atrocity and conflict? Why did people suffer?

As it had for centuries, religion provided a ritual, language, and space for people to ask and process these questions. Especially for the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Churches in Canada the war years and certainly the post-war years were a time when they probed such questions in the national and international contexts. These questions naturally extended into the contemplation of what the future might hold. What would “normalcy” look like after such destruction and in a global Cold War? For the churches, the promise of post-war reconstruction proved an opportunity for engagement in the political and social life of the country. It also intensified feelings of religious ennui amongst Canadian citizens. The church as an institution was at a crossroads.

The post-war decade was a moment when traditional institutions dynamically engaged with their communities in Canada and asked what needed to change and what ought to stay the same. For many churches, this meant engaging in the forces of modernization: new technology, a shifting population based upon large-scale immigration, and a new geo-political climate. Ideas about citizenship, duty, and goodness were continually evaluated and questioned. Frequently, historians can overlook this post-war decade. It gets bound up in the 1950s and observations about increased social conservatism. This period was more than an interregnum between the war and the stability or staidness of the 1950s or even the radical 1960s.

Over the course of the post-war decade, this dissertation traces the contours of reconstruction and how the churches influenced and were influenced by changing society.
The “story of Canada’s post-war possibilities is one to challenge the imagination” touted one glossy tome issued by the Canadian government in 1945. The optimistic, and rather encyclopaedic, volume explored the opportunities available in the years following the war. It was an exciting time. It was a challenging time. The very possibilities that sparked the imagination were tempered by the reality of what could actually be achieved. The mainline churches felt this precarious balance acutely.

This work considers the chief Protestant Churches in Ontario as they sought to minister to a shifting population and tried to balance ideas about traditional values with a desire to remain relevant and modern. The United Church of Canada, the Anglican Church, and the Presbyterian Church in Canada all had their national headquarters based in Ontario. Ontario had the largest concentration of Protestants in Canada, and remained as historian Mark Noll has captured it, “the heart of Canadian Protestantism [that] continued to absorb European influences alongside influences from the States and its own indigenous development.” Irrespective of population or attendance, it is a challenge to assess religious feeling. What a person affirms to others or in public might not necessarily reflect his or her private feelings or beliefs. Trends or patterns of behaviour and speech by individuals or groups can give an indication and provide insight into the relationship between faith and society. In order to gauge religious feeling, this work uses data from newspapers, sermons, government correspondence, church meeting minutes, and city records. A certain amount of extrapolation is also necessary. For example, a

---

9 Canada in World War II, Post-war possibilities, 1.
sermon not only echoes the issues upon which the minister wants to focus the
congregation’s attention, but also likely reflects the congregation’s own questions or
issues brought to the minister’s attention. While Ontario is the main focus of this study,
the churches themselves talked nationally, and in so doing this dissertation follows their
lead and balances the provincial milieu with countrywide rhetoric to consider the impact
of faith on society.

The Protestant churches represented a significant number of people’s beliefs and
religious conviction, but they did not have a monopolistic religious authority in Canada.
The Roman Catholic Church was influential, and will certainly receive treatment within
these pages; however, it is the way the Protestants attempted to retain their
congregational numbers, adapted and reacted to changing society that organizes this
work. In some ways, the challenges to Protestant religious life differed from that of their
Catholic brethren. Catholicism was firmly entrenched, especially in Quebec, and the
challenges to the Catholic faith were delayed. The Quiet Revolution of the 1960s that
mirrored the change in religious thinking spurred by Vatican II posed a far more
significant shift in doctrinal thinking and practice than any preceding event since the
Enlightenment.11 The Protestant change was far more subtle and occurred earlier. José
Igartua called it “The Other Quiet Revolution” in his book of the same name that
explored the transition of Canada from a dominion within the British Empire into its own

---

(Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007) for a more expansive study of
religious and cultural change in Quebec.
civic nation after the end of the war. Curiously, religion remained absent as an analytical category within his work.

This dissertation examines the changing place of religion in society and argues that in this particular time period churches dynamically engaged in reformulating their place in society. Regardless of creed, churches created a space where citizens could find both a link to traditional values (as laid out in the Bible) and also a place where they could understand the changes in society.

The Protestant churches repositioned themselves in the years after the Second World War. They upheld those values and beliefs that had carried the churches for nearly two thousand years: God’s grace, love of one’s neighbours, honesty, social works, fear of God, faith, and a moral life based on the ten commandments and the Beatitudes, to name but a few. They also worked to become cultural brokers between government groups and the populace. The churches could serve as a mouthpiece for the values of the people when lobbying the government for change; they could represent and safeguard the hearts and minds of citizens. Conversely, they worked with the government and larger public agencies such as those for immigration or the national broadcast system to bring the needs of the government and its policies closer to people. One of the strongest examples lay in the way that Protestant churches championed “good” citizenship. In fact, citizenship was a touchstone for many conversations about the role of the Church in modern society. They became a place where citizenship could become more than an idea espoused in policy documents.

---

The United Church of Canada, the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and the Anglican Church of Canada loom large in Canadian religious history. They are suitable to study together because of so many shared traits. While they might differ dogmatically, the goals and aims of these church bodies aligned with one another. Because this dissertation addresses broader patterns of religious participation and belief it follows that the mainline Protestant churches be examined together. Within each chapter, each denomination’s initiatives or ideas will be treated distinctly but with the underlying understanding that more united the three than divided them.

The Anglican Church or the Church of England dates to the Reformation in the early 16th century in Germany. Martin Luther allegedly nailed his 95 theses to door of the All Saints Church in Wittenberg in 1517. Luther opposed the practices of indulgences and desired justification by faith alone. In other words, only God could determine the righteousness of an individual. Luther’s response to papal corruption and a growing population spurred anti-Catholic ideas and movements to spread across Europe. The invention of the printing press helped to carry these new ideas across borders. In 1529, King Henry VIII of England who had grown tired of his wife and lack of male heir broke with the Catholic Church in order to secure an anulment (and a new bride). By 1537, Henry declared himself head of a new church body separate from Roman authority. The schism with Rome put religious belief in a state of flux. Henry was not alone in his challenge of Catholicism, and following the English Reformation variations of Protestant

---

belief followed and flourished into new Churches. In Scotland, the Presbyterian Church emerged.\textsuperscript{14}

Anglicanism differed from its Catholic antecedents in a few key ways. The full list was articulated in the \textit{39 Articles} that laid out the basis of Anglican theology. Of note, Anglicans rejected the idea of purgatory, the liturgy had to be in the language of the people (as opposed to Latin), ministers were allowed to marry, and they did not recognize the Pope’s authority in England. The King (or Queen) became the head of the Church and the key spiritual leader was the Archbishop of Canterbury. A convocation, or broader assembly of high-level clergy, organized and made decisions about the direction of doctrine and the Church. This new theological trajectory carried over to the new world on the ships of explorers and settlers.

The Anglican Church flourished in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. Clergymen and chaplains with exploration companies like the Hudson’s Bay arrived to establish parishes and spread the word. Settlers and communities soon followed and the church became a key fixture of daily life in the new land. During the American Revolution, United Empire Loyalists immigrated north to Upper Canada carrying with them their faith and traditions.\textsuperscript{15} The very organization of land in the province, the township system, reflected the deep-roots of the Anglican Church in Canada. Clergy reserves accounted for one seventh of the land secured in the province under the terms of the Constitution Act of 1791. In Upper Canada and Nova Scotia, the Church of England was the established state church, as it also was in Lower Canada (although there, Roman Catholicism remained the

\textsuperscript{14} Hans J. Hillerbrand, \textit{The Division of Christendom: Christianity in the Sixteenth Century}, (Westminster: John Knox Press, 2007).

\textsuperscript{15} Noll, \textit{A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada}, 122-132.
primary ecclesiastical influence). The church sought to expand its influence westward across Canada, and mounted a concerted effort from its early days in North America to convert indigenous populations.

In Canada, the first synods were organized in the 1850s with greater expansion of lands and settlement, and roughly coincided with the abolition of the clergy reserves in that same decade. The Canadian Synod of the Anglican Church held its first national meeting in 1893. The national synod, presided over by an Archbishop, was further divided into four provincial synods, and then later into twenty-nine diocesan synods. This strong church hierarchy formed the basis for a loyal and ordered society. The Bible provided the bedrock of faith and culture. For William Westfall, religion and the State worked together to restrain the population into a loyal, ordered society.

When the church first came to present-day Canada, it was under the purview of the church hierarchy in England. Even though church expansion had slowed considerably into the twentieth century, by the 1940s and 1950s, the Church of England in Canada remained one of the most populous denominations. The Book of Common Prayer was the foundational text for worship, and Anglicans viewed themselves as part of the establishment church. But just as the Reformation opened the door to sectarian difference, a new land and new interpretations of scripture invited further division.

The Presbyterian Church in Canada came to Canada with settlers in the 18th century, but like the Anglican Church had roots to the Protestant Reformation. John Calvin author of Institutes of the Christian Religion in 1536 is considered the father of

---

17 Ibid, 23.
18 Ibid.
Presbyterianism. Calvin called for local church governance and popular participation as opposed to the episcopal structure of the Roman Catholic Church (or “corporate episcopacy”). God could be present in the lives of anyone if he or she opened his or heart to His grace and love. Calvin’s challenge was radical. He advocated educating all classes. An individual’s relationship with God existed regardless of where he or she was born and the individual had the power to discern his or her own divine purpose. Calvin’s reforms were put to the test in Geneva (a city infamous for its moral decrepitude). He established a new church order composed of four ministries: pastors, teachers of the Word, elders, and deacons. These ministries and the church’s firm attitude towards morality, dress, eating, drinking, and social behaviour remain hallmarks of the denomination. As Calvin’s ideas spread, they shifted and were remade by new thinkers.

John Knox of Scotland appreciated the egalitarian spirit of Calvin’s church vision. He wished the same educational equality and religious sensibility for his country. The religious reformation in Scotland made the Presbyterian Church to that country what the Anglican Church was to England. The Scottish Church endured controversy, upheaval, and vigorous debates about patronage and church structure. The Enlightenment provided a healthy dose of rationalism and compromise. As John Moir put it, “the Church of Scotland seemed to offer a cold, impersonal, devitalized religion that earned the dominant group in the Church the apt title of ‘Moderates.’” Like so much of the history

---

20 Ibid, 4-5.
21 Ibid, 4.
23 Ibid, 18-19.
of early British North America, the ideas, attitudes, and divisions of the church travelled across the Atlantic with the settlers.

In his dissertation on the early Presbyterian worldview in Canada, Denis McKim noted that early Presbyterianism in Canada can too easily be defined by its subgroups or divisiveness. McKim calls attention to the underlying and unified thought that brought the denominational community together.\textsuperscript{24} An anti-Catholic ethos, the entrenched belief in God’s providential design and the need to propagate this belief, and a British imperial zeal suffused the early Presbyterian churches.\textsuperscript{25} The belief in God’s design for the universe where the good would be rewarded and the wicked punished was and remains a defining trait of the church. These ties bound the church together even as it experienced upheaval and division.\textsuperscript{26} The denomination formally became the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1875 when the Free Kirk and the Church of Scotland came together in union, and was the largest Protestant denomination in Canada.\textsuperscript{27} It was a tremendous moment of unity that espoused a form of Presbyterianism separate from the Presbyterianism of England, Wales, or the United States.\textsuperscript{28} Descended from its Scotch tradition, the Presbyterian Church in Canada championed a missionary zeal, voluntarism, and evangelicalism. These traits carried endured through the Social Gospel of the early

\textsuperscript{24} Denis McKim, \textit{Boundless Dominion: Providence, Politics, and the Early Canadian Presbyterian Worldview 1815-1875}, Diss. University of Toronto, 49-50. McKim’s dissertation offers an excellent and thoroughly researched appraisal of the early Presbyterian Church in Canada.
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid, 51-52.
\textsuperscript{26} One of the most significant points of cleavage was the Disruption of 1844 when the Church of Scotland split. For more information, see John Moir, \textit{Enduring Witness}.
\textsuperscript{27} Moir, \textit{Enduring Witness}, 144.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid, 143.
twentieth century until church unity was once more challenged in the movement for a United Church of Canada in 1925.

Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Methodists came together after decades of discussion and negotiations to form the United Church of Canada in an effort to unite Protestants. The process for union began in 1899, taking years to negotiate how these denominations could come together into one church body. Disagreement amongst Presbyterians, the largest Protestant denomination in Canada according to the 1921 census, about whether to join the union movement contributed to the slow process, and ultimately a division in that church. In roughly a 70/30 split, the Presbyterian Church divided; the majority joined church union and the remaining third opted to continue within their own denominational tradition. The Anglican Church and the Baptist Convention remained noticeably absent from the movement. Initially supportive, Anglicans pulled away from participating within the first decade of discussions. Despite the Presbyterian split and the loss of Anglican support, upon its inaugural service in June 1925, the United Church was a robust and populous church.


31 Ibid, 8.

32 McIntire, “Unity Among Many”, 5-6.

33 Ibid, 21.
The United Church, as one might surmise from its name, aimed to consolidate and bring together different faith traditions into a national church body. As C.T. McIntire aptly put it, “the national aspirations of the new church were so important that Canada displaced Christ in the name.” It projected the image of a national church, observed Mary Vipond, “not in the sense of being an established state church, but in terms of the sense of duty and obligation which it felt toward the whole national community.”

Despite this new lofty aim for a religious body, the church hierarchy was not dissimilar from the denominations upon which it drew. A General Council oversaw the entire church under which there were conferences, presbyteries, the local church or preaching place, pastoral charges, and members. A strong missionary spirit, a robust and active female church membership, and a doctrinal program that brought together the commonalities between the uniting bodies were the hallmarks of the indigenous church.

After Union in 1925, the United Church worked to make Sunday services and its liturgy a vibrant and vital part of the life of its congregants. The strengthening of Canada’s social service sector proved an early challenge to the new church. Non-religious groups had begun to run services (like community outreach, inner-city missions, etc) that the church had traditionally run. The United Church took up other pressing social concerns that continued to define its social programme even after the war:

---

36 McIntire, “Unity Among Many,” 17.
37 Airhart, The Church with the Soul of a Nation, 87-89.
temperance, juvenile delinquency, gambling, and education became the focus of church efforts to engage in and with greater society.

The United Church, too, faced financial pressures. The new church body took on debt to purchase church buildings from the former Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians. Some parishes were lucky and had a wealthy benefactor such as Timothy Eaton Church on St. Clair Avenue in Toronto.\(^{38}\) For many others, they had mortgages to pay off. The “national” church had to confront the reality of paying for its overhead across the country and abroad in the foreign missions they inherited. The Depression, too, had a significant effect upon the finances of the United Church. The budget shrank and the UCC had to do more with less. They prioritized paying off debts, and relied heavily on the ability of individual congregations to raise funds to help maintain churches and provide services.\(^{39}\)

The first half of the twentieth century was a time of significant change and restructuring for all the churches under study. Each vied for a political voice in the country. Each sought to engage the population in the life and faith of the church. Each sought to parlay local ministry into broader social change whether through social programming, missionary work, or political advocacy. Even though creedal differences persisted, the Second World War especially made apparent that more united than divided the churches. During the decade that followed the war, the ties that bound the churches together were intensified in order to fight the godless scourge of communism that

---

\(^{38}\) See Roberto Perrin, *The Many Rooms of this House: Diversity in Toronto’s Places of Worship since 1940*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017). Perrin’s book focuses on Toronto’s churches and how they grew up as part of communities within the city and reflected the prevailing class and racial make-up of particular city neighbourhoods.

\(^{39}\) Airhart, *The Church with the Soul of a Nation*, 97-100.
threatened the fragile peace in the world. The early Cold War, before the full emergence of a bi-polar world in the mid-1950s, was marked by increased concern about secularization and the need of the churches to contribute to a just and stable world.\textsuperscript{40}

The timeframe of this dissertation follows a simple trajectory of the end of the Second World War until the major Cold War dilemma of the Suez crisis of 1956 coupled with the Hungarian Revolution and a new influx of political asylum seekers. The Suez crisis signaled a shift in the geopolitical arena. The burgeoning bi-polar world of 1945 became firmly entrenched with the Middle East crisis. When Hungary refused to sign the Warsaw Pact and student demonstrations were violently suppressed by Soviet police, the threat of communism became a seemingly more imminent danger as the relationship between Hungary and the rest of the Eastern Bloc with the United States deteriorated.

Within Canada, Ontarians elected Leslie Frost as Premier in 1948 after the five-year tenure of George Drew. Frost and his Progressive Conservative government remained in the provincial legislature until 1961 and provided consistent and tranquil governance throughout the early post-war era.\textsuperscript{41} Frost’s “political machine” and his popular support within the province helped John Diefenbaker and the Conservative party to carry the 1957 federal election.\textsuperscript{42} “Dief the Chief” and his minority government replaced Prime Minister Louis St Laurent and his Liberals. The baby boom had begun by the mid 1950s. Modern life and its technological advancement became the status quo

\textsuperscript{41} For a more robust biography, see Roger Graham, \textit{Old Man Ontario: Leslie Miscampbell Frost}, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).
instead of mere novelty. This moment of unprecedented prosperity, developed welfare states, high modernity, and advanced capitalism,\textsuperscript{43} juxtaposed against a degree of stability provided by continuous Conservative provincial governance provides a great chance to examine the balancing act or even tension between change and tradition in the immediate post-war decade.

Each of the following chapters addresses a specific theme during this period of time. The themes and ideas themselves are not discrete. They all function as part of a larger project of reconstruction and the challenges of modernization. Reconstruction refers to the consistent political and economic capital invested in Canadian social and technological infrastructure in order to build society anew.\textsuperscript{44} Politicians, citizens, ministers, and other members across all sectors of the public employed the term reconstruction in reference to the post-war period and the common goal of building Canadian society up again.\textsuperscript{45} There was one fly in the ointment. It was unclear exactly what was being rebuilt because of such a prolonged period of instability in society prior to 1945.

The transition from war-time to peace-time was marked by dreams of a robust future just as much as it was about reestablishing the hallmarks of a storied past.\textsuperscript{46} Religion mattered in this period because people still went to church. It mattered because


\textsuperscript{44} Ibid, 3-5.


the churches wanted to remain a central institution in the life and society of Canadians. It mattered because it provided a language of consolation and hope for the future. It mattered because religious ideas and values still permeated society. Historian Gayle Thrift noted that during this period, United Churchmen “sought to reinforce Christian values as a unifying and cohesive force in Canada to thwart the aggressive propaganda and idealistic zealotry of expansionist Communism.”47 The Cold War, whether explicitly or implicitly referenced in the archival records, provided the animating context within which discussions about society, citizenship, and the future occurred.

Taken together, this dissertation seeks to contribute to three main historiographical trends at work that trace the complexities of the history of the early Cold War period in Canada. First, it reassesses the place of religion in the growing social history literature on post-war Canada. Much has been written about the place of women in society, social conservatism, and the rise of juvenile delinquency. Religion remains marginalized in these works and within this aspect of the discipline. Religion and the strength of a person’s religious conviction remain difficult to quantify beyond the numbers of church attendance found in the Gallup poll. This difficulty can make works on the subject fraught with surmises and conjecture. However, sources like sermons, radio broadcasts, public debates, and newspapers (to name a few) contain much insight into a population’s feelings about religion and belief. These sources reveal the issues that preoccupied citizens and show the myriad of reactions to geopolitical events.

Alongside Canada’s social history, this volume expands upon Canadian religious historiography. It seeks to look more broadly at the mainline Protestant churches and move a study of religion outside of a denominational focus. It knits the concerns of religious institutions into a broader survey of post-war Ontario. In this way, the Canadian social and religious components of this dissertation are not taken as discrete areas of history, but rather they inform one another. A great wealth of studies have been conducted into the religious life of the 19th century in Canada. William Westfall’s *Two Worlds* is an intellectual history that traces how Protestant life shifted over the course of the century from a view that saw people as waiting and living for the next world to a view that understood people as part of the world. This change in Protestant worldview reflected the factionalism that came to typify many Protestant churches, as well as the way religious faith and practice adapted to and reflected local iterations.

Protestantism in Canada continued to reflect changing trends in religion as well as society. The Social Gospel that emphasized the importance of good works and attendance to the poor or less fortunate in society became more pronounced as industrialization in Canada occurred in earnest in the 1890s. Richard Allen’s *The Social Passion* traces the strong Anglican, Methodist, and Presbyterian influence upon ideas about social action and government reform. Allen’s work spans 1914 to 1926 and argues that conservative, progressive, and radical emphases were the markers of the broader movement.

---

48 It is worth noting that Ontario’s assumption for considering itself the centre of Canada is at work in this decade, too. The churches under study spoke with a national voice even if that voice did not necessarily reflect the regional variation within Canada. They projected their influence and ideas outwards, eliding the borders between Ontario and Canada.
Conservative proponents were closest to evangelicals and identified that sin rested in individual acts. Radicals saw sin or evil as endemic to society; social salvation would pave the way for individual salvation. Progressives charted the ground in between and took ideas from both extremes to help fuel a broader programme of reform and social change. The Social Service Congress of 1914, the rise of Canadian labour churches after 1918, prohibition, and the union of the Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians in 1925 are but a few examples of this shifting way that Protestantism worked in society.

Ramsay Cook and David Marshall similarly have been interested in the way Protestantism was at work in society. Cook’s *The Regenerators* and Marshall’s *Secularizing the Faith* both take up the Social Gospel and its effect on society. Where Allen’s perspective looked towards the institutional churches, Cook and Marshall look towards society and the place of the church in that society. Both authors contend that religion and reform displaced the central role of the Church in Canadian society as new groups emerged to help the poor, run social welfare programs, or spearhead education.51 In a twist of irony, according to Marshall the clergy’s very engagement with modernity contributed to the secularization in Canada.

Not all historians have shared Cook and Marshall’s point of view. Taking issue with the broad definition that Marshall used to describe the secularization process, Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau charted the decline in religious life as a by-product of the welfare state of the 1930s. Marshall understood secularization generally as the “context of how religious beliefs and institutions adapt to social, cultural, and intellectual

---

change.”\textsuperscript{52} Christie and Gauvreau see the process more specifically as a cleaving of religious values from society marked by a drop in church attendance, and the marginalization of the church institution from everyday life that shifted the burden of responsibility for the welfare of Canadians from church to government.\textsuperscript{53} Despite a marked difference of interpretation, Allen, Cook, Marshall, Gauvreau, and Christie all account for the place of Protestantism in Canadian society. Regardless of the historians’ particular viewpoint and critique of religion and secularization, each understands religion as a persistent, living force in Canadian public life.

To depict adequately and thoughtfully the shifts of religious belief in society is a challenge. Marguerite Van Die noted that it has become a considerable source of debate amongst academics about how to interpret the separation between the secular and the sacred. She also argued that, “informed observers […] have begun to challenge the conclusion that secularization and the privatization of religion are natural partners.”\textsuperscript{54} Of belief in the twentieth century Phyllis Airhart observed that, “old patterns of interaction among church, family, and community were being disrupted. The threat that modern culture posed to the church was a theme regularly sounded by seasoned ministers, professors, and church executives…”\textsuperscript{55} Both Van Die and Airhart have charted a slightly different approach to the issue of secularization in Canada. They examined the church’s relationship to public life and identified points of either disruption or continuity within

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{52} Marshall, \textit{Secularizing the Faith}, 7.
  \item \textsuperscript{54} Marguerite Van Die, “Introduction,” in \textit{Religion and Public Life in Canada: Historical and Comparative Perspectives}, Marguerite Van Die, ed., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001) 3.
  \item \textsuperscript{55} Phyllis D. Airhart, \textit{A Church with the Soul of a Nation}, (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2014) 157.
\end{itemize}
the Canadian experience in order to illustrate how faith interacted with politics, economics, and culture.

More recently, Paul Laverdure’s examination of *Sunday in Canada* also focused upon the shifting tenor of public life over the course of the first half of the twentieth century.\(^{56}\) He argued that social changes that included ethnic diversification, time itself, and denominational fragmentation caused “the decline of traditional sabbatarian authority” that did not necessarily signal a secular society, but certainly a culture in which public life had become less tethered to the church.\(^{57}\) Gary Miedema’s work, *For Canada’s Sake*, took up the question of the place of religion in society in the 1960s.\(^{58}\) Miedema argued for the continued importance of religion in the everyday lives of Canadians. He explored the impact of faith through a focus on the religious overtones, rituals, and practices during Canada’s centennial year. He concluded that in 1967 Canadians’ public identity was in flux, and so too was their relationship to how religion helped to define that public identity.\(^{59}\) Since the war, Canadian identity had become untethered from a strictly Anglo-Protestant definition. While Miedema asserted that the mainline Protestant (and Catholic) Churches had to learn how to be Christian in Canadian public life in the 1960s, this trend stretched back to the Second World War. Tina Block has similarly argued for the importance of examining “lived religion” in her analysis of “the secular northwest” between 1950 and 1970 in order to ascertain the place of religion

\(^{56}\) Paul Laverdure, *Sunday in Canada*, (Saskatchewan: Gravelbooks, 2004).  
\(^{57}\) Laverdure, *Sunday in Canada*, 196.  
\(^{59}\) Ibid, 200.
Block’s work looked more broadly at religion as a “set of beliefs, structures and practices” that helped people to order their worldview rather than Christianity specifically. She argues that northwest secularity was time and place specific. It was unique and significantly influenced by markers of gender, race, and class.

Laverdure, Miedema, and Block’s works contribute to the discussion about the need to examine “lived religion,” and identify the importance of taking into account region in any appraisal of church life (or lack thereof). Belief or religious practices reflected the dominant culture or region but also affected it. These historical inquiries have started to bridge the gap in the record between the welfare state and the “comfortable pew” in order to temper a narrative of secularization in Canadian society in favour of a more moderate analysis of the shifting influence of religion on Canadian lives, society, and politics. My dissertation continues this trend. It draws upon religious and historical theories coming out of Britain in order to understand better how Christianity could remain so prominent in society, yet become increasingly relegated to the outskirts of public life.

Most recently used in his work on the British soldiers of the First and Second World Wars, Michael Snape developed the idea of “diffusive Christianity.” Snape defined the term as a non-doctrinal and non-dogmatic religion that stressed the ethical

---

62 The “comfortable pew” was a term coined by Pierre Berton in his excoriation of the place of the Anglican Church in Canada published as *The Comfortable Pew: A Critical Look at Christianity and the Establishment in the New Age* (Toronto: McClelland and Steward, 1965).
and social utility of religion.63 Throughout his book that reassessed the vibrancy of
religion in early to mid-century Britain he argued that in Britain people identified as
Christian without regularly attending church services. Stephen Parker’s study of popular
religion in Birmingham, England drew similar conclusions to Snape. Parker contended
that “diffusive Christianity” made faith more resilient; “neither popular religion nor the
Churches were peripheral to the people’s lives […]” and the rituals and symbols of
religion continued to have a pervasive presence in public life.64 The fall-out of waning
court church attendance did not necessarily correlate to a lack of religious faith. Rather, this
religion of “good works” allowed for prayer and ‘traditional’ views and ideas but which
could operate outside the bounds of conventional religious observance.65 A person’s faith
became about their self-identification as a Christian more than their active attendance at
worship services. Thus far, ideas about diffusive Christianity are still in their embryonic
phase, and have not been addressed within the Canadian context. The strong Anglo
tradition aside, there are other reasons to consider this model of religious practice or
observance for Canada. Frequently, Canadian religious history and Canadian social
history are viewed as mutually exclusive. To that end, religious history is marginalized as
a component of society rather than a process that informed and influenced social trends.66

---

63 Michael Snape, God and the British Soldier, (Religion and the British Army in the First
64 Stephen Parker, Faith on the Home Front: Aspects of Church Life and Popular
65 Snape, God and the British Soldier, 23-28. For an excellent micro study on the impact
of diffusive Christianity in Britain, see Clive D. Field’s “Puzzled People Revisited:
Religious Believing and Belonging in Wartime Britain, 1939-1945” in Twentieth Century
British History (Vol 19, No. 4, 2008), 446-479.
66 McGowan, Mark G., “Coming out of the Cloister: Some Reflections on Developments
Studies (1.2, 1991), 176.
Religion or faith or spirituality worked in tandem with other social beliefs and practices. Understanding the way Christianity became “diffused” in society provides useful linkages between religious histories and the social, political, and economic histories of the country.

Diffusive Christianity, too, is best understood when the mainstream religious traditions are taken into account. Examining the United Church, the Anglican Church, and the Presbyterian Church together provides a more expansive framework for the discussion of the place of religion in society. It is by no means exhaustive or definitive. It does point to the most pressing concerns shared by the greatest number of Protestant Christians. Ontario was home to the national headquarters of each of these churches. While this study is geographically centered in Ontario, like the churches it is nationally minded in its scope and takes its cues from the concerns and issues raised in the Protestant bodies and so casts an interpretive net across the nation. These churches thought that spoke with a national voice, so despite regional nuances in Canada,

There are some unavoidable gaps. During the 1940s and 1950s evangelicalism gained even more traction, especially across the prairies. Evangelical faiths, such as the Baptists gained members. Their program for change and a more felt religion appealed to citizens feeling disenfranchised with the answers of more traditional creeds.67 The

---

vibrancy of Biblical interpretations espoused by evangelicals lent itself naturally to new media and great personalities like “Bible” Bill Aberhart. This dissertation acknowledges the allure and influence of these religions, especially to a growing immigrant culture in the West. But despite the growing influence of evangelicalism, the UCC, the Anglicans, and the Presbyterians remained the central Protestant force in the country. This dissertation seeks to see a broader pattern of action amongst the mainline Protestant groups. At times, one particular denomination is highlighted over others because of relevance, but it does try to balance evidence from all three denominations on the whole.

All three of the mainline Protestant Churches had extensive missions at home and abroad. These programs remain outside of the scope of this dissertation. Residential schools remain a dark chapter during the time period under scrutiny. The United Church of Canada engaged in an extensive program of assimilation to “help” Native children cast off their indigenous roots. This very serious and controversial chapter in Canadian history is well documented by J.R. Miller in Shingwauk’s Vision. Discussion of residential schools and the church illuminate a larger argument about the perils of assimilation, cultural genocide, and the many forms of violence that accompanied the project of Canada-building and a national program to assimilate indigenous cultures that had a long-lasting and traumatic effect on native communities. The 2015 release of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s report on residential schools provided a detailed account of

by Michael Wilkinson (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2009) provides an examination of the revival culture and charismatic Christianity of this particular faith tradition.

the atrocities committed against a vulnerable and marginalized group in Canada. The history of abuse and violence is an exceedingly important chapter in Canadian religious history. Acknowledging, reinserting, and understanding native experiences are an important part of the reconciliation process. It also requires a level of scholarly attention that this study of the church institutions in mainstream public life could not adequately convey with sensitivity and academic rigour.

The long decade of 1945-1956 was a time when the churches moved to position themselves as a buffer between secular institutions and bedlam. Bedlam remained the unknown future, the ramifications of new technologies, the changing pace of society, or the shifting values that defined that society. Reverend Dr. William Gallagher of the United Church of Canada preached on “God in the Modern World” in 1924 in Meaford, Ontario. He attested that, “Science has not destroyed the need for God, [but] has enhanced it.” “Science certainly has changed ideas about God – but this is not detrimental – it has shown a greater expansion of the universe and spiritual matters, therefore, made all the more meaningful to explore.”

Religion, God, faith, and spirituality had a continued and important place in society in 1945 as it did twenty years earlier in 1924. The task of the churches was to explore and find the ways in which God remained meaningful to people and public life. The following five chapters keep this premise central to their discussion and trace the place of Protestant Christianity in discussions of commemoration, broadcasting, education, immigration, and ecumenism.


The first chapter focuses upon the commemoration of the Second World War and the way that the creation of collective memory functioned. At a time of acute transition, memorialization reflected the uncertainty about how to understand the war. Commemoration became a project of community-building and citizenship-building. It became a duty to remember the war and to live in a way that honoured the sacrifice of the fallen. The churches, amongst other community shareholders, actively crafted a message of citizenship alongside commemoration activities. This chapter examines the way Christianity influenced the memorialization of war just as it had after the Great War. It contrasts the two conflicts to note what changes the Second World War wrought on commemoration activities, but what aspects remained the same. This chapter also draws upon works about diffusive Christianity, the idea that Christian identification did not necessarily correlate to patterns of church attendance, to provide some insight into the way religion informed people’s identities and their relationship to the state.

The second chapter looks at religion and the radio – the “electronic pulpit.” The churches had courted a broader congregation through radio since the medium’s advent. Faith-based programming comprised a way to reach beyond the pews and potentially to reach individuals who had not gone to church for some time. Apart from religious radio hours on Sunday, the churches mounted an increasingly vibrant programme of religious-themed broadcasting. In the post-war decade radio became all the more important to the churches because it became a mechanism of modernization. It became a venue in which religion remained relevant, revelatory, and connected to a large group of people. Radio did not become a proxy for the church or a church service. It extended and enlarged the scope of religion. Some historians might interpret the push for broadcasting as the
response to the mounting forces of secularization. Radio did offer an avenue for churches to remain relevant and adapt, but such an explanation overly simplifies the changes. This chapter asks in what ways radio was both a way forward for the churches but also a natural extension of ministry.

The third chapter demonstrates the Protestant Churches’ public engagement. The Hope Report, the short form for the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, was released in 1950 after years of exhaustive study and briefs. The report, the province’s first on education, was heavily influenced by the churches and is a document that reflects thinking at the time about the nature of education, citizenship, and social engagement. More importantly, this chapter demonstrates the way the churches envisioned religion as a touchstone for strong public school curriculum. The Hope Report was a document informed by the changing thinking in the period, exemplifying the way that, contrary to conventional interpretation, the post-war decade was dynamic in its thinking. Education in Ontario is a perennially controversial topic. The Hope Report reflects a moment when tensions respecting separate schooling and curriculum came to a head and were suffused with the broader international context of a new Cold War ethos. It was divisive, too. The Catholic Commissioners dissented and wrote a minority report. For the Protestant Churches, education provided a substantive means to engage in the democratic process. Their advocacy and activism was a clear indication of how the church leaders understood the church’s place in society: as a leader and partner with the government.

---

71 Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau have notably discussed secularization in Canada and have tied the process to the social change in the 1930s and 1940s in their book *A Full-Orbed Christianity*. A more thorough discussion of their work and ideas can be found in chapter 5.
Chapter four examines immigration. Newcomers to Canada were frequently greeted and guided by the church. This chapter has a two-fold purpose. First, to look at church minutes and materials to assess how church leaders organized and viewed immigration as an asset to congregation building. Second, it engages in the wealth of immigration literature that has emerged in the scholarly community and probes the marginal religious presence in such scholarship. After three chapters that have looked to how the churches defined citizenship and ministry, this chapter assesses how those definitions were tested with so many new people entering the country. Immigrants carried with them ideas of the home country, as well as their own memories of war and hardship. Immigration was one challenge, while integration into greater Canadian society was another. The churches, unable to participate in policy decision-making, refocused on integration. Faith became the great unifier that bridged cultural, linguistic, and historical differences.

The final chapter addresses the ecumenical movement and the spirit of inter-denominational cooperation that preceded the war and exploded afterwards. The rather lofty goal of cooperation between various denominations had an international precedent. The World Council of Churches paved the way for national iterations. In 1945 the Canadian Council of Churches had its first meeting. Much of the work of the ecumenical movement in Canada was heavy on discussion. It is questionable as to whether the outcome of these discussions bore any fruit apart from opening a dialogue. It also is easy to dismiss ecumenism as a last ditch effort to stem the rising tide of secularism.  

72 Of particular note to a discussion of secularization are the following works: Callum Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800-2000* (London: Routledge, 2001); Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late
chapter confounds a straightforward declensionist narrative of religion. Ecumenism was certainly a response to a secularizing society. It was and is an example of the dynamic ways that religious ideas, beliefs, and practices were adapted by church leaders and congregations.

Two key arguments tie this history of the mainline Protestant churches together. Each chapter, as previously noted, traces a significant area in which the churches actively engaged in Canadian society and public life. C.D. Howe “looked to the future with confidence.” So, too, did the churches. Canada could be reinvented and remade. Reconstruction meant new potential. Throughout the following five chapters reconstruction provides a key impetus or motivation for the churches’ engagement in public life. Leonard Kuffert’s work about post-war reconstruction calls attention to the tension between modern life and the broader desire for an engaged public sphere. The threat to religious belief amplified this tension for Protestants. Peace came at a cost. With the promise of a war-free future came the responsibility to uphold the values and traditions that helped the Allies to victory and the preservation of “western” civilization. Citizenship was the touchstone for conversations about the future and how the churches

---

*Victorian English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985); Michael Gauvreau and Nancy Christie, “Even the Hippies were only very slowly going secular”: Dechristianization and the Culture of Individualism in North America and Western Europe,” in *The Sixties and Beyond,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013) 3-38; David Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

73 “Minister of Reconstruction Confident about Future,” in *The Hamilton Spectator,* February 11, 1946.


could engage with the public. If a person was a good Christian then he or she was a good citizen.

The place of Christianity in society itself shifted constantly. As the second key argument, this dissertation contends that by looking at ideas of diffusive Christianity, we can gain a clearer picture of the way that churches and citizens adapted and shaped religious ideas according to their experiences. From the everyday commemoration of the fallen to the broader ecumenical movement, understanding how religious belief was dynamic during this decade allows us to analyze better why religion remained important and relevant to Canadian citizens and their identity. It also helps to countermand a strictly declensionist interpretation of religion in Canada. Throughout the following chapters, religion remained present in everyday life. It remained present in the education system, in matters of immigration, and in mass culture. The mainline Protestant churches tried to guide their institutions as dogma and church ritual became less important to the self-identification as Christian. These chapters trace the efforts of the United Church, the Presbyterian Church, and the Anglican Church to modernize without sacrificing any of the values or ideas that they argued had helped to support, define, and strengthen Canadian society. The churches saw themselves as key players in helping Canada and Canadians to “to take their proper place of importance in the World of To-morrow, and they await with confidence the peaceful struggles of the future.”

---

1 – “Let our Thanksgiving be our Thanks-Living”

In a heartfelt letter to *The Globe and Mail*, Laura Nixon Haynes of St Catharine’s, Ontario wrote that to commemorate the fallen of the Second World War adequately, “each part of our Dominion [needs to] recognize the equality of sacrifice and concede [the] equality of remembrance.”¹ The Second World War marked the second global conflict for a generation of Canadians. Haynes and others had not only a duty to commemorate the sacrifice of the fallen but also, more importantly, a duty to live in a way that honoured the memory of the sacrifice. Haynes’ letter is representative of how many of her fellow Canadians felt about the Second World War. Numerous citizens wrote to the daily papers to express an opinion as to how to remember the war and to move forward. “The best human ideals”² had to be engrained in the legacy of the fallen for the new world order. While many shared a similar conviction that commemoration was a crucial duty, the question of how to commemorate the Second World War posed a challenge.

To start, the National War Memorial erected to honour the dead of the Great War of 1914-1918 had only recently been unveiled and dedicated in 1939. A Royal visit coincided with the unveiling, and there was no clearer connection between Canada and Britain than that of the King and Queen marking the sacrifice of their Canadian subjects.³ When Germany invaded Poland and England went to war not long after the visit “the

² Ibid
³ Jonathan Vance, *Maple Leaf Empire: Canada, Britain, and the Two World Wars*, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2012) 146. It was even longer before the inscription of the Second World War was dedicated. In 1982 the Canadian government finally had a ceremony to rededicate the National Memorial.
children of the Canadian Expeditionary Force were called upon to take up their parents’ quarrel with the foe. Twenty-one years after the Great War, little had changed in Canada. It was a nation tethered to Britain and willing to take up arms for the just cause of championing Canadian (and Christian) civilization.

The end of the war in 1945 blurrily transitioned into the start of the Cold War and the next great fear: the spread of communism. The USSR and its socialist ideology overtly and insidiously threatened democracy and Christianity. The economy trumped or influenced so many other social concerns. C.D. Howe’s Department of Reconstruction swiftly mobilized to shift the Canadian economy from war-time to peace-time without causing Canada to plummet back into a depression. The reason to go to war also influenced its commemoration. Much of the memorialization of the Great War derived from the need to understand and craft a narrative for the conflict. The cause of the Second World War was more knowable. It was the “necessary war.” While both wars shared the overriding concern to battle the forces of evil, evil had a clearer face and form in Hitler and the Nazis.

The post-war moment was conceived as a new starting point for a spiritually reinvigorated society. “A renewed and strengthened church” would help to transform “the country’s spiritual and social fabric.” The broader project of spiritual rehabilitation or reconstruction meant using the lessons of the conflict to engage Canadian society in a

---

4 Vance, Maple Leaf Empire, 146.
conversation about what the conflict meant for Canada’s religious values and how those values were made manifest in society. Commemoration was a significant part of this citizenship-building project. As Haynes’ so beautifully wrote in her letter, Canadians had to honour the equality of sacrifice with the equality of remembrance. In commemoration, the ideals and values that Canadians wanted to carry forward into the post-war era manifested in the edifices and rituals that were created to commemorate the fallen.

This chapter explores memorialization after 1945. It does so in four parts. First, it looks at the work of commemoration after the Great War in order to assess the shifts after 1945. Many themes carried over from 1918 to 1945, but the cultural, social, and political climate that emerged after the Second World War altered the tenor of memorialization. To understand what changed, it is first important to look at what stayed the same. Second, the chapter looks at the key groups or actors that spearheaded commemoration projects. No single individual came forward to articulate a specific vision for memorials. Instead, this chapter examines groups like the Protestant churches and the Royal Canadian Legion among others that together crafted a vocabulary and structure for Canadians to use to remember the fallen. In looking at these groups, it becomes clear that commemoration reflected a local, community-driven effort as opposed to a “top-down” national project. Third, the chapter addresses how people talked about remembrance and conflict. Drawing from sermons, newspaper editorials, church meeting minutes, and parliamentary debates this section explores the impact of religion and religious thinking about crafting a narrative of remembrance. It shows how memorialization became about more than concrete edifices and bronze tablets (although those continued to exist); commemoration needed to infuse spaces large and small. Finally, this chapter ends with a brief discussion
of the Korean conflict and another shift in commemoration practices. Maybe ennui had set in, but by the 1950s the imperative to remember took a backseat to the rhetoric of living.

In a dissertation that ultimately examines the place of religion and the mainline Protestant churches in everyday life, it might seem curious to see these institutions take a backseat in this chapter. It is perhaps useful to see this chapter as evidence of the deeply felt religious values that imbued Canadian society. The conversations and discussions about what constituted an adequate memorial reflected the shifting relationship citizens had with their own religious ideas and values. It is in the language, rituals, and edifices of memorialization that what constituted a “value” for many Canadians becomes clearer. In the creation of a collective memory the vessels for these memories (monuments, books, reminiscences, commentaries) became repositories for the ideas and ideals that erected them. With time and changing society, new social concerns and ideas got transposed onto the old, but that did not wear away the vestiges of what initially helped to create the collective memory. In the case of the First and Second World Wars, Christianity provided the most concrete vocabulary for memorialization, which reflected the prevailing ideas and values of Canadian citizens. Sometimes it reflected a particular creed, but more frequently it evinced a more homogeneous religious culture that diffused (perhaps even diluted) those principles or ideas that multiple Christian denominations shared in common and which citizens associated with their own identity.

Jonathan Vance has argued that while historical theology offered little consolation to soldiers and citizens of the Great War who wanted to understand why such awful things could happen to kind people, “the figure of Jesus Christ and the notion of
redemption through sacrifice […] offered real solace.” Christ’s sacrifice became a
“metaphor for the tragedy of the war.” The metaphor and not the practice and teachings
of the Church “became the spiritual centerpieces of Canada’s memory of the war.”8
Vance’s argument about the memorialization of the First World War naturally extends to
the Second World War. Christianity offered the lexicon for consolation and
commemoration, but it was a language determined, interpreted, and distributed not
necessarily by the institutional churches.

Michael Snape used the term “diffusive Christianity” to describe “an ethically-
based and non-dogmatic form of Christianity, one which derived its currency from a
sense of religion’s social utility and from an almost universal (if generally limited)
measure of religious education.”9 Snape, in turn, borrowed from Callum Brown’s
analysis of Christianity in British society. Brown observed how a person’s religiousity
was not necessarily tethered to his or her involvement in the institutional church; rather, it
reflected how a person crafted his or her identity through the Christianity that permeated
society and culture.10 Despite the growth of evangelical religions and the strong Roman
Catholic influence in the country, Canada shared the tendency towards “diffusive
Christianity” with Britain. This idea of diffusive Christianity is useful in understanding
the post-war decade broadly, and commemoration specifically. It helps to account for a
prevailing Anglo-Protestant bias of religion in the symbols and rituals of

---

8 Vance elaborates upon this idea in his chapter “Christ in Flanders” in Jonathan F.
Vance, Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War, (Vancouver: UBC
9 Michael Snape, God and the British Soldier: Religion and the British Army in the First
10 Callum Brown, The Death of Christian Britain (Christianity and Society in the Modern
memorialization. It also accounts for the fluidity of religious ideas and the public ease with the incorporation of religion into public life and culture. The commemoration of the war reflected this trend in Canada.

Most of the history on commemoration in Canada focuses upon the Great War of 1914-1918. Within the historical field Jonathan Vance’s *Death So Noble* remains the foremost analysis on the topic of the creation of a collective memory and its effects on Canadian society. What began as a way to garner support for the war effort transformed into a nation-building project meant to generate or regenerate an image of Canada on the international stage. After the First World War the Canadian government engaged in a flurry of commemoration activities. It was of the utmost importance to mark the sacrifice of the nation’s fallen soldiers. Vance argued that the consolatory and the explanatory impulses of Great War memorialization represented a broader trend to reconcile the utility of the war for Canada and the horrors that so many Canadians suffered as a result. A memory and myth of the war was constructed using multiple “texts”. These texts included statues, bronze tablets, advertisements, articles, sermons, parades, and ceremonies. Tracing the creation of a shared social memory of the war reflected how the war was shaped and reshaped in relation to political, religious, and cultural considerations.

The acts of commemoration of the Great War helped to create a myth of a noble sacrifice. The ennoblement of the war through events such as parades, national remembrance activities, honour rolls, and the erection of monuments created a myth or a powerful narrative that sought to make sense of the cataclysm of war. This myth had the

---

12 Ibid, 5.
potential to blur class distinctions, social conflicts, and petty regional jealousies; it also could inspire national spirit. In the long term, however, “the dreams of a strong and vibrant pan-Canadian nationalism built on the memory of the Great War were dashed, and the belief that it could be an infinitely more powerful nation-building force than Confederation proved over-optimistic.”

“In the perspective of history, the period between the first and second world wars [sic] now looks more like a regathering of enemy resources, a grim rededication to even greater effort, to complete the world conquest which failed in 1914.” The idealism that followed the First World War did not last, and especially diminished as the nation was plunged into another global fight. The post-1945 moment had to reflect this long history of idealism dashed and the crucial need to not repeat the mistakes of the past that brought about a second war. Regional jealousies, economic problems, and international crises subsumed Pan-Canadian nationalism. The long-term project of First World War memorialization got bound up within this broader context. The project of Second World War commemoration, then, had to account for these inadequacies and help to “find the way to enduring peace” so that the sacrifice made was not a hollow one.

Vance’s work remains one of the finest on social memory and war in Canada. The book highlighted the processes by which memory was created, recreated, and sustained. The consideration of the Second World War in a similar manner sustains some of Vance’s arguments and modifies others. In fact, in his chapter for a book on the Second World War honouring historian Terry Copp, “An Open Door to a Better Future”, Vance

---

13 Vance, *Death So Noble*, 256.
14 Ibid, 258.
16 Ibid
revisited collective memory after 1945.\footnote{Jonathan Vance, “An Open Door to a Better Future” in Geoffrey Hayes, Mike Bechthold, and Matt Symes, eds., \textit{Canada and the Second World War: Essays in Honour of Terry Copp} (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press): 461-477.} Vance pointed out that the language of Second World War memorialization drew from the 1910s in large part because the veterans of the Great War crafted practices and language of commemoration in 1945.\footnote{Ibid, 463.} He observed, as this chapter does, that commemoration literature, activity, and rituals did not proliferate as they did in 1918, which is also reflected in fewer sources.

Commemoration activities were nothing if not practical. Why build something that had already been erected? A 1944 Gallup poll indicated that a decided majority of respondents (90\%) desired “useful” memorials such as “playgrounds, hospitals, gardens, etc.”\footnote{Gallup Poll of Canada, Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, Saturday November 11, 1944.} Remembrance ceremonies continued to occur on November 11 because it was already an established and well-known date. The memory of the Second World War got written into the script for First World War memorialization.\footnote{Vance, “An Open Door to a Better Future,” 476.} Vance concluded that Canadians did not have much need for the usable past after 1945, a key aspect of social memory: “the present seemed too good and the future all too promising.”\footnote{Ibid, 477.} While Canadians did indeed focus a great deal upon the future, it is not wholly convincing that they completely turned their backs on the past. During the first decade after the war, Canadians looked to the future while keeping a weather eye on the past.

It is helpful to draw upon European works about commemoration and collective memory to contextualize post-1945 Canadian social memory. European scholars have a longer historical tradition discussing themes of memory and history. Many of the most
formative works on the topic focus upon the First World War. Paul Fussell’s *The Great War and Modern Memory* brought together texts such as art and literature to show the wide-ranging way that war and trauma was translated and understood in society. Through these varying cultural artefacts, a narrative of war and sacrifice was created and sustained.\(^2\) Similarly, Pierre Nora’s *Les Lieux des Memoire* identified the places that were repositories for individual memories, and collectively these individual memories produced a cultural memory. Significantly, Nora differentiated between history and memory. Memory was borne of places and experience. History was borne of the reconstruction or representation of these memories.

The act of historicization of trauma or conflict attempted to impose order upon memory. This process was well articulated in Jay Winter’s *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*. Winter broadened the scope of Nora’s ideas and places them in an international and comparative context in his examination of the First World War. The sites of mourning and memory operated together to construct a socially accepted meaning for the war. The creation of a memorial signified the shared grief of society.\(^3\) In his later work, *War and Remembrance*, Winter and his co-editor Emmanuel Sivan investigated the way remembrance was de-centralized in a society while the State remained a key “producer and choreographer” for the reason and machinery of remembrance.\(^4\)

---


relationship between the State and its component parts is a key way to understand the “complex and enduring social activity”\textsuperscript{25} of remembrance in Canada.

The commemoration of the First and Second World Wars shared the need to represent the loss of life and aspire to create a society worthy of the legacy and the sacrifice of the fallen. After 1945, the nation-building exercise of commemoration associated with 1918 shifted or even fragmented. Memorials had already been built so the question of what to do for Second World War veterans caused some concern. The quick onset of the Cold War and preoccupying and dizzying pace of modernization also contributed to a different memorial culture in 1945. But as memorialization is inherently a political and social act, which reflects the prevailing values and traditions of a society, commemoration after the Second World War echoed the broader political or social moment. Winter commented upon this rupture in his work on the Great War. The language of mourning used in 1918 no longer conveyed the same meaning after 1945. “Many of the commemorating forms created after 1918 were intended to warn.”\textsuperscript{26} A second war meant that the warning went unheeded. Much of the work of crafting meaning for the cause of conflict in 1945 revolved around understanding why the destruction of war occurred again so soon after a horrific clash.

Memory and history have a complicated relationship. History is dependent on memory for its substance and narrative power. Memory, however, is not reliable. An historical interpretation or theory of an event is cobbled together from a variety of perspectives in order to present an explanation for the historical processes at work. What is remembered and prioritized is both an individual and a communal act distilled through

\textsuperscript{25} Winter and Sivan, “Setting the Framework,” 39.

\textsuperscript{26} Winter, Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning, 9.
a historian’s balancing of evidence and interpretation. Beyond history is the act of mythologizing the past: creating a narrative that is composed of individual memory, collective memory, and history. The myth of the First World War was of the atrocity and noble sacrifice. Commemoration reflected this myth in large edifices and solemn ceremonies. The myth was different after 1945. For the Second World War, the focus shifted to how memorials needed to inspire the living to greater acts of citizenship. Commemoration worked as part of a larger project of community and citizen building. Memorialization of the war did not rest solely with the churches, but the language of religion and the influence of the churches keenly impacted commemoration.

There were three unique facets to post-World War Two commemoration. First, the vocabulary of commemoration was religious. It drew upon ubiquitous religious symbols that eclipsed denominational or creedal differences. The words used to talk about memorialization reflected prevailing Christian ideas about democracy and citizenship. Second, commemoration was built upon existing memorial infrastructure put in place after the Great War. As a result, after 1945, commemoration fragmented to reflect many different styles or modes of memorialization. Third, while there were

27 There have been many excellent theoretical examinations of the relationship between memory and history. Notably, Patrick H. Hutton, History as an Art of Memory, (Burlington: University Press of New England, 1993) distinguishes between critical historical interpretation and oral traditions. He calls attention to how individual memory both recollects a past moment but also reconstructs it in different ways as the temporal distance between an event and its memory increases. For Hutton, memory is individual, but commemoration reflects the act of collective memory, which in turn is shaped by broader social structures or institutions. Dominick LaCapra, Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory Trauma, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), calls attention to the tension that exists between memory and history. Whereas memory can be unreliable and fragmentary (often as a response to a “working-through” of trauma), history seeks objectivity and reliability. The historian’s job is not to replicate memory, but instead to use it alongside evidence, context, and interpretation to provide a conceptualization of an experience or period in time.
similarities with the commemoration of the Great War, Second World War memorialization toned down the rhetoric of ennoblement and instead emphasized the duty or imperative to remember. These trends were not mutually exclusive; instead, as we trace how citizens commemorated the Second World, we can see each at work.

It should come as no surprise that religion played a role in commemoration. During the war, the chaplaincy service actively worked to minister to the troops. Thomas Hamilton’s excellent dissertation on the padres during WWII accounted for the active role of 1,253 Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis, as well as 446 Roman Catholic priests as they donned their chaplain khaki to minister to the soldiers overseas.  

Hamilton’s work demonstrates the way faith and/or religion was intertwined with the active forces. Chaplains were agents of morale and for the faithful they had an essential role in maintaining the spiritual health of the service men and women. The Chaplains, too, acted as agents of the institutional churches. The Presbyterian Church in Canada issued the pamphlet *The Armour of God* in 1941. The tiny book was not a prayer book. “It [was] simply a word of counsel from home.” In seventeen pages, the Committee of Chaplaincy Service described why there was a war and what a soldier could do to insure him or herself from being perverted by violence. Christian civilization hung in the

---

28 Thomas James Hamilton, *Padres Under Fire: A Study of the Canadian Chaplaincy Services (Protestant and Roman Catholic) in the Second World War*, (PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 2003) 7. Hamilton’s dissertation focuses upon the work of the chaplains overseas. His work fills a gap in military history in Canada that tends to focus on battles and the “big picture.” Hamilton’s focus upon morale and the spiritual upkeep of soldiers demonstrates a thoughtful method by which historians can understand the preoccupations of soldiers and the churches.


30 Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, Committee on Chaplaincy Service, *The Armour of God*, the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1941, 3.

31 Ibid
balance of the battles of World War II. “Fighting against ‘spiritual wickedness in high places’”32 soldiers had a duty to home and to greater civilization to defend the values that they held dear. Soldiers were the “‘pillars’ of the Church in the Field.”33 The church extended and transcended the bounds of the nation. Hamilton made two points worth noting that support the argument for a shifting rapport between distinct denomination-centric worship and broader pan-Christian beliefs. First, chaplains did religious work within a secular frame. Second, any distinction between the sacred and the profane collapsed in the moment of battle for chaplains and soldiers.34

The imagery of soldiers as Knights of Christianity emphasized the connection between the Church and nation at home and abroad. Issued by the Anglican, Baptist, Presbyterian Churches, the Salvation Army, the United Church, and Y.M.C.A. For the Men in the Forces echoed sentiments shared by other pamphlet literature: the transcendent nature of Christianity, the need to connect and maintain a relationship with a chaplain, and the importance of prayer.35 “A Knight’s Prayer” was included in the booklet:

My Lord, I am ready on the threshold of this new day to go forth armed with Thy power, seeing adventure on the high road, to right wrong, to overcome evil, to suffer wounds and endure pain if need be, but in all things to serve Thee bravely, faithfully, joyfully that at the end of the day’s labour, kneeling to Thy blessing, Thou mayest find no blot upon my shield.36

32 Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, Committee on Chaplaincy Service, The Armour of God, the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1941, 5.
33 Ibid 17.
34 Hamilton, Padres Under Fire, 405-406.
35 Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives. For the Men in the Forces No. 2 issued by the Committee on Chaplaincy Service. Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 15.
36 Ibid
It is not novel to superimpose the imagery of soldiers with those of Knights. Like the Great War, soldiers marched to do righteous battle against a “heathen” enemy. Faith was the shield that endured. The “Knight’s Prayer” couched armed service in the vocabulary of duty and sacrifice. The nation-state was raised up.

References to the Book of Revelation also flourished next to the parallels of going to war with the crusades. “The Four Horsemen Ride Again” wrote one citizen to the *Colborne Express*. Famine, Pestilence, Death, and War trampled “millions of innocent victims.” As citizens made sense of war, the Bible provided a useful way to understand why horror could exist and the salvation that came from duty and fighting against such evil. Commemoration of war incorporated these ideas and themes. The collective remembrance of war shaped and reshaped the ideas borne during the war and fused them with the reconstructive impulse after the war. Individual memories of the conflict came together with public displays of memorialization to produce a more homogeneous explanation of conflict that could be contextualized in society more broadly.

After the First World War, the need to commemorate the sacrifices of the fallen dominated the agenda of citizens, government officials, and churches. The call to memorialize the dead was not so urgent in the aftermath of the Second World War.

---

37 Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble*, 35-38. See also Duff Crerar, *Padres in No Man’s Land*. Crerar discusses the way chaplains ministered to soldiers in the trenches using the language of sacrifice that Vance connects to a crusade mentality.

38 “Four Horsemen Ride Again” in *The Colborne Express*, (77. No. 8) Thursday, February 24, 1944, 1.

39 Ibid

40 Jay Winter, and Emmanuel Sivan, “Setting the Framework,” in *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, eds., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 6-10. Much of my framework for collective remembrance is influenced from the work of Winter and Sivan who discuss the relationship of everyday and individual memories and their transformation into a social memory.
commemoration activities. The infrastructure for commemoration was already in place because of the Great War. Memorials, ceremonies, and remembrance largely followed the same formula. In some cases, Second World War memorialization could be considered an easier task: there was no difficulty establishing the reason for fighting in 1939 as there was in 1914. The conflict with Hitler and Nazi Germany created a clearer narrative of good triumphing over evil. In the aftermath of the Second World War, however, the issue facing government and citizens about memorialization was how to mark properly the sacrifice of the dead without it becoming subsumed by the Great War’s legacy. As Canadian society shifted swiftly to a booming post-war economy, how could the country mark the sacrifice as purely as it could? What did goodness mean in the post-1945 world and who defined that goodness?

Memorialization reflected the changed approach to commemoration. It was portable. It emphasized the future as much as it did the past. It underscored that to remember comprised a fundamental part of a citizen’s duty to his or her country. The Colborne Express proclaimed on May 10th 1945 “Let Our Thanksgiving be our Thanks-living!” The article championed service for others and country to “win the peace as we’ve won the war.” After 1945, churches, local municipalities, the Legion, and other citizen

---

41 George Mosse’s Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990) conducts a good discussion about the shift from “the Myth of the War Experience” that intensified nationalist zeal across Europe to a dismissal of this narrative after the Second World War. Mosse argues that the discussion about the mode of commemoration correlates to the difference in perception amongst people of the reason for the war. See especially Mosse’s chapter “World War II, the Myth, and the Postwar Generation”, 201-225.

42 “Let our Thanksgiving be our Thanks-Living,” in The Colborne Express, May 10th, 1945, 1.
groups took the lead in organizing and executing ceremonies, services, and dedications that commemorated the sacrifice of those who went to war and never returned.

The Second World War affected all levels of society, and all levels of society mourned those who gave their lives for the Allied cause. The Imperial Order, Daughters of the Empire (IODE) established a bursary for women who lost mothers or fathers during the war. The bursary was meant to be a “living memorial” that would “give a sense of responsibility to the dependents.” In Newmarket, Ontario, a broadcast of sacred music from the Church steeple served as a memorial in honour “of the boys in Newmarket.” The music could convey the message of the Church to the people and provide an outlet “for Christian service to all who wished to avail themselves of the opportunity.”

Churches, organizations like the IODE, the government, and concerned citizens all sought to make sense of the conflict through its memorialization. More importantly, memorials needed to commemorate not only the sacrifice made, but also the duty to honour that sacrifice going forward.

---

44 Ibid
45 “Plan Church Broadcast as Memorials to Warriors” *Newmarket Era and Express*, Wed May 23, 1945 pp1
46 Ibid
47 In addition to Jonathan Vance’s work on the commemoration of the Great War in *Death So Noble*, it is worth consulting these other works on history and commemoration: Denise Thomson, “National Sorrow, National Pride: Commemoration of War in Canada 1918-1945,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 30.4 (Winter 1995/96); Andrew M. Shanken, “Planning Memory: Living Memorials in the United States during WWII,” *Art Bulletin* 84.1 (March 2002) 130-147; of particular note is Mark Osborn Humphries, “Between Commemoration and History: The Historiography of the Canadian Corps and Military Overseas”, *Canadian Historical Review* 95.3 (September 2014) 384-397, in which Humphries argues for a transnational approach to historicizing the war. He attests that
continued after 1945. Understandably, the acts of commemoration changed over time. The emphasis of memorialization shifted to its practicality and portability. The shared memory of the trauma of war was transformed into public works projects or ventures that also sought to transform the duty to defend into a duty to remember. Commemoration could become the source of positive change and active citizenship.

At a national level, existing memorial infrastructure was expanded to include the Second World War. In 1947, Arnold Heeney, the Clerk of the Privy Council and Secretary to the Cabinet, confirmed the Cabinet decision to include the dates of the Second World War on existing monuments with the Department of Public Works.48 It made great practical sense to have the memorials dedicated to the Great War become memorials dedicated to all of Canada’s fallen. The designs of war arches could not be fundamentally altered. Instead, the government commissioned bronze tablets that listed the theatres of war in which Canada had been engaged since 1919 on those frontispieces.49 They also chiseled on the dates of the more recent conflict. Memorials for the Great War became memorials to all the Glorious Dead.

Geographically, many town and city centres already maintained a cenotaph or memorial dedicated to the fallen of the Great War; the question of where to place a new

---

monument was difficult to answer when public real estate was finite. A new memorial could not overshadow or replace the previous monument, but neither could it be placed so as to diminish its own importance. Some communities or individuals did create memorials to the fallen. The Legion brokered requests with the Department of Veterans’ Affairs for grave markers on behalf of families.\(^{50}\) The Legion checked their files for a record of the active duty of the solider before submitting a request – they certified the verity of the war service. The Department of Veterans’ Affairs legislated to provide a standard marker for the graves of certified soldiers.\(^{51}\) The approval of these markers happened relatively quickly and reflected individual acts of mourning. For larger scale monuments to the fallen or acts of public memorialization, the process to accommodate commemoration of the WWII soldiers was slower and had to work around existing monuments.

The government reached the rather elegant solution of altering the existing monuments and memorials to include the dates of the Second World War.\(^{52}\) Contracted through Ottawa manufacturers Pritchard Andrews on Sparks St., municipalities could request a frontispiece for their city halls or churches for their vestries.\(^{53}\) In many ways, this was a “paint by numbers” kind of memorialization that lacked the previous war’s impulse to aggrandize. Certainly, Canadians wished to commemorate the fallen, but how to do so without merely duplicating the memorials of the Great War was a challenge. In a

\(^{50}\) LAC, Royal Canadian Legion Fonds, M-8535 File 55-4 (1947-1954) “War Memorials.”

\(^{51}\) Ibid.

\(^{52}\) LAC, Royal Canadian Legion Fonds, M-8535, File RMC 25-14 “War Memorials,” Memo to Executive of the RMC Club of Canada c. spring 1948.

\(^{53}\) LAC, Royal Canadian Legion Fonds, M-8535 “War Memorials”, Letter from T.D. Anderson, Assistant General Secretary to D.E. Jamieson, Smith Falls, Ontario Legion Secretary, October 4\(^{\text{th}}\), 1948 re: War Memorial plaques.
1954 memorandum, the Minister of Veteran Affairs, Hughes Lapointe, noted that war memorials ought not to replicate monuments of the previous war. The government was concerned that it could become embarrassing if it had to reject costly memorial plans. The Minister of Veterans Affairs recommended the striking of a War Memorials Advisory Committee\textsuperscript{54} in order to pacify anyone who believed the government had dragged its heels to commemorate the war. Speaking from the mid-1950s, Lapointe also referred to the late Prime Minister Mackenzie King’s suggestion that the National Capital Plan ought to be regarded as a national war memorial. Further, he emphasized how Mackenzie King proposed dedicating a building or public space as a suitable memorial.\textsuperscript{55}

The move towards “living memorials” was not without its dissenters. Lapointe’s letter encapsulates a decade’s worth of conversations and debates.

In a letter to the editor of \textit{The Legionary} in 1945, A. Mackenzie of Toronto expressed his concern that the public would too quickly get swept up in the fervour of creating memorials of public spaces and recreational facilities.\textsuperscript{56} Mackenzie applauded the editor’s call to halt the zeal for “living memorials.” He worried that not enough citizens had or would think seriously enough about the implications of a memorial and its purpose. It was “confused thinking” to set money aside for a war memorial only if it doubled as a playground.\textsuperscript{57} \textit{The Legionary} published a second point of view alongside Mackenzie’s criticism. Ian Eisenhardt of Ottawa contended that there could be no better testament to the sacrifice of the fallen than places and spaces created in their memories.

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid
\textsuperscript{56} A. Mackenzie, “War Memorials” in \textit{The Legionary} v.XX no. 9, 1945, 28.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid
that would “allow for the growing up of a physically fit, mentally alert and spiritually disciplined coming generation.”

In January 1950, Runnymede United Church in Toronto unveiled and dedicated an active service roll that included 329 names of men and women who fought. In addition to the more traditional memorial, the Church also consecrated four large stained glass windows and three pairs of smaller windows that bore the names of the 19 members of the congregation who lost their lives during the war. The United Church Observer article about the dedication ceremony, which also included the recitation of a special memorial message from Roy S. Foley (the head of the English department at Danforth Collegiate in Toronto), made reference to the Book of Joshua and the need of an enduring memorial after the deliverance of the children of Israel from a cruel and relentless energy. Regardless of form, the memorial had to withstand the test of time and remain a relevant source of consolation and commemoration. At Runnymede United Church, the sun’s light would shine every week through the new windows, illuminating the names of the fallen onto the parishioners in the pews for the years to come.

The meaning of memorialization was transformed. It no longer meant an act to honour the actions of the past or the remembrance of the dead. It transformed into a responsibility to create a brighter, better future. Like the IODE fund, the Royal Canadian Army Chaplain Corps (Protestant) established the Canadian Chaplains’ Memorial Fund “designed for the advancement of education for children of corps members who lost their

---

58 Ian Eisdenhardt, “Another View” in The Legionary, v.XX, no. 9, 1945, 29.
60 Ibid
lives or dies as a result of active service.”61 Youth seeking ordination could receive further bursaries to help them follow their calling.62 Many within the Corps could think of no better legacy than to help educate a new generation of Canadians, and especially educating some in the Protestant faith.

There was no greater advocate of the duty to remember or the need to preserve a legacy than the Royal Canadian Legion, and the Legion became the primary advocate for veterans after the war.63 In a meeting of the executive of the Legion at their headquarters in Ottawa, they resolved to write to the Prime Minister and urge that suitable and appropriate language be added to existing memorials in order to observe and remember the sacrifice of World War Two veterans.64 The Legion connected the national drive for memorial with the local. The Legion had their national headquarters but also maintained local centres where veterans could seek company with one another. With this structure, the Legion was uniquely suited to advocate for veterans and liaise between national and regional interests. For example, through the local legion halls, the national government could move to roll out tablets that communities could add to their own existing

62 Ibid
63 See Peter Neary’s On to Civvy Street: Canada’s Rehabilitation Program for Veterans of the Second World War (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2011) and Peter Neary’s The Veteran’s Charter and Post-WWII Canada (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1999) for excellent scholarship relating to the acclimatization of soldiers to civilian life in Canada and the institutions that helped veterans of the war.
memorials. When the federal government dragged its heels, the Legion put pressure on the Cabinet to expedite the process:

The Legion views, rather unhappily, the situation in regard to War Memorials all across the country. While some centres have taken steps to add a Second War tablet to the existing memorials, in most cases nothings has been done. We feel that the Dominion Government could and should take steps in this matter by contacting the Provincial Governments who in turn could contact their own communities…

Commemoration lacked an organized national process. The Legion’s memo clearly demonstrated imprecise directives or chains of command when it came to national commemoration. It is unclear to what extent the different branches of government were even communicating with one another. Regardless, memorials seemed low on the government priority list. The slow development of commemoration activity or markers is also indicative of the changing attitudes towards what ought to constitute a memorial. The letters to The Legionary baldly spell out the shift (and division) in thinking about commemoration in Canada – portability and function was important.

To an extent, poppies might be understood as nascent “portable” sites of memory. The Legion coordinated the annual Poppy day activities (now Remembrance Day) and had done so since 1921. Adorning the lapels of citizens, the red flower signified the act of remembrance and the sacrifice of the fallen. Poppies as portable memory sites were also practical; citizens had to encounter and engage with the symbol on a daily basis when they were worn in advance of November 11 ceremonies. Other such practical memorials arose across the province.

---

66 LAC, M-8535 “War Memorials” March 4th, 1949 brief for submission to Cabinet by Dominion Executive Council of the Canadian Legion, Section 6 War Memorials
On June 28th, 1945 The Newmarket Era and Express reported on a town council meeting’s discussion of a war memorial. Newmarket Mayor Dr. L.W. Dales called a special meeting to propose a recreation centre and community hall to mark the sacrifice of fallen Newmarket citizens. In the announcement, Dales remarked that, “the future of this town and this country rests on future generations.” He couched his remarks in an observation that with the war coming to a close there needed to be a facility in which people might come together to secure a future of well-intentioned citizens. Months before the end of the war, The Aurora Era documented a similar conversation about what could constitute an appropriate memorial. A public library, a gymnasium, or a social centre topped the list. As in neighbouring Newmarket, the residents of Aurora liked the idea of a memorial encompassing a large space that had utility for the town.

Memorial arenas such as those in Sault Ste. Marie, Leaside (now a part of Toronto), Essex, and Kingston were all erected as part of a reconstructionist impulse in the post-war period. These recreational facilities were named in honour of Second World War Veterans. Not only did the memorial reflect the pace of modernization and change in the post-war period, these sites were anchored in the memory of the fallen soldiers who gave their lives so other might pursue such recreational activities. While such an observation is rather “on the nose” practical sites of memorialization had to knit together the past and future. Gardens, too, became practical memorial sites like the band shell and

---

67 The Newmarket Era and Express, June 28 1945, 1.
68 Ibid.
69 Ibid
70 The Aurora Era Thursday, November 23rd, 1944, 5.
park established in Oshawa.\textsuperscript{71} Citizens could walk, listen to music, or repose in these places and reflect upon the memory of the departed.\textsuperscript{72} These spaces could provide a sanctuary from the busy world.

So far the Churches have been curiously absent from much of the discussion of large-scale commemoration. Even the Canadian Council of Churches, established to represent multiple denominations, did not engage in large-scale advocacy for commemoration.\textsuperscript{73} Much like communities across Ontario, commemoration in the churches occurred on a local level. Looking widely at the community-driven commemoration projects, a pattern emerged. Ideas about citizenship and morality saturated discussions about memorialization. Churches were active participants and advocates for the duty to remember; however, they attended to their local congregational needs first and foremost. Christian symbols and language permeated memorialization but without a dogmatic attention to theology. Religion diffused and suffused commemoration, circulating religious ideas more widely but also diluting them.

Religious ideas shaded the discussion of memorialization, especially as memorial projects could inspire people to become better citizens. The Grimsby and District Consolidated War Services Committee, established during the war, indicated in its “Grimsby Plan” a commitment to foster a “greater war consciousness.”\textsuperscript{74} A “religious

\textsuperscript{71} “Memorial Park and City’s Outstanding War Memorial, \textit{Oshawa Times}, May 25, 1957, 1.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid
\textsuperscript{73} The CCC, as will be seen in chapter 5, worked to consolidate an ecumenical message. The archival record holds no evidence of advocacy on commemoration issues.
\textsuperscript{74} LAC, Department of National War Services Fonds, RG 44 Volume 8 Dept. of War Services – War Charities Act, file 26: Various Enquiries from Funds re: Registration Under War Charities Act, Letter to J.T. Thorson (Minister of National War Servies) from
aspect” guided the ethical principles of the committee. A commitment to the Christian church underscored a commitment to King and country.\(^75\) Church was discussed generally, but the underlying pledge to attend services, to work for one’s fellow citizens, and to keep faith resonated profoundly in secularizing society. The place of the churches was both more particular and more diffuse. Put another way, the government handled the infrastructure of commemoration while the churches handled the language and sentiment of it.

All the churches had honour rolls to mark the fallen soldiers who had attended the church. For those soldiers who did not make it home, a star appeared beside their name. The Queen St. United Church in the Kawartha Lakes held a service in honour of fallen members and specially noted their names with a start on the honour roll as a sign of the supreme sacrifice of the men.\(^76\) In addition to conducting services, local churches updated their honour rolls after the war and provided programs and help for veterans to re-enter their communities. The Anglican Synod journal points to the way its church worked on issues they deemed important to the life the community. For example, preserving the Lord’s Day or combatting the “grave moral problems” that venereal disease and liquor consumption posed to society constituted a way of preserving the legacy of the Canada for which soldiers went to fight.\(^77\) In addressing memorialization in Canada, two tiers existed. There was the institutional level represented by the federal government and the

---

\(^75\) Russell T. Kelley (Hamilton Business owner – Russell T. Kelley Ltd Advertising), May 4th, 1942.

\(^76\) Ibid

\(^77\) “Memorial Service at Queen St.” in *Kawartha Lakes*, June 7, 1944.

Legion, which worked to provide a consolidated national program to mark the war. There was also the local level in which municipalities, towns, and local churches worked to mark the sacrifice of the individual men and women. A middle ground emerged after the Second World War in “living memorials”.

Locally, commemoration occurred to mark particular people and families. In Timmins, the family of Maxwell A.C. Smith donated an alms dish to St. Paul’s Anglican parish in his memory. In Colborne, Ontario the Ladies’ Auxiliary to the No. 187 Branch Canadian Legion raised funds and erected a cenotaph in Victoria Park to commemorate the fallen of WWII. A large parade marked the unveiling of the monument, and it received its dedication from the rector of Colborne United Church. Unionville, too, unveiled a monument specially dedicated to the Second World War dead in 1948. As in Colborne, the community raised the money for the monument. Traditional modes of commemoration were not absent in post World War II Canada. Many citizens still sought to honour their dead with solemn edifices that could stand the test of time. Still, memorialization had shifted. The importance of moving forward and remembering the sacrifice of those who died in such a way that informed future work and activity became important. The shift in thinking comes out in the debates of Parliament and the Canadian Senate.

The scope and definition of a memorial faced government scrutiny. In November 1945 the House of Commons and later the Senate debated what constituted a memorial in

---

80 Ibid
81 “War Memorial Unveiled at Unionville,” The Liberal, 16 September 1948, 1.
Canada. The debate occurred as a result of proposed changes to Canada’s War Charities Act. A memorial qualified for a tax benefit because so frequently memorials were built using special funds or through a charitable organization. In order to receive money, the memorial had to be registered with the government. As of 1945 the provision with respect to memorials held that,

The War Charities Act requires the registration of any Fund having among its objects any charitable condition arising out of the War. In view of this provision a very substantial proportion of the Funds now registered must remain so as long as they are active in the collection of funds for such objects.82

The amendment on the table in 1945 encompassed then enlargement of the definition of what constituted a memorial. A supporter of the amendment, M.J. Coldwell a CCF Member from Rosetown-Biggars, Saskatchewan liked that the amendment meant that things such as community centres or gardens, libraries or hospitals could be considered adequate memorials, and that memorials themselves could be more than just stone statuary.83 Speaking on behalf of the amendment (no doubt on his soapbox), Coldwell argued that, “When the memorial takes on the form of a recreational facility it inculcates an ethos of activity and vibrancy so necessary, especially in larger cities where there is a predilection for delinquency – especially for those in adolescence where such centres can channel energies for good and not delinquency.”84

82 Acts of the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, War Charities Act 1917 and Regulations and Forms Thereunder, (Ottawa; Printer to the Queen, 1918); also LAC, RG 44 Vol 8 Dept of War Services: War Charities Act, File: unnumbered – War Charities – Act, June 3, 1946 Memo to Deputy Minister from George Pifher re: War Charities Report.
84 Ibid
Coldwell, among other supporters, wanted memorialization to become about community engagement on a year-round basis; the legacy of the soldiers’ sacrifice could live on through good community works. The purpose of the amendment, then, was to enlarge the powers of the War Charities’ Act to include War Memorials as projects acceptable for registration; the current Act and interpretation of War Charity Fund was too narrow and did not bring all types of appeals for War Memorials within the provisions of the Act. The motion to amend, Bill 13, was passed on November 12th, 1945.85

When the bill proceeded to the Senate after leaving the House of Commons, a new debate ensued. The Senate was concerned about the implications of an enlarged memorial definition on the tax benefits those applying for money under the WCA would receive. The amendment met more resistance in the upper house. Senator Antoine Leger of New Brunswick objected to the bill on the grounds that such an amendment was neither “necessary nor desirable.”86 In Leger’s estimation, the amendment amounted to little more than fraud prevention. The government wanted to discourage people from calling anything a memorial and taking advantage of the charitable funds available. Leger argued that fraud was already covered under the Criminal Code of Canada; further the charitable aspect of the bill was also covered under Canada’s Income Tax Act. Furthermore, the inclusion of the amendment risked infringing on the British North America Act, specifically section 92, sub-section 13 that decreed any property and civil

85 House of Commons of Canada, Bill 13 – An Act to amend The War Charities Act, 1939 as passed by the House of Commons, 12th November, 1945
rights were within the provincial jurisdiction to determine.\footnote{British North America Act 1867 s 92 ss13; also The Debates of the Senate – Official Report – Unrevised Edition Vol. LXXXIV No. 30, Thursday, November 29, 1945} Senator Thomas Crerar of Manitoba seconded Leger’s dissent, arguing that “the time of conflict has passed and peace, order, and good government are not threatened so the need for such an amendment seems silly.”\footnote{Ibid}

The Senate debates demonstrate how memorialization had moved away from its more traditional and religiously defined roots. Memorials created after the Second World War were meant both to commemorate the sacrifice of the fallen but also to use the legacy of the sacrifice to inspire future generations. As previously noted, existing cenotaphs and memorial statues were altered to include the new conflict (and which would be altered again to include the Korean conflict in the early 1950s). The sacrifice of the two world wars was linked in common memorial, those who gave their lives during WWII joining the ranks of the many who sacrificed their lives for Canada and freedom before. The top-down nation-building project of commemoration, however, no longer remained. The Honourable Mr. Rupert Davies, the Liberal Senator from Kingston, Ontario, noted in the same debate about the War Charities’ Act that his hometown had established a campaign to raise $225,000 for the purpose of a war memorial in the form of a community centre. The city of Kingston agreed to augment the monies raised by the citizen group with $100,00 to make up the full cost of the centre.\footnote{Senate Debates, 20\textsuperscript{th} Parliament, First Session, Volume 1, 368.}

Fellow Liberal Senator Norman Platt Lambert questioned what oversight Ottawa had for the designs of memorials. He operated under the assumption that the federal
government desired no centralized committee to determine the form of memorials. Speaker of the Senate, Wishart McClea Roberston offered that he “had great difficulty finding anyone who could shed some light on the question whatsoever.” Robertson observed that most memorials’ design and expense seemed to have been left to the discretion of local citizen’s committees. Memorials reflected local efforts more than a centralized, nation-building effort. Any committee struck to examine memorials did not happen until the mid-1950s (as noted earlier in this chapter) under the portfolio of Veteran’s Affairs. In the absence of a grand, national project for commemoration, memorials reflected individual concerns, values, and efforts. Despite objections over redundancy, the bill passed – a clear sign of the trend and desire for “living” memorials, and as a way for the government to assist in defraying the cost.

The variety and character of these memorials is most interesting. From the bursaries and education funds previously noted, the memorial windows or music performances, acts of commemoration became dynamic. In Belleville Ontario the Tabernacle United Church unveiled and dedicated a new memorial chancel, organ, and lighting system. With money raised primarily by “friends of the church,” the refurbished church was rededicated in honour of the war dead in early January 1950. Even though discrete individuals, small groups, parishes, or communities petitioned and manufactured memorials, certain patterns or themes emerged.

---

90 Senate Debates, 20th Parliament, First Session, Volume 1, 368.
91 Ibid
92 Ibid
93 Ibid 370.
95 Ibid
Faith and religious symbolism was one of the most prominent themes. For example, the Military Engineers’ Association of Canada (MEAC) worked to create special memorial documents for those who worked in the engineering corps of the armed services. The MEAC commissioned a special book of remembrance that listed the fallen servicemen and women in the style of an honour roll. The book was dedicated to the bereaved of the fallen. Emblazoned on its front page in the left hand corner a militant angel was marked; the angel was adorned with “the laurel wreath of the immortals, who form a symbolical procession in the broad border at the foot of the page.” The second page was dedicated to the dead. Again, angels figure prominently in the illustration of the page; the angels hold up the cross of remembrance, which itself bears the “martyr’s crown of victory”. The latin phrase “vincet amor patriae” was written across a riband that adorned the cross. The phrase translates as “love of country conquers.” Patriotic love and religious devotion are bound together in the MEAC’s book of remembrance. The sacrifice of the fallen, like that of the soldiers following the Great War, was couched in religious language and imagery. The love of country created martyrs out of those who gave their lives for the cause of freedom in the war.

What is interesting about the MEAC book of remembrance is the lack of proscription in the message. That is to say, the MEAC consulted its own membership about what the inscription and content of the book ought to be instead of copying or using a boilerplate message. For the membership, the religious symbolism was important. It

---

96 LAC, Military Engineers Association of Canada Fonds, MG 28 - 1 23 File: Sapper Memorial, 1914-1918 – 1938-1946, October 18th, 1946 report from Mjr. C.A. Bell (Acting Director) to Lt. Col. F.G. Bird (President of the MEAC) wrt to Roll of Honour
97 Ibid
98 Ibid
placed the sacrifice of peers and friends in a greater context of patriotism. But it was not patriotism simply meaning a love of one’s country, but rather a love of country that was bound up in one’s religious faith. Through death for one’s country, the soldier became a martyr to a larger cause. In an echo of Great War commemoration, there was a strong tie between faith and sacrifice in the 1939 conflict’s memorialization. This was no more clearly evident than in the final pages of the MEAC book remembrance where the poem, “Prayer for Canada”, written in 1911 by Duncan Campbell Scott adorns the last page. The poem celebrates the nation and expresses a wish for a strong and faithful future.  

Sacrifice was a recurring theme in the popular press too.

On November 14, 1944, the Globe and Mail published an article called “War Memorials.” In it the authors argued that, “we believe the valiant youth who have fallen in the war, if they could speak to us, would rejoice in knowing their sacrifices were being commemorated in a form offering prospects of practical benefits to their surviving kindred and friends and to future generations.” Memorials were a way for the dead to live on in the hearts and minds of those who survived. A memorial in whatever form it took became a static totem for the fallen. It represented the loss of life and cause for which that life was given. The authors suggested, too, that the memorial was practical. It solemnly reminded people of war and its cost.

Five years later, in advance of Remembrance Day in 1949, Anglican Minister Reverend R.J. Renison published an editorial in the Globe and Mail. He wrote of the

---

99 MG 28 - I 23 File: Sapper Memorial, 1914-1918 – 1938-1946, October 18th, 1946 report from Mjr. C.A. Bell (Acting Director) to Lt. Col. F.G. Bird (President of the MEAC) wrt to Roll of Honour. Scott is controversial historical figure. The first Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Scott was one of the individuals responsible for the assimilation program for Canada’s indigenous populations.

100 “War Memorials,” The Globe and Mail, November 14, 1944, 6.
need of the Canadian people to “never forget the casualties of war.” The more insidious casualties, he considered, were not those who died but those who returned home “wounded in body, mind, and spirit.” The Second World War was the second total conflict for a generation of citizens. The conversation that occurred about how to memorialize the dead after the Second World War shared many of the same hallmarks as the first, but it was also unique. Reverend Renison’s observation provides one of the best examples of the difference. Having fought a world war for a second time, how did one go about memorializing the conflict without erasing the importance of the most recent conflict by tying to previous commemoration activities? How did one talk about sacrifice? How did one incorporate the living who returned home with a large portion of his or her life sacrificed to the conflict?

The War Amputations of Canada organization (known more colloquially as the War Amps and founded by Great War Padre Lieutenant Colonel Sidney Lambert) appealed to the public to raise funds of their memorial project: a chapel in which a “golden book of memory” would be placed. The book was to contain the names of soldiers of Toronto and area who sacrificed their lives. Each day a war amp would turn the page. The fundraising campaign for the group extended into January of 1946 as a response to many individuals and firms indicating that their funds for donation had been depleted. The plan for the monument and the inability to generate enough money to meet the $500,000 target in a timely manner might indicate memorial fatigue. In 1946 the War Amps introduced their key tag service that assigned a number to person’s keys so

---

102 “Memorial Project”, The Colborne Express, 20 December 1945, 4.
103 Ibid
that in the event of losing the keys they might be returned. These key tags continue to
serve as a means to employ amputees. Conscientiously or not, they are also tiny, portable
memorials that remind citizens of one of the costs of war. The chapel and book might not
have materialized, but the War Amps were part of a larger trend of practical memorials
that paired the cause with practicality.

The Churches maintained a more traditional mode of memorialization. Honour
rolls, either in stone or bronzed, adorn many churches across the province. In the years
immediately following the Second World War churches had unveiling ceremonies for the
new rolls, funded by individual donations to the church. The churches were relied upon
to conduct services. The records of the United Church, the Presbyterian Church in
Canada and the Anglican Church in Canada contain fairly little detail on a Synod level
about commemoration. Most evidence of church involvement was at the parish level.
This division is in keeping with the trend in memorialization already noted in this
chapter: it became a product of local efforts and fundraising. It is perhaps because of a
lack of direct involvement by religious institutions that some people sought more from
their government in terms of commemoration.

Memorialization was not without its critics. In a letter to Prime Minister St
Laurent in 1949, Grace Korski of Manitoba wrote about her bereavement and offered an
impassioned plea for a greater commemoration of the sacrifice of the fallen. Korski
suggested that the ceremonies of remembrance were “re-burial” services but this re-burial

\[105\] The local papers for communities announced the unveilings and advertised the special
memorial service that accompanied these events. Characteristic of these notices is the
lack of detail.
Memorials November 20th, 1949 Letter from Grace Korski (King’s Park MN) to PMO
was somehow absurd: “these dead belong to history and can neither be buried or re-buried…; their spirits are dynamically alive.”

Korski lost two sons to the war while her third son fought and returned home, although not unscathed, she said. Korski particularly feared that the world would plunge into war again. Her letter addresses the excesses and speed of modernization in the post-war period and the ways such “unhealthful self-superiority, self-sufficiency, self-aggrandizement” lauded tycoons or others who could make it rich quickly. Korski asked that ceremonies re-focus their attention to championing goodness in its purist form: the Golden Rule. An individual’s ability to get rich quickly merely constituted an example of “false goodness” wherein the person took advantage of material things and left by the wayside the values of doing good unto others. Korski passionately argued that commemoration ceremonies needed to elevate the serviceman’s sacrifice and duty to show a positive example of true goodness.

Korski received a kind and sympathetic reply from the Prime Minister’s office thanking her for the service of her sons and her heartfelt views. The reply certainly did not address Korski’s letter in any substantial way. Hers was but one of many letters received by the PMO. Her letter is evidence, however, of the investment by Canadian citizens in the ways the war was commemorated and the meaning behind such commemoration. A memorial service only had value if citizens invested it with value. People like Korski wanted that valuation to suggest a noble sacrifice and to offer a continual example for how to live in the coming years. Korski viewed the war as a conflict between good and bad where goodness ruled the day. Goodness was in danger of

---

108 Ibid
109 Ibid
perversion in the post-war period. The commemoration of the dead provided a strong antidote to any symptoms of social malaise if that commemoration thoughtfully spoke to the righteous examples of goodness set by the servicemen and women who fought.

Korski was not the only one to express such a strong opinion about the meaning of commemoration ceremonies. One editorial in Milton, Ontario’s weekly newspaper, *The Canadian Champion*, wondered what lessons citizens could glean from the war. The author noted that there had been a large increase in the number of divorces granted following the war.110 The home had suffered and was threatened. Compared to bombs tearing apart civilization in Europe, what faced the Canadian home was trivial, and yet it threatened the very fabric of society according to the editorial.111 In order to reverse the deleterious effects of a wanton disregard for teamwork or democracy, citizens needed to “fight for the revival of [their] faith in God and let him {sic} talk to [them] in their own hearts.”112

Sermons in the churches and the work of the churches are further evidence of this concern. The Presbyterian Church in Canada records in its Synod journal in 1945 the work of the Board of Evangelism and Church Life and Work: “The Board has considered the Social and Economic problems facing all nations to-day. They have issued a statement from the point of view of the Word of God and sent this statement to all Commissioners. It is our belief that no nation can expect Security, Order, and Spiritual Blessing unless it first accept the *spiritual* and *moral* demands of Christ.”113 A year later,

111 Ibid
112 Ibid
113 Archives of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1The Acts and Proceedings of the 71st General Assembly, (Toronto, Ontario, June 6-14, 1945) 95-6.
in the report for the Board of Evangelism and Social Action, it was noted that there
needed consideration of how to communicate the gospel to an “indifferent age.”
Insidious behaviours manifested in violent crimes, divorce, juvenile delinquency,
drunkenness all pointed to the decline of moral standards in society. The Anglican
Church in Canada’s records show similar concerns, as does the United Church of Canada.
The 1947 report of the Anglican Synod highlighted the increase in divorces, the
glamourization of crime, and the abuse of intoxicants as factors that showed the effect of
the war years on society. The Church’s job had to include curbing these behaviours by
providing safe places and activities to channel the more unsavoury passions of its
citizens.

In the opening of the 1952 session of London, Ontario’s City Council Reverend
Dr. Moore of the Catholic Diocese gave the opening prayer. Moore argued that
“democracy [was] the political expression of the golden rule.” Citizens had responsibility
to each other and to society more broadly. From pulpit to council chambers,
individuals in positions of leadership and influence remarked upon the need to bolster the
civic identity and the moral stability of Canadian society. There is not explicit mention in
these records of commemoration. While correlation is not causation, the similarity in the
vocabulary between memorialization and the relationship between religion and society
bears consideration. The Churches were concerned about the moral decrepitude in

114 Presbyterian Church in Canada archives, “Report for the Board of Evangelism and
115 Ibid
116 Archives of the Anglican Church of Canada, Journal of the Incorporated Synod of the
Diocese of Toronto of the Church of England in Canada, 168-172.
society. Commemoration reflected in public spaces, especially recreational centres that reminded a person of his or her duty as a Canadian citizen provided an avenue to assuage concerns. Commemoration was part of the larger conversation about civic responsibility and morality in society.

The concerns about the duty to remember remained but the insistence of the messages calmed. As the post-war decade proceeded, discussion of moral issues became routine. The Cold War, too, shifted discussions of commemoration. The Korean Police Action begun in 1950 and lasting three years involved a not insignificant number of Canadians. However, its entrance into the collective memory of Canadians took longer and was almost utterly divested of government oversight. The Korean War marked a new period for commemoration in Canada: when all conflict became bound up and remembered together.

If the Second World War was the “necessary war,” then the Korean War was the “forgotten war.” The Korean War, as it has become more popularly recognized, was fought on brutal terrain and in awful conditions. 26,000 Canadians fought in the conflict and 516 soldiers died. While by the numbers the conflict in Korea did not exist on nearly the same scale as the first two World Wars, it did have the notoriety of being a clear, large-scale Cold War battle. The war devastated Korea. Without even the employ of chemical warfare or atomic weaponry, bombing caused the deaths of “possibly as many as four million people.” It pitted not only culturally different forces against one another but did so against the broader ideological conflict that suffused much of the post-1945

---

world. To keep southern Korea from falling to the communist Northern Korean forces that had support from China was a challenge. The United Nations sought cooperation from its member countries to bolster the south under a joint command headed by General Douglas MacArthur and United States, whose mission was to prevent further communist North Korean incursions.\textsuperscript{120} The stalemate and armistice that resulted after years of fighting was a bitter pill to swallow by the western forces. For Canada, Korea represented a test to the country’s new liberal internationalist stance and desire for diplomacy over deployment.\textsuperscript{121} Ideas about Canada’s place in the new international scene dominated discussions.

The Protestant Churches each viewed the Korean Police Action against the important backdrop of holding back communism. The world was restless, and ministry was more urgent.\textsuperscript{122} The world had been “on edge” since 1945 and new conflicts threatened the Christian west.\textsuperscript{123} Chaplains were deployed to the battlefront as they had during the previous two conflicts. The Presbyterian Church edited and readied “The Armour of God” for use as a directive pamphlet for the spiritual care of the three branches of the armed forces once again.\textsuperscript{124} The “World Church News” on the CBC broadcast how the Christian churches armed themselves with their faith. “Christian democracy alone [was] the key answer to the present, growing, aggressive communist

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{120}Whitaker and Marcuse, \textit{Cold War Canada}, 387.
\bibitem{121}Ibid, 388.
\bibitem{123}Ibid
\bibitem{124}Presbyterian Church in Canada archives, Chass K. Nicoll, “Committee on Chaplaincy Service,” in \textit{The Acts and Proceedings of the 77\textsuperscript{th} General Assembly 1952}, 100.
\end{thebibliography}
Communism’s ideological threat loomed large. The conflict, however, did not resonate to the same degree as WWI or WWII. Fewer men and women enlisted. The war did not have the same totalizing effect on society. It was never classified as a war.

The United States led the charge to participate in military maneuvers against North Korea, pressuring Canada to take part. Canadian Minister of External Affairs, Lester B. Pearson expressed concern that making a foray into Korea too quickly or too aggressively would draw the Chinese into the war. Pearson surmised accurately, and any hope of a quick resolution was dashed early into the conflict in 1950. At home, Canada’s involvement baffled many citizens. While the need to combat communist aggression was easy enough to understand, the ambiguous and open-ended nature of the conflict made many wary. One Quebec editorial pointed to the difficulty in underestimating the enmity between Japan and China that remained after World War II and how it could animate the Korean conflict to further acts of aggression. The editorial urged calmness in order to avoid unnecessary escalation. The sense of futility and unease continued throughout the war as bomb after bomb was dropped wreaking havoc on the country. Even soldiers returning home in July 1953 were “not convinced the shooting was over for good.” Private Ricardo Rangel-Bron noted that should the truce

---

126 Whitaker and Marcuse, Cold War Canada, 390-391.
127 Ibid 391.
in Korea hold, fighting would likely break out somewhere else in Indo-China. Three years of fighting caused disillusionment about the utility of combat in fighting off such an aggressor.

In Canada, the war by turns captivated the public and remained ignored. In addition to the relatively smaller contingent of troops that went overseas, it was not a conflict fought on two fronts (home and abroad) like the previous two wars. The rationale for Canadian involvement was murkier. Canadians fought in support of the United Nations who had resolved to keep peace in the country. After three years the “territorial status quo ante bellum” was reestablished with the signing of the armistice. On one hand, the Korean War was a startling example of the new world order: it made the threat of communism more apparent and knowable as an international threat. On the other hand, the war occurred far away at little perceived cost to the Canadian people.

Memory had a formative function in the creation of a groundswell of support. Louis St Laurent called upon single or married, mentally fit, and able bodied men to join up; he especially sought as many veterans of the Second World War. For the Princess Patricia’s Canadian Light Infantry, who deployed to Korea in November 1950, going to war appealed to their sense of adventure. “The bands pulled out their 1914-1918 song sheets” reported The Globe and Mail. The Princess Pats carried with them a sense of obligation to the international community and the sense of their own military record.

---

131 Whitaker and Marcuse, Cold War Canada, 388.
132 “Prime Minister Louis St Laurent appeals for Volunteer soldiers for Korea” CBC Radio News Special August 7, 1950.
“Memories of the past mingle[d] with pride of the present.” The Princess Pats traced their four battalions to 1914 when they were named for the Governor-General’s daughter, Princess Patricia of Connaught. Their shared history, nostalgia for the camaraderie shared by the soldiers, influenced the decision to enlist and fight again. St. Laurent’s appeal for veterans connected the two wars further still. The experience of war, however, could not have been more different.

Korea was a very different terrain. Cold and mountainous, isolated and rural. As noted on the CBC Newsmagazine, fallow or peacetime looked very different in Korea than it had in Europe. No dance halls or towns afforded soldiers a reprieve from the monotony of the day-to-day camp routine. Minus the levity of Hawkeye Pierce or BJ Honeycutt, the war in Korea resembled the bleak landscape portrayed on the popular 1970s American TV show, M*A*S*H. Termed a police action, the conflict in Korea, too, was framed differently than WWII. Prime Minister Louis St Laurent urged that repelling communist aggression in Korea was the only way to keep the situation from becoming a full-fledged war. He argued that the defeat of aggression in Korea would both discourage future communist aggressions and would ward against the danger of repeating the problems that preceded the onset of the Second World War. The Churches, as previously noted, agreed. Korea presented the dangerous way an ideology could threaten Christian democracy. The Globe and Mail reported that the UN Police Action won the unanimous approval of the general council of the United Church of Canada “without

135 “Canada’s Van Doos Celebrate Christmas in Korea,” on CBC Newsmagazine, broadcast December 20, 1953 c.4:00
136 “Prime Minister Louis St Laurent appeals for Volunteer soldiers for Korea” CBC Radio News Special August 7, 1950.
dissent and almost without discussion.” Meeting at the Timothy Eaton Memorial Church in Toronto, members of the United Church urged for conciliation amongst the war torn countries of Asia, and remarked on the immorality of using the hydrogen bomb. Faced with the choice between conflict and dropping the bomb, the United Church favoured a method that more likely meant potential peace without increasing the body count of innocent people.

Publically, the Korean conflict never dominated the news in the same capacity as the previous two wars. As noted, fewer Canadians fought, and the war itself did not engage society as the previous two conflicts of the twentieth century. Korea became grouped in with other Cold War altercations. Many were leery of the combat mission. At a Sarnia Lions’ Club event in 1950, Reverend Gordon Sisco of the United Church of Canada discussed “the crisis of western civilization.” He cautioned against fighting “preventative wars” because to do so merely “tempted Providence.” Speaking on behalf of the UCC in a Toronto Star article on the same topic, Sisco argued that Canadians ought not to consider capitalism and communism as “social panaceas” that divide society. The Church ought to take no side but instead promote unity. In either opposing ideology lay the roots of anti-religious sentiment. The church needed to forge the middle way. Sisco provided a more socially liberal voice of the United Church. He

138 Ibid.
139 United Church of Canada Archives, Gordon A. Sisco Papers, Accession 86.207C, Box 1, File 15: The Church and International Relations, Gordon Sisco, “The Crisis of Western Civilization”, Address to the Sarnia Lions’ Club, December 6, 1950.
140 United Church of Canada Archives, Gordon A. Sisco Papers, Accession 86.207C, Box 1, File 15: The Church and International Relations, Gordon Sisco, Toronto Star Article – May 29, n.y. “Need Ideology Better Than Communism in Asia – Sisco”
did not want to ruffle feathers, but he did want to try to gain traction with a reinvention of the Social Gospel.\textsuperscript{141} Sisco’s opinion did not necessarily reflect the prevailing sentiments of the day that more frequently understood the Korea action as a black and white issue. Sisco’s speech in Sarnia provides evidence of a church seeking unity and its moderator trying to keep society in balance. For Sisco, danger lurked in aggrandizing anti-communist rhetoric because it threatened to blind citizens to potential follies like a blind pursuit of capital.

Sisco’s attempts to give voice to moderation also demonstrates that gone was the rhetoric that pervaded the First and Second World wars about the nobility of the conflict and the starkness about the choice to participate. The Korean conflict might have been a battle for Christian civilization, but it was not a battle waged through fighting. Sisco’s formulation of the conflict indicates how the Cold War shifted the public understanding of conflict and the position of the church to that conflict. He declared:

When Christianity merges itself easily and nicely with its surrounding culture with no protesting voice or seasoning influence when it equates Christianity with the assumption of man’s inherent goodness or inevitable progress; when it identifies itself rather completely with a materialistic humanism; when it forgets that it is a minority movement in the world of to-day; when it has become worn smooth by familiarity so that its hard edges are dulled and rubbed out; when it no longer stands as a challenge to man’s arrogance and pride and rather cheap self-assurance it has ceased to be a scandal as it was in the days of St. Paul and has become a veneer.

The Anglican Primate in Canada discussed Korea as the “forgotten war”.\textsuperscript{142} The Most Reverend W.F. Barfoot argued that, “an apathetic public knew little about ‘the sharp end of the war.’”\textsuperscript{143} Barfoot attributed the dearth of knowledge to the fact that communities did not experience the same number of their members sent overseas to fight. The war did

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{141} Phyllis Airhart, \textit{The Church with the Soul of a Nation,}” 119.
\textsuperscript{142} “Primate Sorry Korea Forgotten War,” \textit{The Globe and Mail}, November 15, 1951, 30.
\textsuperscript{143} Ibid
\end{flushright}
not “touch” the lives of people at home. His barbed rebuke of an apathetic public, however, speaks to Sisco’s own concerns about a society too caught up in materialistic pursuits to consider the weight of global conflict.

Memorialization of the Korean action reflected the divided and distracted concerns of the population. Commemoration for the fallen mattered most to those who had fought in the Action. Almost as though there was a law of diminishing returns when it came to commemorating conflict, the Korean War received little debate. Federal, provincial municipal government ordered that cenotaphs be altered to reflect the dates of the Korean War. Remembrance ceremonies included the fallen in Korea as part of the memorial to those who had sacrificed their lives to Canada. However, no distinct monument was created specifically for Korea by the government.

Veterans of the Korean conflict took it upon themselves to erect a memorial. They raised funds to build a memorial wall at Meadowvale Cemetery in Brampton, Ontario, with whom they had brokered a special arrangement. By the late 1990s the memorial wall was finally built.¹⁴⁴ Each year in late July, the veterans organize a special ceremony to commemorate the Korean conflict. Local legions take the most active role in organizing the ceremony. Veterans speak openly and derisively about the lack of federal interest and money in memorializing this particular conflict. The soldiers continue to see themselves as a special group who did double duty for their country: many had fought in World War Two as well and re-enlisted. They might appreciate the solemnity of the commemoration ceremonies and the inclusion of Korea on November 11th, but they desire a special moment where their particular sacrifice is recognized and validated publicly.

Commemoration of the Korean War provides an interesting example of the way public memorialization both works well to recognize the sacrifice of all the country’s soldiers, but also falls short because the act of such large-scale commemoration obscures the individual conflicts and sacrifices that make up the more broadly understood sacrifice. Remembrance Day, while an expression of memorialization meant to include all sacrifice, privileges the Great War then the Second World War, and then “other” conflicts including the Boer War of 1899-1902 and Korea.

The framework of collective remembrance that had been established during the Great War shifted in the decade after the Second World War to mirror the values and preoccupations of modern Canadian society. Remembrance activities became more local, more portable, and more diffuse. Memorial gardens and arenas, the entrenchment of poppy day, and smaller-scale municipal memorials comprised the commemorative landscape of post-war Canada. The message of remembrance included a challenge to the living: to remember was not enough. A citizen had a duty to honour the sacrifice of the fallen in order to reconstruct Canadian society in a way where a trauma like world war would not occur again. The new framework for collective remembrance enlarged to accommodate this greater scope. The Great War continued to animate most of the discussions of remembrance, but after 1945 the toll of two wars on as many generations of Canadians directed the rituals and discussions about sacrifice.

It might be easy to conclude that the Great War subsumed the Second World War’s commemoration or discussion of remembrance was eclipsed by the crises of the Cold War. However, in the course of the postwar decade, the place of remembrance in society became even more firmly entrenched. The annual Remembrance Day ceremony,
poppies, the recital of war poetry, and collective acts of memorialization developed into established social rituals. These rituals have been performed yearly; and, yearly, despite the tenor of the times changing, the imperative call to remember remains the same. The religious symbolism or Biblical references incorporated into the ceremonies or memorials reflects a broader Christian influence that relies less upon a particular denominational set of beliefs and more upon the ideas and representations that Protestants shared in common, rendering them more diffuse in society.

After 1918, memorialization included the building of significant infrastructure for commemoration. The Second World War demonstrated both the permanence of these lieux des memoires, but also their mutability. Memory was both an individual act of patriotism and remembrance, but also a collective act of civic duty. The Korean conflict merely highlights the way commemoration adjusted to fold in the newest sacrifice for a society no longer shocked that it could go to war. The Cold War in many ways operated as a bookend to the conflict of the first half of the 20th century. It re-drew the ideological map upon which wars and national crises were understood and enacted. A natural extension of this re-mapping of conflict was its attendant effect on commemoration. It sewed together the First and Second World Wars. These were the conflicts for God and country.

Religion played a significant role in memorialization. The vocabulary of sacrifice and duty had roots in the Bible. The language of citizenship mirrored much of the language of Christian duty. Faith mattered. For the churches, ministrations to the public to help them cope with their collective grief would also help to secure Canadian society for the future. As Michael Snape wrote about in relation to Britain and its soldiers,
“diffusive Christianity” provides scholars and students a way to understand how religious ideas, symbols, and language were used but not necessarily in relation to any liturgical or practical demonstration of faith. Citizens continued to incorporate the ideas of Christianity, and predominantly mainline Protestant or Roman Catholic Churches, into their everyday life but the place of the institutional church changed. After 1945, the churches sought new avenues to reach out to Canadians. As the next chapter will demonstrate, radio-broadcasting became a key instrument for the churches in their endeavour to convey a message of traditional values in a way that appealed to a modernizing society.
2 – Preaching to the “Living Room Congregants:” Religion on the radio

The expansion of mass media in Canada that occurred during the mid twentieth century accelerated after the Second World War to provide new avenues to bring messages of faith and religion to a wide public. Radio offered a dynamic mouthpiece for the churches.¹ A new audience could attend services on Sunday. A person need not sit in a pew; instead, he or she could listen from the comfort of their living room. The potential reach of the various denominations expanded across Canada, and how to create a program that might appeal to these “living room congregants” became a topic of great discussion within the churches’ administrations. As the listening audience grew, the message the churches imparted also had to change. It had to be both condensed in content, and also made more universal in its scope in order to attract as wide-ranging an audience as possible. Marshall McLuhan aptly noted that, “Radio affects most people intimately, person-to-person, offering a world of unspoken communication between writer-speaker and listener. That is the immediate aspect of radio.”² While religious broadcasting reflected the particular denomination behind the broadcast, the desire amongst the Protestant Churches to reach and inspire a larger audience was predicated upon the belief that a message included all who might listen and not alienate anyone.

Since its inception the medium provided individuals, groups, and institutions with a way to bridge geographical distance and bring messages and ideas to the masses. Mary

---

¹ Marshall McLuhan’s *Understanding Media: The Extension of Man*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1994) explores the impact of the media on culture and how new vehicles of information and entertainment shape the message and reshape society. His chapter on radio investigates the privacy or intimacy that this particular medium generates at the same time that it bonds people together in a kind of “echo chamber” where “words suddenly acquire new meanings and different textures,” 303.

² Ibid, 299.
Vipond has written the definitive work on the beginning of broadcasting in Canada. In *Listening In: The First Decade of Canadian Broadcasting 1922-1932* Vipond details the early technology, primarily the telegraph, that preceded and made way for radio broadcasting.\(^3\) Constant innovation within the field by large electric companies such as General Electric and individual invention led to the creation of a wireless telegraphy.\(^4\) At first, governments and the military used wireless telegraphy to communicate with ships as they crossed the Atlantic Ocean, but its use expanded beyond utility and into the sphere of entertainment. The growing popularity of the new medium was entrenched in legislation by the Canadian government in 1913.\(^5\) The ability to issue or revoke licenses and set censorship regulations made the legislation incredibly flexible when radio grew in commercial popularity in the years following the First World War.\(^6\)

Soldiers returning from war sought out radio to keep them connected. They wanted programs of entertainment and news; shows that could transport them away from their daily lives and shows that might keep them connected to their peers. Mark McGowan writes of a “free market in radio” between 1922 and 1932 when the Radio Branch of the Federal Department of Marine and Fisheries oversaw the regulation and


\(^4\) Vipond, *Listening In*, 9.

\(^5\) Ibid, 10. The first legislation related to the airwaves was passed in 1905: The Wireless Telegraphy Act. The Act identified the government branches responsible for the administration and jurisdiction of telegraphy in Canada. The Act did not designate the licensing of telegraphs to either the federal or provincial levels; it remained ambiguous. Vipond notes that this legislation was almost obsolete by the time it was passed because of the advent of “wireless telephony or radio.”

\(^6\) Ibid
licensing of broadcasting. It was a decade of fine-tuning, and Canada’s broadcast model developed uniquely. On one hand the national public model of the British Broadcasting Corporation influenced Canadian broadcasting. Radio programming was regulated and financed through the central body of the State. On the other hand, the hallmarks of the United States’ free market economy promoted a more competitive approach to broadcasting. During this early era of radio, Canada bridged the two models. The 1929 Aird Commission advocated and recommended that Canada publically fund its own broadcast system. The government heeded the advice. Licenses to broadcast, issued by the government, were granted to almost anyone who could pay the $50 fee (roughly the equivalent of $685 today). By the early 1932 Canada had over sixty stations. These stations operated under the national regulatory body of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC), but were themselves individual.

Mary Vipond contends that the belief in free-enterprise as a stimulant for competition and growth, combined with the belief that Canada’s vast geography required a large number of stations equated to the particular Canadian model of broadcasting. She further concludes that many broadcasting conventions “were formed in the medium’s very early days” such as the need for variety of programming or the availability of a range of programming to a broad cross section of the population that ignored class

---

9 Mary Vipond, Listening In, 9-11.
11 Vipond, Listening In, 116.
distinctions.\textsuperscript{12} Within this broad outreach, however, the population could be sub-divided into different sets of audiences, for whom different programming appealed and could be specialized.\textsuperscript{13} Radio stations paid attention to the demands of their particular audiences and marketed shows and programming accordingly. Neil Postman’s \textit{Amusing Ourselves to Death} studies the phenomenon of media and mass culture in the United States. Radio, in contrast to the other forms of mass culture that Postman describes as contributory to the dissolution of public discourse into “utter nonsense,” was “the least likely medium to join in the descent into a […] world of technological narcotics. It is […] particularly well suited to the transmission of rational, complex language.”\textsuperscript{14}

For Mark McGowan, this “‘Canadian way’ of delivering radio services was critical to the development of religious broadcasting.”\textsuperscript{15} Even with a sense of excitement about the possibilities for religion and radio, the churches viewed radio not without some trepidation. According to Russell Johnston, mainline Protestant denominations maintained a distance from radio broadcasting in its early days. As the medium gained in popularity by the late 1920s and the public demand for religiously themed shows grew, the denominations responded, however tentatively.\textsuperscript{16} Some sects, such as more conservative Baptists, were concerned about the potential loss of fellowship. They worried that people might just “listen in” rather than attend worship services. As the radio

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{12} Vipond, \textit{Listening In}, 99,
\item \textsuperscript{13} Ibid, 100-101.
\item \textsuperscript{15} McGowan, “Air Wars,” 7
\item \textsuperscript{16} Russell Johnston, “The Early Trials of Protestant Radio 1922-1938” \textit{Canadian Historical Review} 75.3 (1994)
\end{itemize}
quickly became a fixture in every household (as opposed to a luxury), debate arose amongst the denominations about their ability to engage, enlighten, and even entertain on the new medium. Anglicans and Baptists worried that radio services divorced congregants from engaging publicly with their faith and community. Conversely, and against the wishes of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, more evangelical Baptists like Reverend T.T. Shields of Jarvis Street Baptist Church forged ahead and arranged to have his services broadcast out of the local station, CKGW. He believed that broadcasting his services might help to reach more people and might also have the desired effect of drawing more people to his live services. His program ran for two years between 1930 and 1932 when a lack of funding forced its end.

Shields was not alone in his burgeoning radio ministry. Over the course of the late 1920s and the 1930s, many local stations featured ministers, or religious “hours.” Beyond audience and the implications of broadcasting, the airwaves became a powerful new arena in which denominations interacted with one another – and not infrequently without controversy. The 1929 Aird Commission on Broadcasting indirectly addressed fractious religious programs. The report of the commission endorsed the medium as a tool for national unity. It also recommended a publicly funded national network akin to the

---

18 Ibid, 382
19 Ibid, 381-382.
20 Ibid
21 McGowan, “Religious Broadcasting in Canada,” 10-12. McGowan’s work chronicles the inflammatory remarks made by the head of the Witnesses about the Catholic and mainline Protestants faiths. Significant protest resulted. People wanted their own beliefs represented and took great issue when there was even an inkling of derision aired by another denomination. On a national level, these protests and concerns manifested in debate about the place of censorship and regulation.
Within this framework, the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Company was created in 1930, later succeeded by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in 1936. Under the mandate of each central body, censorship and regulation was debated. Mark McGowan’s work on religious broadcasting in Canada until 1938 highlights the “blind spots” when it came to religion on the air and the way religious programming and controversy flourished in the early period. He lights upon the fracas in Toronto in the 1930s between Father Charles Lanphier of the Catholic Church and the Reverend Morris Zeidman of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

The “air wars” of these two gentlemen prompted new CBC regulations. Specifically, in 1936 Regulation 7c was enacted under the stewardship of the CBC’s General Manager Gladstone Murray and was meant to protect attacks of creed, race, or religion. Father Lanphier and Reverend Zeidman took particular umbrage with one other. Zeidman contended that Lanphier had spread Roman Catholic propaganda when he weighed into debates about using business and corporate taxes to help fund Catholic separate schools in Ontario. Zeidman took to the air to disparage Lanphier and the Catholic Church. He demanded equal air-time and he rallied fellow Protestants, especially Orangemen, to petition the CBC for parity. The nuances of this particular brouhaha aside, the snide, terse, and frequently inflammatory remarks from both Father Lanphier and Reverend Zeidman echoed greater tensions between Catholics and Protestants as the 1930s progressed. World apprehensions about the rise of the Nazis and

---

22 Vipond, *Listening In*, 205-207
24 McGowan, “Air Wars” in, 13-14
25 Ibid, 12
the popularity of both fascism and communism were funneled into these on-air rows between Lanphier and Zeidman. For the CBC brass, such controversy was untenable.

A decade of bickering culminated in the creation of the National Religious Advisory Committee in 1938. The NRAC was charged with maintaining balance amongst the denominations on the airwaves, which it did. This early negotiation of religious radio programming was very much about finding a place for religion on the airwaves that included all denominations in an equitable way. After the creation of the NRAC, and especially after the Second World War, the debate about religion shifted. The war put into sharp relief the way the medium could be a place to help bring unity amongst people of different creeds. It also became a venue in which the battle was not between denominations but rather between the public and the denominations about the place of religion in the post-war World.

This chapter examines the relationship between the mainline Protestant denominations, the public, and the radio. Over the airwaves, the churches made a case for the changing role of religion in society, as well as using the medium to debate and encourage discussion about the place of religion in society. The radio became a public sphere where religion was democratized and diffused, and where it was simultaneously marginalized. As more people could tune into any number of religiously themed programs, messages of faith had to be tailored for broad appeal. Creedal differences between the denominations softened on air, and a more universal Christian message diffused via the radio. As the churches advocated and championed on-air time for their

---

27 McGowan, “Air Wars,” 18
messages, that time also had the effect of segregating religion to the appointed appropriate hours.

The first section of this chapter traces the presence of religion on air.\textsuperscript{28} Using National Religious Advisory Committee correspondence, the annual meeting minutes of the United Church, and the Presbyterian and Anglican churches, as well as CBC archival records, it explores how the Protestants expanded their on-air presence, their goals for the medium in the dissemination of their messages of faith, and the challenges they faced to develop a new kind of public worship. The second section addresses the way more secular programming took up religion as a discussion topic. Forums and newsmagazine-style shows examined the issues facing modernizing society. Frequently, these programs, such as \textit{Citizen’s Forum}, meditated upon the way religious belief could help maintain or preserve society in the face of change that threatened to uproot tradition. By extension, panelists on the shows interrogated the place of religion in society. Both sections demonstrate the way religious ideas circulated in the post-war decade and the attention they received both at an institutional level and also in more public forums.

As discussed earlier, radio developed in Canada during the 1920s and really hit its stride during the 1930s. As a result of listener-demand for quality entertainment and programming, station competition, and increased advertising revenue radio became a more fully formed and valued medium across Canada by 1932, largely due to the nationalization of broadcasting with the formation of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting

\textsuperscript{28} This chapter does not take into account the use of AM private radio, focusing instead on the history of public radio in Canada and the ways religion on air was crafted to appeal to many and offend as few as possible within a more regulated system.
Commission. In 1936, the CRBC became the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). In the 1940s through to 1962, two networks operated through the CBC: the Trans-Canada Network and the Dominion Network. The latter was established in 1944 and was comprised of affiliate stations and aired lighter, more commercial shows whereas the former remained the primary service of the CBC.

The churches were alive to the potential of the broadcast medium to help foster their messages of Christianity, to attract a larger community of believers (even if those believers did not fill pews on Sunday), and to disseminate the message of Christian love. Dorothy Zolf and Paul W. Taylor have noted that “early abuse by a single group led to severe sanctions against all religious broadcasters,” resulting in the loss of religious groups’ electronic voice. As a result, the government used greater oversight in regulating its airwaves; they sought a “balance” of programming, which frequently meant the marginalization of religious broadcasts.

Robert Fortner has written about the relationship between radio, morality, and culture in a comparison of the systems in the United States, Britain, and Canada. Despite Fortner’s ill-defined use of the term morality, he does offer some unique insights on the development of Canadian broadcasting. Canada straddled the US and British broadcast models, with slightly closer ties to the British nationalized system of radio yet

29 Mary Vipond, *Listening In*, 54-55 and 275.
32 Ibid, 159-165.
tempered by the more prominent American influence when it came to programming. Fortner argued that the “Canadian situation invited both involvement and invective.” Canada’s stratified and dispersed population coupled with its desire for a nationalized broadcast system created a situation where compromise was all but impossible to achieve. “The potential to aggrieve one faction or another was enormous. This made such disputes more volatile in the Canadian case, made ecumenical cooperation more tenuous, and allowed old loyalties (such as those of the Canadian Orange order) or animosities (such as those between Britain and France) to govern much of the debate.” Some of Fortner’s observations are apt. Certainly, Canada’s human geography contributed to a lively debate about radio and its participants. However, Fortner tends to draw divisions in Canada too starkly. French and English tensions erupted when it came to the relative airtime for each language, but such a debate was one of many.

Fortner also argues that the place of the church in radio debates remained passive. churches did not have a great deal of influence over the policy; they were one of many interest groups vying for airtime. While such a case might be made, the churches enjoyed a great amount of airtime and leveraged the voice of the church particularly. Denominations did debate and discuss the value of an on-air presence by the church, either as an individual creed or united with other churches. In many ways, Fortner’s analysis generalizes the Canadian case. Radio in Canada has received limited attention by scholars, let alone the relationship between the churches and the airwaves.

---

34 Fortner, *Radio, Morality and Culture*, 159, and 176-177.
36 Ibid
37 Ibid 161
Mark McGowan has since argued that we need to look at local radio stations to
test the “dominant historical narrative of ‘regulation over religion.’” In his examination
of the creation of CJFX by the priest-professors at St Francis Xavier University,
McGowan concludes that, “radio expanded the audience for adult education, applied
Catholic social teaching, and offered greater opportunities for engagement within the
broader community in Atlantic Canada.” He also concluded that the priest-professors
and their lay colleagues defined a particular platform, either explicitly or implicitly
religious, from which to direct the radio’s programming. McGowan’s work underscores
the way broadcasters could work within regulatory bounds that sought to mute potentially
controversial religious ideas but still espouse particular religious messages.

Outside of Atlantic Canada and the Catholic Church, the case was similar. Locally
in Ontario, religious messages (largely) respectfully reflected teachings of a church. On
the CBL-T/C Network Reverend Professor Allan F. Farris of Knox College in Toronto
broadcasted “The Christian Gospel Today.” His weekly sermon interrogated the place of
God and the gospel in everyday life. His June 20th, 1954 sermon entitled “The Lord of
History” probed age-old questions of how God could allow for suffering and misery in
the world and why evil persisted and corrupted society. He did not impugn other creeds,
but adopted a message of hope and togetherness that could potentially reach out to other
denominations. Less than a month later, Farris broadcast “Our Christian Hope,” which

---

38 Mark G. McGowan, “The People’s University of the Air: St. Francis Xavier University
Extension, Social Christianity, and the Creation of CJFX” in *Acadiensis* XLI no. 1
(Winter/Spring 2012), 20.
39 Ibid
40 Ibid
41 Presbyterian Church in Canada archives, A.L. Farris Fonds, 1986-5001-1-1, A.L.
Farris, “The Lord of History” preached on CBL-T/C network, June 20th, 1954, transcript.
discussed the World Council of Churches meeting in Evanston, Illinois. Speaking about all Christians, Farris reflected that the Church “found herself in a strange tension between limitation and hope, frustration and anticipation, death and life, partiality and fulfillment.” The ecumenical spirit of Farris’ message not only reflected a trend towards ecumenism in the decade after the Second World War, but also the principles of a more diffusive Christianity that engaged citizens’ in their spiritual life through a new medium. Controversies might have forced regulation, but regulation itself did not fundamentally alter the message of the churches.

Years earlier, in its submission to the Royal Commission on Broadcasting, the United Church of Canada acknowledged how effective mass media was to the work the church. The 1929 Aird Commission’s report left the type of programming up to the churches. It cautioned that some regulation would help keep controversy or the defamation of other creeds at bay, and would ensure decorum amongst the denominations. In the post-war world, the battle over religious broadcasting between stations, churches, and the government had eased. Churches still actively discussed what constituted good content and how to use radio to bolster religion’s presence in public life. They were also competitive. While ministers might have shied away from enflaming sectional differences, denominations paid attention to what churches received airtime and how much.

---

The Presbyterian Church in Canada’s Committee on Church Worship paid close attention to public worship. At the 1945 annual meeting, the committee expressed some concerns over the new innovations that could sometimes be crude or careless in the area of broadcasting.45 Such comments did not deter the Church from participation. Two years later, the Committee on Broadcasting boasted twelve broadcasts on the CBC’s *Church of the Air* program. They were proud to have offered 70 services from 26 different centres and featuring 49 different speakers.46 Further, the committee drew attention to the locally financed program run on a private station in Chatham.47 Chatham’s efforts served as a great exemplar of how regional or local broadcast could be used in service of the denomination. The Committee advocated for the development of more Presbyterian programming and to promote the radio within the congregations as a complement to public worship.48 The Presbyterian Church was not a singular case. The United Church of Canada’s London Conference issued the “Voice of the Church Through Radio,” a pamphlet meant for distribution at churches in London, Ingersoll, Windsor, Parkhill, and Woodstock to identify local ministers on the airwaves, those programs that might interest local congregants, and the private stations carrying their shows.49 Ministers across the province wanted their church to be the dial destination. More than ever, the radio became a forum to present religion to a public who at times needed affirmation of their beliefs.

48 Ibid, 187.
The key to a successful radio broadcast lay in capturing a good audience. The Anglican Church in Canada, too, acknowledged a great value in religious broadcasting. The medium allowed the church to spread “the evangelical message further afield.”\textsuperscript{50} The Anglicans wondered whether shorter programs were more likely to catch the ear, or whether Canadian churches ought to model themselves off of the British with hour-long programs that listeners might anticipate each week.\textsuperscript{51} Beyond programming, the church was concerned with how to attract new listeners. Word-of-mouth at the church was well and good, but overall advertising programs remained limited.\textsuperscript{52} The issue never really got resolved. Like many a hobbyhorse of the religious community, attracting an audience to religious programming was a touchstone of yearly meetings and debate when the issue was rehashed and then tabled for the next year’s meeting.

The Presbyterian Church in Canada recognized that, “radio [was] a highly competitive field, and religious broadcasts must compete with high-grade commercial or secular broadcasts. Selection must consider this competitive factor.”\textsuperscript{53} The churches needed to be competitive within a limited market. They were reliant on the airtime donated by the CBC. The national regulatory body for radio limited broadcasting to these periods on a national scale. Certainly, local churches and radio could broker deals, but such activity remained largely ad hoc. The Protestant Churches wanted a national

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid 1947 bulletin App 1(m) Diocesan Radio Board 187-188
audience, and to access that audience they needed to abide by the guidelines and whims of the CBC.

The CBC distributed the time allotted for religious programming evenly amongst the churches. Broadcast time was for their joint use. The need to share the airwaves meant that a distinct denominational voice became more subdued in the face of attracting new listeners and as wide an audience as possible. For the Presbyterian Church, the Committee on Radio Broadcast recognized this reality and recommended that the church focus on regional radio in order to tailor programming to advance a particular Presbyterian message. They asked the Presbytery for the funds to establish a series of programming tailored to the Presbyterian Church, and to help liaise with local churches to purchase airtime so as to establish a Presbyterian presence on local radio. Private radio offered a means to local congregations to reach out to their more immediate communities. Two years later, the pitch for local broadcasting remained much the same. The Committee on Radio Broadcast reported on a deficit of local programming, the need for a more aggressive campaign on the national level, and the continued need for funds to help promote regional radio shows.

54 LAC RG 41 Vol 223, file 11-23-2, “Church of the Air & Catholic Hour” - National Religious Advisory Committee, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, “Memorandum regarding religious period broadcast by with the Canadian Broadcasting corporation in cooperation with the National Religious Advisory Committee.”
56 Ibid
Churches faced a dilemma. They had to adjust their programming and their expectations for what a religious broadcast could be for their church in order to be heard on the national stage in a limited way, or they could raise money to fund local broadcasts at a time when money was tight for most of the churches. The committee on Radio Broadcasting for the Presbyterian Church did not even convene in 1949 due to lack of funds.\(^{58}\) The plea at the annual meeting in 1950 remained unchanged: more funds to produce a series of broadcasts, fundraise to enable regional stations to produce Presbyterian-focused programming, and to produce specific programming.\(^{59}\) Like the Presbyterians, most denominations discussed what needed to happen for a greater broadcast presence and advocated for funding, but in the end made do with the time allotted to them by the CBC.

The Canadian Broadcast Corporation English Language Services offered not an insignificant amount of airtime to the churches. The CBC had six dedicated religious programs on the air in 1949. The CBC policy for religious broadcasting strove for balance and fairness of denominational representation. Using the census figures, the CBC executive apportioned airtime (free of charge) to various creeds in consultation with the National Religious Advisory Committee.\(^{60}\) The NRAC itself was comprised of members of the main English-speaking denominations: the United Church of Canada, the Anglican Church, the Presbyterian Church in Canada, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Baptist Church. The numbers were drawn from the most recent census proportions. The

---


\(^{59}\) Ibid

representatives in turn took pains to represent the interests of smaller denominations such as the Lutheran Church, Christian Scientists, and the Jewish faith. Chaired by the Anglican minister Canon J.E. Ward (a pioneer of Anglican radio in the 1920s), the NRAC liaised with the CBC to ensure quality and balanced religious programming.

In a brief submitted to the Royal Commission on Broadcasting in 1956, the NRAC called “the voice of religion prophetic, that is, it is from God, and not from man. It is a vertical influence that religion makes, and not merely a horizontal one.” The NRAC used this argument for the influence of religion to bolster the position that the moral health of “a people and of its government;” it was in the government’s best interest to promote religious broadcasting to “suppress that which is evil and to exalt that which is good and honourable.”

A brief by the United Church of Canada echoed similar sentiments. The UCC declared its interest in “raising the standard of religious broadcasting in Canada.” The church acknowledged that despite, on average, opening a new church every twelve days for the previous three years, a greater audience still remained unaffiliated to a specific church. The UCC cited census data that suggested “hundreds of thousands” of Canadians considered themselves as members of the UCC but who have no contact with the church. The churches and the CBC worked in concert to reach out to those people who identified as Christian but did not interact with a specific church body or community.

---

62 Ibid
64 Ibid
The Corporation and the Council desire to be the instruments of deepening and broadening the spiritual consciousness of the nation at large. It is to this and that the [religious] periods are arranged. They take cognisance of a necessary diversity but aim also at a clearly felt underlying unity. On the one hand we desire to avoid a characterless, ‘least-denominator’ type of religious presentation; on the other we must refrain from any statement calculated to hurt the feelings brought up in another school of thought.\(^{65}\)

Broadcasting became, quite literally, a means of diffusing Christianity.

The United Church’s Committee on Radio Broadcasting discussed the place of radio evangelism in the changing landscape of Canadian Christianity. Its chair, Albert Buchanan moved that, “whereas the main roots of the troubles of our world today are the multitudes outside the Christian Church who do not practise the teachings of our Christian Faith, and the nominal Christians to whom the basic teachings of Christ and His Church mean little or nothing in practise.”\(^{66}\) To reach as broad an audience as possible remained an important goal of the churches. “Radio meant Christians could be contacted in their own homes.”\(^{67}\)

Even when the Reverend Allan Farris took to the “Church of the Air” to discuss “What is Man?” he reached not only his fellow Presbyterians but also any other Christian who tuned in to the program. On July 15\(^{\text{th}}\), Reverend Farris sermonized just as he might have in his church. He ruminated about “man in creation” and how to harness

---

\(^{65}\) LAC RG 41 vol. 223, file 11-23-2, “Church of the Air & Catholic Hour” - National Religious Advisory Committee, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, “Memorandum regarding religious period broadcast by with the Canadian Broadcasting corporation in cooperation with the National Religious Advisory Committee.”


\(^{67}\) Ibid
technological and scientific advancement “for constructive and peaceful purposes.” His broadcast made no particular mention of the Presbyterian Church. It was hopeful. He used the Bible to draw a lesson about finding God in a world that is scary and has come back from the brink of ruin. It was by no means extraordinary. Like so many other sermons given on air and off, it attempted to make a connection with people and to use Christian ideas and stories to show a way forward.

The ecumenical spirit that moved such displays of inter-denominational unity underpinned much of the on-air messages of the Protestant churches. The Globe and Mail reported on the 11th General Council of the United Church of Canada in 1944 held in London Ontario. Any differences between the United Church and the Presbyterian Church had slowly started to disappear. Reverend T.J. Watson of New St. James’ Church brought a message of fellowship and goodwill that characterized the deepening relationship between the two denominations. “Common action against a common foe” made apparent that the churches shared many common aims. The borders between creeds blurred as the churches all attempted to reach out to those individuals who identified as Christian but who did not practice.

The balance between speaking to confirmed church members and the unaffiliated masses was characteristic of many broadcasts on the CBC. On the CBL-T/C network, Reverend Farris regularly broadcasted a sermon. When he spoke of “Our Christian Hope” on July 11th, 1954 he began with a note about the World Council of Churches in

---

68 Presbyterian Church in Canada archives, Allan Farris fonds, 1986-5001-1-1, Church of the Air; “What is Man” broadcast July 15th, 1951.
69 Ibid
70 “Holds Church Differences Disappearing,” The Globe and Mail, September 12, 1944, 3.
Evanston, Illinois. Like the message at the General Council meeting a decade earlier, Farris acknowledged the need for unity to continue to the work of persevering through “a most difficult and anxious period in history.” For Farris, Evanston represented the need to temper “facile optimism” with the understanding that God’s intervention in history would help to shape a brighter future. Intervention could come in many forms, not least of which was new media like radio or television. While Farris spoke for his Presbyterian brethren, his message extended beyond the denomination appealing to a wider audience, and in the process diffusing (or even diluting) a common Christian message.

The six religious broadcasts aired on the CBC took on a range of interests and approaches. The Way of the Spirit was developed by the Anglican Church and conveyed Christ’s teachings through a series of audio plays. The Roman Catholic Church offered Religious Period, a program that invited a speaker to deal with topical issues; additionally, the show ran a series of ten broadcasts leading up to Christmas. As an expression of interfaith dialogue and in order to provide balance amongst the main denominations, The Church of the Air, aired on a weekly basis and rotated between the main four Protestant churches to provide its content. Each day, the CBC offered Morning Devotions for fifteen minutes. Similar to the Church of the Air, the program featured a variety of denominational speakers who had been chosen and organized by the NRAC. World Church News was a weekly broadcast. Dr. W. J. Gallagher, the General Secretary

---

72 Ibid
73 Ibid
74 Ibid
of the Canadian Council of Churches, provided news with respect to the Christian church on the international stage. Finally, Eventide aired weekly and provided content “for those listeners who appreciate[d] the value of the Christian tradition.”\(^\text{75}\)

On paper, the programming for the CBC seems to have represented a harmonious inter-denominational accord. The NRAC ensured that the broadcasts maintained a balanced perspective amongst the different churches, and the programs themselves. There was little harmony sometimes despite messages to the contrary. The different denominations watched closely what the others offered and how much airtime they received. Moreover, many prominent members of the churches listened with great interest to the content of the many broadcasts and quickly offered an opinion should that content be construed as in any way offensive or ill-informed. For example, the way in which some programs commented on the persecution of Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary by the communist regime in 1949 raised hackles. Dr. W. J. Gallagher of the Canadian Council of Churches and the United Church of Canada wrote to the CBC after hearing a Catholic account of the Cardinal’s trial and persecution. Gallagher disagreed with comments made on Catholic Hour by its presenter, Father James Webb. Specifically, Gallagher took issue with Webb’s comment that, “Leaders of other religions in the country have begun to goosestep on the road to compromise.”\(^\text{76}\) Gallagher felt that such an inflammatory remark suggested that Protestants in Hungary had not “suffered for freedom” in the same way or to the same extent as the Catholics. Gallagher argued that

\(^{75}\) LAC, RG 41 vol. 546, file 14-2-3-2-(pt 3), George Bornemann, “A Brief on Religious Broadcasting by the National Religious Advisory Council of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to the Royal Commission on Broadcasting”, April, 1956, 2.
\(^{76}\) LAC RG 41 vol. 223, file 11-23-2, Letter from Gallagher to A. D. Dunton, January 13, 1949.
such a statement had no place on the air and its inclusion required a prompt response. Father Webb’s remarks neglected to take into account the difference of opinion among Christians in the country, and plainly demonstrated the depth of Catholic and Protestant tensions. Gallagher asserted that Webb had no authority to speak to whether any church made compromises in order to appease the government.

Religion on the airwaves did not exist in a vacuum as the Mindszenty example demonstrates. Weekly broadcasts maintained their topicality by responding to national and international issues. Religion could also not be separated from the political. Religion was political in the sense that the Cold War meant that many religious ideas were dismantled by communist regimes in Eastern Europe and Russia. Religion was also political in the sense that remarks on such world issues and situations invited comments that could not be kept separate from doctrinal or denominational differences, and in fact amplified the differences between religions, notoriously between Protestants and Catholics. The NRAC attempted to maintain balance in broadcasts and offered vague yet formidable guidelines for the contents of a broadcast. Each religious period on air “the whole listening public of whatever religious belief or creed.” For the “Church of the Air,” the CBC advised that the worship portion ought to last ten (usually fifteen) minutes and comprise of sacred music, scripture readings, and prayer with an address that lasts no

77 LAC RG 41 vol. 223, file 11-23-2 Letter from Gallagher to A. D. Dunton, January 13, 1949
78 Gallagher’s attack blithely failed to account for the way that Protestants would use their own broadcasts to oppose communism.
79 LAC RG 41 vol. 263, Memorandum of the National Religious Advisory Committee of the Canadian Broadcast Council J.E. Ward Chairman
more than “twenty (usually fifteen)” minutes.\textsuperscript{80} Despite an extensive correspondence record that details the parameters for programming, the actual contents of “Church of the Air” and other religious broadcasts are more rare in the archival record.

While both the council and the CBC wanted to be the “instruments” of a deepening and broadening [...] spiritual consciousness of the nation at large,\textsuperscript{81} the NRAC recognized that there were limits to the content. Doctrinal teaching was acceptable, yet denominations had to be on guard that such teaching did not veer into the realm of propaganda.\textsuperscript{82} Ideally, broadcasts would balance exhortation, worship, music, and instruction.\textsuperscript{83} The “Church of the Air” amongst similar programs, of which different denominations took charge of organizing on an alternating basis, included orchestral or organ preludes, a sermon, and final thought.\textsuperscript{84} For example, the broadcast of the “National Sunday Evening Hour” from Stewarton United Church in Ottawa meant for “listeners of all faiths throughout Canada.”\textsuperscript{85} The bells of the Peace tower in Ottawa rung in the start of the program that also included a sermon about “A Christ-Directed World” amongst hymns and a benediction.\textsuperscript{86}

A more mainstream, diffusive Christianity developed on the air as a result of the regulations and the pursuant softening of specific doctrinal messages in order to maintain

\textsuperscript{80} LAC RG 41 Vol 223 file 11-23-2 Church of the Air and Catholic Hour, “Suggestions for the Information of Speakers on CBC Religious Broadcasts,” September 23 1943.
\textsuperscript{81} LAC RG 41 vol 223 file 11-23-2 Church of the Air and Catholic Hour, Memorandum of the National Religious Advisory Committee of the Canadian Broadcast Council J.E. Ward Chairman.
\textsuperscript{82} Ibid
\textsuperscript{83} Ibid
\textsuperscript{84} LAC RG 41 National Religious Advisory Council of the Canadian Broadcast Corporation letter to Mr. E.L. Bushnell, Director of Programmes, January 22, 1952
\textsuperscript{85} LAC RG 41 Vol 223 file 11-23-2 Church of the Air and Catholic Hour, “National Sunday Evening Hour” program, Sunday June 25 1950.
\textsuperscript{86} Ibid
a Christian presence on the radio at all. Churches operated on a fairly tight leash. The NRAC “desired that each denomination be true to its own teaching. […] To this extent, definite doctrinal teaching is not disallowed but a distinction must be made between doctrine and propaganda.”87 The constraints of such programming requirements meant that churches had to adapt their message. At the United Church of Canada Committee on Radio Meeting in 1950, the chair, Mr. Buchanan, recommended that a sub-committee be struck, “to explore better this new God-given medium for the propagation of our common Christian Faith, having in mind particularly the conversion and bringing to Christ and into His church as practicing Christians those presently outside the fold.”88 Buchanan might have addressed the United Churches’ radio ministry specifically, but his choice of words aptly identified a broader understanding of the need for a pan-denominational message to appeal as widely as possible. The NRAC in conjunction with the supervisor of CBC Religious Broadcasts helped to maintain this balance amongst the churches. The NRAC safeguarded the equanimity of the Churches (both those denominations that had a voice on the committee and the smaller ones that did not) while the CBC wrote the policies that ensured fair public discourse with minimal controversy.

Both also operated as a watchdog, ensuring that programs could be accessed across the country. In 1947, for example, the CBC supervisor W. John Dunlop responded to concerns of an Alberta citizen about the fairness of programming. Dunlop cited the fact that programming reflected the census figures of religious affiliation. Protestants

87 LAC RG 41 Vol. 223 File 11-23-2 “Church of the Air and Catholic Hour, J.E. Ward, “Memorandum regarding religious periods broadcast by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in cooperation with the National Religious Advisory Committee

joined forces for a few broadcasts such as *Church of the Air*. The CBC remained committed to “serve all denominations fairly” and to be “dictated to” by any group in particular.\(^9^9\)

The rigidity of CBC policy had a two-fold effect. On one hand, it forced Protestant churches to produce sermons that appealed to the greatest number of people. On the other hand, it made avoidance of conflict the letter of the day, which ironically generated controversy. The Catholic periodical *The Ensign* took issue with the proscriptive policy of the CBC when it came to religious broadcasting on the radio or television. American Bishop Fulton Sheen’s television program was not allowed airtime in Canada because his views were deemed “controversial” on a broadcast paid for by another organization.\(^9^0\) Sheen’s show, *Life is Worth Living*, received funding from American Admiral Corporation. The CBC did not allow the US program airtime in Canada.\(^9^1\) More than a problem of content, the concerns about Sheen’s access to a Canadian audience reflected Catholic dissatisfaction with a Protestant bias on the part of the CBC. In another editorial, *The Ensign* took umbrage with CBC’s Chairman of the Board of Directors A. Davidson Dunton’s comment that the 1952 Christmas programming reflected a “variety of tastes.”\(^9^2\) The newspaper noted that not a single Catholic program was broadcast on Christmas Eve or Christmas Day in English.\(^9^3\)

Catholic representation on the CBC was small in comparison. Any suggestion of

---

\(^9^9\) LAC, RG 41 vol. 223, file 11-23-2 pt 1, Letter from W. John Dunlop to Robert E. Chapman


\(^9^3\) Ibid
diffusive Christianity reflected the inter-denominational cooperation amongst Protestant sects outside of Quebec that increased the breadth of Protestant appeal in comparison to Catholicism.

In 1952, Rev. J.R. Mutchmor, Secretary of the NRAC and representative of the United Church of Canada, commented to the Director the Dominion Network, Mr. E.L. Bushnell, that, “there is now a better opportunity to increase the number of listeners in the large group who attend church infrequently or are outside the reach of the Christian Church.” Mutchmor petitioned Bushnell to maintain the Church of the Air on affiliate stations in Vancouver, Fredericton, Calgary, and Newfoundland. The Dominion Network, which broadcast the Church of the Air in these centres, had recently failed to carry these programs. Mutchmor advocated that inclusion of the program to these centres, even if it meant a time-delay, or to switch the broadcast to the Trans-Canada Network. Bushnell quickly responded to remind Rev. Mutchmor that despite the absence of Church of the Air other religious programs such as Religious Hour were broadcast in those areas. Regardless of the expression of sympathy and agreement with Mutchmor’s assertions, Bushnell could do little else. With donated airtime, the CBC did not align itself politically with any denomination. It was outside the mandate of the CBC to help the churches’ increase their audience.

The exchange between Mutchmor and Bushnell highlights a few salient issues. First, while the NRAC operated as an arbiter of fairness amongst the denominations, it

---

94 LAC, RG 41 vol. 223 file 11-23-2, National Religious Advisory Council of the Canadian Broadcast Corporation letter to Mr. E.L. Bushnell, Director of Programmes, January 22, 1952
95 Ibid.
also advocated on behalf of those denominations for the preservation and consistency of religious programming on air across the country. Second, because the Protestant representatives on the NRAC championed religious programming as a whole, they tacitly espoused an ecumenical mission that knit the goals of the churches together in the desire to broadcast inclusive religious messages that might entice citizens to worship. A more diffuse Christian message became by-product of such inclusion. Third, Mutchmor’s tactics, underscoring how religious programming could persuade infrequent congregants to worship, firmly entrenched radio as a tool for ministry for all churches. Finally, it demonstrates the place of disadvantage occupied by the churches when it came to using this new tool to its fullest advantage. With few exceptions, churches relied upon the donated airtime by the CBC or other stations to fund their radio ministry. They had little power to control anything beyond their own programming. This lack of control became a point of concern when the values of the church conflicted with the corporate interest of radio stations.

Advertising proliferated alongside mass media, which raised the hackles of many church members. The United Church, for example, had concerns over the reach of the media into families.97 Worried with how companies could pay to advertise beer, wine, and spirits, the church mounted a campaign to pursue a policy of no-tolerance with radio and later television stations to minimize or avoid liquor advertisements. The United Church fretted that mass media could exert an undue influence upon society’s youth and so had to police internally any product or products that might have a deleterious effect upon family’s or children. For the Church, the main culprit was alcohol. Temperance had

long been a hot-button issue of Protestant social advocacy; after 1945 the churches merely re-focused their efforts on new sites where intemperance might be bred. Alcohol production had become a big business by the early 1950s.\(^9\) The United Church hoped that companies would take greater responsibility and heed the Dominion government’s commitment of 1952 to educate the public about the dangers of alcohol abuse.\(^9\) Much of the United Church’s concern about alcohol advertising derived from the import of broadcasts from the United States, a country the church feared had a severe deficit of temperance and whose allure was all too great for many Canadians.\(^9\)

Little ever came of such lobbying efforts. In many cases, documents produced by the churches about the dangers of alcohol abuse and the problems with advertising for distilleries or liquor companies read as impassioned but empty gestures. The churches reminded the government of the issues but over the course of time, as little changed in the rhetoric of the churches, it became clear that the revenues produced by advertising and the business interests trumped any religious concerns. The churches might be accused of being out of touch with the times; or, it is just as easy to see the way the churches adapted an old message and continued pursuing that message through different media. In other words, the battle for temperance was nothing new to the Church, nor was the way the Government blithely ignored the message as long as their coffers were full. The lines of debate, however, had been re-cast in the language of mass media and the impact of mass culture upon family life. As Marshall McLuhan noted, “radio affects people intimately, person-to-person, offering a world of unspoken communication between writer-speaker

---

\(^9\) Craig Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History*, (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2003), 301-331.
\(^9\) Ibid, 4
\(^9\) Ibid
and the listener.”\textsuperscript{101} The Churches were alive to the changes to public life caused by the proliferation of mass media, and changed their tactics and message accordingly.

Family certainly became a touchstone of the argument for a consistent and even increased presence of religion on the airwaves. In 1947 the CBC circulated a memorandum about sustaining religious broadcasting and the public reaction to such broadcasting. Marlon Grange, the memo’s author, argued that since 1943 religious broadcasting had been “on an even keel” and the CBC had well protected such programming from interruptions due to advertising.\textsuperscript{102} He also pointed out that the CBC committed to religious broadcasting as a “public service”\textsuperscript{103} His memo served as a tool to champion the continuance of religious broadcasting on Canada’s national broadcast service. What is even more telling than Grange’s impassioned case is the appendix he included that demonstrated the range of opinion about religious broadcasting. The appendix consists of comments, both positive and negative, from listeners from across Canada.

Some citizens provided glowing praise for religious programming such as “World Church News.” The Toronto Secretary of the Children’s Work Board applauded the CBC’s fine progress and the weekly Sunday broadcasts of “The Way of the Spirit.”\textsuperscript{104} One Minister from Winnipeg wrote that “The Way of the Spirit” was one of the finest

\textsuperscript{101} McLuhan, \textit{Understanding Media}, 299.  
\textsuperscript{102} LAC RG 41 vol 546 file 14 2-3-2 (pt 3) “Religious Broadcasts – touching on the sustaining religious broadcasting by the CBC and public reaction thereon” August 19, 1947, 5.  
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid  
\textsuperscript{104} LAC RG 41 vol 546 file 14 2-3-2 (pt 3) “Religious Broadcasts – touching on the sustaining religious broadcasting by the CBC and public reaction thereon – Appendix August 19, 1947, 9.
programs on the air." Of the same program, a Toronto schoolteacher wondered if there was a way to provide the broadcast to the education system so that all children had access to it.\footnote{\textsuperscript{105} LAC RG 41 vol. 546 file 14 2-3-2 (pt 3) “Religious Broadcasts – touching on the sustaining religious broadcasting by the CBC and public reaction thereon – Appendix August 19, 1947, 10}

Something about the radio appealed to people. In many of the comments religious broadcasts were synonymous with quality. These were edifying programs that addressed and ministered to the spiritual needs of the Canadian population. Of the twenty-eight positive comments included in the appendix, ten people identified themselves as a clergy member or as a person involved with education or a children’s group.\footnote{\textsuperscript{106} \textit{Ibid}} The representation from such sectors of society is unsurprising. If religious broadcasting meant quality listening then it stands to reason that its main supporters would be those invested in a public discourse of religion or those who saw religion as an invaluable tool for the education of children. While the appendix by no means provides a proper quantitative study of opinion regarding religious broadcasting, the comments do offer a glimpse into the range of ideas pertaining to religion on the radio.

Criticism of the CBC’s religious programming tended to focus on whether Christianity was properly represented. No comment reflected an atheistic mindset. This is not to say that such a viewpoint did not exist, rather that it was not represented in the negative comments pertaining to broadcasts. For example, the Western Baptist Union wrote to object to a broadcast of “Eventide.” They thought an Anglican minister, a fact of which the WBU did not think highly, had improperly been asked to read the content. In

\textsuperscript{105} LAC RG 41 vol. 546 file 14 2-3-2 (pt 3) “Religious Broadcasts – touching on the sustaining religious broadcasting by the CBC and public reaction thereon – Appendix August 19, 1947, 10
\textsuperscript{106} \textit{Ibid}
\textsuperscript{107} \textit{Ibid}, 13.
reality, an actor had served as the reader.\textsuperscript{108} However, the WBU’s assumption and comment speak to the way religious broadcasting continued to be divisive within the religious community. Those denominations with fewer adherents felt that the Christian message, on a national stage at least, were dominated by the definition and ideology of the big three Protestant groups: the Anglicans, the United Church of Canada, and the Presbyterian Church in Canada. An anonymous comment nicely expresses this viewpoint: “I do not feel that [the broadcasts] are a worthy expression of the Christianity of this country. I am quite aware of the difficulties that you must face in satisfying so many groups of religious beliefs, but it is a pity that so great a thing as Christianity should because of its division, suffer from inferior speaking and inferior music.”\textsuperscript{109} Whether religion had a place on the national airwaves was not necessarily the key issue up for debate. Instead, the quality and representation of religious ideas remained a contested idea as did the utility of religious programming to the Canadian public.

In his examination of Birmingham, England, \textit{Faith on the Home Front}, Stephen Parker observes that, “radio was utilized by many as an effective medium of spiritual sustenance during times when many were distanced from traditional means of such succour.”\textsuperscript{110} Parker’s study of war-time England has some bearing on Canada after 1945. If anything, the way the churches championed radio programming in Canada shows how they understood (or at least wished) the medium to be a balm for the souls of Canadians.

\textsuperscript{108} LAC RG 41 vol. 546 file 14 2-3-2 (pt 3) “Religious Broadcasts – touching on the sustaining religious broadcasting by the CBC and public reaction thereon – Appendix” August 19, 1947, 13
\textsuperscript{109} LAC RG 41 vol. 546 file 14 2-3-2 (pt 3) “Religious Broadcasts – touching on the sustaining religious broadcasting by the CBC and public reaction thereon – Appendix” August 19, 1947, 14.
who did not attend church and had not attended for some time. Even the secular press included concerned editorials about the state of faith in Canada. Bowmanville’s The Canadian Statesman included an opinion piece in 1943 entitled “This Christian Canada of Ours” that grieved the lackluster state of Christianity in Canada:

Recent Canadian census figures […] show Canada as a predominantly Christian country and it is a great factor in our social and political life that cannot be ignored, comments the Simcoe Reformer. Regrettably it is quite true that with a large number of these Canadians, their adherence to Christianity is a fragile thread. […] Perhaps the assumed indifference that many carry towards religion is not truly representative of their innermost feelings.111

Maybe it was this “fragile thread” that motivated churches to speak via the airwaves to access a citizen’s innermost feelings. Sadly, even a common purpose amongst Protestant churches could not circumvent the tendency towards in-fighting. Radio exposed a fundamental contradiction in post-war Christianity: as the churches embraced a new method of growing their own congregations and the devotion of its members, the very mechanism forced a diffusion of the Christian message, put denominations at odds with each other, and potentially reinforced a person’s more tepid or tenuous identification as Christian outside of a particular denomination.

It has been well documented by historians of radio and religion the way in which religious broadcasting divided the religious communities within Canada. It especially divided Protestant and Catholic groups, exacerbated tensions between them, and exposed a long-standing distrust. In the Catholic periodical, The Ensign, the CBC was charged with abusing its privilege. The article’s author commented on the recent Christmas programming, and argued that the message of community-building championed by the CBC chairman, A. Davidson Dunton, was false. He alleged that, “Not a single Catholic

111 “This Christian Canada of Ours,” Canadian Statesman, February 26, 1953, 2.
program was broadcast by the CBC in the English language on Christmas eve or Christmas day.\textsuperscript{112} The author went on to suggest that most of the programming included were merely fairy stories or fantasies of Santa Claus and his magical elves. The author objected to the marked absence of Christ from Christmas.\textsuperscript{113} While religion had a place on the airwaves, not all creeds received equal or even proportional representation. Much to the chagrin of some denominations, on the national stage Christianity had been streamlined in a way that reflected the prevailing ethos of the mainline Protestant groups, at least in English Canada. Programming on the CBC strove for religious inclusivity, even a certain amelioration of any differences in order that the broadcast might appeal to a broad base of people. In the process, those blurred distinctions both irked denominations who believed that religious ideas ought to be properly represented and remain undiluted, as well as shifted the way the public responded to religion.

The radio, a crucial site for diffusive Christianity, also produced anxiety about an expanding or universalizing Protestant message. The radio threatened to blunt the edges of the denominations, erasing the distinctions that attracted congregants to a particular church akin to the way Dunton expressed it had dulled the Christian importance of Christmas. Within a framework of diffusive Christianity there remained an underlying tension between inclusion and distinction that points to a society unsettled by its own religiousity. The place of religion in a modern society was subtly contested and changed within exclusively religious broadcasts as a result of policy decisions and denominational decisions (churches, too, wanted to attract a broad audience). Religion was contested elsewhere on the airwaves. On “secular” programs, the nature and place of religion in

\textsuperscript{112} The Ensign, December 27 1952
\textsuperscript{113} Ibid
society was debated, perhaps most notably on “Canada’s National Platform,” *Citizen’s Forum*.

Airing on the CBC radio beginning in 1942, after the war *Citizen’s Forum* was branded as an “inquiry into the postwar world.” Among broadcasts about the place of women in society, corporal punishment in the education system, and Canada’s relationship with the United States, religion and morality were key discussion topics. Two broadcasts of the program are of particular interest. First, in November 1950 panelists discussed the role of the church in modern times. Psychiatrist Dr. F.A. Dunsworth, Reverends G.A. Ernst of the Anglican Church and Rev. J.D. Nelson MacDonald of the United Church of Canada, and philosopher George Grant took up four perspectives on the place the Church did and ought to occupy in Canadian society.

Second, a 1951 edition of the program featured a discussion between Wilhelmina Holmes, a lawyer, Reverend G.R. Cragg of the United Church (also a historian of early modern Christianity), newspaper editor Craig Ballantine, and President of the Montreal Better Business Bureau, Willard Melville about moral standards in Canadian society.

The conceit of the compatibility of modern materialism with Christianity lay at the centre of the 1950 debate about the place of the church in Canadian society. “What did the church mean to the man in the back pew?” “Is the psychiatrist replacing the church?”

On “Canada’s National Platform,” citizens wrote in questions for a group of panelists to discuss and attempt to answer. Debated between two clergymen (MacDonald and Ernst) and two laymen (Dunsworth and Grant), the place of the church in a society

---

and efficacy of the church in playing a role in an increasingly materialistic culture provided a rousing discussion about the essential role of the church.

Both clergymen advocated for a strong church presence in society. Psychiatrist Dunsworth, too, championed the importance of a strong church presence in society. For Dunsworth, the “spiritual hygiene” of the population ought to remain firmly in the hands of churches.\textsuperscript{115} Religion and religious belief helped to preserve moral and ethical codes in society, which in turn ensured stability and strength in the workplace and at home. Psychiatry and spirituality mutually reinforced each other.

George Grant proved more antagonistic. He argued that economic institutions or economically driven institutions such as General Motors, as they grew in the post-war world, were at odds with the fundamental caveat of Christianity: love. According to Grant, love could not motivate the direction of institutions that operated with bolstering the economy or their own bottom-line. Grant had lost faith that Churches, as large, organized institutions could any longer work in a way that supported people the way churches used to support people. Grant argued that building churches up into working institutions or corporations was antithetical to their primary mission of promoting and disseminating Jesus’ message. The church had to work as an agent in and for society; the larger the overarching organizational structure became the further the church drifted from its primary mission.\textsuperscript{116}

Grant set up a key point of debate for the program. What reach did the Church have into the growing institutions of the post-war world? Corporations or the government

\textsuperscript{115} CBC Digital Archives, Citizen’s Forum, November 2, 1950, \url{http://www.cbc.ca/archives/discover/programs/c/citizens-forum/citizen} accessed on October 9\textsuperscript{th}, 2012
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid.
worked on a large, international scale and (in Grant’s estimation) such scope meant that religion could not operate because the size would dilute the fundamental principles of Christianity.\textsuperscript{117} Grant, of course, was challenged on this idea. Both Reverends Ernst and MacDonald took issue that Christianity would be diluted in large institutions where other interests, such as profit, might receive more attention.\textsuperscript{118} The men argued that here was a case where the precepts of religion could be amplified; the individual had the power to carry forward his or her Christian values to his or her work in the corporation.

The role of the individual in society and his or her own agency undergirded the debate about the place of religion in modern society. In other words, did the responsibility for disseminating Christian values rest with the devout individual or did that power rest collectively within churches? The question can be answered two ways. First, it takes the individual’s belief joined with others to form a community of belief. Second, a community of belief can be distilled to individuals. These arguments resonate similar ones made during the late 19\textsuperscript{th} and early 20\textsuperscript{th} centuries amongst Social Gospellers.\textsuperscript{119} Grant astutely hit the nail upon the head when he asked, what was the place for Christian values in a “modern” Canada that relied heavily upon a-religious organizations?

The discussion amongst the panelists points to a complicated relationship between religion and society. The place of religion in society was being tested, by both a-religious

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{117}] CBC Digital Archives, Citizen’s Forum, November 2, 1950, http://www.cbc.ca/archives/discover/programs/c/citizens-forum/citizen accessed on October 9\textsuperscript{th}, 2012. The only conceivable exception might be for international Roman Catholicism. It is curious that no Roman Catholic was included on the panel, despite the fact that Roman Catholicism constituted 40\% of Canadians.
\item[\textsuperscript{118}] Ibid
\item[\textsuperscript{119}] See the works of David Marshall, \textit{Secularizing the Faith} and Ramsay Cook, \textit{The Regenerators}.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
institutions and by the larger population. Grant argued that religious education lacked amongst youth, especially those proceeding to university. Reverend MacDonald agreed, adding that this predicament seemed primarily isolated to Protestant churches. MacDonald observed that Roman Catholic youth entered university well versed in the history of the Catholic Church and possessed of knowledge of their religion that remained absent from Protestant youths’ lexicon.\textsuperscript{120} It was not a question of secularization; in fact, secularization did not come up as a discussion point. The panelists remarked and observed more about the changing nature of the relationship between people and religion and society. They resisted categorizing religion as being in decline. Religion was in flux, just as the rest of society was in flux. New life and new vitality would come into the church if the church helped to create and foster a new vocabulary that reflected the modern world and transported older ideas or definitions of things like sin into the present.\textsuperscript{121}

The panel and the forum was less concerned with church-going and individual religion. The content of the forum and its broadcast reflect a more deep-seated concern about the efficacy of religious ideas in the influence of broader social institutions. Moreover, the discussion betrayed a key conceit wherein religion was defined as fundamentally arising out of a Christian worldview. As much as all the panelists urged for innovation and the need to keep the churches relevant, there remained a crucial assumption: all accepted the place of Christianity as the moral foundation for Canadian society. This assumption was made clear when the Reverend MacDonald asked Dr.

\textsuperscript{120} CBC Digital Archives, Citizen’s Forum, November 2, 1950,  
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid
Dunsworth whether he was a “Christian psychiatrist.” Dr. Dunsworth rebuffed him and urged caution because one of the finest psychiatrists he had met was, in fact, Jewish. Quickly, Rev. MacDonald clarified that he meant that many Jews or “Mohammedans” could be quite “Christly” in their outlooks. For the Minister, Christianity provided the original or perfect worldview; other religions merely adopted a diverging method of bearing out those Christian ideas.

The assumption of Christianity as the unquestioned basis for social morality and ethical codes factored into the 1951 Citizen’s Forum on “Measuring Modern Morality.” The forum’s premise accepted that Canadian society had entered a moral crisis. Evidence for such a crisis abounded in the rise in juvenile delinquency, tax fraud cases on the rise, and the potential influence of corrupt American society. Holmes championed Canadian’s laws as a sign of good morality because, as she argued, law usually lagged behind the social zeitgeist. Rev. Cragg identified that the topic betrayed that this discussion preoccupied many, which itself was a sign of alarm. Mr. Melvin advocated how the Better Business Bureau operated as the moral compass of the business community. For Melvin, business ethnics were not slipping and in fact, were in improving, which in turn demonstrated the strong morality present in the community. Mr. Ballentine, the journalistic representative, refuted the charge that interest in sensational

stories did not correlate to a lack of morals. In fact, Valentine suggested that greater interest in non-sensational or gritty stories showed improvement.\textsuperscript{124}

Holmes lights upon the Juvenile Delinquent’s Act as a sign of moral uplift because it shifted the burden away from punishment of a crime and towards meting out the underlying causes for a crime. Laws had become more humanitarian, in Holmes’ estimation. Cragg rejoinders and wonders if more humanitarian laws necessarily means that the public respect the laws more.\textsuperscript{125} Melvin argued that petty crime still seemed rampant; he questioned Holmes’ optimism. The panelists could not arrive at a clear conclusion. The question of whether morals had deteriorated in society was (and is) subjective.

Hope for improvement and the reality of improvement were at odds. One person’s definition of what constituted good morality did not necessarily correlate to another’s. For example, Melvin argued that the lack of complaints filed with his branch of the Better Business Bureau seemed a sign of strong business ethics, which in turn correlated with a moral society because the economic backbone was sound. However, the increasingly flippant social attitudes towards debt distressed Melvin. Such callous financial care did point to lessening moral standards in his estimation.\textsuperscript{126}

On one point all the panelists agreed: many of the questions about morality stemmed from global strife and the uncertain times.\textsuperscript{127} Such instability and compromised

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item\textsuperscript{125} Ibid
\item\textsuperscript{126} Ibid
\item\textsuperscript{127} Ibid
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
morality elsewhere on the planet meant that it was part of a citizen’s duty to inform him or herself and to foster strong communal ties. “A greater sensitivity, a greater awareness […] for raising our own moral standards” could only help to combat any deterioration. The communist ideas and regime of the USSR was the big bad wolf of morality. To keep the wolf from the door, moral standards had to remain high. The whole exercise of this particular panel of the program demonstrates a deep worry about the influence of other ideologies upon Canadian society.

Citizen’s Forum, much like the more current The Agenda with Steven Paikin that airs on TVO, picks up on a social and political zeitgeist and broadcasts shows that speak to the concerns of a broader public. In the case of the two broadcasts discussed above, there is clear evidence that people were concerned with how the changing times and the ideological threats from abroad posed a potential danger to society. There were no clear answers provided. Rather, the tenor of the forums illustrates many of the issues that the churches themselves highlighted in their pleas for airtime: the need to provide a moral compass, the need for outreach and education for the broader citizenry, and the need for ministry to augment radio worship.

Outside of panel discussions broadcast, other radio shows highlight the complicated relationship between religion and society. Notably, Mattie Rotenberg, who worked in Toronto, was a prolific broadcaster. The daughter of Jewish immigrants, Rotenberg earned a PhD in Physics from the University of Toronto in 1926 (the first Jew and woman to have been granted a degree in the subject). Family, education, and

---

women’s issues were important to Rotenberg so when, in the 1930s she added journalist to her resume, she explored subjects and ideas that stemmed from these passions. Topics ranged from politics to domestic affairs. Rotenberg’s broadcasts evince yet another arena in which religion was understood and debated in the public. Often, her pieces historicized the place of women in order to draw out a lesson for the current time. For example, in 1947, she discussed “Women in Religion” on her program Woman’s Way. She discussed the women of the Old Testament and offered that women work behind the scenes, certainly, but exert a profound influence on society. They “make religion a living thing in the home, and passes it on through her children. This is perhaps her greatest service – this passing on from generation to generation – for without it no religion could live nor grow.”129 Rotenberg reaffirmed traditional gender roles: the woman’s place in the home while the man works to sustain the home. She cited, however, the role of the woman in the home as a fundamental building blocking in a stable public. The mother has control over her children’s moral upbringing and it is her duty to influence positively her children harnessing the values instilled in religious teachings to the greater service of society.

Rotenberg’s argument does not seem particularly novel or new. It is in keeping with a reappraisal of the “modern woman.” In 1954, Rotenberg’s program had changed to issues facing the Modern Woman including “wider responsibilities.” Citizenship and the way women could engender good citizens. Rotenberg still touted “traditional” institutions such as marriage, but did so with the understanding that the modern woman understood and approached marriage differently. Girls, she said, no longer looked for a Prince Charming to swoop them of their feet. No. Instead, girls look for comradeship, get

---

married earlier, and have larger families.\textsuperscript{130} Greater equality meant a decrease in romance. Traditional choices and gendered roles were championed for different reasons – as signs of a progressive age. Private and public life were one and the same for women, especially mothers.

The medium could blur creedal difference, support a person’s self-identification as Christian, and reach out to a wider audience at the same time these very benefits made the audience more personally inaccessible as people could replace church attendance with their own versions of worship from the comfort of the chesterfield. Rotenberg’s broadcasts and the \textit{Citizen’s Forum} both showcased people from different professional (and religious) backgrounds who grappled with the salient issues that they believed challenged society. All referenced religion in some capacity. Morality, ideas about tradition and good values, and social codes all stemmed from a framework rooted in the Old Testament. The fragile thread of belief in Christianity occupied the thoughts of people outside the church. In 1952 Stephen Byles, the Executive Director for the United Church of Canada’s London Conference’s Radio Committee, wrote a memorandum urging for “visitation evangelism.”\textsuperscript{131} Byles noted that the radio had reached out to Christians in their homes. Now, church members had to harness any zeal generated by the radio ministry to attract more people to the Church and weekly worship in person. He recommended groups of laity and clergy alike unite the broadcasted message of the

\textsuperscript{130} LAC, MK 31 K 8 vol. 1 Rotenberg papers file 67 – \textit{Modern Women: “Wider Responsibilities – Citizenship”} 1954
\textsuperscript{131} United Church of Canada Archives, United Church of Canada Committee on Radio and Television, Ascension1982.052C Fonds 501 Series 50 Box 1, File 5 Committee on the Radio London Conference Radio Committee Materials, Letter from Stephen R. Byles, Executive Director of the Radio Committee, London Conference, UCC, October 22\textsuperscript{nd}, 1952.
Christian faith with day-to-day worship in order to strengthen the church and Christendom. There was a cruel irony for the churches in supporting radio ministry.

The radio offered a tremendous opportunity for churches to expand their reach. The potential audience was but a dial turn away. Certainly, the messages espoused during programming reflected a particular denomination’s creed or outlook; however, the messages were also carefully crafted to appeal more broadly to the listening audience. Radio provided a medium for potentially reticent congregants. The medium provided a means of worship without the public display of worship by parishioners.

The CBC did not make it easy for the churches. Stringent rules for public broadcasting, the needs to cater to different affiliates and balance programming, and the cost of mounting a program made it difficult for the churches to compete outside of the

---


133 Television was the next great step in communications and entertainment. From the airwaves to the screen, the medium shifted and so did the message. The CBC and its religious programming department worked to create a series of shows to inculcate interest in various aspect of religion. In 1958 and 1959, under the series title of “Heritage,” the CBC developed a publicity package to help roll out the new programs. The series consisted of ten, filmed programs of several faiths. “Fully Canadian in its approach, it will centre drama around church activity, without becoming ‘propaganda vehicles’ to the public eye” read the promotional material published by the CBC. Aimed at the non-church going audience, the CBC and its partner churches hoped to inspire viewers to “find new revelation through the television presentation.” Television marked a turning point of sorts. It offered a new vehicle for religious ideas. With it, new debates about the commodification of religion arose. For example, the Presbyterian Church took great issue with the proposal put to the NRAC in 1954 to seek commercial sponsorship for religious television programs. In their dissent to the NRAC, Reverends Millroy and McCullough both argued that sponsoring religious shows created a dangerous precedent that endangered the “redemptive message of Christ.” The debate about the relationship between mass media and religion continued.
time allotted to them by the national system. The proceedings from the annual meetings of the national committees by the mainline Protestant churches all make obvious the commitment by the churches to use the medium to their advantage. They also reveal a shared experience: an uphill battle to produce independent, religious programming. There was little enough money to go around within the churches so that to launch a dedicated series of programming remained very a much a dream.

Radio democratized religion in the sense that it made worship accessible to the entire population. Broadcasts might have reflected a particular denomination, but could be consumed by anyone regardless of his or her religious background. The production of religious programming simultaneously marginalized religion. Stringent standards and little tolerance for controversy translated to a segment of the broadcasting community where the churches could do little else but court a broad audience for fear of losing their time. Further, broadcasts that addressed the place of religion in society point to how religion’s influence had shifted. It existed in concert with other influences to direct and influence broader trends in society. At the same time that Protestants could reach a wider audience with a message of Christianity, their individual denominational voice became more diffuse within society.

Broadcasts about religion and its utility for Canadian society reveal a deeply conflicted public. Discussion forums such as the *Citizen’s Forum* or specialized broadcasts like that of Mattie Rotenberg do, however, provide key insights in the social zeitgeist and where religion, matters of faith, and spirituality registered. Clearly, religion did matter to a great many people. It also caused some strife. The role the church should play in society, and how religious ideas ought to underpin traditions or values provided
discussion topics that occupied the churches internally and externally. Though religion
had an on-air presence this was not enough. The following chapter traces the strong
advocacy of the Protestants in shaping the education system in the post-war decade in
order to exert more direct influence upon the citizenry.
3 – A New “Hope” for Religious Education

The Ontario government made education a priority in the immediate post-war period. For citizens and government officials alike, education was the primary and most important vehicle for communicating the values of a democratic society. “Knowing the evil that sharp intellects, unsupported by moral foundations, [had] wrought in recent years in many countries,”¹ led the prominent citizens who made up the examiners in the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario to emphasize the need for moral training alongside the regular curriculum. Between 1945 and 1950 as these commissioners listened to communities across the province on the topic of education, they took stock of the customs and procedures in place and asked in what ways they might be improved in order to support and reinforce the values they ascribed to a democratic society.

George A. Drew came to power in Ontario in 1945. Drew and the Conservative party sought to reverse the trend of the child-centered models of education favoured by his Liberal predecessor, Mitch Hepburn.² The Commission signaled a new post-war order for education. Drew wanted to emphasize the role of education in the creation and maintenance of good citizenship. In a letter to Drew from the chair of International Student Service, Marcus Long, about a proposed university course in British-occupied Germany, Long called attention to how “the rapid encroachment of Communism in Europe makes it imperative that we show students and professors of Europe the strength

---
¹ Royal Commission on Education in Ontario [Hope Report], (Toronto: Baptist Johnston, 1950) 24.
² See Neil McKinty, Mitch Hepburn and J. Saywell, Mitch for more detailed histories about the 13th Premier in Ontario.
of education and the importance of freedom in the democratic countries.” A strong education provided the necessary foundation for democratic citizenship, which helped to secure Ontario and Canada from communist aggression.

The education system in Ontario was a rather unwieldy network of school boards spread across the vast province that administered elementary and secondary schools. The province was, by and large, a place where there was a stark divide between urban and rural localities. Cities had increased in number and housed the largest segment of the population. Nevertheless, rural areas still accounted for a sizeable cross-section of the populace, especially in areas such as Northern Ontario also known as the Clay Belt. In the 1940s over 4000 school boards spread across the province. The boards’ administrative reach varied from many schools contained within larger towns and cities to a single school within only a single village, and their responsibilities ranged from administering both the elementary and high schools to separate boards administering to both levels of schooling. Urban and rural localities experienced different educational practices: cities were more likely to have multiple classrooms, more modern buildings, and with many teachers; on the other hand, one-roomed schools were not atypical in rural settings nor was having a single teacher for many grades.

---

3 Archives of Ontario, George Drew Fonds, RG 3-17 B396768 File 82-G Education. Dept of Education, Letter from Chief Director Dr. J.G. Althouse International Student Service (Cdn Committee) per Marcus Long (chair) To George Drew, Prime Minister and Minister of Education in ON, March 8th, 1948.


6 Gidney, From Hope to Harris, 10.

7 Ibid, 11.
In the sparsely settled Clay Belt, the territory north of places like North Bay and Sudbury, schools were fewer and further between and the standards and practices of Southwestern Ontario were often adjusted to accommodate the particular needs of northern communities. For example, if a community had a preponderance of Catholic inhabitants, there might only exist a separate school when the standard practice was to first establish a public school and then if a consensus of people wished it, a separate school was established. Sometimes, as in Pentanguishene the public school was Catholic and the separate school was Protestant. Compulsory attendance was also not as rigidly enforced at it was in other school districts.\(^8\) By mid-century, most Ontario children attended school at least until the age of fourteen. However, in places where families needed their children to work, boys and girls were pulled out of school earlier.\(^9\)

Since before Canada’s confederation, Ontario had a separate school system. Publicly funded out of property taxes, the common school fund, and the united business tax just like the public schools,\(^10\) separate schools cropped up in communities where the Roman Catholic population demonstrated a preference for such an institution (or in some cases where the Protestant minority expressed a wish for a separate school reflective of their sectarian interests). In the 19th century, separate schools provided a place where the smaller Catholic communities could learn outside of an arena where anti-Catholic

---


\(^9\) Ibid

\(^10\) In the case of the business tax, the business had to be Roman Catholic and agree to have its tax levy directed to the school. See Franklin A. Walker, *Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario, Volume III: From the Hope Commission to the Promise of Completion (1945-1985)*, (Toronto: Catholic Education Foundation of Ontario, 1986).
sentiment raged.\textsuperscript{11} By the 1940s, anti-Catholicism was not so virulent, but it had also not entirely disappeared and the precedent and practice of separate schools remained. From the outset, separate schools generated a great deal of controversy.\textsuperscript{12} The continued separation of public and Catholic schools polarized the Ontario community along religious lines. In 1945, even though Catholics rather significantly constituted 33.4\% of the population,\textsuperscript{13} they were the religious minority in the province and many Protestants did not want them to receive specialized treatment. Catholic schools might have adhered to the main tenets of the Ontario curriculum as mandated by provincial statute, but nonetheless Protestants were suspicious that they did not necessarily faithfully observe the practices of the public school system despite the governance of all schools regardless of whether they were separate or private by a shared Department of Education.\textsuperscript{14}

Ontario’s Department of Education knit together all of the diversity of schooling in the province under one bureaucratic wing in the provincial government. The Department outlined the curriculum across the province, issuing a prescriptive guideline for all teachers to follow. They dispatched inspectors to ensure the quality of education,

\textsuperscript{11} Alison Prentice, \textit{The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada}, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977) PP
\textsuperscript{12} In areas like Penetang, separate Protestant schools were built to accommodate the wish of a majority of Protestant families for their own facility. Arguments against separate schools usually dealt with issues of Protestant-Roman Catholic division and difference.
\textsuperscript{13} Gallup Poll, 1945. Protestants (United Church of Canada, Anglicans, and Presbyterians) constituted 45.7\% of Ontario’s population.
\textsuperscript{14} Archives of Ontario, George Drew fonds, RG 3-17 B396768, folder 291-G United Church of Canada correspondence, J.R. Mutchmor Letter to George Drew, August 10, 1944. Reverend Mutchmor of the United Church of Canada wrote to Drew expressing his concern about stemming the tide of Roman Catholic influence outside of Quebec. Much of the concern about the Separate School system is tied to a concern about the Catholic power and influence in key areas of influence such as education or politics. See Walker, \textit{Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario}, and Robert Dixon and Mark McGowan, (eds), \textit{The History of Catholic in Ontario: A Reader}, (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1997).
and they also administered province-wide standardized examinations to make sure a
benchmark of schooling was in place before a student progressed from elementary to
secondary school.\textsuperscript{15} Despite such standardized techniques, the administration of Ontario’s
schools was a cumbersome task. Coupled with a fresh, post-war mind-set on the part of
Ontario politicians that determined to enhance the education of its future citizens, the
time had come for a re-appraisal of the entire system.

In 1945 the Progressive Conservative government of George Drew ordered the
creation of a Royal Commission on Education in Ontario. The mandate of the
commission was to examine broadly the curriculum, pedagogical techniques, teacher
training, school board funding, and future of the educational system.\textsuperscript{16} Drew called upon
Mr. Justice Andrew Hope to head the large committee of twenty examiners (or
commissioners), who after five years of reading briefs issued by stakeholders in
education, attending town hall meetings to listen to communities across the province, and
conducting interviews with key citizens and education officials, exhaustively compiled
information in order to produce their final report. The Royal Commission (inclusive of
the time spent compiling the report, and the report itself) lies at the crossroad of a dual
process.

On one hand, the Commission reflected the need to embolden traditional values
such as an emphasis upon family and other beliefs and practices derived from a Christian
background, as well as to reinforce a “small-e” conservative agenda. On the other hand,
the impetus for such change derived from the need to reverse the Liberal reforms of the
1930s and earlier, notably those practices and ideas that politicians deemed detrimental to

\textsuperscript{15} Gidney, \textit{From Hope to Harris}, 19-20.
the national health or to democracy such as the preference and exceptions granted to French-speaking separate schools.¹⁷ For example, government and community leaders often touted materialism run amok as a reason for the Great Depression that contributed to the moral deprivation that led to the Second World War.¹⁸ To avoid further conflict Canadians needed to resist unchecked materialism during the post-1945 economic boom, and they needed to hold fast to a strong system of morality.

Morality, especially during the first half of the 20th century remained tethered to a theistic worldview rooted in Christian and Jewish teaching and ritual.¹⁹ Morality made a distinction between good and bad behaviour. Goodness or good works brought a person closer to God. Ethics as found in or determined by the Bible constituted the framework for determining whether an action or behaviour was moral or immoral. This tradition of relying upon the Bible had become so entrenched over so many centuries that by the mid-twentieth century morality had become “invisible;” in other words, it did not “challenge either the dominant structures or the dominant paradigms” in society according to

¹⁹ “Moral Arguments for Theism,” *A Dictionary of Philosophy of Religion*, eds. Charles Taliaferro and Elsa J. Marty, (New York: Continuum, 2010) 154. Philosophers such a Emile Durkheim, Immanuel Kant, and Michel Foucault have all interrogated the epistemological limits of morality, especially in the absence of a supreme being. It is likely safe to say that for most of the persons who populate this dissertation, the obligation to uphold and live righteously followed from a worldview informed by the belief in a Christian God on whose behaviour and goodness a citizen was to model him or herself.
sociologist of religion José Casanova. Morality helped to reaffirm those structures or paradigms because of its long history and its tether to the Bible.

The Second World War forced people to reconsider morality. The Nazi regime showcased such extreme injustices that morality was no longer so invisible. In the post-war moment, people grappled with how to return and reaffirm the Biblical caveats for moral behaviour. The Cold War and the tension between the communist and “God-less” East with the democratic West made the need for a strong moral centre in society all the more crucial for the preservation of the North American way of life. Community, government, and religious leaders became more vocal about how people needed to return to the basic principles in the Bible to govern their behaviour in order to ensure a strong society in the face of great social change. Morality, then, was at the crossroads of the dual process of preserving traditional values and embracing the break from the past.

There was tension between these two processes, one looking to the future and the other looking towards the past. When viewed holistically, however, these processes reveal a broader conceptual framework within which to understand better the way citizens of all stations thought about the future and how best to secure that future. The consultations and conversations that occurred in conjunction with the Royal Commission on education provide a useful way to adjudicate and understand how these social tensions and processes played out both politically and socially, and what they meant for how Ontarians actively shaped their post-war future in the face of rapid societal change and the new Cold War conflict.

---

This chapter examines the rationale behind the Hope Report and what it represented for how political, religious, and public leaders understood education within the context of the broader Cold War. It investigates how the report brought to the surface deep-seated tensions between Protestants and Roman Catholics, and assesses the way religious language and ideas permeated the education system. This chapter begins with a look at George Drew and the Conservative agenda for Ontario, and asks why educational reform became a cornerstone for his government’s post-war agenda. It then moves to examine the proceedings of the Commission in order to appraise the relationship between education, society, and religion; it will look at the final report itself and analyze the place of religion within its scope in order to assess in what ways and to what extent religion was an animating factor of public education debates.

The chapter then discusses the most contentious issue: separate schools. It addresses the long history of separate schooling in Ontario and why the controversial matter threatened to derail the possibility of any reform. Finally, it will look to whether the Hope Report did change the school system and education policy in the province and why or why not. Debates about education between 1945 and 1950 encompassed more than matters of schoolrooms, attendance, and curriculum. Within the context of post-war Ontario, discussions about education were charged with ideological language that framed those practical discussions about schooling within a vocabulary of democracy and citizenship. For Premier George A. Drew, the Progressive Conservative party he helmed in Ontario needed to set the example for the country during uncertain times. In a comment made just after his election, Drew contended that, “the Federal issue is the same that was decided in Ontario. The issue is the same because the Dominion Liberal Party,
through its own acceptance of support of the Communists, has bound itself to the Socialist doctrines which are opposed to the principles of the Progressive Conservative party.”

Good citizenship, especially as identified by the PC party, could ward off the evils of communism. Religion, notably Christianity, provided a ready language and blueprint for moral guidance and teaching, and so became the touchstone for pursuing those loftier goals of engendering good citizenship within the province’s youth.

George Drew came to power in 1943 at the head of the Progressive Conservative Party. The 1943 election was by no means decisive. It did remove the Liberal party formerly under the leadership of Mitchell Hepburn from power, but it was a narrow race between Drew’s Conservatives and Ted Joliffe of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). Drew won a minority mandate in the Ontario legislature, largely due to his more liberal policies including free dental care, and universal health care. The Drew government’s agenda was a response to the mood of the time. Ontarians were weary from the war and looking for stability. Citizens were looking to the future and wanted assurances that life would not return to the conditions of the 1930s, yet they also wanted to take full advantage of the new economic regime and the burgeoning welfare state. Drew’s agenda had to balance more progressive ideas that reflected reforms in welfare and the extension of a social safety net with an emphasis upon long-standing values such as a stress upon locality and the decentralization of government.

---

Drew’s vision for a strong, independently minded Ontario served him well. He attained popularity and notoriety in both the provincial and federal arenas for his pertinacious stand to keep Ontario and Ontario’s money for the benefit of the province and its citizens. It helped him to carry a majority in the 1945 election. According to Jonathan Manthorpe, Drew’s vision for the province did three things: “[it] prepared [the province] mentally and physically for the tremendous period of growth in the 1950s and 1960s; he recognized the desire in the population for social change and geared the government to respond; and he set the style of the Conservative government – a style which has found acceptance amongst voters in election after election.” The first two points are especially interesting. Drew readied the province for the changes that many viewed as inevitable after the war, and which were directed by the federal Department of Reconstruction led by C.D. Howe such as the turnover of war-time industries to peace-time economic industries. What is not immediately clear was how the nation-wide vision for a progressive Canada that capitalized on the war’s advances in technology and ingenuity was balanced with an earnest desire to preserve those values that had endured the war. In other words, while Drew desired the province, and country, to embrace new innovations and ideas, he did not want such vision to come at the sacrifice of more “traditional” values.

Traditional values can mean any number of things. Within the context of post-war Ontario society, tradition can be best expressed as long-standing ideas transposed through social institutions like the family and the Church that emphasized morality based on the

---

teachings of the Bible. Personal responsibility, self-determination, independence of thought, as well as the preservation of the family and family ties, attendance and consideration of the broader community are all ideas that helped to define traditional values. The traditional part came from the way these traits and ideas passed from generation to generation, adapting to the time but resisting change to their core meaning.

Religion and the churches offered a clear framework and environment respectively for the transmission of these values. Institutions that had long weathered war and social change, the churches were uniquely suited to affirm the messages of hope, of civic responsibility and pride, and of moral notions of right and wrong. The call for religious instruction in Ontario’s public schools first broached by Mitchell Hepburn and then lauded by George Drew reflected the goal to ensure the preservation of those “traditional” ideas or values that had helped to weather the recent conflict. For example, Drew’s call for an hour of religious instruction in the schools was a policy meant to enforce and to embolden democratic values through the consistent teaching of morality as found within a Christian framework.

The perceived need to entrench democratic values pedagogically reflected two broader social agendas. First, it rooted the goals of reconstruction in the province and country in a very specific and influential area of policy: education. The school system had expanded significantly in Ontario since the 1920s. Officials had placed an emphasis upon attendance of, at the very least, elementary school. In school-aged children the government could communicate with a large portion of the population in their formative

---

30 Ibid.
years. This message was made clearest to the graduating teachers who were meant to shape and guide the young minds of the new generation. F.C. Biehl, Principal of the Normal School in London, Ontario, submitted a report on the preliminary findings of the Royal Commission on Education in 1949. Biehl noted the “swell in population” and the need for enticing and training many new teachers to help mould the incoming classes of young people.\(^{31}\)

Biehl’s message for teachers celebrated the opportunity that came with change. In his address to the graduating class of 1949 he observed to the new teachers that they were tasked “not only with making a new world, but with helping to decide whether we shall continue to have a world at all.”\(^{32}\) People had to think of themselves as citizens of “the whole world” with “duties towards all mankind.”\(^{33}\) Teachers had to teach their young students why the war was so important and why their citizenship and strong values mattered in the world to come. Biehl’s address merely reiterated the attitude of the broader ministry of education. That same year, Minister of Education Dana Porter had sent a similar message to the Normal School graduating class. He wrote, “to train for life in a democratic community, and to lead young people to develop themselves in body, mind, and character, the teacher must know children, know what is first-rate, and know how to inspire enthusiasm for worthy things and noble actions.”\(^{34}\) When Canada was very quickly engaged in the Cold War, and the new threat, both physical and ideological, to the nation emerged the educators had to step up and help craft the new generation of

\(^{33}\) Ibid
citizens.

The second agenda exposed how the Second World War and the Cold War laid bare deficiencies or inconsistencies across the school system. It did not sufficiently accommodate new immigrants; it did not have a plan for territorial expansion into Northern Ontario; it did not perform uniformly across the province and school boards.35 These deficiencies required attention if the province hoped to accommodate many new immigrants, more students attending secondary education facilities, the expansion of the population into more northern regions of the province, and the demands of educating youth against the communist threat.36 As the wartime economy shifted to a booming post-war economy, the place of technology became more important in a student’s ability to access education.37 As roads extended more widely across the province, the government had to think about the way the school districts were distributed. R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar’s excellent study How Schools Worked provides the most comprehensive analysis of the education system in Ontario and Canada from 1900-1940.38 The authors note the decreasing rural population but call attention to how “rural” was redefined after the 1931 census to mean “unincorporated hamlets, police villages, and country parishes” – a “non-farm” based definition.39

The ability to construct new schools exposed the stark difference between urban and rural school facilities: urban centres had a larger corporate tax base from which to

35 Gidney and Millar, How Schools Worked, 181.
37 Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education, 112-113.
39 Gidney and Millar, How Schools Worked, 9-10.
draw financial resources, and children could more easily travel to and from school; in rural areas schools were much further apart and transportation proved more difficult.\textsuperscript{40}

Even as more people settled the north, the province’s population remained more concentrated in the cities. According to the 1941 census, Ontario’s population was 3,787,655. 2.3 million people (or 62%) lived in urban areas and 1.4 million (38%) lived in rural areas.\textsuperscript{41} Over the next ten years, the population stratified. The 1951 census reflected a population of 4.5 million people in Ontario and a 71% versus 20% urban/rural divide.\textsuperscript{42} It became necessary to address questions of how to standardize education environments and practices across regions and who ought to have access to education and for how long.\textsuperscript{43} With the birth rate on the rise and an influx of immigrants, school boards needed to think about how to adapt or accommodate the current system to the forecasted boom. Gidney and Millar observed that, “beginning slowly and unevenly in the late 1930s and early 1940s, but gaining momentum across the two or three decades that

\textsuperscript{40} Minority Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario [Hope Report], (Toronto: Baptist Johnston, 1950) 779.


\textsuperscript{42} Population, Urban and Rural, by province and territory (Ontario) in the 1951 Dominion census, http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo62g-eng.htm. By the end of 1956, Ontario’s population had swelled to 5.6 million with a 76/24 urban/rural divide.

\textsuperscript{43} Gidney and Millar, \textit{How Schools Worked}, 361-363. Gidney and Millar draw a distinction between the pre and post 1940 periods in education. Prior to 1940, “Victorian assumptions” still guided the administration of the system whereas after 1940 when compulsory attendance laws and a shrinking labour market for adolescents forced the system to change. After 1940 and the ensuing decades marked the beginning of the modern education system.
followed, a thorough-going reconstruction would take place in the precepts and practices
governing the way schools worked."\textsuperscript{44}

Thoughts of reconstruction began in 1945 when Premier Drew called for a Royal
Commission on Education to investigate the current state of schooling in Ontario, and to
make recommendations with respect to its improvement. Justice Andrew Hope and
nineteen other commissioners were tasked with understanding Ontario’s school system.
It was a large group of people whose careers ranged from teachers and school trustees to
a publisher, a lawyer, some prominent women, and clergy representatives from the
Church of England and the Loyal Orange Lodge.\textsuperscript{45} The commission sought counsel in
Major Angus Dunbar, K.C., who chaired many of the public meetings and private
interviews. Other notable commissioners included Arthur Kelly, John G. Althouse, and
Sidney Smith, three men who had dedicated their lives to education. Despite a minority
of four Catholic commissioners, the composition of the committee largely reflected a
white, Protestant elite in the province. This make-up is not surprising, but it is worth
noting. People of British ancestry still largely dominated the province’s ethnic make-up.
The framing of the Hope Report reflected this background in the province both in its
authorship and its agenda.

The Commission took five years, or 142 working days, to compile its findings,
and finally released it in a 900 plus paged tome in 1950. Over the course of the five years
of fact-finding, Leslie Frost succeeded George Drew as provincial party leader and won
in the 1948 provincial election. While Drew tried his hand at federal politics, Frost
inherited the Royal Commission and all of its controversy. The Commissioners held town

\textsuperscript{44} Gidney and Millar, \textit{How Schools Worked}, 363.
\textsuperscript{45} Franklin, \textit{Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario}, 18.
hall meetings across the province to engage with community opinion. They solicited briefs or memoranda from a variety of groups including, but not limited to, Public Supporters of Education, a variety of church groups reflecting different denominations and interests, teachers, schools boards, and individual citizens. They received 258 briefs and 44 memoranda, most of which were followed by public appearances by the authors who spoke to the Commission about their findings. In total some 475 people appeared before the commission representing a variety of groups from teaching associations to art galleries, from special education to the Ontario Citizens’ forum, or from the Ryerson Press to mayors of Ontario cities and towns.

The Commissioners took special interest in the circumstances and practices that pertained to separate schools, French-speaking schools, the settlement of Northern Ontario, and pedagogy. The lengthy process reflected the wealth of material provided to the Commission as well as the difficulty in finding a consensus of opinion. Clashing visions of Ontario could easily have been the subheading of the report. The issue of separate schools proved the most contentious of all the issues up for debate as evidenced by the submission of the Inter-Church Committee on Protestant-Roman Catholic Relations (a group that, despite its name, did not look favourably upon a healthy working relationship between the religious groups). The subject focused upon a few matters: the

---

46 Hope Report, Preface, ix.
47 See Appendices A, B, and C of the Hope Report, for complete lists of the received memoranda, briefs, and witnesses, 911-933.
48 George Cornish, a University of Toronto historian, served as secretary of the commission. He kept a copious number of records, many of which consisted of newspaper clippings that referenced Roman Catholic activity in Canada and abroad. Cornish linked French Roman Catholic activity to the systematic take over of Northern Ontario in order to create a new Catholic province called “Laurentian.” The records of Cornish and his special committee can be found at the United Church of Canada archives.
precedent of funding public and separate schools, the right of a minority religious group to exceptional treatment in the province, as well as more philosophically the place of religion in the classroom.

Rarely did cool heads prevail on the subject. In his book on the subject, Franklin Walker wryly commented that, “the very size of the commission precluded much possibility of unanimity. If the commissioners possessed the exceptional wisdom their task demanded, such is not shown in the public proceedings.” 49 The four Catholic Commissioners of the Royal Commission (E.F. Henderson, Arthur Kelly, J.M. Piggott, and Henry Saint-Jacques) issued a minority report in conjunction with the final draft of the Hope Report, which reflected the deep cleavage wrought over the subject of religion in the classroom. For these four commissioners, too many checks constrained the separate schools such as the limitation of teaching students only to the age of twelve. 50 These commissioners sought equality of treatment in the education system and not the treatment of the separate schools as just that: separate. 51 The Catholic commissioners were not alone in their disagreement.

A second minority report written by Dr. R.J. Neelands and Dr. W.L. Whitelock also accompanied the Hope Report. The two gentlemen could not accept the recommendation to combine practical and professional teacher training in a two-year program. In light of a forecasted teacher shortage, Neelands and Whitelock thought the Commission was shortsighted in its suggestion. They argued that such an abridgment of

in the InterChurch Committee on Protestant Roman Catholic Relations, Accession, 985.038C, Fonds 4032, series 119.
49 Walker, Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario, 18.
50 Ibid, 69.
51 Ibid. Walker’s discussion of the four dissenting commissioners outlines very well the divergent issues.
training poorly served the education of future teachers as well as their future students.\textsuperscript{52} Both men advocated that teachers receive a university degree before proceeding to a diploma in teaching. Beyond the minority report, other commissioners who signed the majority report had reservations and wanted them in writing. William H. Clarke composed a memorandum added to the end of the Hope Report that outlined his own points of departure from the majority report and qualified his reservations about signing the final report. Like the minority reports, Clarke’s addendum drew attention to the most contentious issues that caused debate: the theory of education, subjects taught, the administration of the education system, separate schools, teacher training, and financing.\textsuperscript{53}

Material related to the five-year period is piecemeal. Records of the briefs exist from various groups, but certainly not all of those briefs that were submitted remain in the archival record. What does remain offers a fairly comprehensive portrait of the ideas and consultations that occurred between 1945 and 1950 in the public arena. Sadly, the proceedings of the closed session of the Commission are lost to historians – allegedly destroyed a few years after the publication of the final report.\textsuperscript{54} Nonetheless, in the Hope

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{52} Minority Report submitted by Neelands and Whitelock, \textit{Royal Commission}, 754-755.
\item \textsuperscript{54} Archives of Ontario, RG 2-125, No. 1, file 1187 – 1945, G.W. Spragge Correspondence with J.G. Althouse on April 10, 1951. The Archivist of Ontario wrote to the Commissioner J.G. Althouse requesting the release of the closed minutes, at the time in the possession of Justice Hope. The head archivist assured Althouse that any scandal or potential embarrassment that might be contained within the minutes would remain confidential because he would put a privacy restriction on the material. Despite the ardent plea for the records, which the archivist thought would be a valuable historical tool in the future, Althouse communicated that the records would remain in the custody of Justice Hope who would destroy the records after a few years had lapsed from the time of the publication of the final report of the Royal Commission.
\end{itemize}
Report there is an abundance of material that points towards the elevated level of public
debate with respect to education specifically, but also more broadly about how provincial
stakeholders in education, citizens, and politicians envisioned the future of the province.
In order to analyze the impact of the Hope Report and what it reveals about the level of
public debate in the province with respect to education, religion, and society it is easiest
to begin with an analysis of the 1950 report itself and then to fold in the briefs and
memos as they illuminate particular issues, ideas, or themes.

In the preface to the Hope Report, the authors outlined the educational scene that
gave rise to the need for the Commission:

\begin{quote}
It will be generally agreed that such an organization [the school system] {sic} should be subject to periodic review in order that its efficiency and practices may be appraised and necessary improvement effected. Nations emerging from war have frequently made such reviews; indeed, there is a direct relationship between warfare and educational development. In war, human effort is stretched to its utmost; emphasis is placed upon human and spiritual rather than upon materialistic values; and the national awareness of the virtues of loyalty, patriotism, cooperation, and sacrifice is renewed and invigorated. At such times, man naturally turns to the improvement of education, wherein lies his greatest hope for the realization of his ideals.\footnote{Hope Report, 3.}
\end{quote}

The preface lays quite bare the values that had become associated with education. In the
eyes of the Commissioners, their mandate included finding ways to preserve those social,
cultural, moral, and spiritual hallmarks of western civilization that had so recently come
under threat.\footnote{Airhart, \textit{The Church with the Soul of a Nation}, 157.} The vocabulary in the outline also highlighted the overarching mandate of
the Commission: loyalty, patriotism, cooperation, and sacrifice were clearly stated as the
values that society needed to ingrain in its youth. The spiritual welfare of an individual or
a nation took precedence over any other concern. This vocabulary reflected a broader

\footnote{Hope Report, 3.}
\footnote{Airhart, \textit{The Church with the Soul of a Nation}, 157.}
ideological question that the Commission had faced: how to communicate and continue to make relevant spiritual values in the post-war world?

The Hope Report identified two virtues above any others that “reflected the intellectual and religious heritage of Western Civilization”: honesty and Christian love.\(^\text{57}\) When educators and politicians adjudicated why they needed the Royal Commission, the preservation of western civilization frequently received a great deal of attention. Those virtues associated with western civilization and its system of government required protection. Honesty and Christian love were the two virtues that the authors of the Report deemed necessary for the preservation and operation of democracy as well as “to the safeguarding of democracy from false doctrines which […] threaten[ed] to overthrow it.”\(^\text{58}\) Clearly, the Hope Report reflected more than just an earnest desire to review the education system. The larger context within which it was framed reveals the anxieties of a society grappling with the end of one war and the beginning of another.

Historians have documented well these concerns. Franca Iacovetta examined how such apprehensions created and defined the relationship between newcomers to Canada and the gatekeepers who mitigated their entrance and integration into society.\(^\text{59}\) Mary Louise Adams contended that social norms such as heterosexual marriage were emphasized in order to entrench the moral order of western civilization.\(^\text{60}\) Douglas Owram examined the baby boom as a product of worry for the strength of the family unit and the need to perpetuate a strong Canada; later, it was the fears as manifested in the

\(^{57}\) Hope Report, 27.  
^{58}\) Ibid  
need for self-control and propriety stressed by the older generation that prompted the rebelliousness of the baby boomers in the 1960s.  

The emphasis that society placed upon normality and a strong moral order, as well as the need to foster integration in a Canadian community all point to the ideological battle against communism.

Communism presented an insidious threat to the nation. The ideological war that erupted in the wake of the Second World War challenged more than just military resources. In order to prevent the spread of communist ideas citizens, new and old, had to guard against it. Nor was communism an abstract threat. Reginald Whitaker and Gary Marcuse explained how communism had “deep and tenacious roots in Ontario.” In the 1940s there were two declared communists in office: Joe Salsberg, a prominent Toronto labour organizer and member of the Jewish community as well as Alex McLeod were MLAs in the Ontario Legislature. Salsberg, who remained in his seat until 1955, was a political heavyweight who remained in power despite an increasingly tumultuous political climate. Conversely, George Drew had established a secret police force that reported to him on potential cases of communist behaviour in the province. Mainly, though, Drew wanted to spy on his political opponents in the CCF. The presence of communists did not cause alarm so much as their potential for subversion did. The fear derived more from the imagined and not the real threat of communism to society. It is little wonder, then, that the provincial government turned to education policy as a way to stamp out any future threats.

---

61 Owram, Born at the Right Time, 185-215.
63 Ibid, 290-291.
64 Ibid.
In the eyes of the commission, the aims of education included the ability to “apprehend and practise basic virtues,” to develop the capacity for independent thought, to instill the skills needed to maintain good health and an aptitude for recreational activity, to understand that education is a life-long process that extended beyond schooling, and to teach children how to become good citizens.\textsuperscript{65} None of these aims seem particularly extraordinary; in fact, they could reflect the broader aims of education in more current times. Taken together, however, they reflect a mindset that sought to deconstruct citizenship into its component parts and then to develop those skills separately to create a better whole. The Commission desired young scholars to employ those virtues and skills mentioned above, but always with a critical eye. Engagement with social issues and education put students on a course that could navigate the extremes of the time, that would prevent “following arbitrary authority blindly” as in the cases of Nazism or communism.\textsuperscript{66}

The school system could not be charged with such a momentous undertaking alone. The authors of the Hope Report called upon the home to provide the security necessary for the flourishing of the students; they also called upon the Church to “strengthen the spiritual foundations.”\textsuperscript{67} These three institutions, home, school, and Church, were the means to a brighter future. It was in the cooperation of the three that society could combat any external threat, ideological or otherwise. The emphasis placed by the authors of the report and society more broadly, on the power of the three institutions represented an impulse to preserve normality. These norms were sustained

\textsuperscript{65} Hope Report, 36.
\textsuperscript{66} Ibid, 29.
\textsuperscript{67} Ibid, 28.
through a connection with values and traditions that they felt carried over from the pre-war period.

The discussion of education in terms of a cooperative effort between home, school, and Church made school reform more tangible to many people. The Hope report was not just an abstract elucidation of pedagogy. Instead, it underscored the importance of family as the basic building block of the nation. Home was an easier concept to understand than democracy. “Home” symbolized the feelings associated with safety, with love, with personal relationships. The extension of home was the slightly larger community – those places that people frequented on a weekly basis. School and church, then, were part of that ritual, part of that broader, extended feeling about home.

Home, however, had been a threatened place for many people for as long as they could remember. The Great Depression laid an economic siege to the home-life of many Canadians, which ended when a larger more dangerous threat emerged in 1939. The authors of the Hope Report crafted their report to address these feelings of protection, of community. Their discussion, while broad in ideological scope, remained grounded in the everyday routine and emotions of Ontarians. “Happy family relations” ranked very high on the agenda. Schools could impart knowledge to inculcate the attitudes and behaviour necessary to preserve the family, and more importantly, to strengthen it. If home had been threatened for so long, it was not enough just to strengthen it, the new generation of children had to be prepared to perpetuate it, to protect it. The traditions of the past required preservation but in such a way that society moved forward and without having to

---

69 Ibid.
70 Ibid, 8.
71 Hope Report, 36.
repeat or to relive the hardships of the past. In the words of the report, “life without warmth of feeling would not be life as we know it. Moreover, because of our limitations, our irrational passions, and our mistakes, we are compelled frequently to face crises and tragedies in which only strength of faith will sustain us.”

This was crucial because “students, the citizens of tomorrow, must be warned against sacrificing their democratic birthright to participate in the solution of public problems for empty promises of greater personal security.”

According to the Hope Commission the community played a key role in education. Groups of people shared in the responsibility for safeguarding the well-being of and properly teaching the new generation of Canadians. Leaving aside for the moment the implications of the onus placed on a strong home-life, the Churches played a key part in the education of a student. Religious instruction had long been a facet of Ontario schooling until the Hepburn Liberals of the early 1940s did away with the practice. Drew re-emphasized the importance of a strong foundation in religion. In planning for the future, Drew quickly moved to reinstate religious teaching. He compelled the use of a “non-sectarian” manual, a sign that he was willing to embrace new traditions while preserving the old.

---

72 Hope Report, 24
73 Ibid, 39.
74 Bothwell, A Short History of Ontario, 167. See also Neil McKenty, Mitch Hepburn, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1967): Hepburn wanted to push a more secular agenda, and reduce the budget of the schools. Religious instruction was a significant way to cut costs. Hepburn was a member of the United Church.
76 Ibid, 164-166.
The Protestant Churches, especially, were pleased with the reinstatement of religious teaching. In their Synod journal, the Anglican Church “applaud[ed] the efforts of the Ontario government for its action in providing regular religious instruction in the schools.”77 If part of the goal of education instructed students in the facets of good citizenship, then religion offered a key component of that curriculum. Simply stated, morality was “essential for good citizenship, and religion [was] the only true basis for morality.”78 The Presbyterian Church reacted similarly. In its report to the General Assembly, the Board of Evangelism and Church Life and Work, commended the government for its emphasis on religious education. For the church, “the child is the hope of the new world, we would rejoice in efforts in the home and day school to give religious instruction.”79 The report firmly connected the need for religious education to the greater moral good of society: “We are mindful of the fact that the horror of war, and sorrows of mankind, are traceable to a broken moral law and the consequent judgments of a God that men ignored.”80 The education of the young provided the opportunity to renew the “moral and spiritual foundation of […] western civilization.”81

Spreading the word was a large part of the religious mandate, and in children churches had a captive audience. Their teaching was not to be the stuff of Biblical doom and gloom. The churches were alive to the need to adapt their teachings to the new social

77 Anglican Church of Canada Archives, “Education” in The Synod Journal of 1945, 114
80 Ibid
81 Ibid
climate.\textsuperscript{82} Clergy were invited into the classroom for daily instruction.\textsuperscript{83} Often, the clergyperson invited reflected the religious majority in the broader community.

Theologians and high-ranking Church officials duly mobilized their efforts to develop a new curriculum for such instruction. Published in 1946, \textit{The Christian Faith and Religion in Ontario Schools} was a tract about the future of religious pedagogy. The book’s contributors, including Presbyterian ministers in Ontario churches as well as professors of history, philosophy, and theology with the University of Toronto, wanted to chart a new course in religious education that rose above sectarian differences and could complement the classical education of public schools. They seized upon the moment of the Royal Commission to come together and offer a way forward in education that used religious teaching to bolster the core curriculum and reinforce the vocabulary of citizenship and democracy that was so in vogue.

The preface identified how the book, which consisted of a series of individual studies, was “offered as evidence in this case of grave public concern.”\textsuperscript{84} The instruction in religion had to be more than merely cursory. It had to take into account the mistakes of previous instruction, as well as new methods of communicating Biblical truths with students. Teachers walked a fine line between simplifying Christian truth for ease of

\textsuperscript{82} Presbyterian Church in Canada archives, Report of the Board of Evangelism and Church Life and Work, “Religious Education in Day Schools,” in \textit{The Acts and Proceedings 1945}, 96. The Board report were “conscious of imperfections” in their textbooks and urged revisions regularly to keep up with the times.

\textsuperscript{83} Regulation 262, s. 28(4) of the Education Act, 1980. Ontarios Education Act remained relatively unchanged until 1990, a watershed year when many of the religious provisos were stripped.

\textsuperscript{84} Frederick Bronkema et al, \textit{The Christian Faith and Religion in Ontario Schools}, (Toronto [s.n.], c. 1946 ) 7.
explanation and reducing or misrepresenting that truth.\textsuperscript{85} While the contributors to the volume all came from a Presbyterian background, the example remains telling of the input that religious groups wished to exert on the content within the schools. It also points to the way the Protestant Churches, in this case the Presbyterians, linked their work in the schools to a broader social aim.

The Churches’ main criticism of the current way religion was taught was echoed in the Presbyterian book. They argued that its teaching had been over-simplified. They believed that errors in instruction created a situation wherein other ideologies could pervert ideas or thoughts, a belief that continued throughout the entire decade under scrutiny as exemplified by \textit{The United Church Observer} article about the importance of education in democracy.\textsuperscript{86} “The totalitarian state places faith in a few, in a religious or military or intellectual elite… Democracy has faith in the ability of every man to inch forward the common good” wrote Clifford Pitt, Assistant Professor of Education at the University of Toronto.\textsuperscript{87} At a meeting at Metropolitan House in Toronto of the Commission on Religious Education in Public Schools of the United Church, the three objectives “fruitful knowledge, right attitudes, and skills in living” were espoused as central to the goal of religious education.\textsuperscript{88} To preserve a strong Canadian democracy, education needed to remain accessible to all and rooted in the values of western society.

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{86} Clifford Pitt, “Education in Democracy, \textit{“The United Church Observer}, 14.11 The Education Issue, August 1, 1950, 11.
\textsuperscript{87} Ibid.
\end{flushleft}
Unless the content of the instructional texts used remained true to Scripture, then a student’s education was incomplete and the student’s intellect susceptible to more unsavoury ideas that could pervert the young citizen further. The contributors reached five parallel conclusions. First, a moralizing tendency of many authors and educators produced a “doctrine of salvation by works.” This tendency obscured the merits of faith in Jesus Christ because it placed too much importance on salvation and not enough on the everyday. Second, Jesus had been represented as a hero and friend as opposed to a component of a Trinitarian scheme of faith. The divinity of Christ had received too little attention while His humanity received too much. Educators were urged to restore a balance of interpretation. Third, “the revelation of God through nature [was] openly taught.” Christ’s uniqueness as a medium of revelation, then, did not factor as prominently in discourse as it ought to have. Fourth, secular and scriptural stories received equal attention, which was purported to have a detrimental effect on understanding key Biblical events such as the Incarnation. Moreover, the authority of the Bible was alleged to come under scrutiny when Biblical and fairy stories received equal attention. Finally, the contributors argued that facts and scriptural meanings were distorted to suit the authors of instructional texts, largely in service of making the texts “accessible.” The only recourse to correct the above issues identified by the volume’s contributors was to re-write and re-distribute the texts.

90 Ibid.
91 Ibid.
92 Ibid, 8.
93 Ibid, 7.
94 Ibid, 8.
The Presbyterian Church did not hold this view alone, but theirs was a clear articulation of the issues that the churches faced in introducing a new course of instruction into the public schools. The sentiments outlined in the tract were echoed in the briefs submitted to the Royal Commission by the Board of Christian Education, the Inter-Church Committee on Religious Education, the Church of England, the Ontario Conference of Catholic Bishops, and the Canadian Jewish Congress. The message was clear: religious education was a necessary component for a well-rounded education. All of the groups desired the proper teaching of religion, and for it to be conducted on a regular basis – two periods per week of one-half hour each either at the commencement of school or at its closing. The briefs articulated, and later the Hope Report reaffirmed, that a clergyman or clergymen of any denomination or a member of the laity could give the instruction in lieu of a teacher or teachers. However, the variety of people who might conduct the sessions of religious instruction made the need for a uniform content all the more important.

The content also had to complement a child’s grade level. For students in first grade, lessons needed to include simple messages meant to introduce children to broader theological ideas. For example, helpfulness at home reflected the need to help the community at large. Teachers could instruct students about Jesus Christ in order to demonstrate how Christ was a friend, albeit a divine one that aided the child in their endeavours. By the time a student progressed to grade five, the curriculum had to reflect larger, more abstract concerns such as morality. Instructors needed to differentiate

95 Hope Report, 125.
96 Ibid.
97 Ibid. Also see per Ontario Regulation 30/44.
between Biblical parables for everyday life and a critical engagement with the decisions made by those Biblical characters.99

Morality was not merely a question of right and wrong, but rather reflected a critical engagement with decision-making. The Bible framed the core of religious instruction across the school boards and through it students could learn larger social truths that would carry over into their home-life and future life as citizens. The Cold War only amplified the need to foster strong moral codes in the future generation. If democracy was to be preserved, then children had to learn the basic principles that governed social relationships. As a result, the lessons suggested in *Christian Faith and Religion in Ontario Schools* tended to emphasize proper behaviour and social norms.

The *United Church Observer* discussed “a living religion” in its 1953 Education issue, an idea very much akin to the earlier booklet and so suggestive of a broader pattern of thinking about the place of religion in the lives of youth. University of Toronto Professor of Education Clifford Pitt noted, “It develops a social conscience to unite education and religion which the home then helps.”100 Home and school mutually reinforce the message of the other.101 “Christianity Begins at Home” read another headline.102 The cheekily named author, ‘Pater Familias,” espoused: “Our desire to help our children become actively Christian will require our own hearty participation in the whole life of the Church.”103 “Peace is never a given, it is earned. It can only come as a

---

101 Ibid
103 Ibid
result of hard and inspired work. Linked with the powerful influence of the home and the school, the Church stands four-square in the struggle to maintain the peace of the world. “To countermand the influence of communism, atheism, or materialism run amok religion needed to remain a persistent and normative factor in the social development of young Canadians.

Social norms that included the primacy of the family, composed of the bread-winning father and home-making mother extended from church to home to school. These norms stressed social obligation: students were meant to grow up and find jobs that in some way bettered their family position and in turn bettered the community at large. Religion formed the bedrock of the values for society, upon which school could mould democratic citizens, which in turn was reinforced by a healthy home life. Much the way that Joy Parr has described consumption in terms of perpetuating standards of family life and citizenship, or the way that immigration standards were developed to protect Canadians and their way of life, the preservation of the home and family factored prominently in the rationale for religious instruction. Bowmanville Ontario’s periodical, The Canadian Statesman, commented on “Religion in Schools” in April 1945. The newspaper charged that in order to reach more boys and girls, religious instruction had to occur outside of Sunday schools (where “not more than a percentage” of children were reached) and even the home. At school, a religious curriculum could inspire better living and create good citizens. “The nation which gives religion its proper place is spiritually

105 Hope Report, 163.
107 Iacovetta, Gatekeepers, 16-19.
strong.” A year later, a former chaplain, the Reverend J. dePencier Wright of St. John’s Church in Bowmanville, gave a “stirring address” at a Lion’s Club meeting. According to Wright the home, the Church, and the School provided three agencies through which to guide the education of children who would become the leaders of tomorrow. Religion had to permeate different social spaces and places in order to reinforce these hopes for a strong, peaceful future.

Beyond public calls for a religious framework for citizenship and academic treatises, other more pragmatic factors played a role in the Royal Commission’s Report, and in the way the Churches courted an active role in education in the province. Geographical realities loomed large. Ontario was expanding quickly into its northern territory and many stakeholders in education, especially the Churches, concerned themselves with how the expansion of the schools might proceed, especially into the Clay Belt. Advocacy for religious instruction and activism with respect to education policy offered a unique avenue for Churches to blend their vision for the future with their desire to perpetuate strong traditions of the past.

For indigenous groups, the education programme was more fraught. The academic record remains sparse in its analysis of the effects of education broadly and residential schools particularly. In her dissertation about the Six Nations of Grand River, Race, Gender and Colonialism: Public Life Among the Grand River Six Nations 1899-1939, Alison Norman includes a chapter that explored, in part, education on the reserve. Norman argued that education was complicated and historical works need to examine a

---

109 “Parents and Teachers are Responsible for Young Folk Padre Wright tells Lions,” Canadian Statesman, Thursday November 7, 1946, 1.
fuller picture of the education of indigenous communities that account for how it was a tool of colonial power, but also how a community could welcome it, or even resist it.\(^\text{110}\) Despite a few excellent works, there is not yet an adequate secondary source documentary record that considers the whole picture, taking into account the experiences of different bands, beliefs, and practices over the long history of industrial schooling.

The Hope Report spends a mere two pages on indigenous schooling, stating that at the time of Confederation education of native groups became an issue for the Federal government, and as such was not considered by the Commission.\(^\text{111}\) The commissioners of the Hope Report did not wish to comment upon an area in which they had no legal authority.\(^\text{112}\) Reading against the grain, it is clear that indigenous groups existed outside of the normative bounds of society, and their marginalization made them victims of government oversight to put it mildly. A comprehensive study of residential schools (as well as day schools and mission work) in Ontario is needed to help challenge the way government departments and agencies as well as the churches imposed ideas of citizenship upon First Nations groups.

The framers of the report, and many of the consultants to the brief, were well aware of the long history of education and the debates about education in Ontario that extended back to the time of Confederation. On one score, “since the inception of a public system of education in Upper Canada, it ha[d] been an accepted principle that ‘religion and morality, though not sectarianism, must have a central place in any system


\(^{111}\) The Hope Report, 675-677.

\(^{112}\) Ibid, 677.
of education.” The authors of the Hope Report quoted the granddaddy of the Upper Canadian school system, Egerton Ryerson. In doing so, they acknowledged a legacy of religion instruction in the schools. The Hope Report connected the present state of education to that legacy; there was no wish to break with those traditions because they served the public so very well.

Tradition, however, remained the epicentre of contention for the commission. For many Protestants, some traditions, namely the continuation of religious instruction, had to continue while other traditions like the separate school system required revision. The problem was not that the education system needed adjustment or change, but rather that the target areas of change seemed arrived at either arbitrarily or capriciously, the focus of an ulterior agenda by smaller Protestant groups. The Inter-Church Committee on Protestant-Roman Catholic Relations (ICCPRCR) provides the clearest example. For the ICCPRCR, a Catholic alternative to the public school board threatened the overall education system. The committee gave voice to a strong vein of anti-Catholic sentiment in the province, and the school system was its primary target.

The question of separate schooling harkened back to the early 19th century. The wealthy of Upper Canada established schools in each of Upper Canada’s eight districts in 1807 as a result of the Grammar School Act. These schools were exclusive and predominantly sectarian. Supported, staffed, and funded by churches, they reflected the

---

113 Ibid, 123: the quote is reproduced above from the Report but can be found in J. George Hodgins, *Documentary history of education in Upper Canada from the passing of the Constitutional act of 1791 to the close of Rev. Dr. Ryerson’s administration of the Education Department 1876* (Toronto: Warwick Bros and Rutter, 1894) 66.

politics and ideas of the Anglican, Methodist, and Presbyterian creeds that underwrote the curriculum.\footnote{C.B. Sissons, \textit{Church and State in Canadian Education: An Historical Study}, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1959) 6.} As the 19\textsuperscript{th} century reached its mid-point, however, educational zealots like Bishop John Strachan, the first Anglican Bishop of Toronto, and Egerton Ryerson of the Methodist Church pushed for even more structure and standardization in the school system.\footnote{Bothwell, \textit{A Short History of Ontario}, 61-62. See also The Inter-Church Committee on Protestant-Roman Catholic Relations, \textit{The Separate School in Ontario}, (Toronto: Britannia Printers c. 1947) 4-5. Hereafter, the group will be referred to as the ICCPRCR.} The two men had already made huge in-roads into the education of Upper Canadian children. Strachan had founded grammar schools in Cornwall, Kingston, and York in the first decade of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century.\footnote{G.M. Craig, “John Strachan,” in \textit{Dictionary of Canadian Biography} online edition.} As a result of his lobbying efforts, the Legislature in Upper Canada passed the Common School Act in 1818, which reflected Strachan’s influence and conviction for a standardized and supervised system of education. The Act compelled the creation of an educational bureaucracy that had heretofore been ad hoc. It entrenched the five-person board of education first established in each district in 1816. It secured funding, however miniscule in amount, to the schools from the government. It also expanded the oversight of boards with the mandate to include locally elected trustees who oversaw the individual schools and who had to submit semi-annual reports on progress and other educational matters.\footnote{J.K. Johnson, \textit{In Duty Bound: Men, Women, and the State in Upper Canada 1783-1841}, 136-137. Johnson notes that these reports were less diligently filed.} The Act ensured Canada it is a discussion about exclusivity: race, class, and gender were divisive elements in the early days of schooling. His book links the development of schools to the broader discourse in Upper Canada about the links between education and engendering of future citizens of the empire.
that these trustees had influence on the appointment of teachers. Most significantly, they had to ensure the “moral character and capacity” of those individuals employed.\footnote{Samuel Smith, \textit{The Provincial Statutes of Upper Canada: Revised, Corrected, and Re-Printed by AUTHORITY} (York: R.C. Horne, 1818), 356.}

For early educators like Strachan, a person’s moral character drew from their religious faith. Alison Prentice has called these early educators “school promoters” and has observed that they were “religious men and characteristic of their religious outlook was a strong belief in natural law, which they generally equated with divine law.” Religious order, to these promoters, curtailed tendencies in the population towards apathy, weakness, or laziness.\footnote{Alison Prentice, \textit{The School Promoters}, 170-171.} Strachan firmly believed that the Anglican Church ought to be recognized as the established or official church of Upper Canada and so, too, should the schools of the colony support this relationship.\footnote{Sissons, 6-8.} The Bishop’s efforts reflected a desire for order in the province anchored by an institutional or national church. Likewise, Egerton Ryerson’s evangelical background influenced his approach to education. Committed to both religion and the Anglo heritage of the province, Ryerson remained unconvinced that a single church ought to dominate the governance of the province.\footnote{R.D. Gidney, “Egerton Ryerson,” \textit{Dictionary of Canadian Biography}, online edition.}

However, in his career as Superintendent of schools in Canada West (a position he held from 1844-1876), Ryerson had to defend the presence of separate denominational schools. He argued that the province was denominationally diverse and that the underlying Christian principles shared enough in common that there ought not to be the need to court needless sectarian division, but conceded that where there was a law and a
population desirous of separate religious curricula, whether Protestant or Catholic, then these wishes had to be respected.123

The 1841 Act of Union, uniting Upper and Lower Canada into a single province, formalized the character and policies of the education system.124 Specifically, the Day Act of 1841 protected the province’s ethnic and religious minorities from being subsumed by the agenda of the white Protestant majority. To accommodate the linguistic and religious diversity within the provinces, residents of a township or parish where a minority of residents who shared a different faith from the majority could establish and maintain their own common school.125 As noted by Franklin Walker, “it was taken as a matter of course in this province as in all countries that religion should be a component of the curriculum” during the nineteenth century.126 It naturally followed that each denomination would wish to indoctrinate the students in their parishes with religious ideas reflective of their particular creed.127 Depending upon the location of a community in the province and its particular population, the separate school could reflect a Catholic or Protestant minority. As Mark McGowan notes about the Catholic case, “the option to dissent from the Common Schools was imperative.”128 It helped to insulate Catholic citizens from any attempts of Protestant proselytizing and inured them from anti-Catholic sentiment.

125 Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education, 14.
126 Walker, Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario, 168.
127 Ibid
The 1863 Separate Schools Act formed the cornerstone of future legislation and controversy. Owing to the strength of the Lower Canadian members, the bill passed after considerable debate and deadlock.\(^\text{129}\) The Act ensured that a majority of individuals in a neighbourhood could organize a school for separate education, could appoint their own trustee, could charge taxes upon the participating families, and could exercise tremendous oversight over the religious education of the pupils.\(^\text{130}\) These separate schools preserved a strong link to the broader education system because of the oversight of the Chief Superintendent and the requirement to submit to regular inspections of their book-keeping as well as the physical buildings.\(^\text{131}\) Thus, in this legislation an autonomous but separate schooling system became embedded in the province’s bureaucratic make-up.

The British North America Act of 1867 further entrenched these traditions that had developed over more than fifty years with the allocation of the power and control over education to the provincial governments. By the 1870s, central bodies determined the direction of the education system. Gone was the discretionary oversight of local authorities, parents, and clergy.\(^\text{132}\) Importantly, the consolidation of government authority and control over education during the late 19\(^{\text{th}}\) century ensured the protection of religious minorities and their right to organize a school. As more of Ontario, especially in the northern areas, became settled and townships organized, the dominant populations were French and Roman Catholic (a separate school could be established by a group of Protestants who demonstrated a need for it).\(^\text{133}\) These allowances made for the separate

\(^{\text{129}}\) Walker, *Church and State in Canadian Education*, 45-47.

\(^{\text{130}}\) Ibid 50.

\(^{\text{131}}\) Ibid


\(^{\text{133}}\) Sissons, *Church and State in Canadian Education*, 81.
schools seem fair. However, the distribution of money was uneven in the province and Catholic schools did not receive equal funding.\textsuperscript{134} Ontario Protestants ignored the financial disparity because of their deep-seated distrust of Roman Catholics and instead agitated for a more ideological argument against Catholic exceptionalism.

More than any other group, the Inter-Church Committee on Protestant-Roman Catholic Relations under the umbrella of the United Church of Canada was very concerned with the system of separate schools.\textsuperscript{135} The archival record that remains from this group is vast – a testament to the zealous stewardship of its secretary George Cornish. The ICCPRCR opposed the separate school system, decrying the constitutionality of certain legislation and the historic deference paid to Catholics.\textsuperscript{136} The emphasis placed upon the constitutionality of the separate schools belies two related issues. First, it contradicted the guiding tenets of a democratic society. In a global conflict such as the Cold War, those democratic principles needed to be entrenched all the more firmly. The committee believed that the continuation of the separate school system tested, and in fact undermined the solidification of the democratic State. Second, the perpetuation of the separate school system vested particular power and authority in a group of people who looked to the Pope for their guidance and then to the Canadian government. For Protestants, such a direction was antithetical to the health of the nation, and it undermined the democratic system once more. Both of these issues reflected Cold


\textsuperscript{135} The Presbyterian Church and the Anglican Churches did not have similar committees.

\textsuperscript{136} United Church of Canada Archives, Inter-Church Committee on Protestant-Roman Catholic Relations Fonds, Box 59, file 24, The Separate Schools in Ontario.
War anxieties; the emphasis placed upon a coherent education system bespoke a strong State – something essential to the preservation of democracy.

It would be easy to dismiss the claims of the ICCPRCR and other Protestants as merely the product of a quiet but seething current of anti-Catholicism in the province or Cornish’s paranoia of a Roman Catholic takeover of part of Ontario. While anti-Catholic sentiments certainly played a part in shaping and informing the beliefs of Protestants, especially those in positions of influence, anti-Catholicism alone is too simplistic and too dismissive a form of analysis. Anti-Catholic sentiment places fear of Catholics at the centre of the discussion, from which a rationale for their dislike and even social isolation is then developed. In the case of the separate schools in Ontario, Cold War anxiety was the animating feature of discussions regarding the State and its purview and the school system became one of the ideological battlegrounds.

The Ontario government was very much aware of how the question of quashing separate schools was a potential minefield. In the correspondence of the General Secretary of the Royal Commission, a letter from the Superintendent of Education in Ontario to the Secretary, Bob Jackson, commented upon how the Commission would need to tread carefully in framing and gathering their evidence. The separate schools “problem”, so termed by the irascible ICCPRCR secretary George Cornish, would play prominently in any debate about religion in the schools generally.\(^{137}\) The Provincial government and the Royal Commission carefully garnered their evidence about Separate Schools. Part of the task was sifting through some fairly immoderate opinions on the

\(^{137}\) AO, RG 2-125, file 1187-1945, No. 1, Department of Government: Education: Hope Report, Jackson, Superintendent of Education handwritten note in unnamed correspondence of the Royal Commission on Education file.
subject. It was with good reason they took precaution. A letter from J.A. Martineau, a resident of Rockland, Ontario, upon the subject of separate schools provides a telling example of the level of public opinion on the matter. Martineau, an employee with Goodyear Tire, wrote that he had been following the work of Professor Cornish and the ICCPRCR. Martineau could not have agreed more with the assessment that the situation in the public schools was “disgraceful”! Living in an area with the Roman Catholic Separate School, he avidly opposed any public subsidization of the school, which was an institution, in his mind, that was narrow-minded and in possession of a bigoted attitude directed at those in the majority.138

Martineau’s sentiments pick up on two issues at play. First, citizens in Ontario followed the work of the Commission and took an active interest in the research and compilation of the briefs intended for the Royal Commission. Professor George Cornish, secretary of the ICCPRCR, was a particularly polarizing figure. Cornish never minced his words when it came to expressing a point of view. Drawing upon a career as a professor at the University of Toronto in Chemistry, Cornish applied a scientific approach to his research and the deductions he made. Cornish happily corresponded with the press and readily supplied his opinion to those who would ask. He was responsible for authoring the brief on the Separate Schools issued by he ICCPRCR to the Royal Commission, and so was a recognizable name because of the activism he exhibited in travelling the province and gathering his information. Cornish and Martineau’s undisguised disdain of

138 AO, RG 2-125, file 1187-1945, No. 1 Department of Government: Education: Hope Report, Letter from J.A. Martineau to the Minister of Education dated December 7th, 1945 in unnamed correspondence of the Royal Commission on Education.
the separate schools constituted but one way people thought about the issue of separate schooling in the province – a very visceral and prejudiced reaction.

The second issue evinced in Martineau’s sentiments bespeaks a more problematic dimension of the problem: the rights of the majority (Protestant and English-speaking) versus those of a substantial minority (Roman Catholic and to a lesser extent French-speaking depending upon where in Ontario the community was situated). In Cornish’s estimation, and borne out more prosaically in Martineau’s letter, the English majority in the province was held hostage by the few Roman Catholic communities who clung to an old precedent. 139

Chapter nine of the ICCPRCR brief on the “Separate School in Ontario” is entitled “Separate Schools and Democracy.” It asks whether the separate schools are “democratically controlled”? 140 The answer begins by declaring that public schools were inherently democratic because “it is controlled in local matters by a School Board freely elected by British citizen votes, and no organization can interfere with its rights. [sic]” 141 Separate schools, then, were not democratic. Religious principles and ideas influenced the school boards, not to mention the schools, and so undermined any democratic mechanism in place. 142 In other words, the Roman Catholic hierarchy had the potential of wielding too much influence on education matters, when the emphasis should have been on the community coming together to make decisions for the common good of the children. For the ICCPRCR and other Protestants, the Roman Catholic hierarchy’s

---

139 United Church of Canada Archives, Inter-Church Committee on Protestant-Roman Catholic Relations Fonds, Box 59, file 24, The Separate School in Ontario, 3-7.
140 Ibid, 44.
141 Ibid.
142 Ibid.
potential influence about the direction of the education of a portion of the populace was tantamount to an ad hoc autocratic rule within the province.

The Roman Catholic response to such claims as stated above was, understandably, one of denial and outrage. For Roman Catholics, the separate school system reflected the choice made by citizens in the province to have a school system that reflected their particular beliefs.\(^\text{143}\) It was, in some ways, the ultimate expression of democracy. The Church hierarchy came into play only as a secondary actor in the running of the schools, and as a key component of the Catholicism taught to children. The charge of autocracy leveled against Ontario Catholics could as easily have applied to those Protestants wishing to seize total control of the province’s school system. It is little wonder that the issue was so controversial. Certainly issues of anti-Catholicism factored into the debate. However, anti-Catholic fears became less the driving force for such debate over the school system as did the underlying ideological debate over the nature of democracy in the province as understood through the education system. Other viewpoints within the province bear out the force of the ideological debate.

The citizens’ group, “The Public Schools Supporters’ League” (PSSL) offered yet another perspective on the separate schools issue. For them, the issue was about the danger of sectarianism in the system more than it was about curtailing Roman Catholic influence.\(^\text{144}\) In their brief submitted to the Royal Commission, the PSSL argued that the Separate School system constituted a dangerous precedent for sectarian schooling. For them, any curriculum taught outside of secular program of traditional subjects (math,

\(^\text{143}\) Minority Report to the Hope Report, 780.
\(^\text{144}\) AO, RG 2-125, file 1187-1949, No. 2, Department of Government: Education: Hope Report, Brief # 205 submitted by the Public Schools Supporters’ League to the Royal Commission on Education.
English, history, and so on) violated the spirit upon which the Public schools had been founded. It also contravened what they viewed as the duties of parents and those who worked pastorally.\footnote{\textsuperscript{145}}

The PSSL identified Roman Catholics as the group that had made the most significant encroachment into the realm of religious schooling, but they were by no means alone.\footnote{\textsuperscript{146}} The core of their argument charged the entire education system as having strayed from the fundamental principles upon which it had been based in 1840.\footnote{\textsuperscript{147}} The public record about the Public Schools Supporters’ League is fairly sparse; the brief submitted to the Royal Commission is the only substantial documentation. Regardless, the brief does offer a fairly clear snapshot of the guiding philosophy of these dissenters to an education system that incorporated religious instruction. It is in their criticism that another viewpoint emerges which critically, expands our understanding of how Ontarians viewed the school system. The lines of debate were not cast along Protestant and Catholic arguments. The Public Schools Supporters’ League evoked another dimension to the broader debate because they so ardently favoured a secularized system.

The PSSL referenced the words of Egerton Ryerson and George Brown to ground their arguments for non-denominational, non-sectarian schools. In some ways akin to arguments made about the humanism of the American founding fathers and the secularist principles upon which they drafted the Declaration of Independence, the PSSL used Ryerson and Brown as evidence of the first principles upon which education was

\footnote{\textsuperscript{145} AO, RG 2-125, file 1187-1949, No. 2, Department of Government: Education: Hope Report, Brief # 205 submitted by the Public Schools Supporters’ League to the Royal Commission on Education, 3.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{146} Ibid.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{147} Ibid, 1.}
founded. The PSSL incorporated salient quotations of both men during the debate about the first Public Schools Act of 1840. Ryerson was quoted on the liberty of teaching that, “for such Religious Persuassions [sic], Such liberty, or rather such despotic authority, possessed by any Religious persuasion [sic], is the Greve of the public Municipal liberties of Upper Canada.”\textsuperscript{148} The brief also included a quote from George Brown in the \textit{Globe} from 1850 arguing that, “The Separate School is the entering wedge, which if pressed home will breaking the whole system of national education into fragments.”\textsuperscript{149}

Drawing on such Upper Canadian stalwarts helped the PSSL root their criticisms of the education system circa 1945 in the way it deviated from earlier visions of what education was meant to be. For the PSSL, the movement way from the more humanist or secular goals of education compromised the quality of schooling received by province’s children. Further, the more the system moved away from the original model, however incrementally, the more fragmentation and dissension threatened the stability of a system that required a firm grounding. The separate schools of the Roman Catholics set a precedent that the PSSL thought could extend to other denominational schools. Who was to say that other religious organizations could not adopt a similar tact as the Roman Catholics and argue for funding of their own separate schools?

Public funding of education was the pragmatic core of the issue; however, discussion of public funding was couched in far more ideological terms. A separate school system, as opposed to being an example of religious freedom in society, was a

\textsuperscript{148} AO, RG 2-125, file 1187-1949, No. 2, Department of Government: Education: Hope Report, Brief # 205 submitted by the Public Schools Supporters’ League to the Royal Commission on Education, 3.

\textsuperscript{149} Ibid.
sign of religious pluralism gone awry.\textsuperscript{150} The interests of the students became relegated to a position secondary to the religious inclination of the school. In the minds of the PSSL, nothing could be further away from teaching religious tolerance or, more importantly, the foundations for good future citizenship. The PSSL advanced a decidedly secular point of view. They recognized the utility and the need for religious instruction for the youth of Ontario, but they wanted such teaching to occur at home or in Church. The Schools should only promote a classical education to teach critical thinking and to engender a democratic citizenship that supported a worldview where school and church remained separate institutions, even if their goals for children were complementary.

The separate schools debate that emerged out of the briefs and conversations of the Royal Commission did not just reflect a religiously polarized society cast along the lines of Protestants and Roman Catholics. The debate opened up the conversation to whether religion ought to remain present at all in public education. If religion did have a place, then its presence had to be justified and justified in terms of its utility in the classroom and outside of the Church and home. Protestant advocacy for the abolition of the separate schools was not just a symptom of anti-Catholicism in the province but more to the point, it was a strong example of the advocacy in a larger debate about the place of religion in society.

In 1947 \textit{The Toronto Daily Star} wrote about the “Campaign to Aid Christianity.”\textsuperscript{151} Organized in part by the Ontario Religious Education Council, the

\textsuperscript{150} AO, RG 2-125, file 1187-1949, No. 2, Department of Government: Education: Hope Report, Brief # 205 submitted by the Public Schools Supporters’ League to the Royal Commission on Education, 7.

\textsuperscript{151} “Campaign to Aid Christianity,” \textit{The Toronto Daily Star}, Wednesday September 17 1947, 9.
campaign solicited money and support from businesses and professionals to help “young people develop Christian standards of living.” The Council identified a religious deficit amongst Ontario youth that could be corrected with, among other things, religious instruction in the schools. This discussion was certainly not isolated to Canada. *The Christian Science Monitor* highlighted how religion offered an indispensable tool for democracy and democratic institutions. Parents provided the most practical means of imparting Christian values to their children, but parents required the support of church and school.

The debate about the place of religion in the school system was not lost on the Commissioners. Much of the language of the Hope Report as has been discussed above reflected the need to justify the position of religion in public education despite a diversity of denominations adhered to by the students. For the majority of the Commissioners, there was something universal enough in religion that it could be distilled into the curriculum. More importantly, the Hope Report reflected a strong majority opinion that viewed religion as a fundamental component of education that did not necessarily fragment the whole system, as was George Brown’s fear.

Reactions to the Hope Report varied as much as the discussions preceding it. In an opinion to the *Globe and Mail* Evelyn P. Earle of Gananoque wrote that the Hope Report was not worth the cost. Earle chided the government on the expense of the report that included recommendations that the women of Canada could have given for less than

---

154 Ibid
$300 much less $300,000. The controversy about separate school funding did not bother Earle. In fact, Earle chastised the authors of the report for opening up such a bitter debate at a time when unity ought to be cultivated instead. She argued that for a long time the provisions for separate schools have been in place and have worked for the province. She wondered why these practices ought to change now. Most forcefully, Earle contended that a report that so favoured religious education sowed the seeds of religious discord. Christian unity required cooperation. In Earle’s opinion, the recommendations that led to sectarian fighting contradicted the very Christian duty everyone shared to build a better world.

The Baptist Convention, meeting in Hamilton at their annual conference in 1951, took the opposing point of view to Evelyn Earle. The 500 delegates did not want recommendations for changes to the school system shelved. The convention voted and approved the measure to lobby the Ontario government to correct abuses to the system that the Convention perceived Catholics had perpetrated. Echoing similar sentiments, the United Church recommended that the recommendations of the Hope Report, or at least some of them, be considered and implemented. Like the Baptists, the United Church held deeply critical and suspicious views about the Roman Catholic Church.

Reverend George H. Thomas, convener of the Evangelism and Social Service

---

156 Ibid.
157 Ibid
159 Ibid
Committee, commended the work of the Commission and its proposal to have seventh and eighth grade students attend an intermediate school outside of the purview of the Church.\textsuperscript{161}

Other groups, like the Toronto Home and School Council, offered a “buzz saw-like attack on the educational tome.”\textsuperscript{162} The *Globe and Mail* report on the annual meeting of the council quoting Professor J.F. MacDonald of the department of English Studies at the University of Toronto who took a grim view of religious instruction. Two half-hour religious periods would do little to change the character of a student.\textsuperscript{163} MacDonald worried that the emphasis on training teachers in religious instruction might discourage formerly “real men of the community” from pursuing educational careers.\textsuperscript{164} Speaking on behalf of the commission, Mrs J.E. Houck argued that “no one expected teachers to be archangels” but the emphasis upon a course of study in religion and ethics could only help “little boys and girls learn to live sincerely, honestly, and with responsibility towards others.”\textsuperscript{165}

In an article published in the *History of Education Journal* in 1952, the author, John Manning, outlined the crux of the debate about religious instruction. He wrote that

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{162}“Says Hope Report Infers Teaching Job Sissy,” *The Globe and Mail*, April 26, 1951, 7.
  \item \textsuperscript{163}Ibid
  \item \textsuperscript{164}Ibid
  \item \textsuperscript{165}Ibid. Other criticisms of the report were decidedly less misogynistic. The *Globe and Mail* reported David Peikoff’s opinion given on behalf of the Canadian Association for the Deaf (“Deaf Official Scores Hope Education Report,” January 6 1951, 5). Peikoff reprimanded the commissioners for providing any accommodation for the education of deaf children. He disagreed with the “predominantly oral means” of instruction, the emphasis on education for preschool children, the “mushroom expansion” in the schools, and the failure to commit to hiring deaf teachers for deaf students. Peikoff took umbrage at the Commission’s assertion that a deaf teacher would retard development
\end{itemize}
on one hand there was a group of people who contended that sectarian education was the responsibility of the Church and the home. The existence of denominational schools merely created controversy regarding the receipt of public funding. Conversely, he argued, there was a group of people who thought that “a full life [could] only result from a religious educational program.” People of this school of thought believed that the Church had hitherto been a key contributor to the development and growth of western civilization, and did not want to see this legacy curtailed. Recounting the reactions to the report quickly becomes elliptical. One thing remains certain, the place of Roman Catholicism in the future of Ontario and its citizens profoundly shaped the debates. The majority report demonstrated a desire for a continued presence of religion in the day-to-day lives of Ontario citizens, most especially, the children but Protestant faith only and not in a system of separate schooling.

The separate schools challenged the issue of religious instruction one step further. Catholics had set up their school system and could continue to teach religion and the regular curriculum independent of what changes were made to the public schools. Problems related to funding and pedagogy would only worsen unless the Separate School system changed along with the rest of the school system. According to Manning, “the greatest single obstacle to the implementation of the major recommendations of the majority report, namely the complete reorganization of the present system of public schools, pivot[ed] around Ontario’s separate schools.”

Northern Ontario provides the most concrete example of how the public and separate schools were at an impasse. Much of the land north of Barrie and Peterborough was still very rugged, sparsely settled terrain. Smaller centres such as Sault Ste. Marie, Kapuskasing, and Timmins (cities in the “Clay Belt”) grew up in the early 20th century and were only settled more vigourously over the course of the first fifty years of the 1900s. Pulp and paper operations, the timber industry, and mineral mining sustained these areas of the province and attracted both seasonal workers but also families looking for a new start because of the promise of economic opportunity.\(^\text{168}\) Frequently, and especially along the eastern border with Quebec, French-Canadian migrants inhabited the areas bringing their language, culture, and religion with them. For the children in these communities, it made sense to establish a Roman Catholic School to accommodate their needs and beliefs. The northern areas of the province did not strictly adhere to the normal procedure. Since Roman Catholicism was the religion of the majority in these more remote areas, a separate school was frequently established first and without a public school counterpart.

Protestant groups used the custom in place in the North to argue that Roman Catholics had gone too far; the regulation of all Ontario schools was in jeopardy and such practice needed curtailment. The continuation of separate schools was considered a “blemish on [the] educational system”.\(^\text{169}\) The ICCPRCR argued that in unorganized territory (in other words, northern Ontario) the public school had to be established first as per the legislation. Since this territory constituted so much landmass of the entirety of the

\(^{169}\) United Church of Canada Archives, Inter-Church Committee on Protestant-Roman Catholic Relations Fonds, Box 59, file 24, _The Separate School in Ontario_, 9.
province, part of the justification for their argument stemmed from the Protestant wish to maintain unity within the province. As the ICCPRCR foresaw it, the Clay Belt was only going to grow in population and would attract many farmers to it from many different countries. These new immigrants were not necessarily going to be Catholic. The ICCPRCR contended that if these new immigrants came to the Clay Belt only to meet a strongly denominational school system it might scare them away from settling.\textsuperscript{170} Further, “unless the people of Ontario [were] satisfied to let this vast area with millions of acres of fertile soil become purely French and Catholic, these schools should be covered into Public Schools and Section 21 should be at once repealed.”\textsuperscript{171}

The controversy over schooling in the Clay Belt laid bare the “language-racial-religious cleavage”\textsuperscript{172} in Ontario. Those who favoured public schools and those who favoured the ad hoc system in place in the North used the blank slate of the unsettled territory to craft arguments about the future of the province. These arguments, however couched in the language of land and settlement expansion and the future of the province, reflected the ideological differences at play in Ontario. Religion formed the core for these debates. The subject of religion became so entangled with the other procedural matters under discussion in the Royal Commission that it was impossible to divorce it from the rest of the Hope Report. Religion became both the centre of public inquiry and discussion but also the reason for its disappearance from those conversations: the Separate Schools issue saddled the Hope Report with too much baggage and made it too difficult to implement.

\textsuperscript{170} United Church of Canada Archives, Inter-Church Committee on Protestant-Roman Catholic Relations Fonds, Box 59, file 24, \textit{The Separate School in Ontario}, 9, 15-17.
\textsuperscript{171} Ibid, 17.
\textsuperscript{172} Manning, “The Separate Roman Catholic Schools of the Province of Ontario,”105.
Even though it generated a great deal of discussion, and took so many years to release, the Hope Report was shelved after its publication in 1950. Its recommendations and proposals did not make their way to the legislature for debate about implementation. Education historian R.D. Gidney concluded that the Report, with all of its proposals, was “weighed down by such hefty baggage [that it] sank from sight, leaving hardly a ripple of memory behind it. And even when some of its recommendations were implemented, no one was eager to recall their origins or attribute them to the political orphan Hope had become.”173

George Cornish of the Inter-Church Committee on Protestant-Roman Catholic Relations expressed great regret at the Ontario government’s inaction on responding to or implementing the recommendations of the Hope Report.174 He could not understand why the Leslie Frost PC government did nothing. The Commission had been the child of the Drew regime, but with his defection to the federal PC party, Leslie Frost inherited all of the controversy that had plagued the Commission and the release of the report in 1950.175

The most significant sign of fractiousness on the issue of education came in the form of two minority reports issued alongside the majority Hope Report. Four commissioners, E.F. Henderson, Arthur Kelly, J.M. Pigott and Henri Saint-Jacques found themselves “unable to concur in [the] majority recommendations.”176 The four dissenting commissioners, among other reasons, cited “the lack of realism in the recommendations

173 Gidney, From Hope to Harris, 24.
174 United Church of Canada Archives, Inter-Church Committee on Protestant-Roman Catholic Relations Fonds, Box 59, file 24, Cornish correspondence reflected in general meeting minutes of the Inter-Church Committee on Protestant-Roman Catholic Relations of May 23, 1952.
175 Franklin, Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario, 66.
176 Hope Report, 779.
of the majority” as one of the stronger reasons for their disagreement, which they grounded in legal and constitutional facts.\textsuperscript{177} For Misters Henderson, Kelly, Pigott and Saint-Jacques, the majority report failed to reflect the economic ramifications of the recommendations, especially when it came to bureaucratic reorganization and standardization. The Hope Report reflected more of an “ideal” of education “with but little reference to the nature and variety of the conditions which exist today and of those which may exist in the immediate future.”\textsuperscript{178}

The overzealous drive for standardization proved even more treacherous to the four commissioners than the lack of realism. The three years cited in the Hope Report as the time in which the move towards more standard local boards would occur seemed too short a period. The changes would seem “unnecessarily drastic and needlessly disruptive and may by their unrestricted scope defeat the very end they [were] designed to accomplish.”\textsuperscript{179} Uniformity for the sake of uniformity equated to mediocrity within the education system, the very antithesis of what the Royal Commission had set out to achieve five years ago.\textsuperscript{180} The minority report contains perhaps the most incisive analysis of the Hope Report: it was overly idealistic and too prone to ideological statements with too little attention to the more pragmatic concerns faced in the province.

The changes proposed to the separate schools were the secondary focus of disagreement. The four dissenting authors of the minority report were all Catholic and so their interest in the continuation of the Separate schools was certainly reflected in their report. They disliked the expense that the Catholic Boards would incur should an

\textsuperscript{177} Ibid, 780.  
\textsuperscript{178} Hope Report, 781.  
\textsuperscript{179} Ibid  
\textsuperscript{180} Ibid
expansive building program be undertaken; they disagreed that Catholic education should not extend beyond the elementary school and that all levels of school should remain complementary between the Public and Separate School boards; they also disagreed that French language schools ought to be restricted, and in fact, more research into their function was required. The minority report had the full support of Toronto’s Cardinal James McGuigan behind it. Press releases at the time of the report reflected Roman Catholic “astonishment and consternation” at the Hope Report’s audacious recommendations. Clearly meant to polarize the public, the tactic worked and the Separate Schools question became the focus of public attention on the report.

In the face of such controversy but not because of it, Frost ignored the Report’s recommendations and carried on with business as usual. Frost wanted Ontario to remain relatively the same, and seemed to loathe the disruption that change to the education system would bring to the province. The recommendations, he feared, could revive old sectarian interests in the province and the whole process of reform would prove counter-productive to the province he hoped to helm where stability reigned. In the end, the five years of consultations and discussions remained just that – consultation and discussions. For a brief period of time, civil servants and invested citizens (both religious and not) engaged in a level of public debate centred upon an issue deeply connected to a facet of everyday life. Briefly picking back up the thread of diffusive Christianity, identification as a (Protestant) Christian comes through as a key value for the many

---

182 Ibid, 71.
184 Ibid, 184.
people associated with the Commission. The convictions of those who briefed the Commissioners and issued reports also could be viewed as reactionary: people affirmed the need for a strong religious education because they feared that society was losing touch with its Christian roots in a concrete way.

There was a gap between theories of education and the practice of education. The five years that it took to compile the Report of the Royal Commission demonstrates the difficulty in wrangling so many viewpoints and ideas about education into one (very long) document. For it to go nowhere implies that the entire Royal Commission was an exercise in navel-gazing. But as a pathway to understanding how people engaged with their province and the ideas that informed their feelings about citizenship, democracy, and society, the Royal Commission was anything but a futile endeavour. Arthur Kelly, one of the commissioners, wrote to Minister of Education Dana Porter to express gratitude for his honorarium. His note acknowledged that, “there has been abuse heaped upon the Report, but [he] finds it encouraging that in official quarters there is appreciation for the work.”

In the report the sectarian tensions in Ontario came to the fore. Perhaps it was the weight of these tensions that sabotaged the ability of politicians to move forward with reform measures. What did come out of the report was a clear reflection of the Cold War mentality that pervaded an area of public policy and which used religious ideas as a means to argue for the betterment and the preservation of western society. If no one could agree about how to change the school system, it is as easily concluded that nearly everyone was in agreement that education needed constant attention and debate in order

---

to ensure it remained a key tool for creating future citizens. Discussions about citizenship and Christianity were not confined to education. They also extended to immigration to Canada.
Chapter 4 – “Custodians of Christian Tradition”: The Churches and Immigration

Laval Fortier, the Deputy Minister of Citizenship and Immigration in 1957 referred to immigration as “one of those ticklish problems that, no matter what is said, a religious controversy may be around which will do no one any good.” For a little over a decade after the Second World War Canada experienced a massive wave of immigration. This immigration boom forced the federal and provincial governments to adjudicate their policies and agencies geared towards processing and acculturating new immigrants to the country. Fortier’s comment suggests how an already contentious and delicate matter such as immigration could become even more troublesome.

Immigrants, refugees, and displaced persons (DPs) arrived to Canada carrying with them their ideas and values from the old world and their hopes for their new lives in a new country. Language, work experience, ethnicity, and religion comprised key gauges for the government to identify “the kind of people Canada want[ed].” The Canadian government wished to ensure that the Anglo tradition of Canada remained intact and so carefully vetted these markers of identity. A person’s creed posed more of a controversial issue, however, than other markers of identity.

The religious background of potential immigrants was the subject of much discussion, especially amongst the Protestant Churches. Just as the federal government compiled statistics regarding the ethnic and national origins of immigrants, which in turn affected the immigrant’s perceived desirability as a new citizen to the country, they also

---

1 LAC Citizenship and Immigration Fonds, RG 26 Vol 140 file 3-40-6, Immigration Statistics by Religion, Laval Fortier, handwritten addendum to a memorandum to the Acting Minister of Citizenship and Immigration on June 27, 1957.
compiled religious statistics to the same end. The religious background of an immigrant never factored into their ability or not to immigrate to Canada.\(^3\) It was, however, of significant interest to the census bureau (see table 1). For the churches, the new influx of people meant a large congregation of individuals in need of community and ministry. Religion and immigration were unofficially yet inextricably linked. It did not determine the eligibility of an immigrant, but it did contribute to the project of integration and assimilation of immigrants. The government did not care to involve the churches in the immigration project, but they depended on them to help acclimate new people to the country and teach them the importance of Canadian citizenship.

The centrepiece of post-war immigration history is Franca Iacovetta’s *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada*. In her monograph, Iacovetta examined the factors that influenced how immigrants came to be admitted to Canada and the people who and agencies that opened or closed the barriers to immigration.\(^4\) More recently, Julie Gilmour’s dissertation on Canada’s reception of Displaced Persons examined the shifts in refugee policy between the pre and post-war periods that contributed to the way the policies both projected and reflected an idea of Canada as a haven for displaced persons, and which shaped later Canadian immigration policy.\(^5\) In the years after the war, the humanitarian need to accommodate displaced persons and the need of the Canadian labour force coalesced into the conditions ripe for...

---


\(^5\) Julie Gilmour, *The Kind of People Canada Wants*, 8-10.
welcoming a large influx of new people to the country. These works demonstrate the malleability of immigration policy in Canada. In such policies devised to welcome or bar certain people one can read the anxieties and preoccupations of the time as well as the hope for what Canada needed or wanted to be.

What is not as immediately clear in these discussions is the place or role of religion. Were churches another institution that acted as agents of the government? Did an immigrant’s religion play a role in their desirability? Did it help their acclimatization? Iacovetta makes mention of how religious communities and groups as receivers of immigrants helped the newcomers integrate and acclimate to Canadian society. Gilmour examines the way that religion fell away as a criterion for admittance; in other words, it was considered a prejudicial means by which government officials could adjudicate the suitability of an immigrant. Religion, however, was not so minor an issue as these historians’ treatment of the subject might at first suggest. It was not merely a socialization tool, nor was it merely a subject of controversy in policy discussions as Minister Fortier implied. It was an unofficial barometer of what constituted a good potential citizen.

The story of religion and immigration in the post-war period is one of negotiation and renegotiation. Protestant churches wanted to have an active partnership with the government and government bodies directly responsible for immigration; however, more frequently they carved out an ad hoc role that was more responsive than it was directive. In some ways, such a position allowed the churches great freedom. They could

7 Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers*, 12-13, 75-79.
participate in a vital post-war effort, spread their Christian message, and operate without large government oversight. Assisting immigrant families also factored into the larger mission of the Churches. In his 1947 report on Rehabilitation and Immigration to the General Assembly, Reverend Dr. C. Ritchie Bell of Quebec noted that, “in admitting immigrants to Canada we lay upon ourselves the obligation of producing in them a quality of citizenship that will be worthy of our Dominion and which will ultimately become a vital factor and by precept and example, commend to them the democratic way of life.”

The Archbishop of the Anglican Church in Canada similarly observed that the church was the “custodian of Christian tradition,” and to its institution society looked for guidance and inspiration. Christianity and its faith traditions comprised a key marker of “good” citizenship. Equal partners with the government or not, the churches – these “custodians of Christian tradition” – played an important role in engendering a broader, closer-knit Canadian community predicated upon shared religious values.

This chapter examines the relationship between the mainline Protestant churches and immigration. Because immigration fell within the administrative purview of the federal government, this chapter naturally begins by assessing the relationship at the national level. Immigration permeated every level of government and had implications on the provincial, municipal and community levels of society. Three main issues arise when investigating where religious ideas and influence fit into immigration. First, the informal

---

association between the federal government and the institutional church posited a key relationship in helping to transition and acclimatize immigrants. Second, the United, Anglican, and the Presbyterian Churches in Ontario positioned their church bodies to take an active role in immigration policy and instead found they had to adjust to a more “on the ground” approach to advocate and assist immigrants. Finally, the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and the influx of refugees to Canada as a result of the conflict brings into sharp focus the importance of religion in immigration to Canada, but also its lack of significant influence on a policy level. Over the course of the post-war decade views about immigration and religion changed significantly. The preoccupation with the religious background of immigrants reflected broader anxieties the Canadian public experienced about the post-war decade. It exposed a fear of the other and the way the Cold War played out in matters of public policy. It revealed a preoccupation with nationality and the markers that nationality as well as religion had on Canadians’ perception of the newcomers to the country.

The government had “decided to use immigration as an instrument to expand the Canadian population and economy.”¹¹ The doors to Canada were opened wide to Displaced Persons, refugees, and others seeking new opportunities in a new country. By the mid 1950s, over a million immigrants had come to Canada, and by 1959 that number had nearly doubled again (see Table 1). The Caucasian composition of the immigrant pool is of particular note. As much as Canada opened the doors to newcomers, its policies and the Immigration Act of 1952 discriminated against anyone not of an Anglo-Saxon or a Christian background; the government and its policy-makers privileged a vision of

Canada that remained relatively homogeneous, which couched ideas of nationhood, authority, and a healthy democracy within the language of Christianity.¹²

Table 1: Immigration to Canada by Ethnic Origin¹³

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>36,730</td>
<td>197,334</td>
<td>202,814</td>
<td>268,036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>25,500</td>
<td>134,931</td>
<td>122,392</td>
<td>168,430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>5,046</td>
<td>19,139</td>
<td>28,013</td>
<td>37,606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td>5,606</td>
<td>39,144</td>
<td>48,474</td>
<td>56,048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>4,120</td>
<td>3,935</td>
<td>5,952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>3,962</td>
<td>9,838</td>
<td>21,197</td>
<td>18,837</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>1,752</td>
<td>13,502</td>
<td>144,056</td>
<td>107,135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>3,202</td>
<td>9,061</td>
<td>38,618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>12,038</td>
<td>104,736</td>
<td>136,473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlander</td>
<td>878</td>
<td>24,627</td>
<td>86,028</td>
<td>31,922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegian</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>1,846</td>
<td>5,026</td>
<td>4,620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>1,141</td>
<td>3,038</td>
<td>3,030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>18,928</td>
<td>15,304</td>
<td>2,419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>49,534</td>
<td>379,199</td>
<td>755,896</td>
<td>788,746</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Beyond loftier, more idealistic goals of immigration, practical reasons also factored into the rationale for opening Canada’s doors. Ottawa had largely encouraged the influx of people to the country over the course of the decade. These people filled jobs in the agricultural, industrial, and manufacturing sectors that had expanded along with the post-war economy. Canada needed people to fill these jobs, and immigrants provided a willing and able workforce. Immigration historian Valerie Knowles acknowledges that there was a humanitarian dimension to all discussions about immigration in the decade


following the Second World War, but that economic considerations eclipsed the humanitarian language.\textsuperscript{14}

Concerns about the economy and increasing the population might have certainly been a primary factor to motivate the Canadian government to loosen their immigration restrictions; however, the humanitarian dimension provided a necessary and important vocabulary for rationalizing the changes to immigration policy. This overlap was no more apparent than in bureaucratic institutions like the North American Life Assurance Company in London, Ontario. A 1954 memorandum entitled the “Immigration Contribution to Canadian Development” outlined the rationale for continued immigration to Canada and its benefits to the country. The memo declared Canada as a land of “promise and goodwill.”\textsuperscript{15} Because of such benevolence Canada was uniquely situated to relieve the pressure of densely populated areas in Europe such as in Belgium, to relieve the pressure on European economies, and to help those in need of a new start as in the case of Displaced Persons.\textsuperscript{16} In the document, the author, Life Assurance Agent Ted Smeenk, addresses concerns about mass migration: that immigrants take away jobs from other citizens, lower wages, and generally impact the economy negatively. Smeenk argues that these concerns are unfounded. Immigrants, who have made the ultimate sacrifice, expand the economy, ensure wages remain competitive, and do not take away

\textsuperscript{14} Knowles, \textit{Strangers at our Gates}, 156-161.
\textsuperscript{15} LAC Immigration and Citizenship Fonds, RG 26 vol 92, file 3-5-1, Publicity and Advertising Immigration Branch, Ted Smeenk, “Immigration Contribution to Canadian Development” September 10, 1954, 1-2.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid
jobs from other Canadians but instead fill necessary jobs in sectors where the labour force is scarce such as in the ‘mining industry.’

Smeenk’s contentions echoed prevailing public concerns as he worked to sell life insurance policies to citizens new and old. He outlined the economic benefits of immigration and the way immigrants would only benefit the country. The vocabulary of sacrifice, charity, and goodwill permeated the entire message. He praised Canada’s “peaceful leadership,” calling the country a “charitable and Christian nation deserving the guidance and blessings of the Lord.” The use of such strong, humanitarian and religious language in combination with a position outlining the economic merits of immigration to Canada make it clear that whether immigration functioned as a tool for population or economic boosterism or not, the terminology associated with economics and religion or humanitarianism could not be separated. They mutually reinforced the other.

Smeenk called Canada a “Christian nation.” This would have been an uncontroversial description of the nation in the early 1950s. To be a Christian nation meant to champion tenets sermonized weekly in churches across the country, or tenets accepted by the broader population without necessarily associating the original idea as a religious one. The Christian definition of citizenship was most apparent in social duties such as combating poverty, helping others in need, providing for the greater good, or acting positively. Phyllis Airhart has highlighted in the example of the United Church of Canada’s post-war experience the flux that many ministers believed Christianity

---

18 Ibid
19 Phyllis Airhart, The Church with the Soul of a Nation, 153.
faced.20 “The old patterns of interaction among church, family, and community were being disrupted,” she argued, and many within the Church feared the imminent disruption and potential irrelevance of the church to everyday life.21 To bolster this Christian nation the Churches had to seize the moment to reinforce their core values in order to strengthen society.

The Reverend Derwyn Trevor Owen of the Anglican Church in Canada called upon the membership of the church to help build the “city of Peace” into which the new becomes woven with older traditions.22 After his annual speech in 1945, Reverend Owen reflected that it would be easy for the church to concern itself with theological problems and to confine itself to personal religion. He argued that the church would be sorely remiss to remain so isolated.23 People had a duty to engage in the social life of the country in order for both church and society to benefit. Helping newcomers and encouraging immigrants constituted one significant aspect of such participation.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation chronicled “One Immigrant Family” in a November, 1954 television broadcast.24 Like the Life Assurance memorandum, the CBC program parsed the reality of the immigrant experience within a larger humanitarian framework. The show met up with the Winterbaum family as they entered the final stretch of their voyage from Germany to Toronto, Canada. The Winterbaums were six of over seven hundred “souls” who made the trip; the announcer made it clear that “souls”

20 Airhart, The Church with the Soul of the Nation, 157.
21 Ibid, 157-158.
23 Ibid 66-67
was the term used in the official tongue for immigrants. The family was destined for Ontario, part of the 52% of all immigrants who chose Ontario as their new home. They had paid their own way to their new country, and had chosen Canada out of a desire for a fresh start in a country that could offer them opportunity. The program subtly reinforced the same message as the life assurance document: immigrants would only benefit the economy and it was part of Canada’s position as a kind and Christian nation that the country had so graciously opened its doors. Before docking in Canada, immigrants partook in a religious ceremony on-board the ship to gives thanks for their safe passage and for the future of hope and prosperity. The ceremony, while carried out in the form of a Catholic mass, included many denominations. The inclusion of the ceremony was probably a carefully crafted aspect of the program. The optics of the religious thanksgiving ceremony, coupled with the emphasis upon using the term “souls” to refer to the immigrants humanized those immigrants. It made them seem vulnerable. It also connected the actions of the newcomers to daily rituals that were not unfamiliar to everyday life for Canadians. It was the immigrants’ religiosity that demonstrated something recognizable amongst peoples who were otherwise alien.

By far most immigrants claimed membership in the Roman Catholic or the Anglican Church (see table 2). These numbers are not surprising. Many immigrants came from countries dominated by the Anglican or Roman Catholic churches. What is curious is the number of people who stated their affiliation to the United Church of Canada – a religious body particular to the Canadian nation-state. John H. Young explains that in the post-war decade the United Church reached out to other reformed churches to attract

---

immigrants to the United Church of Canada because it provided a natural correlative church body. For example, the United Church forged a special relationship with the Netherlands Reformed Church that shadowed the Canadian government’s relationship with the Netherlands in order to entice Dutch farmers to come and settle in Canada. In addition to forging special bonds with foreign churches, the United Church concentrated its home missionary efforts on rural communities, suburban communities, and on new immigrants in the construction and mining camps of the north. Like the other mainline Protestant churches, they directed resources and energy towards reaching out to new arrivals to the country.

Table 2: Percentage Religious Distribution of the Canadian Population at the 1941 and 1951 Censuses, and of the Immigrant Population at the 1951 Census (by period of arrival)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Immigrant Population 1951</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Canada 1941 (11,506,655)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Religions</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptists</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of England in Canada</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Catholic</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek Orthodox</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mennonite</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>41.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Church of Canada</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other religions</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27 Ibid
28 Ibid, 88-89.
Given the immense number of immigrants, it is little wonder that the Canadian government relied heavily upon voluntary associations, especially religious ones, to help them to welcome, acclimatize, and integrate the newcomers into Canadian society. The most prominent were the Canadian Christian Council for the Resettlement of Refugees (established in 1946), the Canadian Council of Churches, the Canadian Jewish Congress, and the Rural Settlement Society of Canada. The four agencies often liaised with one another and then together corresponded with the department of Citizenship and Immigration. Together, they affirmed that they filled an important function within the immigration process: that of an humanitarian and welfare dimension.30

In a 1954 letter to the deputy minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Laval Fortier, the four agencies contended that, “While members of these agencies in their individual capacities may and do have an interest in the larger framework of the movement of surplus populations and the economic needs in Canada, actually, their concern as representative of voluntary agencies is devoted to this more personalized and intimate service to particular cases.”31 Very clearly, the voluntary agencies call attention to the ways in which immigration was understood as a national project: as one of economic consideration but couched in the humanitarian concerns that dominated the decade. Fortier made a strong case that the government oversaw immigration and agencies or associations ought to take charge of the day-to-day care of immigrants and the facilitation of their integration.

30 LAC RG 26 Vol 104 file 30-40-4, Memorandum to Laval Fortier from the VA agencies, Nov 19, 1954.
31 Ibid
The relationship between the government and the voluntary associations was not necessarily an easy one. Agents of these groups were dispatched to Europe to tend to the immigrants wishing to come over, making recommendations, and setting up connections so that immigrants had a place to stay and people to receive them in Canada.\(^{32}\) Through the course of their counsel, voluntary associations could also make recommendations to the Churches with whom they were affiliated to sponsor immigrant families or help newcomers with employment.\(^{33}\) These agencies received funding both from the federal government as well as from contributions raised from within their own fundraising efforts. In addition to their work in Europe, voluntary agencies worked to reunite families in Canada, to help them integrate into the new society, and to advocate on the immigrants’ behalves when it came to their correspondence with the department of citizenship and immigration. In the minds of those who headed the agencies, their work was crucial.\(^{34}\)

The voluntary agencies provided a necessary workforce that, for relatively little cost, carried out the broader aims of the Canadian government’s work with immigration as well as refugees. The relative merit of the work of these groups came under scrutiny as the heyday of the immigration boom in the mid 1950s passed. By 1954, the department of Citizenship and Immigration began to look at ways to pare back their active recruitment of immigrants overseas. The ministry wondered at whether financing the voluntary agencies’ work overseas to the same extent as they had before was necessary. The

\(^{32}\) Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers*, 1-5.

\(^{33}\) LAC RG 26 Vol. 115 file 3-24-20 vol. 2, “Canadian Council of Churches and Other Religious Organizations’ Correspondence with re Immigration Alex Maclaren, Director of Settlement for the Canadian Council of Churches, letter to G.R. Benoit, Chief of Operation Department of Citizenship and Immigrant, May 27\(^{\text{th}}\), 1954.

\(^{34}\) Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers*, 78-82.
agencies’, unsurprisingly, reacted strongly. They argued that to decrease the number of agency workers who counseled potential immigrants would do those immigrants a great disservice.\textsuperscript{35} Furthermore, the groups brushed off such any suggestion made by Fortier that recommended the transfer of some of the funds that the groups used overseas to “integration” work at home. They argued that cutting or reorganizing funding would be a disservice to immigrants.\textsuperscript{36}

The voluntary groups had a certain degree of leverage in the situation. Churches and the multi-denominational voluntary associations had played a key role in the immigration process since Canada first opened its gates in 1947. The department of Citizenship and Immigration was a fairly new government ministry; it had been established in 1950 to accommodate the large mandate the federal immigration portfolio carried with it. Prior to 1950, the portfolio existed in two places: as the Nationalities Branch in the Department of War Services until 1944 when it became the Citizenship division within the Department of War Services Committee and as the Immigration Branch that fell under the purview of the Department of Mines and Resources.\textsuperscript{37} Prime Minister Mackenzie King created the Department of Citizenship and Immigration to respond to the increasing burden placed on this particular portfolio. The movement of the portfolio around the federal government reflected the changing prominence of immigration within the larger mandate of the Canadian government.

The Citizenship Act of 1947 marked a key moment in post-war immigration history. Persons born in Canada or who immigrated to the country could claim Canadian

\textsuperscript{35} LAC RG 26 Vol 104, file 30-40-4, Memorandum to Laval Fortier from the VA agencies, Nov 19, 1954.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid
\textsuperscript{37} Iacovetta, \textit{Gatekeepers}, 77-78.
Canadian citizens were British subjects, but the law created a permanent distinction between a person’s cultural heritage and their political identity within a nation-state. The Act helped to carve out Canadian identity as separate from its British antecedents. The Act took effect during the first week of January 1947 and was marked by a week-long celebration that called attention to citizenship in Canada. “Amidst the blaze of cameras and the clanging of movie cameras,” Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King swore the oath of allegiance. The Honourable Paul Martin, one of the architects of the Act, remarked after the ceremony that the Act and the attendant ceremonies denoted the self-definition of people as Canadian and to bring Canadians together as a community. Prime Minister Mackenzie King pronounced that, “Canada was founded on the faith that two of the proudest races in the world, despite barriers of tongue and creed, could work together, in mutual tolerance and respect, to develop a common nationality.” Mackenzie King welcomed people of all “racial stocks” to join in Canadian nationhood.

In codifying Canadian citizenship in law, the government created the task of defining and imbuing a sense of shared identity, values, and national pride to old and new Canadians alike. The Presbyterian Church noted that, “In admitting immigrants to Canada we lay upon ourselves the obligation of producing in them a quality of citizenship.

---

39 Ibid, 77.
42 Ibid, 2.
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid.
that will be worthy of our Dominion and which will ultimately become a vital factor and
by precept and example, commend to them the democratic way of life.”45 The legislation
functioned as part of a larger citizenship project in Canada. It helped to create legal
precedents and rights to enshrine a Canadian idea of citizenship within the populace. But
citizenship resisted easy definition; or, like much government-speak, it was open to
interpretation. The post-war decade became as much a project of definition as it was of
immigration itself.

Reg Whitaker has noted that, “a sense of optimism after fifteen years of
depression and war created a momentary consensus that an expansive future would
require a more expansive immigration policy.”46 The 1952 Immigration Act constituted
the first major piece of legislation introduced by the government attempting to codify the
policies in place brought on by the immigration boom. The Act did little to satisfy those
who wished for a coherent policy on immigration; it did, however, concretely outline the
role of the ministry and its powers in determining future policy and introducing
legislation especially with respect to the determination of who or who could not enter
Canada.47 Perhaps most notably, the Act granted vast discretionary power to the minister

45 Presbyterian Church in Canada archives, C. Ritchie Bell, “Home Missions Report:
Immigration and Rehabilitation” in Acts and Proceedings of the 73rd General Assembly
46 Reg Whitaker, Canadian Immigration Policy Since Confederation, Booklet 15,
Canada’s Ethnic Groups Series presented by the Canadian Historical Association
(Ottawa: Keystone Printing, 1991), 14
47 Knowles, Strangers at our Gates, 170. Please refer to Reg Whitaker, Canadian
Immigration Policy, 15. Whitaker notes the challenge the government faced to draft a
comprehensive immigration policy. He suggests that some of the challenge derived from
the different approaches taken to the subject by different departments; particularly, the
difference between the Department of Citizenship and Immigration and the Department
of Labour. Both departments agreed that immigration would help immeasurably to
bolster the economy in Canada, but the two departments applied different metrics to
and other immigration officials. On one hand, discretionary powers allowed the Minister and immigration officials to make decisions more ad hoc as they reflected particular situations that arose; on the other hand, it also meant a lack of consistency when it came to policy and to the administration of the department.

As a result of these conditions, the voluntary agencies had to tap-dance within this flexible yet stringent framework to maintain a strong and influential presence doing work within the immigration field. Just as these groups provided a necessary counterpoint to the economic and labour rationalizations for immigration, they also called attention to the “humanitarian aspect to [the] immigration program.” The voluntary agencies worked hard to maintain an on-the-ground presence in Europe and to work with families just entering Canada. Their primary goal was to advocate for the individual and families seeking a new life. Provincially, George Drew’s Ontario government recognized the impact that churches would have on newcomers. In a document entitled “Suggestions to Teachers of the Citizenship Programme for Newcomers to Canada”, churches were adjudicate the utility of immigration to the Canadian economy. The former focussed on the short-term future and wanted few restrictions in place in order to buoy and strengthen the labour force. The latter wanted to protect the economy in the long-term and advocated for restrictions in order to keep control of the expanding economy, and to wages remained competitive for Canadians.

48 Whitaker, *Canadian Immigration Policy* 17; Knowles *Strangers at our Gates*, 171. This dissertation presents a bias towards English-speaking Canada – namely Ontario. This experience of immigration was not uniform across the country. For an analysis of the case in French-speaking Canada, please consult Martin Paquet, *Toward a Quebec Ministry of Immigration 1945-1968*, Booklet 23, Canada’s Ethnic Group Series presented by the Canadian Historical Association (Ottawa Keystone Printing, 1997. Paquet’s work provides an assessment of the how Quebec differed from English-speaking Canada in its patterns of immigration after the war, and the effect of this difference on provincial policies of immigration.

49 Gilmour, *The Kind of People Canada Wants*, 70-75. Also, LAC RG 26 Vol 104, file 30-40-4, Memorandum to Walter Harris from the CCCRR, April 17, 1951.

50 LAC RG 26 Vol 104, file 30-40-4, Memorandum to Walter Harris from the CCCRR, April 17, 1951.
singly out as the best agency or group to rely upon to help immigrants’ adjust; their outreach was a source of opportunity for newcomers. The Churches operated within the system that the Canadian government had put in place, but outside of the official rhetoric that was used to shape broader public opinion about the newcomers.

In order to participate within the system and attempt to claim influence, the churches provided some personnel and financial help to incoming families. The minutes of the annual conferences of the mainline Protestant churches all reference having a dedicated team of two or three port workers who liaised with government authorities. Most immigrants passed through either Montreal or Halifax. Language and creed were barriers to a smooth arrival. Most of the time, the church representatives did not receive a ship manifest. In the 1948 report to the Presbyterian conference, the Secretary of Home Missions, H.R. Pickup, noted that the arrival of so many DPs created a problem for the church. They posed a problem for spiritual after-care because the ultimate destination of many DPs remained unclear. The port-worker could not accurately forward information to a home parish, as he or she would do in the case of other immigrants who had arrived. The report of the Presbyterian Home Missions in 1949 provides clearer detail on the work of these port workers, and not just for the Presbyterians but an appraisal of the work of the Protestant churches generally.

With so much immigration to Canada, church workers congregated in Halifax and Montreal primarily. While no specific numbers were presented, it can be assumed that it

---

was a relatively small pool of people because they did not send workers to the airports due to its impracticality.\textsuperscript{53} At the piers in Halifax and Montreal, seven religious groups (United Church, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Anglican, Baptist, Jewish, and Lutheran) shared administrative space. Halifax’s Pier 21 boasted a “fine building” that included cubicles. Pickup noted that the space in the building could accommodate the eastern division of the Women’s Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, which could store and distribute care packages to incoming Presbyterians.\textsuperscript{54} Of Montreal, Pickup observed that with its long pier and lack of building, the pier “doesn’t lend itself” to the same level of outreach as what occurs in Halifax.\textsuperscript{55} For all Protestants, their work remained narrow in scope when it came to ushering immigrants or DPs into Canada. “To the churches [was] left the most important service to immigrants – welcome to the community and integration,” attested Pickup.\textsuperscript{56}

This role as intermediary (in other words, not quite gatekeepers) was especially prevalent when it came to the movement of Displaced Persons into Canada. Refugees were those individuals “who were displaced from their country of citizenship as a result of events arising out of World War II and who [had] not become resettled in their country of residence. In addition, it refers to persons who [had] fled Iron Curtain countries since the closure of the International Refugee Organization in December, 1951.”\textsuperscript{57}

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid
\textsuperscript{57} LAC RG 26 Vol 123, Letter from the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration to the Canadian Jewish Congress, December 9, 1952.
April 1947 and January 1952 just over 160,000 displaced persons arrived in Canada.\textsuperscript{58}

This number of immigrants was in addition to the other peoples coming to Canada. The DPs merited special attention; government and immigration officials, as well as those working within the Churches and voluntary agencies all viewed this group of people as more vulnerable. They needed an extra hand in acclimatizing and integrating into Canada.

Groups like the Canadian Council of Churches (CCC) took up the issue and attempted to codify policy and action across denominations in order to help.\textsuperscript{59} The CCC, comprised of the United, Anglican, and Presbyterian Churches as well as other smaller denominations, reflected an ecumenical moment of cooperation amongst the Protestant Churches that centred their mandate upon shared social and political issues.\textsuperscript{60}

Immigration and the role of the Church in helping refugees was one of those issues. The CCC liaised with the International Refugee Organization and the Canadian government in order to place refugees in communities in Canada where they might thrive, and where they might find a community in their church to help them to integrate more smoothly into Canadian society. In 1953 after the IRO ended their international operations, it was the

\textsuperscript{58} LAC RG 26 vol 140 Statistical Document showing Immigration to Canada of Displaced Persons by racial origin April, 1947 to January 31, 1952

\textsuperscript{59} LAC, RG 26 vol, 115, file 3-24-19 “YMCA/YWCA Correspondence with re Immigration and Citizenship,” Memorandum from Director of Immigration to the Deputy Minister, “Responsibilities of the Voluntary Agencies under the Approved Church Program,” Nov 6, 1959. This later memorandum reaffirmed the arrangement between the government and the voluntary agencies and church groups about providing aid through the proper channels established by the Canadian government.

\textsuperscript{60} The issue of ecumenism will be more thoroughly investigated in chapter five.
World Council of Churches, of which the CCC was a member, which took up part of the challenge of helping refugees worldwide.\textsuperscript{61}

Within Canada, aid operated on two levels. First, the national stage where groups like the Canadian Council of Churches (CCC) brought together Protestants of different creeds to assist in shared goals or mounted far-reaching programs to assist newcomers. Such small “welcome” facilities at the country’s points of entry meant that the national synods of the mainline Protestant Churches (or, in fact, any national Church body) did not allocate substantive financial resources to the piers or welcome centres outside of having a representative on call to meet new arrivals and distribute small brochures. Instead, the churches engaged financially by seeking out sponsorship for refugees, and helping new members of the congregation as part of larger Christian groups.

Significantly, only a limited number of groups could provide financial assistance to aid immigration. The Rural Settlement Society of Canada, the Canadian Council of Churches, the Canadian Christian Council for the Resettlement of Refugees, and the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society were named under section 16 of the Immigration Regulations as the four groups entitled to provide monetary assistance.\textsuperscript{62} In 1955, Laval Fortier, Deputy Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, concluded in a memorandum on the subject of aid that these four groups, in his opinion, provided the most equitable

\begin{footnotes}
\item[61] LAC MG 28, I 327, Volume 103, File 50: GSO (pink), Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees, 1952-1953
\end{footnotes}
assistance to all immigrants entering Canada. Keeping the list of organizations short ensured that no denomination-specific evangelizing could occur; it also meant that groups could not “play favourites”. In part out of necessity there was a more diffusive Christian presence on this national stage.

The shared goals of Protestants were reflected in the literature distributed by these federally accepted groups. For example, the CCC printed pamphlets for distribution amongst Canadian Protestant churches to seek “partnership in this venture of Christian fellowship.” The CCC sought donations, but more importantly sponsors, for the thousands of DPs coming to Canada. Working in conjunction with the World Council of Churches and the International Refugee Organization, the CCC generated interest and support amongst Protestants in Canada to assist newcomers’ travel and to find accommodation or even a job placement. They appealed widely to people’s sense of Christian goodness to help out.

“Inasmuch as ye have done it upon one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me,” (Matthew 25:40), quoted on the CCC pamphlet, reminded people that the extension of aid was part of a person’s larger Christian duty. Participation in the process under larger umbrella groups helped to advance a pan-Protestant cause too by providing cohesive central organization to assistance efforts. Once immigrants had arrived to Canada the national aid framework gave way to the second level of support:

64 Ibid
65 Ibid
the local stage when helping to acclimate people to their new country became a local congregational duty.

Protestants remained fearful of the power of Roman Catholic influence on newcomers. The Catholic Church assisted the Roman Catholic immigrants to purchase land; the Protestant Churches needed to do the same. An article in *The Canadian Baptist* sounded the alarm, claiming that their missionaries in Canadian cities had noted that purported Catholic adherents were, in fact, indifferent to their creed. “Evangelism is our only protection against the Romanizing of our country,” the article proclaimed. The United Church of Canada examined the issue. Alexander Murray, who worked closely with the UCC Board of Home Mission, commented in his sketch on the causes of immigration, that he was aware that in some quarters people felt that “the country was being flooded with Roman Catholics.” Rather than a disproportionate influx of Catholics, Murray worried more about the inability to connect with all Protestants, such as German Lutherans, and attributed the fear of Catholic power to a lack zeal on the part of Protestants to engage with immigrants enough. Because Protestant Churches lacked the same hierarchy as the Catholic Church their ability to assist non-Catholic immigrants faced greater challenges on the local level: it was more difficult to raise money to help people on a large scale. Despite a relatively cohesive national effort, the denominational

---

69 Ibid
differences caused a more piecemeal effort on the local level. Churches wanted to help and court those within their own denomination.

Locally, community became the watchword of churches and groups seeking to assist newcomers build a life in Canada. In *Gatekeepers*, Iacovetta discusses at length the ways in which immigrants were able to acculturate and assimilate. For example, Iacovetta looks at the culture around food, and specifically ethnic food, as a part of gatekeepers’ “nation-building strategy of promoting national unity through an embrace of cultural diversity.”

Marlene Epp makes a similar connection in her work on Mennonite refugee women. She makes special note that, “when families could no longer worship together, sharing a mealtime prayer and breaking bread may have served symbolically to affirm their belief that their lives were in the hands of a protecting higher power.” Epp’s work focused on the power of food to unite an ethnic group in a new place. Secondary to her work, but no less important, was the impact of religion on connecting immigrants together. For Epp’s work on Mennonites, food offered a way to render the unfamiliar familiar, especially for an ethnic and religious minority group. Epp’s and Iacovetta’s

---

70 Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers*, 138. See also, Franca Iacovetta, “Making ‘New Canadians’: Social Workers, Women, and the Reshaping of Immigrant Lives,” in *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canada History, 1840s-1960s*, edited by Franca Iacovetta with Paula Draper and Robert Ventresca, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998) 482-508. In the chapter, Iacovetta details the different ways immigrant women belonging to ethnic minorities experienced and interacted with Canadian society. She pays especial attention to the place of the family and the gendered ideas of what constituted a good and proper family had on the way aid societies, specifically Toronto’s Internationals Institute, dealt with women who sought out their help.


work both importantly characterized the local community as a powerful tool for the acclimatization of newcomers. They focused on specific minorities and how they carved out an individuated ethnic identity within a pluralist Canadian society that still privileged white, Anglo people.

The project of community-building did not belong solely to marginal groups. It is worth exploring how mainline Protestant churches used shared belief and ritual as a way to build community between established and new Canadians, and as a way to help immigrants acculturate. This idea of community needs expansion. Some churches grew up and celebrated particular ethnic identities, creating enclaves to foster multiculturalism. Francis Swyripa has written about the interplay of ethnicity and religion in Canada’s prairie west. She examined immigrant churches in Edmonton, Alberta to argue how religion acted as both “a crucial element of ethnic identity but also a measure of ethnic power and legitimacy that privileges certain groups over others.” Swyripa, like Iacovetta and Epp, historicized how ethnic groups carved out a particular identity within a broader definition of Canadian identity. There is more to the story.

Just as it is important to investigate the way immigrants maintained a sense of their own diversity, it is just as crucial to examine the effect of immigration on mainstream religion and how a shared culture developed that eclipsed ethnic difference in order to produce a sense of belonging. Like technology, immigration forced adaptation within the United, Anglican, and Presbyterian churches. These mainline churches were

far more concerned with enlarging their fold. They recognized ethnic difference but sought to build a shared community along the lines of a shared theology.

Building a strong church community had a secondary effect. It helped to ward off or curb the potential for insidious behaviour, specifically communist sympathies, in immigrants who arrived from Eastern Europe or Russia.\textsuperscript{74} Beyond the concern for communist infiltration of the country, the mainline Protestants also wanted to protect against the influence of Roman Catholicism, thus preserving the Protestant influence in the province (and the country). Once again, the Inter-Church Committee on Protestant-Roman Catholic Relations and its paranoid and obsessive secretary, George Cornish, championed careful scrutiny of Roman Catholic immigrants, fearful that the province would be flooded with Catholic peoples who would upset the power balance at work (i.e. the Protestant stronghold on State institutions).\textsuperscript{75} Cornish’s obsession aside, other Protestants worried about the impact of close ties between the Canadian government and the Vatican.\textsuperscript{76}

In 1949 Archbishop Beverley of the Anglican Church responded to a rumour that the Canadian government was considering sending an envoy to the Vatican. He carefully articulated that while he, as representative of the church, did not wish ill against any other church or religious group, he could not support the Canadian government privileging one

\textsuperscript{74} Whitaker and Marcuse, \textit{Cold War Canada}, 10-11; Iacovetta, \textit{Gatekeepers}, 103-105.
\textsuperscript{75} United Church of Canada Archives, Inter-Church Committee on Protestant-Roman Catholic Relations Fonds, Box 1, File 5, General Files: Capitalism and Roman Catholics.
\textsuperscript{76} There is a long history of tension between the Protestant Churches and the Canadian government concerning federal ties to the Vatican and the implications of that relationship for the power wielded by the various denominations within the country and with the government. For a thorough history, please consult F.J. McEvoy, “Religion and Politics in Foreign Policy: Canadian Government Relations with the Vatican,” \textit{CCHA Historical Studies} 51 (1984), 121-144.
religion over another, and he especially could not support the recognition of the Vatican as a political power. The Archbishop worried that it singled out a particular religion that negated the custom that all churches are “equal before the law.” The Protestant impulse to expand their respective populations reflected not only a humanitarian impulse to build community, but it also addressed an ulterior political motive to maintain a strong presence in the country.

That more people would expand and strengthen the churches merely reinforced the broader evangelical goals of each church and underscored the humanitarian principles embedded in their ideals. Reflecting on the impending wave of newcomers to enter Canada in 1947, the Diocesan Council of the Anglican Church concluded that, “the present opportunity will probably never recur when such large numbers of fine potential citizens are available to this country. Such a programme would not merely strengthen Canada, it would in the name of humanity, contribute to permanent peace, and meet the deep needs of suffering Europe.”

The churches were not indiscriminate in who they desired to increase their folds. The Anglicans’ preference for British immigrants echoed both federal government policies as well as the public’s partiality. These types of immigrants fit into the Canadian mould, and would not alter fundamentally the population’s strong Anglo disposition. Furthermore, the churches considered it very important to collect statistics with respect to

79 Igartua, The Other Quiet Revolution, 56.
immigration, especially when it came to the religious background of immigrants. Again, this desire for a record was motivated, to a large extent, by self-interest. The Protestant churches wanted the country to remain a predominantly Protestant Christian nation. In an April, 1954 note in *The Canadian Baptist*, the outlet cited that of the approximately 24,000 immigrants that entered Canada between October 1\(^{st}\), 1953 and February 28\(^{th}\), 1954 72.4% were Roman Catholic. The remaining newcomers were divided amongst the various Protestant sects with most people identifying either as Anglican or as “Protestant” more generally.

According to Baptist missionaries in Canadian cities, those who had declared themselves Roman Catholic were “indifferent to the claims of that Church, and, in many cases, [had] shown a great readiness to hear and heed the Protestant message.”\(^{80}\) Evangelization, then, would help Protestants to guard against the potential Catholicization of the country “by immigration and birth-rate.”\(^{81}\) The churches’ interest in immigration to Canada reflected a humanitarian ideal but more importantly, reflected a hope for the future of Canada. This hope is further evidenced in the way the churches defined citizenship in Canada in the post-war period within the broader context of integrating the new peoples into Canadian society and maintaining a degree of stability in the cultural and religious make-up of the country.

For the Inter-Church Committee on Protestant-Roman Catholic relations the protection of the country from the potential threat of Roman Catholics seemed one very vital way to ensure stability.\(^{82}\) In a July 1948 *Church and State* issue, a publication

---

80 LAC RG 26, Vol 115, file 3-24-20 of The Canadian Baptist, April 25\(^{th}\), 1954 in
81 Ibid
82 Phyllis Airhart, *The Church with the Soul of a Nation*, 137-138.
compiled and circulated by Protestant groups and subscribed to by the ICCPRCR that was dedicated to adjudicating the relationship between religion and politics, named Roman Catholicism as a kind of ecclesiastical totalitarianism, which they viewed as akin to political totalitarianism.\textsuperscript{83} This was neither a meagre allegation, nor was it an isolated claim.

Other religious publications carried the message further. In an issue of \textit{The Sentinel}, the newspaper of the Orange Order, one article posed the question of whether the Roman Catholic Church was ready to compromise with the communists.\textsuperscript{84} The article recounted how the Catholic Church had a history of adopting any means necessary to save itself.\textsuperscript{85} Such an attitude threatened the preservation of democracy in Canada. It cited two corroborating pieces of evidence of this Catholic willingness to compromise. First, it cited a message by Msgr Desranleau, the Bishop of Sherbrooke, Quebec. The Bishop charged that capitalism lay at the root of so many of society’s ills; it was incumbent upon Catholics to combat the problem and work to replace the current structure in society that supported this scourge.\textsuperscript{86} Second, it cited the \textit{L’Osservatore Romano}, the Vatican newspaper, which contended that capitalism was more atheistic than communism.\textsuperscript{87} \textit{The Sentinel} was an important mouthpiece of anti-Catholic sentiment in the province; it celebrated the Anglo-Protestant heritage of the province and strongly advocated for its preservation. This 1948 screed against Roman Catholics spoke to the

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{83} United Church of Canada archives, InterChurch Committee on Protestant Roman Catholic Relations Fonds, General Files, \textit{Church and State} newsletter (volume 1, number 2) July 10, 1948.
\bibitem{84} “Capitalism and Roman Catholics,” \textit{The Sentinel}, September 20, 1949, 3.
\bibitem{85} Ibid
\bibitem{86} Ibid
\bibitem{87} Ibid
\end{thebibliography}
desire of a vocal Protestant group to maintain its power over the province within the emerging Cold War climate.

For the Protestant paper, to suggest that communism was palatable in any form threatened society. To have the Roman Catholic Church perpetuating this message promoted a blueprint for an unhealthy democracy. The Protestant newspaper shows a fear of any message contrary to the mainstream anti-Communist message. United Church of Canada Moderator Gordon Sisco voiced similar concerns. Discussing “Churches behind the Iron Curtain,” Sisco warned that “communism will not openly avow that it is opposed to Christianity.” He warned of a more insidious communist presence and recommended households and communities maintain the strength of Christianity. A more moderate voice than the Orange Order, Sisco’s viewpoint signalled a similar overarching concern for the influence of a contrary ideology or theology on Canadian society. Phyllis Airhart’s work on the United Church of Canada elaborates upon Sisco’s perspective. She observes that many members of this mainline Protestant church similarly “considered the cause of democracy and the goals of Christian civilization as analogous.”

Immigration was a topic that amplified the churches other concerns such as fear of Catholic influence upon federal and provincial institutions or of communism’s allure. The Baptist’s point of view with respect to evangelism as a way to combat Catholicization merely echoed the broader tensions at work. It pointed to how the churches viewed immigration and their activism within the arena of immigration as vital

---

88 United Church of Canada archives, Gordon Sisco fonds, Accession 86.207C: Gordon A. Sisco Papers, Box1, File 16: Addresses, Articles: The Church and International Relations, “Churches Behind the Iron Curtain, n.d.”
89 Ibid
90 Airhart, The Church with the Soul of a Nation, 146.
to a larger anti-communist fight. Not just coincidentally were citizenship and immigration linked together in a federal ministry. One followed from the other, and the churches were not blind to the importance of how messages of citizenship and proper behaviour as citizens could influence newcomers to Canada. The churches’ emphasis on helping to acclimatize immigrants was only part of the story. The other derived from the messages they disseminated about citizenship in this period of immigration boom. One thing that helped to influence immigration quotas and promote the humanitarian agenda: embedding ideas of what citizenship could be for newcomers was equally as vital part of the immigration issue.

Most denominations considered the initial welcome to Canada as the crucial first step to helping newcomers become good citizens within the country. The Presbyterian Church considered how to welcome immigrants to Canada early in the post-war period, and how to lend a hand to war-torn Europe. John Moir detailed the immense fund-raising effort of the church, citing how the Presbyterian Church was singled out by the Canadian Council of Churches as having donated an amount “equal to the combined contributions of all other Canadian churches.” Money went to the rehabilitation and rebuilding of the European churches as well as to relief efforts that ensured food and medicine made its way to severely damaged areas. Sending money overseas was one matter – helping newcomers, especially non-english speaking people, was quite another.

Despite requests to the government, the Church was unable to obtain lists of immigrants or their religious background prior to the arrival of the newcomers.

---

92 Ibid
Nevertheless, the Presbyterian Church in Canada, like many of the other Protestant churches, had to prepare to welcome the new settlers. As previously noted, the church sent designated agents to work at the main ports of entry to Canada, Montreal and Halifax primarily, to usher in new immigrants and to welcome Presbyterians to the Canadian fold. In the welcome centres in the Canadian ports, the agents of the Presbyterian Church had booths with magazines, candy, fruit and other small tokens to make the newcomers’ “welcome more cordial.”93 Further, letters of welcome were sent by the churches to invite the newcomers to participate in their local congregation. The church addressed their letters to those who had identified themselves as Presbyterian, especially for those newcomers from Great Britain. However, they also had letters read for those who had identified themselves as Protestant, and had translated the letters for Displaced Persons arriving from Latvia, Estonia, the Ukraine, and Hungary – countries with a large Calvinist demographic.94

The United Church of Canada ensured that their brochure of welcome, which their welcome agents distributed at the piers, included as many languages as possible (eleven to be exact) and provided a benign and benevolent message. On the small booklet a picture of a church steeple surrounded by rays of light shining through the clouds portrayed a serene and inviting place. The words of welcome equally suggested a peaceable place:

The UCC welcomes you to this free land where you may live your life far from fear and from distress. You have much to bring to the new homeland

---

and we hope that we, or some other branch of the Christian Church, may help you to make your life here useful and happy.

We believe that men need faith in God; without faith there is neither peace of mind nor a sane hope. We hope to help you to maintain and strengthen your faith, and some of you, whose faith has been tested by suffering, can help us to deepen ours.95

The message broadly appealed to newcomers and represented the spirit of denominational cooperation. The brochure included some information about the United Church and its history of union, which seems intended to impart the inclusivity of the church and its history of incorporating faith traditions. Most importantly, the message emphasized the need for faith in order to help an individual through his or her trials and tribulations. The United Church might have created and distributed the booklet for their individual church, but it did so in a broader spirit of cooperation in order to help immigrants.

The churches and their agents firmly believed that they were charged with the most important service to immigrants: to welcome them to the community and integration.96 They understood that immigrants would come to Canada with their own social and political idea, but that, “the Church should assume a measure of responsibility for their cultural development.”97 While the different denominations looked to enrich their own congregations, their mission for integration and community-building was not denominationally exclusive. For example, the United Church of Canada made in-roads

97 Ibid.
into Holland to attract members of the Dutch Reformed Church, a Calvinist church, to the UCC. Maybe surprisingly, the UCC did not keep track of specific numbers despite reports about their successful efforts abroad. Regardless of their individual institutional desire for enlarging their brethren or the realization of this objective, the overall goal remained to enrich the lives of settlers to Canada through the Church.

Assistance did not escape inter-denominational squabbling. In the records of the Presbyterian Church, the 1945 Report of the Board of Home Missions for Work Among Non-English Speaking Groups highlighted the church’s efforts amongst Italians, Ukrainians, and Hungarians. The report noted that in Hamilton, many young Italians had converted from Roman Catholicism to the Presbyterian Church because of its more public prayer. Of the Hungarian immigrants in Welland, Ontario, the report documented that, “Presbyterian Hungarians here are not satisfied with the decision of the Board that joined them to the United Church of Canada. They would rather come back under the Presbyterian Church in Canada and be served by a regular minister of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.” The hackles of church union and divided denominational loyalties re-emerged in conversations about landed immigrants. When evangelization lay at the core of the Protestant churches’ post-war agenda for church expansion, the individual churches naturally encountered the limits of their own altruism. Indoctrinating immigrants about the privileges, rights, and duties of Canadian citizenship remained a goal shared in common that superseded individual denominational goals for expansion.

99 Ibid, 25.
100 Airhart, The Church with the Soul of the Nation, 160.
The church assumed a very paternalistic role for the newcomers. They acted as guardians of a democratic way of life. The churches understood that “in admitting immigrants to Canada we lay upon ourselves the obligation of producing in them a quality of citizenship that will be worthy of our Dominion and which will ultimately become a vital factor and by precept and example, commend to them the democratic way of life,” as Phyllis Airhart so nicely expressed in her work on the United Church.¹⁰¹ This role was lessened when it came to particular types of immigrants. As has been well documented, Canadians favoured immigrants from Great Britain; they were most akin to the Canadian political system and to the culture. There would be little difficulty to acclimatize them. The churches’ desire for immigrants from Great Britain echoed that of the Canadian government. When documenting immigrants, the churches took special note of how many hailed from Great Britain. They wanted to ensure a strong contingent of the good stock to preserve the overall Canadian landscape.¹⁰² Churches were very much gatekeepers for Canada.

On the other hand, they also adopted the role of mediators for those not from Great Britain. In helping DPs and others from war-ravaged countries, the churches advocated for them. For example, the Presbyterian Church’s Immigration Committee particularly reached out to Ukrainian DPs. Overseen by Reverend Michael Fesenko of

¹⁰¹ Airhart, *The Church with the Soul of the Nation.*, 15.
¹⁰² See Mary Vipond, “The Formation of the United Church of Canada,” in *Prophets, Priests, and Prodigals: Readings in Canadian Religious History 1608 to present* edited by Mark G. McGowan and David B. Marshall (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1992), 167-183. Vipond’s work on the early days of church union reinforces the Anglo character of the Church, especially as this composition helped to frame the church as one “that would provide the Canadian people with the moral resources necessary to sustain the national existence.” As Phyllis Airhart has also pointed out in her 2014 monograph, the United Church of Canada proceeded and assumed the mantle of the de facto national church: it was “the church with the soul of a nation.”
Toronto, Reverend Leo Buchak of Hamilton, and Reverend John Jacenty of Ottawa (all of whom ministered to Ukrainian-Presbyterian congregations in Ontario), the group liaised with DP camps in Germany and Austria to try to bring 200 farm workers to Canada.103 The ministers interviewed with Director of Immigration and the Department of Labour to negotiate and coordinate the arrival of these “tragic victims of circumstance” through the bulk movement plan of the International Refugee Organization.104 After some effort, they reached an agreement and by the time of the June 1949 annual meeting some families had already arrived, with many others going through the screening and testing process that would allow them admittance to Canada.105

In addition to the denominational church, the Canadian Council of Churches worked to increase the number of applications they advanced for sponsorship. In correspondence between C.E.S. Smith, the Director of Immigration in 1952, and G. Ernest Trueman, the Director of Settlement for the CCC, Smith consented to the acceptance of forty applications per month for sponsorship of refugees by the CCC.106 The CCC promised to coordinate specific sponsorship and advance the particulars to the Department of Immigration. Smith specified that the immigrants needed to be refugees and because of the arrangement would not qualify for assisted passage loans (extended by the government to other émigrés who came to Canada from Europe without sponsorship and who were loaned the money for passage by the federal government, which the

104 Ibid
105 Ibid
immigrant repaid within a couple of years after their arrival). No monetary particulars were discussed in the letter. In fact, the archival record is rather sparse when it comes to the detailed dollar amounts of how much individual sponsorship cost. What does emerge, however, is the expansiveness of the program to help usher in new, Protestant immigrants to Canada. Despite deliberations and negotiations between the recognized Protestant groups and committees, the Canadian government favoured helping the churches to bring newcomers to the country. The immigrants’ adherence to the beliefs shared by the mainline Protestant churches in Canada became a marker of their potential for good citizenship.

The Canadian government, too, used religious background as a de facto barometer for immigrants. C.E.S. Smith noted in a 1954 memorandum to his deputy that the officer-in-charge at the Brussels field office wondered whether Jehovah’s Witnesses could be considered admissible to Canada. The pacifist credo of Witnesses as well as their belief in the authority of Jehovah alone made them suspicious to the inspection officer in Belgium. The officer referred the matter to the R.C.M.P. to establish whether the group could possess subversive tendencies. In response, the R.C.M.P. made reference to a similar case in 1940 when a sect of Jehovah’s Witnesses were declared illegal under the

107 LAC, RG 26, vol. 115, file 3-24-20 Canadian Council of Churches and other Religious Organizations Correspondence with On Immigration, Letter from C.E.S. Smith to G. Ernest Trueman, September 6th, 1952
Defence of Canada Regulations.¹⁰⁹ For the current case, the R.C.M.P. discouraged the admittance of the group to Canada citing that, “in times of stress and emergency a sect such as this, whose loyalty lies only with their religion, becomes a problem.”¹¹⁰ Smith concurred with the judgment of the R.C.M.P. and thought the entry of the Witnesses to Canada should be prohibited. No church was directly involved in Smith’s decision. Yet, his memorandum demonstrates with great clarity the influence of a person or group’s religion upon their potential as an immigrant. Once in Canada, it was incumbent upon newcomers to adapt to the dominant culture. Shared religious values provided one way to demonstrate the suitability of immigrants for Canadian citizenship. Or, put another way, to demonstrate that they did not constitute a threat to the well being of society during the fraught first decade of the Cold War.

The assistance of the churches moved beyond coordinating with families and agencies to assist in passages overseas. They attempted to communicate what citizenship meant in Canada and how to become a good citizen. In this way, the churches were not so much gatekeepers as they were agents of a particular view of Canada who saw it as part of their mandate to minister and teach newcomers of that Canadian way. In a message to the National Seminar on Citizenship held in Scarborough, Ontario in May, 1953, Premier Joey Smallwood of Newfoundland, in describing the project of integration for his recently confederate province of Canadians, perhaps said it best: “We, like other New

¹⁰⁹ LAC, RG 26, vol. 143, Memorandum Director of Immigration to Deputy Director of Immigration re: Admissibility of members of the Watch Tower Society of Jehovah’s Witnesses, January 20th, 1954. The Defence of Canada Regulations fell under the War Measures Act put into effect in 1939 when Canada declared war. The DOCR provided oversight to Canada’s government and police to ensure the safety and protection of its citizens against groups or acts that could threaten the public.
¹¹⁰ Ibid
Canadians, must merge our national identity to the Canadian pattern. We have to acquire the pride in things Canadian we have so had so long in things Newfoundland.”

The National Seminar on Citizenship provides a perfect example of the level of on-going discussion amongst Canadian government officials, concerned civil servants, and other vested groups such as the churches. At the very least, it demonstrates the high level of emphasis placed upon the importance of inculcating good citizenship. Current Canadians had to live by example, and new Canadians required an education in citizenship in order to integrate most fully into Canadian society.

The Chairman of the seminar, Geoffrey Andrew, a newly appointed Canadian Senator, pondered the dynamic of citizenship and what inspired those to love a country. He called attention to the concept of Christian Love or Charity; it was an idea that transcended rough times like those experienced in the 1930s and during the war, and infused a sense of well-being. But this Christian undercurrent was not necessarily religious. Andrew identified the dynamic as possessed of “a specifically secular aspect of a specifically religious concept.”

Andrew saw this secular aspect manifest in the establishment of the social scientist, the ministry of the social worker, or in public relations. Even Ministers of the churches started to identify a part of their duties with social work, and so “concentrating on the social aspect of religion.” Committees for Social Work and/or Home Mission

---

112 Col. Laval Fortier Address, National Seminar on Citizenship, 4-5.
113 Andrew, National Seminar on Citizenship, 6.
114 Andrew, National Seminar on Citizenship, 6.
115 Ibid
established in the big three Protestant Churches, or in the large committee on Social Action affiliated with the Canadian Council of Churches exemplify this new, more diffusive direction for ministry. Charlotte Caron noted that ministry in the mid twentieth century for the United Church was typified by its adaptation and flexibility to meet with the changing times.\textsuperscript{116} During the 1950s, this flexibility led to an expansion of the educational ministry in the United Church in order to help teach immigrants.\textsuperscript{117} Home missions and social work committees focused on bringing immigrant, indigenous, or different ethno-cultural communities within Canada together under the singular banner of shared faith. Mission work included helping church extension into rural areas of the province and inner city centres. The social aspect of Church work was not revolutionary; it was, however, differently emphasized in the modern period especially after the Second World War. The churches stressed how the power of the community signified a key building block for democracy.

Historians like John Webster Grant and Mark A. Noll have pointed to the long and intertwined history of Christianity with political identity. Grant discusses a Canadian religious tradition forged in the early days of colonization and “constantly modified by experience in meeting the challenge of the country itself.”\textsuperscript{118} Denominational affiliation reflected a person’s politics: “To know a man’s religious affiliation was to have an important clue to the politics he professed, the school system he supported, the moral

\textsuperscript{117} Charlotte Caron, “A Look at Ministry,” 207.
\textsuperscript{118} John Webster Grant, \textit{The Church in the Canadian Era}, (Vancouver: Regent Publishing, 1988) 11.
taboos he observed, and even the newspapers he read.”\textsuperscript{119} Skipping rather haphazardly and blithely to 1945 and after, Noll’s tract, What Happened to Christian Canada?, examines the movement of Canada away from its Christian roots. Like Grant, Noll identifies how “Christian faith and practice were critical in building the nation-state.”\textsuperscript{120} After the 1960s, the religious tradition, as Noll calls it, changed; but, during the first decade after the Second World War the religious tradition was modified by the changes to the nation, and in turn modified the identity of that nation. Particularly, discussions associated with immigration to Canada demonstrate the persistent tie between religion, national identity, and citizenship.

The Churches sought participation – from its brethren and from newcomers – to strengthen the religious communities of Canada, which in turn strengthened individuals’ citizenship. For United Church of Canada Minister Owen Maxwell, the individual was the key to the community. The church had a duty to make men and women who would help to fashion a “Christian World.” It was not good merely to perceive the need for a Christian world, people had to live and actively create that world.\textsuperscript{121} This Christian world seemed necessary in the face of such aggressive irreligious behaviour, evident in the spread of communism across Russia and Eastern Europe and the related Red Scare in North America, the susceptibility of people to totalitarian ideology, and the need to combat unchecked materialism.\textsuperscript{122}

\textsuperscript{119} Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era, 1.
\textsuperscript{121} UCC Archives, Maxwell fonds, f117 “The Christian in the Community 4-5-47 & 29-11-53
\textsuperscript{122} UCC Archives, Sisco fonds, Ascession 86.207C, Box 1, File 16: Addresses, Articles: The Church and International Relations, Gordon Sisco, “The Church in the present
Maxwell was not alone in his thinking. In 1950, the *Canadian Statesman* detailed a speech by Father Coffey of Bowmanville to the local Lions club. He argued that, “Revolution and terror are pillars of communism. Communism is a curse and the war we are fighting is a religious war.” The *Liberal*, reporting on a speech by Leslie Millin in 1955 in King City, warned that complacency in North American people towards communism posed a great threat for society. Millin, a missionary who, after a time as a Japanese POW, was held by Chinese communist forces for two years, discussed his experiences and the dangers of communism to the “Canadian Way of Life.” Millin toured Ontario cities giving the lecture in order to warn of the communist danger and to espouse the strength of the Christian church. For Maxwell, Coffey, Millin and many others, Canadians had to act daily to combat the threat of communism. For all Canadians, new and old, citizenship as discussed in terms of the nation had to be learned, performed, and perfected in the community.

“The CCC works!” proclaimed *The United Church Observer*. The article identified how the CCC successfully rallied its member churches to raise $100,000 for Overseas Relief. More to the point, the article lauded how the group worked with young people to educate them in their Christian faith so that they could “meet and

---

International Situation,” W.M.S. Dominion Board Address, 1952. Sisco discusses the soil-bed of secularism as stemming from both material obsession and communist ideology; members of the faith need to be vigilant.


124 “Missionary to Speak on Life Behind the Iron Curtain,” *The Liberal*, February 17 1955, 1

125 Ibid

challenge false philosophies.”127 The “Church stands between you and the utter overthrow of the civilization we know” addressed the Right Reverend Dr. Charles L. Cowan, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, to a luncheon crowd in Ottawa in 1950.128 William Lyon Mackenzie King likewise cautioned that, “only Christianity can save the world from doom in this era of the atomic bomb.”129 “The real frontier of the Church” was living it on a daily basis challenged Reverend Donald Ray of Kettleby Ontario. An individual’s personal relationship with Christ and their religion animated the community around him or her and helped to make Christianity a force for good citizenship in the world.130

Citizenship began at the local level. Although administered as a department through the federal government, ideas about citizenship and citizenship in practice occurred at the local level. It had greater meaning for those in the community and in daily interactions.131 To teach citizenship, then, one needed to inculcate ideas about local and national politics to be sure, but also an awareness of what responsibilities accompanied citizenship, a concept of social welfare and participation in the broader community.132 Attending speeches like Millin’s, church authorities occupied a key position in the integration process. The immigrant’s introduction to “Canadian mores” and by virtue of that, to Canadian society was greatly assisted by the Church, especially in more isolated

128 “Church Keeps Civilization from Passing,” The Ottawa Citizen, January 31, 1950, 4.
129 “Notes,” The Ottawa Citizen, June 19 1947, 17.
132 Ibid, 18.
areas – rural society and smaller urban centres.\textsuperscript{133} It is little wonder that government officials referenced the Church so consistently. In many of the government publications and conferences such as the 1953 National Seminar on Citizenship officials referred to Canada as a Christian nation. This identifier crucially informed the way officials and Church leaders understood their role in disseminating ideas about citizenship and how they had to act in order strengthen the Canadian community.

Community-building included the need to educate properly newcomers of the culture and language of their new country. Protestant groups established programs to teach the attributes of citizenship to help newcomers acclimate properly. For example, WCTU urged the Federal government to establish at little or no cost to newcomers English language instruction programs. The WCTU worried that not learning English quickly might result in the perpetual segregation of newcomers from the rest of society.\textsuperscript{134} George Drew’s Ontario government issued a Handbook for New Canadians: A Primer for Citizenship.\textsuperscript{135}

Access to citizenship through community, through education, through democratic participation became the barometer for an individual’s ability to integrate into Canada successfully. The churches felt it part of their mission to help those who had been persecuted and who looked to Canada to establish themselves anew. In doing so, the churches demonstrated a different dimension of the gatekeeper model. Churches looked

\textsuperscript{133} Saul Hayes, “The Economic and Social Factors in Immigrant Integration,” in \textit{National Seminar on Citizenship}, 32.

\textsuperscript{134} LAC, RG 26, vol. 115, file 3-24-20 Canadian Council of Churches and other Religious Organizations Correspondence with On Immigration, Canadian Woman’s Christian Temperance Union “Resolution”

\textsuperscript{135} Archives of Ontario, George Drew Fonds, RG 3-17 B396756, Drew Correspondence, “Handbook for New Canadians: A Primer for Citizenship.”
upon Canada as the safe haven for many of the world’s oppressed and desired lesser restrictions to help them through.\textsuperscript{136} The influx of Hungarian refugees provides one of the best examples of how the Churches advocated for the oppressed, as well as how immigration policy and ideas of citizenship had changed since the end of the Second World War.

In 1956 Hungary experienced a massive upheaval of the country’s political regime. Coinciding with the hostilities between Egypt, Israel, France, and Britain that erupted over the nationalization of the Suez Canal, the Hungarian Revolution was yet another episode of extreme Cold War tensions erupting in violence and unrest.\textsuperscript{137} In 1945, during the last months of the war the Soviet Union invaded and occupied Hungary. In the aftermath of the war, communist ideas and movements gained in popularity amongst the radical left who felt disabused of the current regime after the arduous years of war. On one hand, the leaders of the Hungarian Working People’s Party (HWPP), helped by the Soviets, leveraged their mounting support from the left to make inroads into the government, and on the other hand used the Hungarian State police to suppress political opposition.

By 1949 the HWPP controlled the country.\textsuperscript{138} The USSR maintained ties with Hungary, formally recognized through COMECON, a mutual assistance treaty. Mátýás Rákosi led an authoritarian and brutal regime backed by the Soviets that exorcised dissenters through forced relocation and government crackdowns on institutions like

\textsuperscript{136} LAC RG 26 Vol 104, file 30-40-4, Memorandum to Walter Harris from the CCCRR, April 17, 1951.
\textsuperscript{137} Whitaker and Marcuse, \textit{Cold War Canada}, 380.
schools. An economic downturn, food shortages, and widespread fear through the first half of the 1950s produced a climate ripe for revolution.\textsuperscript{139}

In late October 1956, Soviet regime-weary students joined together to demonstrate against the government. At first, the students and the other professionals who joined their ranks successfully pushed back the Soviet regime and installed a new government. The new government reflected a socialist agenda but one not nearly as oppressive as that which had ruled Hungary since the end of the Second World War. They demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops, new economic policies, political pluralism, and the instatement of the moderate Imre Nagy as the Hungarian leader.\textsuperscript{140} Nikita Khrushchev, the Chairman of the Soviet Communist Party and Soviet President, at first acquiesced to the change. However, by early November 1956 he had changed his mind and ordered Soviet troops to put down the demonstrators and restore order.\textsuperscript{141} As Soviet troops entered Hungary, making mass arrests and removing any perceived agitators from their homes, the populace revolted.\textsuperscript{142} The instability caused a mass refugee movement as many people left their homes and fled the country in fear of persecution, imprisonment, or even death. Not since the Second World War had there been such a large-scale exodus of people. Western governments scrambled to accommodate the refugees. For the West, the cruel exercise of Soviet power and control in Hungary perfectly typified why communism needed to be combatted.

\textsuperscript{140} Ibid, 15.
\textsuperscript{141} The new government had moved to remove Hungary from the Warsaw Pact, a position that Khrushchev and his advisors did not find favourable, and which historians have argued was a key reason for Khrushchev’s change of mind.
\textsuperscript{142} Rainer, “The Hungarian Revolution of 1956,” 17.
The influx of refugees as a result of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956 was the zenith of the post-war immigration boom. Canada opened its doors to these refugees, a sign of the change in policy over the course of the post-war decade. In 1945 Canada still strongly curtailed its admittance of Jewish refugees clinging to pre-war immigration policies; the situation in 1956/57 stands in fairly stark contrast to this earlier reluctance. Historians like Harold Troper have detailed the broader context in which Canada welcomed so many refugees. He argued that the key reasons for this change stemmed from an appetite for agricultural and industrial labour to continue to feed the growing Canadian economy, the broader Cold War context, and most especially the dynamic public reaction to the Hungarian revolution. In part due to the ready availability of images and media reports, the crisis in Hungary “awakened public compassion” in Canadians, who in turn put pressure on the government to act. Unlike other refugee movements in the post-war decade, the Hungarian situation prompted expedited processing of the many people seeking to immigrate; it also sped up resettling and aiding those immigrants once in their new country.

143 Harold Troper, “Canada and Hungarian Refugees: The Historical Context, in The 1956 Hungarian Revolution: Hungarian and Canadian Perspectives, edited by Christopher Adam (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2010), 176. Troper’s work does an excellent job of demonstrating how the government’s perceived enthusiasm to help Hungarian refugees was a product of a decade of immigration changes as well as the product of pressure from the press and public to help persecuted peoples of Eastern Europe in what was seen as a humanitarian crisis.
145 Ibid, 188-190.
The refugees overwhelmingly settled in Ontario – a result of the land available
and the strong industrial sector that attracted many who sought jobs in manufacturing and
other industries. Hungarian had long settled in Ontario. Those who came in 1956
constituted the fourth generation of Hungarian settlers. The largest number of
Hungarians arrived between 1924 and 1930 (the second wave). The first two waves of
immigrants were largely working class people who sought jobs in the farming or the
manufacturing sectors of the economy. These people had not received a lot of education
and did not have much money; for them Canada was a new start. By contrast, the third
wave (immigrants who came as a result of the Second World War) and those who came
as a result of the Hungarian Revolution were far more educated and had worked in the
public and civil services in Hungary and looked to gain similar positions once in
Canada. A rift opened between these generations of Hungarian immigrants based
primarily along class lines. Older Hungarian immigrants wanted little to do with the more
bourgeois Hungarians who came after 1950 and especially after 1956. As a result,
resettlement and acclimatization fell to the provincial governments and voluntary groups
such as the churches.

J.W. Pickersgill, Canada’s Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, spoke to
many groups in November 1956, and emphasized the urgent need for assistance. The
Canadian Red Cross, the Jewish Immigrant aid Society, the Canadian Council for the
Rehabilitation of Refugees, and the Canadian Catholic Conference were four of eleven

147 N.F. Dreisziger, “The Refugee Experience in Canada and the Evolution of the
Hungarian-Canadian Community” in Breaking Ground: The 1956 Hungarian Refugee
Movement to Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 65.
148 Dreisziger, “The Refugee Experience in Canada and the Evolution of the Hungarian-
Canadian Community”, 66.
149 Ibid.
groups who attended Pickersgill’s address. To these agencies, Pickersgill called upon the help of these “well-disposed Canadians” as a part of a national effort. He commented upon the procedures in place so far to move refugees through Austria to Halifax and Montreal first at which point newcomers would undergo medical testing after which people would move across Canada to their new homes.

Sponsorship and the financial implications dominated much of the meeting’s time. Reverend Fred Poulton representing the Canadian Council of Churches inquired about the sponsorship of unnamed refugees; he suggested that a non-sectarian group such as the Red Cross might best serve the needs of coordinating placement. Pickersgill acknowledged the merits of this suggestion and also leaned heavily upon the idea of encouraging church groups, service clubs, and social agencies to help refugees “of various faiths.” More to the point, Poulton appealed to these national groups and national church bodies to mobilize their membership at a local level to develop offers of

---

150 AO, RG B388266 Box 208K, Unnumbered file: Confidential File – Pickersgill et al – Policy, “Minutes – Meeting respecting Hungarian Refugees Held 1pm Tuesday, November 27th, 1956.” The voluntary groups in attendance (in full) were: Canadian Catholic Conference, Canadian Rural Settlement Society, Canadian Council of Churches, Canadian Jewish Congress, Canadian Hungarian Relief Committee, Canadian Red Cross, Canadian Hungarian Relief Committee, Canadian Hungarian Protestant Ministerial Association, Canadian Christian Council for the Rehabilitation of Refugees, Canadian Welfare Council, Jewish Immigrant Aid Society.

151 Ibid

152 AO, RG B388266 Box 208K, Unnumbered file: Confidential File – Pickersgill et al – Policy, “Minutes – Meeting respecting Hungarian Refugees Held 1pm Tuesday, November 27th, 1956.”

153 Ibid

154 Ibid
assistance and extend care to newcomers so that the government need not establish its own “costly government agency.”

Many groups eagerly answered the call. Ralph W. Barker, Secretary of the Middlesex Presbytery, wrote to the United Church of Canada General Council Secretary Reverend E.E. Long about the possibility of sponsorship early in the Hungarian crisis. He also commended the Council for securing $5,000 so quickly for assistance and advocated that the donation be increased given the immensity of the crisis. In response, Long acknowledged that $5,000 was just a start. The UCC had opened a special account to help raise more money that would flow directly to overseas relief. Reverend A.M. MacPherson of Hagerstown Ontario also wrote to Secretary Long about how the community could sponsor a family. Hagerstown United Church was prepared to provide housing, food, and work for a family. In response, Long asked MacPherson to sit tight.

---

155 AO, RG B388266 Box 208K, Unnumbered file: Confidential File – Pickersgill et al – Policy, “Minutes – Meeting respecting Hungarian Refugees Held 1pm Tuesday, November 27th, 1956.”


157 Ibid


159 United Church of Canada archives, Accession 1982.001C, UCC General Council Office Fonds 500 series 8, Box 131 Hungarian Relief, file 1 Hungarian Relief – Information and Correspondence, 1956-1957. December 3rd, 1956 letter to Ernest Long, Secretary General Council from Rev. A.G. Macpherson of Hagerstown ON.
while the United Church liaised with the Canadian Council of Churches and the Canadian government for direction.\footnote{United Church of Canada archives, Accession 1982.001C, UCC General Council Office Fonds 500 series 8, Box 131 Hungarian Relief, file 1 Hungarian Relief – Information and Correspondence, 1956-1957 December 5\textsuperscript{th}, 1956 response from E.E. Long to Rev. MacPherson.}

The Canadian Council of Churches certainly moved to raise money and to fill the role of coordinating agency. The CCC gave $145,555 to the broader World Council of Churches aid to Hungarian refugees, an amount that totaled 25\% of the total pledges received by the WCC for the refugee crisis.\footnote{Andrew S. Thompson and Stephanie Bangarth, “Transnational Christian Charity: the Canadian Council of Churches, the World Council of Churches, and the Hungarian Refugee Crisis 1956-1957” in \textit{American Review of Canadian Studies}, (Vol. 38, no. 3, 2008,) 302. Thompson and Bangarth’s article highlights the broader international framework in which the CCC operated to lobby governments for material support for refugees, to advocate for non-discriminatory immigration screening, and to bring their member groups together to assist the smooth transition of refugees into Canada.} Within Canada, the CCC became an integral part of the government efforts to coordinate aid because of the organization’s history with assisting immigration to Canada and in part because of its international ties.\footnote{Thompson and Bangarth, “Transnational Christian Charity,” 305.} Historians Andrew S. Thompson and Stephanie Bangarth have written an excellent history of the CCC involvement in the Hungarian refugee crisis. In chronicling the work of the CCC’s advocacy to the Canadian government on behalf of Hungarian refugees of all ages, creeds, and backgrounds, the historians point out the broader transnational network that linked an international humanitarian crisis with local church efforts.\footnote{Ibid, 309.} The CCC marshaled volunteer efforts and communicated government objectives to ensure the safe, timely, and fair passage of 37,000 refugees.
Communities across the province mobilized. Toronto had two centres set up to welcome and assist refugees: one at West Lodge and one on Jarvis Street. From Toronto, newly arrived Hungarians travelled to other communities. In Sudbury, for example, Helen Schvarezkopf met 196 refugees at the train station and became “like a mother to them all.” The founder of the Sudbury Council of Friendship, Schvarezkopf kept a diary of the names and birthdays of the immigrants she met in order to keep in touch. Individual help as in the case of Schvarezkopf or group help to rally people together under the banner of this humanitarian cause. The Hungarian community living across Ontario worked to raise funds. Radio stations organized an Hungarian Blitz Day to collect money on behalf of the Canadian Hungarian Relief Federation for a fund specially set up to help refugees and coordinated through the Canadian Red Cross.

Hungarians coming to Canada came from a variety of religious backgrounds. This creedal diversity had always been the case. Earlier immigrants to Ontario first established a Presbyterian Church in 1926, followed by Hungarian Roman Catholics Churches erected in 1928. While many Hungarians adhered to either Presbyterianism

---

166 AO, Multicultural History Society of Ontario holdings, Gabriella Balint Papers (0012), Acc. No. 21210; MU 9528; No. 069-012; MSR 10967, 1952-1975; Canadian Hungarian Federation materials, revolution materials, Hungarian Relief Fund Correspondence, Re: Hungarian Revolution, 1956 – 9528.09
167 Carmela Patrias, “Hungarian Immigration to Canada before the Second World
or Roman Catholicism, there was still a large number who belonged to other creeds, primarily the Baptist, Lutheran, or Greek Orthodox faiths; some even transported their particular beliefs from Hungary and began anew in Ontario. What was the Hungarian Reformed Church in the old country became the Independent Magyar Reformed Church in Ontario.\textsuperscript{168} The diversity of religion meant that different pockets of faith traditions existed. Some churches were built or took on a distinctly Hungarian influence, while in other cities Hungarians came together and formed a special ethnic community within an established religious community. In Hamilton, for example, the Hungarian immigrants who practiced Eastern Rite Catholicism worshipped as a smaller ethnic congregation within the Ukrainian United Church.\textsuperscript{169}

Niagara Falls, St. Catharines, Port Colborne, and Welland are each home to large Presbyterian and Roman Catholic Hungarian populations.\textsuperscript{170} Construction prospects on the Welland Canal had attracted early settlers to the region. Religion and ethnicity, for the Hungarians, operated in concert with one another. The church was the community meeting place that connected Hungarian immigrants together in the new world. Shared religious beliefs reinforced the shared ethnic bonds. Class differences became a larger marker of division than creed or ethnicity. Prior to the First World War, many immigrants were working-class. After the war, and certainly with the revolution, immigrants

\textsuperscript{168} Ibid, 27.
\textsuperscript{169} Ibid.
comprised more educated, middle-class folk.\textsuperscript{171} Most of the new wave settled in urban centres: 7,000 settled in Toronto and Montreal as compared to 1,500 who settled in Welland.\textsuperscript{172}

While homogeneity did not define the Hungarian community in the province, shared heritage did help to transcend difference. Organizations that connected Hungarians together across the congregational level, such as Hungarian Houses, were set up in places like Toronto and Delhi-Tillsonburg in the early 1950s. Members organized shows, language classes, women’s groups, and banquets.\textsuperscript{173} Welland similarly had the Hungarian Self-Culture society, which was created to bring together people in shared culture.\textsuperscript{174} Beyond the cultural centre, Hungarian newspapers were launched to unite Hungarians across the province and the country.\textsuperscript{175} Actors formed a theatre troupe in Toronto that staged Hungarian-language plays, and which in turn brought together the Hungarian community.\textsuperscript{176}

It was at the level of these larger groups that much of the activism to help acclimatize 1956 refugees emanated, rather than from individual churches. Carmela Patrias notes that the Catholic Immigrant Aid Society arranged for 13,000 refugees to be taken in by families. She also mentions how student groups and universities established scholarships to help refugees with their education.\textsuperscript{177} While families within particular

\textsuperscript{171} Papp, “Hungarians in Ontario,” 13.  
\textsuperscript{172} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{173} Ibid 14.  
\textsuperscript{174} Ibid, 15.  
\textsuperscript{175} The Multicultural History Society of Ontario is home to a vast archive of ethnic newspapers, Hungarian-language among them.  
\textsuperscript{176} Carmela Patrias, \textit{The Hungarians in Canada}, Booklet No. 27 in Canada’s Ethnic Groups Series 26, (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1999), 18.  
\textsuperscript{177} Carmela Patrias, \textit{The Hungarians in Canada}, 24.
congregations and churches moved to help house and integrate the refugees, but any
organized effort came from larger these voluntary associations, or pan-denominational
groups.

The Protestant Action for Hungarian Refugees (PAHR), based out of metropolitan
Toronto, represented an interdenominational effort in the interest of helping refugees.\textsuperscript{178}
Headed by Presbyterian minister J.A. Munro, the PAHR, sought the participation of any
Protestant church in the metropolitan Toronto area to assist in the relief and re-settlement
of refugees. The PAHR offered a coherent leadership and organization in order to
facilitate a coherent effort.\textsuperscript{179} To start, the group established committees to solicit and
collect furniture, clothing, and housing items, a group to help run a hostel for newly
arrived Hungarians, and an education committee to spearhead acclimatization to
Canada.\textsuperscript{180} Fifteen churches joined the group representing the Hungarian Presbyterian
Church, the Anglican Church’s Women’s Aid Social Service Society, among other
Presbyterian, Anglican, and church groups. All agreed to come together “for Christian
Social Service without the purpose or tendency of proselytizing.”\textsuperscript{181}

\textsuperscript{178} AO, Multicultural History Society of Ontario holdings, Rev. Eugen Seress Papers
(0001): Acc. No. 21210; MU 9512; MFN 039-040; No., 069-001; MSR 0633-0634,
3820-3821, 1930-1976; Material pertaining to the First Hungarian Presbyterian Church
(Toronto), Reverend J.A. Munro, “Protestant Action for Hungarian Refugees”,
Memorandum to all Protestant Congregations in Toronto, n.d.
\textsuperscript{179} AO, Multicultural History Society of Ontario holdings, Rev. Eugen Seress Papers,
Reverend J.A. Munro, “Protestant Action for Hungarian Refugees”, Memorandum to all
Protestant Congregations in Toronto, n.d.
\textsuperscript{180} Ibid
\textsuperscript{181} AO, Multicultural History Society of Ontario holdings, Rev. Eugen Seress Papers
(0001): Acc. No. 21210; MU 9512; MFN 039-040; No., 069-001; MSR 0633-0634,
3820-3821, 1930-1976; Material pertaining to the First Hungarian Presbyterian Church
(Toronto) Minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee of Protestant Action for
Hungarian Refugees, January 10, 1957.
The case of Hungarian refugees is an example of how while the Churches themselves were important; the larger religious organizations took on a more significant role in advocating for Hungarian refugees and settling them in Canada. The Hungarian immigrants of 1956 capped off a decade of shifting immigration policy and procedure in Canada that underscored the changes to the definition of citizenship. It also underscored the changing place of the church in Canadian society. The strength of the churches lay in their cooperative power to efface creedal difference for the sake of performing their duties as Christians. Each denomination might have wished to enhance its own membership, but humanitarian issues like immigration and warding again the Cold War, shifted the focus.

Looking at immigration addresses three significant ideas. First, it underscores the changing place of the churches in society. Still perceived by government and public alike as vital institutions, these institutions were no longer key political players or influence-makers. The Hungarian refugee crisis underscores how bonds of culture and community, at times united by shared religious belief, operated outside the bounds of the institutional church. Groups like the Canadian Council of Churches took on a role of religious intermediary bridging singular denominational efforts to help immigrants with broader, federal aid. Religion remained relevant, but primarily as a marker of shared identity or shared purpose.

Second, the churches, despite the absence of a prominent or loud political voice, were not marginal players in Canada’s history of immigration. Churches acted as both gatekeepers of and advocates for newcomers. They espoused the protection of the Anglo tradition and values in Canada at the same time they worked for broader humanitarian
aims. They actively shaped the language concerning citizenship used throughout the
decade and in so doing diffused Christian ideas in society such that self-identification as a
Christian, regardless of denomination, linked old and new Canadians together.

Third, a study of religion and immigration reveals that churches were stronger
when they worked together. While at a community level specific churches continued to
work exclusively within their denominations and provided day-to-day programming,
provincially and federally, church leaders from the mainline Protestant churches
recognized that they had greater power collectively to effect change in the government or
society. At a grass roots level, as in the case of the Protestant Action for Hungarian
Refugees, a group of churches banning together had greater power than separate. The
following chapter traces the goals that united Protestants together in the ecumenical
movement in Canada from the early 1940s to the mid 1950s.
Chapter 5 – Light on the Horizon: The Canadian Council of Churches and the ecumenical moment

At a time when the Protestant churches looked to expand their influence in government and society, they also looked inwardly to reform their own institutions. How could church leaders expect to participate in a changing society if they did not change with it? The movement for greater parity between different denominations and creeds seemed to leaders like Rev. William Gallagher and Rev. George Pidgeon, both of the United Church, as a good basis for renewing the Protestant presence in Canada. From the Greek oikumene, meaning the inhabited world, ecumenism was a term actively employed by the Christian churches since the early 19th century to call attention to the need for greater inter-denominational cooperation.

After centuries of schism and decades of debate over denominational differences it seems curious that discussion about churches coming together and overlooking such dissimilarities suddenly took root and resonated amongst church leadership in the 1940s. Modernity, the influence of the Social Gospel of the early twentieth century, and the social reflection that resulted from massive changes such as new technology, a new confrontation with death and the destruction of war, changing social movements empowered by the disenfranchised seeking greater autonomy and working standards made it timely for the Protestant churches to discuss how to better inhabit the world. Especially in the 20th century, an ecumenical movement gained greater traction.

---

This chapter explores the creation of the Canadian Council of Churches (CCC) in 1944 and traces its first decade of work and advocacy; by extension, it also traces the ecumenical moment in Canada against the backdrop of secularization. It looks at the Churches that joined and the key issues that formed the basis of interfaith dialogue in the decade following the Second World War. This chapter will assess the relative success of the CCC and the Ecumenical movement by the 1950s, looking to what iterations the movement took on in the ensuing decades. As has already been stated, the post-war decade was formative in the creation of the CCC and a movement to bring together the Protestant faiths. Throughout the chapter, then, I will return to the issue of what the ecumenical movement meant in terms of church activism and the way the churches saw adaptation to the post-war modern era. To examine the progression of the CCC, this chapter proceeds from a discussion centering on three key questions. First, why did the Canadian Council of Churches form in 1944 and to what end? Second, how did the CCC perceive its place in the Canadian and Canadian-Christian communities, with specific attention give to Ontario, in the first decade of its mandate? Finally, was ecumenism the natural remedy to the perceived secularization of Canada or another aspect of diffusive Christianity?

The Canadian Council of Churches has left a rich archival record. It is from their documents housed at Library and Archives Canada that most of this chapter is derived. Broadly categorized, their records encompass the minutes of annual meetings, correspondence with the Canadian federal government as well as with its cognate organizations the American Council of Churches and the British Council of Churches. The records also include a great deal of pamphlet literature that makes an important case
as to the circulation of ecumenical ideas in this time period. The secondary literature on
ecumenism is more strictly theological in its mien; ecumenical ideas or the ecumenical
movement have only just started to receive more focused historical attention within the
context of Canadian society.\(^{3}\) This chapter, then, serves as a useful appraisal of the
available literature about how ecumenical initiative was a formative avenue for change
and adaptation within the churches – a result of both careful consideration of the church’s
place in society, but also a reactionary move by the churches to the way it had been
placed in society by its members and the Canadian populace.

In examining the ecumenical movement, the creation, and the early years of the
Canadian Council of Churches, we can see the way that global forces and ideas affected
the direction of Canadian Protestants. Thus far, this project has looked at the way the
Church reached out in society and more firmly adopted their role as social brokers in the
post-war period. This chapter changes the focus ever so slightly to ask what effect did
society have on the direction or mandate of the churches? Protestants were not unaware
of the mounting pressures upon their memberships caused by Cold War tensions, the new
consumer culture, and the changing social zeitgeist. As much as they championed those

\(^{3}\) There have been a few studies about the Canadian Council of Churches. Daniel C.
Goodwin’s article, “The Canadian Council of Churches and its Early Years, 1944-1964,
Journal of Ecumenical Studies (41.2, Spring 2008) 147-166 is an excellent starting point.
Goodwin calls attention to the enormity of the endeavour to bring together different
denominations in inter-faith dialogue. Over the course of two decades, Goodwin argues
that the CCC transformed from an organization that understood that the church was a
barometer of the strength of the nation-state to one that reflected the deep fissures
religious ambivalence played in society. The CCC also comes up in the works of Phyllis
Airhart and Gayle Thrift. Andrew S. Thompson and Stephanie Bangarth focussed upon
the international ecumenical network in which the CCC operated in their study of the
Hungarian Refugee crisis, see “Transnational Christianity: The Canadian Council of
Churches, the World Council of Churches and the Hungarian Refugee Crisis 1956-
qualities of Christianity that they ascribed as traditional values, they were not ignorant of the need to modernize their institutions and practices. Modernization required the Churches to ask what their role in society would be in the coming decades. It required them to respond to a new set of issues, and potentially to re-organize themselves in order to serve better the public. The ecumenical moment in Canada encapsulated the myriad of desires, hopes, anxieties, and tensions with respect to the place of religion and faith in everyday life in the post-war decade.

Throughout the early 20th century in Canada, church attendance had begun to fluctuate, and the place of the Protestant churches in society had begun to shift. Historians David Marshall and Ramsay Cook both argued that religion had lost its monopoly position in Canada by the early 20th century. In other words, the church institution was no longer the primary arbiter of social values. As middle-class Victorian and Edwardian Canadians, especially women, became involved in social causes and organizations the work that once was conducted by the Church diffused through other public institutions. Marshall observed this period as a time of great secularization. Cook argued that there was a religious crisis “provoked by Darwinian science and historical criticism of the Bible [that] led religious people to attempt to salvage Christianity by transforming it into an essentially social religion.”

People’s beliefs adapted to a different social climate. For theology to have been substituted by sociology, as Cook asserts happened, is rather absolute. Cook does qualify

---

his remarks. He suggested that theologians and members of the church came to understand Christianity as part of modern culture and in need of adaptation to that culture, as opposed to ideas and ideals that stood separate from culture.\(^7\) To call such processes secularization, however, misapprehends the way religious beliefs got reshaped in society and in many cases reaffirmed. Secularization for Cook and Marshall was a process that moved society away from a religious understanding of the world and a way of ordering that world to a society that existed outside of and apart from the Church.

Ecumenism, if viewed as a reactionary force to secularization, helps to expose the way some Protestant churches sought to remake (or reunite) their presence in society and adapt to the times. Adaptation, then, did not necessarily mean that society turned away from religious ideas or that society was non-religious. Instead, religion came to be redefined and reinterpreted.

Much like at the turn of the century, the religious landscape in Canada was reinterpreted in the wake of the Great War, and the economic, political, and cultural transformations wrought throughout the 1930s. Disagreeing with the theory and timeframe set forth by Marshall and Cook, historians Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau have argued that the 1930s were the key moment in the secularization of Canada. They suggested that because the churches’ role in society became bound up in social work, and in turn social institutions born of Canada’s welfare state took on many duties traditionally carried out by the churches, that society itself had less of a need to

---

\(^7\) Cook, *The Regenerators*, 4-5. Cook argues that orthodoxy declined in this period to make way for this more fluid understanding of the place of religion in society.
turn to organized and institutional religion.\(^8\) For Christie and Gauvreau, the Great Depression in Canada and the advent of the welfare state altered the place of the Church in society. While Protestant churches experienced an increase in membership as a result of the Depression, the role of the churches was reduced.\(^9\) Government agencies and social charities offered aid and help that was traditionally volunteered by the churches. The Social Service Council of Canada provides a prime example of such benevolent work. Helmed by clergymen throughout the 1930s, the Social Service Council helped to establish a social welfare system in Canada that drew extensively from a Christian worldview.\(^10\)

While the Council cooperated with government agencies, their work remained separate (although not entirely divorced) from the spiritual ministrations that occurred within the churches. By the 1940s, the Christian underpinnings remained, but the issue of social welfare became bureaucratized and shared between religious and secular organizations. The work of the church grew more liberal and its outreach developed away from spiritual influence while the message within the church became, according to Gauvreau and Christie, to a greater extent Victorian or conservative in nature.\(^11\) Either as a result of or a reaction to this changing role of the churches in society, the 1930s were another decade when ecumenical conversation became more popular. As Canadians came together to help those who were hurt by the economic trouble, so, too, could the churches

---


\(^9\) Ibid, 226.

\(^10\) Ibid, 223.

come together in greater cooperation. In unity they might strengthen a Christian message and way of living throughout society.

It is easy to focus on the marginalization of religion during this period. The arguments of historians versed in the secularization of Canada presuppose that such secularization was irreversible, absolute, or static. The disassociation of the churches’ spiritual message from their social works did not mean that the conversation was ended with respect to how religious ideas and faith might persist in society and gain new traction and influence. In the maelstrom of the fall-out from the Great War and then later the Depression and mounting concerns about Europe, the leaders of the United, Presbyterian, and Anglican churches talked with greater fervour about the need for interdenominational cooperation. Reverend William Gallagher along with the moderator and secretary of the United Church of Canada, Reverend Dr. George Pidgeon and Reverend Gordon Sisco, among representatives from other Protestant churches, discussed the possibility of creating a council that brought together the different churches in Canada. The council could work to bridge creedal differences and advocate for change on shared causes for concern in the changing world. Faith could serve a higher purpose and help to bolster the nation-state. In 1939, the outbreak of war delayed the creation of such a council, but it did not curtail the hope for unity or the agreement to band together.

There was an earlier ecumenical precedent for such a council. In 1925, one of the most formidable examples of such cooperation occurred. Methodist, Congregationalist, and (many) Presbyterian churches came together to form the United Church of Canada.

---

13 Ibid, 149.
The United Church became the second largest religious community in Canada.\textsuperscript{14} Their numbers surpassed the Anglican Church but not the Roman Catholic Church.\textsuperscript{15} The denominational leadership had discussed union since 1899, but disagreement about the basis of such a union plagued the process. Presbyterians, especially, were deeply divided about whether to join.\textsuperscript{16} The process cleaved the Presbyterian Church in Canada: some congregations voted to join while others did not and remained independent.\textsuperscript{17}

N. Keith Clifford called attention to the way rural congregations tended to support the union movement, while urban congregations remained more staunchly opposed. Clifford correlates support with the socio-economic factors facing rural and urban churches. Rural churches had greater fluctuation in numbers with many people moving away or concentrating in cities; urban churches had greater numbers of congregants and had greater financial support.\textsuperscript{18} The economic reality of maintaining a church and its membership motivated many rural churches to join with Methodists and Congregationalists. In addition to the divide amongst Presbyterians, Union was further delayed because of the First World War and a series of momentous changes such as the

\textsuperscript{16} See N.Keith Clifford’s work, \textit{The Resistance to Church Union in Canada, 1904-1939} (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985). Clifford’s work focuses specifically on the resistance of about 150,000 Presbyterians to the movement and the way this resistance shaped (or re-shaped) religious history in Canada. His argument frames the “schism” within the Canadian Presbyterian church in terms of minority rights and the legislative need to protect the religious freedoms of that minority.
\textsuperscript{17} C.T. McIntire, “Unity Among Many,” 5-10. Presbyterians remained legally entangled for decades after church union. While the majority of Presbyterians chose to join the formation of the new United Church, a minority voted to remain (and re-form) the Presbyterian Church in Canada. The business of the split included the division of assets especially the distribution of church buildings.
\textsuperscript{18} Clifford, “The Resistance to Church Union in Canada,” 8.
emergence of Bolshevism, the enfranchisement of women, and the drastically changed economy that occurred in tandem with the conflict.\textsuperscript{19} By the time of union in 1925, old religious affiliations fell away and something new emerged. Church union was a big step in the direction of a more ecumenical Canada.\textsuperscript{20}

As C.T. McIntire points out, the name of the new church body itself indicated the hope for the denomination: to unite all Protestants in Canada under a single banner with a shared mission to advance the teachings of Jesus Christ.\textsuperscript{21} Mary Vipond’s excellent article on the formation of the United Church in Canada traces the way the fear of sectionalism, and especially the growth of western Canadian churches, prompted leaders in eastern churches to take action in the 1920s to create a “national” church.\textsuperscript{22} “The United Church would be better able to fulfill the task in both its aspects: the new Church’s membership would be larger so more people would be tied by the common bond, and it would deliberately devote itself to fostering those spiritual values which must underlie national unity.”\textsuperscript{23}

The United Church of Canada neither became Canada’s national church nor significantly bridged the denominational divide with other Protestant churches. As Vipond so nicely puts it, “a tension existed within the church union movement between those whose conception of the nation implied the perpetuation of Britannic norms and those whose definition of ‘Canadian’ assumed the creation of a new race formed by the

\textsuperscript{19} Clifford, “The Resistance to Church Union in Canada, 6  
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid, 14-15.  
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid, 20.  
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid, 175.
North American environment.” The project for greater Christian unity persisted beyond 1925. The process of church union did demonstrate that perhaps the Protestant churches shared more in common than otherwise. The possibilities of cross-denominational cooperation were exciting.

Cooperation was also necessary to help a nation in crisis. The stock market crash of 1929 put much of Canada into an economic tailspin forcing citizens into lives of destitution and poverty. Churches met the challenges of the Great Depression with great fortitude, cooperating across sectarian lines to come to the aid of Canada’s poor and destitute. Notably, in 1931 the United Church, the Roman Catholic Church, the Baptist church, the Anglican Church, and the Presbyterian Church coordinated their help under the banner of the National Emergency Relief Commission. Together they worked with local women’s groups in the churches to provide clothing and food; they staffed settlement houses in urban areas to aid the poor; and, they collected money to help the needy. The churches might not have spent a great deal of time on theological matters, but the reality of the Depression deepened the practical purpose of the churches to help citizens through faith and good works. Through their church, citizens saw the gospel at work; their faith meant they could help the nation and the world. In social action and social advocacy the churches shared a common purpose.

On the heels of the union movement of the 1920s and inter-church cooperation in the 1930s, the time was ripe for another attempt to bring together Protestants. The

---

26 Ibid
27 Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era, 148-149.
Canadian Council of Churches (CCC) was finally established in 1944. The war had understandably delayed the founding of the CCC as the churches involved mobilized to help organize the war effort on the home front and chaplaincy services for the armed forces overseas. By early 1944, the forecasted end of the war and the more immediate need to respond to calls for reconstruction reinvigorated the hopes for an ecumenical council that had been shelved at the start of the conflict.

The CCC modeled itself upon the World Council of Churches (WCC). Established in 1937, the WCC was a pan-denominational body that liaised with congregations, community institutions, and governments to facilitate cooperation on a variety of issues such as poverty, child welfare, and increasing the role of religious thinking in policy decisions. The CCC’s mandate reflected the desire of many Church moderators to unite the different Protestant denominations in a common purpose. The ecumenical spirit was alive and well internationally and at home.

At the first meeting of the CCC, the prominent Presbyterian Minister Samuel McCrea Cavert gave the inaugural sermon, entitled “Many Members: One Body.” Cavert charged that unity in witness and service was “no optional matter for Christians.” The various denominations could embrace their creedal differences while still ultimately

29 See Thomas Hamilton’s excellent dissertation, Padres Under Fire: A Study of the Canadian Chaplain Services (Protestant and Roman Catholic) in the Second World War, Dissertation at the University of Toronto, 2003. Hamilton’s work, specifically his chapter “Creating the Service” ably traces how Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches in Canada mobilized their spiritual army in concert with the Canadian government’s mobilization of troops in order to provide “strength of soul,” 40.

30 Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era, 155. Although established 1937, the World Council of Churches did not hold its formal inauguration until 1948 after the cessation of conflict in Europe and the return to more settled times.

coming together in unity. In fact, unity was crucial at a time when the world was at a crossroads; the Church had to set an example. Cavert asked:

How can we call upon the nations to enter into a co-operative political order if we cannot show an effective pattern for it in our ecclesiastical life? How can we make any potent contribution to the overcoming of the racial tensions that threaten disaster to mankind if we cannot show, in the Church itself, a pattern of life in fellowship? How can we tell capital and labor to co-operate for the common good unless we can, within our own Christian family, demonstrate that working together for more than a group advantage is actually practicable?

These questions, largely rhetorical in their flourish, did not just apply to this particular historical moment for Canadians. They encapsulated the fervour and excitement of a new venture and the possibility; they motivated listeners to the ecumenical cause. The questions also point to why 1944 was the moment when the CCC came together, modeling itself on the British Council of Churches and the international World Council of Churches. The CCC formed a branch of a growing movement that sought commonality across creedal differences for the sake of a stronger, Christian future.

If we put the questions asked by Cavert more simply, he inquired as to what the holistic goal of Christians ought to be moving forward; he asked how the Churches could remain exemplars of a kind of goodness and morality espoused in the Bible; and he asked how the Churches could remain social brokers and activists in the times to come. The ecumenical movement was at its most vibrant during the first decade after the Second World War. Certainly, the legacy of ecumenism continued well past the mid-point of the 1950s; however, it was during this decade that the ideas of what ecumenism meant for

---


33 Ibid
Canada and the Canadian Protestant churches came to the fore, dominating much discussion across the country but also on the more local, denominational level.

The success of the Canadian Council of Churches was as much due to the charismatic leadership provided by William Gallagher, as it was a product of the time. Gallagher was born in Ayton, Ontario a small town south of Owen Sound and north of Kitchener. He received his education and conducted his ministry in the Presbyterian Churches of the province between 1919 and 1942. During his long ministerial career, Gallagher took great interest in the changing social climate in Canada and in the growing economy of Ontario. He wanted to participate more fully in Church work within the social arena and so gave up individual ministry to take stronger leadership roles in Canadian Christian organizations; he became the General Secretary of the Christian Social Council in 1942, the liaison with the burgeoning World Council of Churches in the early 1940s, the General Secretary (as well as an instrumental organizer) of the Canadian Council of Churches, a post which he held from 1944 until 1964. He continued to serve the World Council of Churches throughout his tenure as General Secretary of the CCC, increasing his official duties with the WCC as its official Canadian representative in 1954. Not content to let his ministry remain confined to the more bureaucratic dimension of committee and Council work, he worked actively with the Canadian Broadcast Corporation; his program, “World Church News” connected Canadian Christians to the broader Christian community and continued his public ministry. In the latter part of his

---

34 United Church of Canada archives, finding aid 241, “William Gallagher – biographical information”.
ministerial career, Gallagher had become increasingly sensitive to international
discussions about ecumenism. He felt that Canada ought to take part in the movement.

The Canadian Council of Churches emerged out of this international context. The
World Council of Churches, brought together by noted theologians and church members
in Europe had its first meeting in 1948. However, the meeting had initially been set for
late in 1939. The outbreak of hostilities on the continent forced the organizers to
postpone indefinitely the meeting. In the interim, however, discussions continued as to
the scope of the WCC and the general need for the Protestant Churches to consider the
possibility of interfaith dialogue to achieve greater unity. Goodwin notes that theologian
Reinhold Niebuhr’s “Gospel of realism,” which acknowledged greater laws beyond the
one’s created by a State had to strengthen and bring together the world in a community,
profoundly influenced the early push for ecumenism in Canada. The Second World War
merely amplified the rationale for such dialogue and intensified the purpose of such unity
being a way to bring about peace and to avoid any future conflict or total war.

Canada’s own contribution to the WCC started as a small committee of the larger
body. Gallagher attended and corresponded with the burgeoning international ecumenical
community on behalf of Canadian Churches, and liaised with the various Protestant
denominations as to the ideas circulating in the WCC. It was Gallagher who initiated the

36 LAC, Canadian Council of Churches – General fonds, MG 28 I 327, volume 1, file 1,
Annual Meeting Minutes
theologian and political commentator, espoused a utilitarian view of the place of religion
in society. Very simply, to Niebuhr, religious ideas and ideals had to be informed by the
current events of the world in order to work effectively on a day-to-day basis for all
people and not just an elite. His key works include Moral Man and Immoral Society: A
Study of Ethics and Politics (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1932), and The Nature
and Destiny of Man (1943).
conversation within Canada to change the Canadian Committee to the World Council of Churches to an actual Canadian Council of Churches – a group with the wide mandate of working within the international ecumenical movement, but also working to bring that message to Canada and have it reflect Canada’s particular religious landscape.\(^\text{38}\)

Gallagher drew support from the Anglican Church in Canada, the Presbyterian Church in Canada, the United Church of Canada as well as the Baptist Federation, the Salvation Army, the Lutheran Church, and other small religious denominations.

The foundations for the CCC were laid with participation in the early discussions about the World Council of Churches, as well as a substantial interest on the part of the Canadian clergy in other, similar movements. In a preliminary meeting of the North American committee for the World Council of Churches, one member noted the increasing ecumenical services occurring in the United States.\(^\text{39}\) The member, Dr. Leiper, said that people should take heart that such discussions continued to occur; it indicated a growing interest in the ecumenical movement more broadly speaking.

Even though the ecumenical movement seemed to reach out and include more groups in the 1940s, the support was not wholesale. Especially amongst more Orthodox churches, ecumenism was met with skepticism. The Roman Catholic Church, ethnic churches such as the Greek, Russian, Bulgarian, and the Polish Orthodox communities, as well as smaller evangelical sects in Western Canada expressed reservations about the overtly Protestant proselytizing that so frequently characterized ecumenical discourse at

\(^{38}\) LAC, MG 28 I 327, volume 1, Canadian Council of Churches – General fonds, file 1, Annual Meeting Minutes.

\(^{39}\) LAC, MG 28 I 327 volume 103, General Secretary’s Office fonds, file 1 “GSO (pink) World Council of Churches – Organizations and Activities,” CCC holdings Annual Meeting of the North American Committee of the World Council of Churches
the time. Their reservations stemmed from an ideological dispute as to the nature of Christianity and the place of theology within different communions. In short, they had difficulty reconciling the purpose and theory of the ecumenism with the reality of the schism.

The members of the nascent CCC recognized the fundamental division impeding these churches from joining the ecumenical movement. They wanted to remain open to dialogue, and hoped that individual leaders who were sympathetic to the movement might be the way to advance that dialogue and the participation of the orthodox churches in inter-faith pluralism. They adamantly stated that the Ecumenical Movement did not exclude anyone. In the western provinces, many Baptist churches came together under the Baptist Federation of Canada (BFC), led by Watson Kirkconnell, to unite their own conventions in the spirit of ecumenism. An advisory body, the BFC liaised with the CCC bringing with it the strength of a consolidated and united voice of many local churches.41

The Reformation so fundamentally fragmented Protestants and Catholics that during the following centuries, the formerly single faith only further divided and subdivided as different sects emerged within Protestantism. The 20th century was thought by some to have been a period where denominational factionalism had eased; nevertheless, different communions maintained the prerogative to deny church rites to those not of the faith, whether that meant the difference between Scottish Presbyterians

40 LAC, General Secretary’ Office fonds, MG 28 I 327 volume 103, file 1 “GSO (pink) World Council of Churches – Organizations and Activities,” CCC holdings Annual Meeting of the North American Committee of the World Council of Churches
41 Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era, 156.
and English Episcopalians, or English Presbyterians and Roman Catholics.\textsuperscript{42} The union of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregationalist churches in 1925 provides a notable example of the movement towards interfaith cooperation. The three Churches built upon nearly a century of cooperation to become the United Church of Canada, reconciling their different approaches to church government under the aegis of shared faith.\textsuperscript{43} In the post-Second World War period, many within the mainline Protestant churches felt the time was ripe for further cooperation. They did not seek a larger union reminiscent of the 1925 synthesis of the denominations; instead, they looked to a more pluralist model of cooperation.\textsuperscript{44} Each denomination could practice as it so chose, but a part of the overall mission of the church would be to unite in common cause and voice with other communions.

The Roman Catholic Church and to a lesser extent Orthodox churches were more difficult to convince of the strength in the ecumenical movement. The Catholic Church remained suspicious, or at the very least reluctant to cooperate with a group that called into question Catholic activity in the country. John Webster Grant argues that there were two main impediments to Catholics embracing interdenominational initiatives.\textsuperscript{45} First, for the Catholic Church unity meant the return to the fold of the faithful. Second, “Pope Pius XI went out of his way to warn the faithful against participation in the ecumenical


\textsuperscript{43} Brian Clarke, “English-speaking Canada from 1854,” in \textit{A Concise History of Christianity in Canada} edited by Terence Murphy, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996) 342.

\textsuperscript{44} Terence Murphy, “Epilogue,” in \textit{A Concise History of Christianity in Canada} edited by Terence Murphy, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996), 364.

\textsuperscript{45} Grant, \textit{The Church in the Canadian Era}, 156-157
The Pope and others in the Catholic hierarchy feared the marginalization of their faith within a larger ecumenical movement, especially when they considered the only true ecumenism was reunion under the Pope. In Ontario, the contestation of separate schools by Protestants served as a rallying cry for the need of a persistent Catholic presence in society and the need to maintain strength of conviction. So for the time being, the ecumenical movement theoretically included all of the Christian churches, but practically speaking only consisted of the Protestant churches.

The significant support proffered by the different Protestant sects meant that the Canadian Council of Churches came together quickly. They held their first meeting in September 1944. The first meeting’s agenda included many remarks about the nature of the ecumenical movement and its purported impact upon Canada. These goals were embedded within the constitution of the CCC. Article one stated that the council would:

Give expression to that fundamental unity of the Christian Communions which is the outcome of their faith in Christ Jesus, their common master and Lord, and their allegiance to Him as Head of the church; to labour for the continuous growth of that unity; and to foster the development of the ecumenical spirit.

The movement certainly possessed a kind of dynamism. The Council had no power over its constituent members; no central authority could task or bind the constituent churches to the policy or activist ideas of the CCC. The entire council was predicated, perhaps precariously, upon the notion of consensus. The Council could act as an intermediary body if at least two of its constituent members requested it to do so. The CCC could give

---

48 Ibid
49 Ibid, 93.
weight or authority to a given Church issue, but only at the behest of its membership.\textsuperscript{50}

For example, the Presbyterian Church could embolden its position on assisting immigrants at the Montreal and Halifax ports of entry in the post-war immigration boom by partnering with another communion and asking the CCC to advocate on their behalf for better facilities, or to gather more information with respect to the new settlers.

At first blush, the CCC seems a rather utopic ideal of a church society. It purported to be an organization that assisted the common purpose of all the Protestant Churches, and advanced issues of social justice and public welfare. The CCC’s social agenda matched neatly with the social agenda of the other Churches and the umbrella group could dedicate a staff and its departments to further that agenda for all. The needs of citizens, then, ostensibly came first. The democratic make-up of the CCC mirrored the organization’s hope for society’s organization, in which some fundamental unity eclipsed any differences that threatened to divide the population. The organizational reality certainly reflected these aims, but also more appropriately reflected the inherent hierarchy of power within the Protestant Churches. For example, the constitution accorded that one third of the executive committee made up a quorum so long as seventy-five percent of the Churches received representation in that quorum.\textsuperscript{51} The constituent members could send up to four representatives to the annual meetings and to represent their Church on the

\textsuperscript{50} LAC, Canadian Council of Churches – General fonds MG 28 I 327 “Constitution”, 93.

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid, 95.
These constitutional measures reflected the importance placed upon creating a democratic coalition of Churches. The CCC had many members but one body.

Such a democratic fervour affiliated with the CCC was the product of a few designers. The direction of the CCC, too, was determined primarily by a small group of men who represented that mainline Protestant denominations. The Presbyterian, the Anglican, and the United Churches, largely due to their memberships, still commanded the greatest influence over the overall direction of the CCC and its advocacy. Such an invisible or inherent structure accomplished a few things: first, it lent focus to the movement and allowed the CCC to come together swiftly. The CCC predicated much of its activism upon the tenet of national unity. In a 1938 address at the Canadian Institute of Economic and Politics, Claris Edwin Silcox discussed the need for some “socially centripetal force” to engender national unity.

Silcox was born in Canada and educated at the University of Toronto. He later moved to the United States and attended Brown University and the Andover Theological Seminary; he was ordained in the American Congregational Church. Silcox prided himself on his “international perspective” which informed his preoccupation with interfaith relationships, particularly Jewish-Christian relations. He was the general secretary of the Christian Social Science Council of Canada, an organization that had an

---

53 LAC, MG 28 I 327, volume 1, Canadian Council of Churches – General fonds, file 1, Annual Meeting Minutes, 1944.
55 Alan T. Davies and Marilyn F. Nefksy, How Silent were the Churches?: Canadian Protestantism and the Jewish Plight, (Wilfred Laurier University Press,) 42.
ecumenical predilection and which influenced the structure and mandate of the later CCC. While Silcox’s address in 1938 expressly addressed Protestant-Roman Catholic relations, it also illuminates an intellectual trend of the ecumenical movement: dismissing homogeneity in favour of more dynamic dialogue between faiths of differing beliefs and rituals. Silcox called Canadians a “hopelessly heterogeneous people.”

The CCC faced the challenge of finding what such different people could share in common. The question of whether churches of different creeds or ideas could come together was not new to the 1940s. As mentioned before, Church union in 1925 is example of an early practical outcome of the discussion for inter-denominational cooperation, as well as the impact of such unity on strengthening the nation. The CCC saw its function as a continuation of that mission, and its role as a vital intermediary between the local and the national stages.

Second, the structure of the CCC helped to elevate smaller congregations or communions that were more regionally isolated to the national stage providing a platform upon which their issues were heard in concert with the issues raised by the CCC as a whole. More importantly, it gave those smaller groups a mechanism by which they could elevate an issue of individual importance by cooperating with another constituent member of the CCC, thus reinforcing the basic principle of ecumenism – that of inter-faith dialogue – whilst making their own work more nationally recognized or substantive. For example, the CCC coordinated the Baptist, Presbyterian, Anglican, and United

56 Davies and Nevsky, How Silent were the Churches?: Canadian Protestantism and the Jewish Plight, 42-43.
churches to help fund a site in Ajax, Ontario, to help migrant workers and returning soldiers as they relocated to new parts of the country. The CCC had identified that veterans and other war-industry workers would need help as they returned to civilian life. They created the Church’s Home-and-Front Fellowship League to extend welcome and service to returning citizens. An aspect of such work included meeting the spiritual needs of people on the move to combat any disaffection amongst a large group of people who had known only war for the previous few years. The CCC recognized that only in cooperation could the Protestants offer such vital ministry. Working through the CCC and its secretary for the Co-operating Committee for Christian Service in Camp and war Production Communities, the four churches secured the funding to get the site and set up a camp.

The Ajax project was begun in order to help the “moving population,” those individuals who had either fought overseas or at home and who needed to find a new place to live and work, find communion and community. The churches also did not want work camps, where many of the moving population could find a job, to become hotbeds of un-Christian behaviour and so advocated for such places where people could find an alternative to sin. A farmer secured a lot in Ajax for the church site and then a structure owned by the United Church of Canada was moved there and put in working

---

61 Ibid
order. Although paid for by the United, Presbyterian, Anglican, and Baptist churches in the area, the CCC worked on their behalf to engage a military chaplain, an individual already versed in ministering to different denominations, to run the small church and offer personal counseling.⁶²

In the same way, the CCC managed the enquiries from churches and directives from the government about the assistance required for Hungarian refugees.⁶³ They liaised with not only federal and provincial governments, but also the World Council of Churches, which had spearheaded much of the on the ground efforts to enable the safe transit of the refugees.⁶⁴ Local parishes could take on the care of families, could help people find employment through local agencies or contacts, and ensured that refugees had support. In Ontario, the government agreed to pay an average of $3 (or about $27⁶⁵) per day per person who had not otherwise received a definite offer of hospitality that included housing and food costs.⁶⁶ The CCC functioned as a key intermediary to organize

---

⁶³ United Church of Canada archives, UCC General Council Office fonds, Accession 1982.001C, 500 series 8, Box 131 Hungarian Relief, File 1 Hungarian Relief – Information and Correspondence, 1956-1957, December 13th, 1956 Re Hungarian Refugee Immigration, Memorandum of interview with the Deputy Minister of Immigration, Ottawa
⁶⁴ United Church of Canada archives, UCC General Council Office fonds, Accession 1982.001C, 500 series 8, Box 131 Hungarian Relief, File 1 Hungarian Relief – Information and Correspondence, 1956-1957.
⁶⁵ http://www.dollartimes.com/calculators/inflation.htm
⁶⁶ United Church of Canada archives, UCC General Council Office fonds, Accession 1982.001C, 500 series 8, Box 131 Hungarian Relief, File 1 Hungarian Relief – Information and Correspondence, 1956-1957, December 13th, 1956 Re Hungarian Refugee Immigration, Memorandum of interview with the Deputy Minister of Immigration, Ottawa
care at a local level and that the proper administration procedures dictated by the provincial and federal governments were followed. In the case of Ajax and the influx of Hungarian refugees it is clear how the local issue had a national impact, and the international issue had a local impact. Resolution and aid was achieved through cooperation. The ability to come together empowered the Council.

Finally, and quite significantly, the CCC helped the United, Anglican, and Presbyterian churches shore up authority amongst Protestants. The most populous three churches could more actively shape policy and advance an agenda on the national stage because of the membership of smaller communions; the leadership of the main Protestant communions also ensured that the Canadian Council of Churches remained, politically-speaking, charting a centre course. Advocates of more socially conservative ideas, many of whom belonged to the evangelical brethren in western Canada and even the UCC, had their views balanced by those with more socially liberal ideas.

Churches worked together outside of the CCC as well. The temperance cause posed a similar threat to society as gambling and became an issue upon which denominations could also find common ground. In a meeting with Ontario Premier George Drew, Reverend James R. Mutchmor of the United Church and Reverend C.L. Cowan of the Presbyterian Church in concert with the Ontario Temperance Association urged the provincial government to deal with the vexatious problem of drinking. Mutchmor used London Ontario as a key example in his plea to curtail unchecked alcohol

---

67 For a more thorough history of evangelical or more conservative Christian viewpoints, see the work of George Rawlyk, editor, *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997).
sales and the inconsiderate locations of local watering holes.\textsuperscript{69} He argued that the small city had many places that could serve hard alcohol, especially in its downtown. A tavern/hotel need only have 20 beds to attain a liquor license (as compared to the 50 rooms a larger city like Toronto required in compliance with provincial laws) and because of such a classification, the places for consuming alcohol were numerous. Too numerous for Mutchmor who worried about the proximity of churches and schools to such places and the dangers of solicitation that, he argued, naturally resulted from too ample a number of inns or bars.\textsuperscript{70} While Drew entertained the meeting, he advocated for a middle ground – political-speak for not changing the status quo. “Prohibition is not preventative,” Drew argued at the meeting.\textsuperscript{71} Despite little traction achieved on the issue of temperance with the province, the meeting still brought together government and church stakeholders in a conversation about the overall well being of the citizenry. Mutchmor’s voice was amplified because he spoke with and for multiple Christian denominations.

Crafting a united message benefitted all the congregations. For the CCC, it gave the appearance that the group moved forward with a single, nationally and denominationally cohesive vision. By and large, it did. However, the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Churches remained the most influential when it came to advancing and steering the organization. This power to effect change and agenda reflected the religious demographics of the time: most people identified with one of the

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{69} AO, RG 3-17, B396784 Folder 211-G, “Proceedings Of Conference Between the Government of Ontario and the Ontario Temperance Federation Associated with Churches and National Bodies, January 31\textsuperscript{st}, 1947
\textsuperscript{70} Ibid
\textsuperscript{71} Ibid
\end{flushright}
three main Protestant communions while the other denominations had smaller, more regionally specific support. It also reflected a specific source of power in the province of Ontario. The Canadian Council of Churches while national in breadth and in focus derived a large part of its power and authority from Ontario.

Of the annual meetings held between 1944 and 1955, only three were held outside of the province, one in Manitoba and two in Quebec. Of the representatives sitting on the CCC, well over half of the attendees hailed from Ontario. In 1944, of the 107 people in attendance, 72% came from Ontario. In 1949 when the meeting was held in Winnipeg, Ontarians still made up 62% of the attendees. The trend did not change in the decade after the war. In 1954, at the conference held in Kingston, Ontario, 74% of attendees were Ontarians. No matter how outwardly equitable the Council made the constitution, the fact that Ontario commanded such a presence at the meetings meant that, practically speaking, much of the authority and direction for the Council was concentrated within Canada’s most populous province.

The active presence of the United Church of Canada and its moderators as well as the stewardship of William Gallagher also help to explain Ontario setting the CCC agenda. The moderators of the UCC shared a similar vision of denominational

---

72 Gallup Poll, May 1945 http://www.library.carleton.ca/sites/default/files/find/data/surveys/ascii_files/gllp-45-may142-doc
73 LAC, Canadian Council of Churches – General fonds, MG 28 I 327, vol. 1, file 1 Annual Meeting Minutes 1944-1947
74 LAC, MG 28 I 327, vol. 1, file 1 Annual Meeting Minutes 1944-1947, First Meeting September 26th to 28th, 1944
75 LAC, MG 28 I 327, vol. 1, file 2 Annual Meeting Minutes 1948-1952, Sixth Meeting November 23rd-26th, 1949
76 LAC, MG 28 I 327, vol. 1, file 3 Annual Meeting Minutes 1952-1956, Tenth Meeting November 22nd-26th, 1954
cooperation within their own work. The moderators and Gallagher, too, each lived and worked in Ontario. It is an easy interpretative leap to make to see how the province likely affected the perspective of the CCC leadership to reflect Ontario as the leader in a cooperative movement between churches and provinces.

The CCC’s formation in 1944, then, can be seen as product of a very localized effort by a vocal group of ministers within Ontario. They looked to consolidate the work of several councils in Canada including the Christian Social Council of Canada and the Religious Education Council of Canada into the broader work and advocacy of the Canadian Council of Churches. Even though different leadership structures were in place for the member groups of the CCC, Gallagher, for certain, the moderators of the Presbyterian, Anglican, and United Churches, as well as amongst the organizers of the National Councils of the YMCA and the YWCA, the Baptist Convention, and the Salvation Army, to name but a few, recognized the need for a collective effort to advance Christian ideas and causes in Canada.

At its most basic, the CCC conceived of itself as an organization meant to combat the moral problems of the time. The “awful upheaval” caused by the Second World War wrought social changes and “unsound philosophies justifying selfishness and materialism – which [had] been elevated as substitutes for religious teachings.” The CCC viewed the high cost of living, slums, and generally poor housing conditions as just a few symptoms of society’s decline. The Council also understood these trends as evidence of secularism, which they equated with moral and spiritual weakness. The CCC discussed these issues at length at their annual meeting in 1949.

At the meeting the CCC took their cue from an address made by Princess Elizabeth that same year. Her Royal Highness argued that there was a social danger to deteriorating moral standards. Christian ideals helped to bolster society, and as people turned away from them, society was potentially weakened. Canada was on the threshold of great industrial development whilst simultaneously threatened by spiritual decline. Evidence of such decline manifested itself as a rising crime rate, staggering liquor consumption, the high rate of divorce, the phenomenal increase in gambling, and the “loud clamour for a so-called “open” Sunday.”

More so than a turning away from religion, secularism threatened the dissolution of community ties. In an address at the annual meeting of the CCC, the American Secretary of the World Council of Churches, Henry Smith Leiper, addressed the representatives. Leiper spoke extensively about community:

The atomic force released in destruction depends upon “fission” – the forceful division of matter in transmutation. Spiritual force such as should bind the family of mankind in community depends upon coherence – “togetherness.” What can possibly produce enough of that kind of force to hold the divided world together?

Leiper responded to the question he posed with the assertion that the Christian Church was an institution that was uniquely situated to bind people together.

Christianity and its churches had to work together otherwise those forces that drove a wedge in communities might prevail. An Ecumenical Studies booklet issued by

---

79 Ibid
80 Ibid
81 LAC, MG 28 I 327 vol.1, file 1 Annual Meeting Minutes, 1944-1947, “Address to the Canadian Council of Churches from Henry Smith Leiper on behalf of the World Council of Churches,” 64.
the World Council of Churches in 1954 framed with the work of the ecumenical movement within the larger scope of international affairs. The emerging tensions with the Soviet Union and the other revolutionary changes occurring across the planet made the mission of the WCC to promote a genuine world community all the more important.\footnote{LAC, “International Affairs – Christians in the Struggle for World Community, Introductory Leaflet No.4,” in Ecumenical Affairs, (Geneva, 1954).} Within the Canadian context, the message meant a strong focus upon social advocacy, the family, and societal conditions that especially affected those at a disadvantage: the working poor, women, returning veterans, conscientious objectors, and immigrants. The CCC’s mandate reflected the broader ideological goal of Christian community building. It was one thing to talk about togetherness, and quite another to translate those ideals and ideas to practical activities. The CCC sought to delegate its tasks to smaller groups within the council that could more effectively facilitate dialogue with the Canadian government, with social welfare bodies, with the Canadian public, and with international organizations.

The Canadian Council of Churches’ agenda encompassed many departments and issues. A concentration upon social activism characterized much of the Council’s efforts. The Christian Social Council of Canada (CSCC) was one of the most prominent departments working under the auspices of the CCC. The CSCC had first been established in 1907 under the banner of the Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada. Congregationalists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and Anglicans cooperated to advocate upon issues such as housing, gambling, and poverty.\footnote{LAC, MG 28 I 327 vol.1, file 1 Annual Meeting Minutes, 1944-1947, Rev. Canon W.W. Judd, “Statement Concerning the Christian Social Council of Canada and the Proposed CCC,” 47.} The name of the group
changed in 1914 to the Social Service Council of Canada and was incorporated under provincial and federal statutes; it also welcomed secular groups to participate in its advocacy. However, by 1919 these secular groups withdrew their contribution in part because of a difference of opinion and in part because these non-religious groups disbanded. At that time, the Council became “the agent of the Churches in the field of Social Welfare and Sociology.” For two decades, the Council pursued its agenda but at the onset of the war redefined itself once again as the Christian Social Council of Canada, a title that more adequately reflected the narrower agenda.

As the Canadian Council of Churches came together in the mid-1940s, the goals of the CSCC seemed to fit naturally with the broader ecumenical mandate of the CCC. Like its previous iterations, the CSCC functioned as a pluralist body. As a department of the CCC, the multi-denominational cooperation of the CSCC could receive further emphasis that would in turn underscore the support for the social agenda advanced. The department was meant to function much as it already had. It issued pamphlets on relevant social issues, most notably education practices and standards; it could re-issue its quarterly magazine “Social Welfare” (a publication that had lapsed during the Depression era); and it would remain the main branch for advocacy to the government upon socially relevant issues.

85 Ibid
86 Ibid
87 Ibid, 48-49.
88 Ibid
Of all the CSCC’s work, its role in advocacy was the most integral. While the department left aside issues of temperance and the observation of the Lord’s Day because such topics received enough attention from the Christian Temperance Union, it spoke loudly upon “moral” issues – those matters that affected the psychic health of the population, or those concerns that had the potential to lead an individual along a destructive path. The family topped the list. The CSCC took up the social causes of social security, unemployment, responsibility of governments and municipalities for unemployed, for the aged, disabled, blind, the illegitimate, etc., unemployment insurance, relief scales, family allowances, labour relations and difficulties. They lobbied the government on provincial and federal regulations regarding marriage, divorce and annulments, the fair treatment for authentic conscientious objectors, the religious question in relation to education and taxation, the laws regarding lotteries, etc., the matter of law enforcement or the lack thereof, and health care, especially with respect to venereal disease.

The ecumenical spirit took hold at the community level. Reverend Dr. A. Harding priest of the Anglican Church preached at St. John’s Church in Bowmanville Ontario on October 29th, 1953. Speaking of the universal Christian Church, Harding promoted the “vast ecumenical movement of the present time” that helped to unite people in fellowship. Working together for common goals such as Christian education would ensure the legacy of those Christians who came before to help build fellowship within the

---

90 Ibid
91 “Dr. A. Harding Priest Preaches at St John’s,” in The Canadian Statesman, Thursday October 29, 1953, 4.
Christian community. 92 “The only way to repay our debt to the past is by putting posterity in debt to us.” 93 Rev. Harding’s message of Christian unity was not novel for the time. His talk drew upon the need to not forget the past, to move forward in cooperation, and to ensure a solid Christian education for the country’s youth. The message of the CCC and the CSCC trickled down to communities across the province. One might discuss Christian fellowship in meetings, but this discussion remained mere talk unless it was translated and transmitted to the broader population.

In fact, talking about ecumenism at the community level was important. The idea of churches working together, especially when a person understood his or her Christianity in relation to a particular denomination, might seem foreign. Not everyone jumped aboard this particular soul train. One advertisement for a 1955 talk on the subject of the Canadian Council of Churches asked “is the multiplicity of denominations a sign of the virility or a fatal weakness of Protestantism?” 94 Clearly capitalizing on the uncertainty about what an ecumenical movement meant for individual faith practices, the question framed the advertisement for a special discussion by Baptist Minister Rev. W.S. Whitcombe in Stouffville Ontario. Later that year, Whitcombe asked if “denominationalism was a plague or blessing” in a similar discussion about whether the churches ought to come together in ecumenical dialogue. 95 Whitcombe was not opposed to the ecumenical movement, per say, but he did not welcome the idea of Roman Catholic inclusion.

---

92 “Dr. A. Harding Priest Preaches at St John’s,” in The Canadian Statesman, Thursday October 29, 1953, 4.
93 Ibid
95 “Many Churches or One True Church?” in Stouffville Tribune, September 1, 1955, 4.
Whitcombe staunchly defended Protestantism in Canada and held deep-seated suspicions about the extent of Roman Catholic power and influence. Whitcombe laid his position open in the lead opinion piece of *The Gospel Witness* in 1941. In it, he excoriated the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church; he affirmed the Baptist opposition to fascism and communism and other totalitarian ideologies; and he chastised those who would incite a religious war in the country for the sake of greater political power or clout.\(^{96}\) This strain of anti-Catholic sentiment echoed that of Whitcombe’s colleague, Reverend T.T. Shields of Toronto’s Jarvis Street Baptist Church.\(^{97}\) Shields had a long history of inflammatory invectives against the Catholic Church in Canada, perceiving them as detrimental to the democratic health of the nation.\(^{98}\) These discussions by Whitcombe in the province demonstrate the complexities underpinning the ecumenical movement: if ecumenism was meant to unite all Christians together, how could the movement overcome disputes amongst its member groups or even the exclusion of large Christian groups? The solution for the CCC seemed to be to ignore the fringes and proceed in good faith at the community level and in its national advocacy.

The CCC met in Kitchener in 1957. “Grass roots ecumenicity” dominated the discussion of men and women of different denominations, clergy and laity alike.\(^{99}\) The heart of cooperation hearkened to the legacy of Bible Societies in Canada. In these

\(^{98}\) Ibid
societies, “Christian unity of service and purpose has been tried proven successful.”

Ecumenical services became another sign of the changing attitude towards inter-faith cooperation. In Acton, in advance of Holy Week in 1958, Knox Presbyterian Church in conjunction with the Ministerial Association hosted civic, fraternal, patriotic and service organizations to listen to Ernest West, a Baptist layman, and Reverend G. Lockhart of the Presbyterian church. To support this ecumenical initiative, none of the six Protestant churches in Acton would meet, and instead attend the single service at Knox Presbyterian.

Ministerial Associations like that of Acton existed in counties across the province and proved early provincial or community iterations of the ecumenical movement in Canada. For example, the Ministerial Association of North Perth dated back to circa 1895. From Prince Edward County to Blenheim and District, clergy of the county churches, including Anglican, Baptist, Presbyterian, met to discuss issues of religious significance. Grass-roots ecumenism included summer BBQs and shared services. The Sudbury and District Ministerial Association, established in 1950, liaised with the local hospital boards, established a radio and television committee in addition to a community outreach and fellowship committee. Ministerial Associations depicted ecumenism at work in everyday scenarios: communities coming together in shared purpose to celebrate or bolster particular events, or to collectively minister to those in need.

---

103 Laurentian University Archives, Sudbury and District Ministerial fonds, “Administrative history.” https://biblio.laurentian.ca/research/guides/archives
Cooperation between denominations served a practical purpose to provide ample
and appropriate care to vulnerable sector of a municipal population. In 1956, *The
Newmarket Era and Express* noted in its editorial that the local ministerial association
ought to receive commendation for its advocacy for a dedicated chaplain to attend the
residents of the local senior’s home in Newmarket.104 The job of spiritual care for the
elderly exceeded the abilities of any single minister and so the association sought a
remedy. Here was ecumenism in action at a local level. At a national level, ministers and
those involved in fostering interdenominational cooperation like the Christian Social
Council of Canada also discussed the effects of ecumenism on society, but from a more
abstract or theological perspective that considered the broader role of ecumenism in
shaping morality or society.

The scope of the CSCC was ambitious. The starting point of the preservation of
morality made the work of the CSCC vital to the broader CCC but it also made it a
sensitive area. The CSCC had to straddle its religious foundation and the broad-based
social causes it championed. The language used in the CSCC’s advocacy had to be
inclusive. It had to reflect the religious perspective of the CCC, but also had to echo the
universality of the broader organization as a body that brought together the Christian
community. It could not espouse any particular creed.105 As Moderator of the UCC Rev.
Gordon Sisco said, “To be Christian is to belong to a fellowship, which world-wide in
scope.”106 Sisco wanted ecumenism in Canada (and the CCC) to reflect a culturally plural

105 LAC, MG 28 I327 Vol. 1, file 1 Annual Meeting Minutes, 1944-1947, Samuel
106 Gordon Sisco, “Make the Ecumenical Movement Local” *The United Church
society. It also had to use the language of social work in order to avoid being marginalized as a purely religious organization. For example, the CSCC took great pains to advocate for better housing in Canada. Here was an issue that raised the level of debate about the lower classes in Canada. The CSCC saw it as part of their mission to advocate for the poor, but they had to do so with the government without using explicitly religiously coded language.

At the annual meeting of the CCC in 1949, a motion was brought with respect to government housing legislation. The mover, Mr. Poulton, motioned:

Believing that good housing within the reach of all the population will assist in the building of high standard of home-life, the Canadian Council of Churches has learned with deep satisfaction of the government’s intention with respect to housing, as outlined in the House of Commons on September 21, 1949. We commend this forward step in housing taken by the Minister of Reconstruction and Supply, and we call upon the Provinces and municipalities to cooperate wholeheartedly with the Federal government in a common effort to produce more homes for more Canadians.

However, this Council must express its deep regret that the proposed legislation, good as it is, will not institute a national low-rental housing program which would provide decent housing for low-income families, veteran and non-veteran alike, at rents they can afford to pay.

Once again, therefore, the CCC urges upon all governments, federal, provincial, and municipal, the necessity for public assistance to finance the building of homes for families with low incomes.

---

110 Ibid
The CCC saw it as part of their mission to look after and raise up the lower classes of Canadian society. They recognized a definite lack of fair rental rates and their position on the housing issue pointed to the broader goal of community building: in this case, across class lines in society, making those hallmarks of post-war living attainable for all. A statement at the meeting was good, but more than anything it reflected a larger lobbying effort on the part of the CCC.

The lobbying impulse extended to other issues as well. Immigration, for one, dominated much discussion. The CCC attempted to organize and codify many of the efforts by their constituent members to assist newcomers to Canada. Immigration has been discussed at great length in chapter four, but suffice it to say, the Canadian Council of Churches very much reflected the broader immigration trends of the period. They desired and advocated for British immigration to Canada to preserve the culture of Canadians. The CCC moved to lobby the government to instigate a program that would expedite the immigration of British citizens. Inviting such citizens to Canada enriched the cultural landscape of the country, especially as such emigration meant for a stronger Commonwealth overall.

In addition to strengthening their ties with Britain, the CCC advocated for the larger humanitarian cause of bringing over Displaced Persons. The CCC wanted to ensure that the transition to a new culture was as easy as possible. For the Council, the millions of displaced and homeless persons posed a threat to the peace and security of the

world. The CCC urged the government to consider not only the economic needs of Canada, but also, and more importantly, the humanitarian needs of the many homeless around the world. The way that the Council advocated for immigration reflected their broader ideological mandate: to foster community across the Protestant communions both within and without Canada. Immigration was a natural way to achieve such a goal. Because of this broader mandate, the CCC was able to work with many churches to coordinate sponsorships of immigrants across the country. Immigration was not the only issue upon which the CCC was more effective as an inter-denominational group in influencing changes and attracting communions to a common cause.

In the 1951 general meeting notes, the CCC identified the large number of refugees as “one of the gravest human and social problems of our time.” Christians could not ignore the millions of displaced persons in the world, especially those who looked to Canada for help. The CCC addressed the issue of DPs by organizing and sending aid to churches abroad. For example, between December 1947 and December 1950, the CCC oversaw the shipment of over 510 tonnes of clothing to Europe, Asia, and Great Britain. Material contributions offered a very tangible method of extending influence on a global level and reaching out.

---

114 Ibid
116 Ibid.
Part of the CCC’s interest in the plight of refugees, notably those in Europe, stemmed from the lack of any complementary churches between Europe and Canada. For many DPs in Europe, there was no equivalent church in Canada, leaving many people without an immediate and knowable church body that could help support a family’s immigration.\textsuperscript{118} Appeals for help, then, occurred on the basis of “compassion and need” rather than on a “confessional basis.”\textsuperscript{119} The CCC was uniquely situated to coordinate these requests for compassion and need because of its infrastructure and pan-denominational mandate. The CCC proposed to liaise with the International Refugee Organization to help displaced persons. The IRO would arrange trans-Atlantic transport for refugees who would then be looked after by CCC representatives in Canada. Once in the country, the CCC would arrange employment and housing for a year. The D.P. Dossier Programme received support from the Canadian Department of Citizenship and Immigration as well as the Department of Labour.\textsuperscript{120} To engage the many denominations across Canada, the CCC wrote letters to over 6,000 ministers across the country and advertised in the denominational press to seek volunteers to coordinate the reception of refugees.\textsuperscript{121} Furthermore, the CCC reached out to non-church groups in order to provide a full range of employment opportunities. For example, they garnered the support of farmers’ organizations in Western Ontario and the prairies; they received help from the Tolstoy Foundation to support up to eighteen families affiliated the with DP Dossier

\textsuperscript{120} Ibid, 70-71.
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid, 71.
Programme; they also reached out to family members of the DPs already in Canada to help sponsor refugees and provide them with a safety net upon their arrival.\textsuperscript{122}

Even these well-laid plans suffered setbacks. The hopes of the CCC to make the DP Dossier Programme a “Church Placement Programme” in Canada were thwarted by the very real realities of refugee movement. Some DPs chose to move to other countries instead of Canada. The response of local churches to the call for help was slow, thus making it a challenge to provide a firm commitment of support to potential newcomers.\textsuperscript{123} In 1953, Geoffrey Andrew, Chairman of the National Seminar of Citizenship, spoke of the changes that the immigration department faced in its efforts at the annual meeting Scarborough. He observed that Christian love and charity remained strong motivations in citizens to do good and help immigrants, but that the “secular ministry of the social worker” had supplanted the work that hitherto churches had spearheaded such as organizing help for immigrants.\textsuperscript{124} For other churches, like the Presbytery of Saugeen in Sudbury, Ontario, local clerks and officials did not think that enough information circulated about their local presbytery as a potential new home for immigrants (especially British Presbyterians), so an influx of newcomers remained more of a trickle than a torrent.\textsuperscript{125} Despite appeals for universal care, local church responses

\textsuperscript{123} Ibid 73.
and commitments still reflected underlying ethnic or denominational preferences or biases.

The urban-rural divide in Ontario constituted another reason for a more paced response. 10,000 vacant farms remained for sale in the province, according to the statistics acquired by the Presbyterian Church.\textsuperscript{126} With the movement of many newcomers to urban centres, the smaller rural churches in the province did not have the same resources to assist the passage and acclimatization of newcomers. In the Home Missions Report presented at the annual meeting of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1951, Reverend William McBride of the Synod of Toronto and Kingston noted that new churches were needed to accommodate the immigration boom to the cities, which required resources the national church did not have. If such scarcity challenged well populated urban areas, it made the task of ministering to rural areas such as the sprawling mining communities of Northern Ontario even more of a challenge.\textsuperscript{127} McBride urged foresight and planning in order to “come to grips” with the challenges that confront the Church.\textsuperscript{128}

Such challenges aside, the Secretary of the Committee on the Immigration of Refugees for the CCC reported that a total of 825 persons (or 360 families) had been assisted through the church program by October 15, 1951. The World Council of Churches identified the good work done by the CCC’s programme and asked for a

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{126} Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, “Immigration – The Directors Report,” in \textit{Acts and Proceedings of the 77\textsuperscript{th} General Assembly Ottawa, 1951}, 332-334.\\
\textsuperscript{127} Ibid\\
\textsuperscript{128} Ibid
\end{flushright}
continuance of its efforts into 1952. The Committee welcomed the opportunity to move forward, especially as it meant that they might work towards their original goal of assisting 800 families. Family was a common theme in much of the work of the CCC, especially when it came to fostering strong and responsible youth domestically.

Juvenile delinquency received a great deal of attention. The plight of youth in Canada caught the attention of the CCC because no other issue quite got at the heart of the future of Churches. According to an internal report for the CCC, “the tempo of the home [had] quickened. War production and mobilization of man and woman power [had] dramatized a new world to [the] children.” This newly dramatized world put children in greater danger. Family life became the new front, even in the post-war world. Delinquency was symptomatic of a strained home life, which could be caused by any number of factors: poor housing, a father away in the army, working mothers, poor health, bad companions, or gangster radio.

Delinquency itself was defined using the 1908 Juvenile Delinquent and so ascribed such behaviour to

any child who violates any provision of the criminal code or of any Dominion or Provincial Statute, or of any by-law or ordinance of any municipality for which violation, punishment by fine, or imprisonment may be awarded, or who is guilty

---

130 Ibid.
of immorality or any similar form of vice, or who is liable by reason of any other act to be committed to an industrial school or juvenile reformatory under the provisions of any Dominion or Provincial Statute.133

The Church, broadly speaking, had to take responsibility for the moral health of the children. If “the nation [could] rise no higher than its homes” than the Church had to promote the home as the “centre of happiness and the fountain source of good morals, civilization, and good citizenship”.134 *The Canadian Statesman* reported on a Rotary Club talk about the reasons for delinquency.135 Focusing upon a group of teenagers “wreaking havoc” upon the city, Dave Nicolson, the Executive Secretary for the Broadview Y.M.C.A., spent eighteen months as an “accredited member” of Toronto’s “Junction Gang” to gain insight into what caused some children to turn to crime. Nicolson noted that feelings of rejection pushed many youth towards groups that provided them with a sense of inclusion, as well as the state of insecurity that permeated the world.136 The “latch-key” generation (children born in the early 1930s), as Nicolson called them, lacked a consistent, secure, and loving home life from early on, which drove them to find that security elsewhere.137

Reverend Duncan White of Newmarket’s Ministerial Association voiced support for the Town Council’s leadership on behalf of the area’s churches to help curb the recent

---

136 Ibid, 15.
137 Ibid, 1
poor publicity Newmarket received for its “youth problem.” Hoodlums had committed repeated acts of vandalism in the city, bringing unwanted attention. Among the suggestions made at the town meeting to address the issue included greater emphasis on redirecting youth to recreational activities like baseball or urging parents to pay more heed to the activities and health of their children. The “latch-key” generation exposed Canada to moral weakness should their behaviour not conform to a higher moral standard.

Sunday school provided a clear place to affirm Protestant Christianity in children in order to prevent them from hearing the siren call of delinquency. Opinion pieces such as that of Mrs H.G. Robertson of Richmond Hill, who quoted that the “family that prays together stays together,” carefully laid out the relationship between home and church as vital to the preservation of the family. A child’s attendance at Sunday school affirmed a strong faith tradition and a secure family life that in turn reinforced the bonds of family that would prevent delinquency. The Diocesan Council for Social Service of the Anglican Church echoed these ideas in its 1948 report, as did Anglican Bishop of

---

139 Ibid
140 Ibid
141 Brian T. Thorn, “Healthy Activity and Worthwhile Ideas: Left and Right Wing Women Confront Juvenile Delinquency in Post World War II Canada,” Histoire Sociale/Social History (Vol 42, no. 84, September 2009), 331. For other works that explore the social standards that the Anglo elite in the country attempted to preserve and uphold during the Cold War, please see Mona Gleason, Normalizing the Idea: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999) and Christopher Dummitt, The Manly Modern: Masculinity in Postwar Canada (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007).
143 Ibid
Toronto Ray Beverley in his charge of 1949. The Council wanted to preserve the day from labour in order to encourage respite and reflection.\textsuperscript{144} The “soul needs the sanctifying influence of Sunday.”\textsuperscript{145} Wavering from these obligations endangered the foundations of society. Beverley noted that Russian revolutionists abolished Sunday observance as a first step in the eradication of Christianity; Canadian Christians had to remain vigilant.\textsuperscript{146} The common theme of a strong and healthy home life as not only an antidote to wanton teenage behaviour but also a preserve against communist influence connect these examples together, as well as point to a significant focus of larger religious groups like the CCC.

The Canadian Council of Churches saw the ecumenical movement as a unique way to galvanize the churches across the country in order to foster better healthy home lives for children. The CCC could lobby the government on issues of social welfare such as housing, as has previously been mentioned, to combat the factors that led to the deterioration of the family. The Council could also reach out to its constituent churches through its representative via annual meetings and through pamphlets to communicate a common vision for the future of the family and the place of the Church in advocating for that healthy family life with God at the heart of the matter.

From its head office on Willcocks Street in Toronto, the CCC devised an early agenda that reflected the concerns of the Anglo-Protestant elite of Toronto but projected these ideas onto the country. The Ontario-centrism stems from a few factors. First, as

\textsuperscript{145} Ibid. See also Paul Laverdure, \textit{Sunday in Canada: The Rise and Fall of the Lord’s Day} (Gravelbooks, 2004).
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid
noted previously in the chapter, the meetings did not consistently occur outside of the province, and even the two that occurred in Quebec and the one in Winnipeg were still dominated by Ontario members. Second, the leadership of the CCC rested in men who hailed from Ontario. From William Gallagher’s secretarial stewardship to its Presidents such as the Reverends John W. Woodside, Derwyn T. Owen, and E. Emerson Hallman, the leadership of the CCC reflected the experience and locality of Ontario. Third, in its early years, the concentration of leadership in Ontario enabled the CCC to build a broader and more responsive organization. In his Presidential address of the CCC in 1946, Reverend G.P. Gilmour (the Chancellor of McMaster University, which was Baptist) noted that “people will expect too much too quickly” of the “infant organization.”

In its first decade, the CCC worked to carve out a role as intermediary. This position was sorely tested. E.R. May, Secretary of the West Elgin Ministerial Association, wrote to CCC Secretary William Gallagher in December 1952 to discuss how the association could meet the needs of new immigrants. May wanted to know if the CCC intended to buy land like the Roman Catholic Church did to assist refugees. May worried that Protestants do not have a similar action plan in place for the province. In response, Gallagher reminded May that the CCC was not an incorporated body and did not possess the necessary capital to underwrite such a scheme. Perhaps glibly, Gallagher wrote that, “there was no reasons why a local congregation or group of

149 LAC, File 48: GSO (pink), Committee on Immigration of Refugees, 1952, Letter to E.R. May in Rodney ON from the Department of Social Relations, January 6, 1953.
Churches could not undertake the sort of thing” as May had suggested in his original letter. “If Roman Catholic friends are able to achieve this settlement aid on a local level then there is no reasons why Protestants are not able to match the Roman Catholic enterprise and initiative.” The CCC had to balance assisting in the efforts of local church councils or ministerial associations alongside the realities of performing its duties as a national church organization that united the local with the country-wide interests.

For all its practical applications, there was a larger social effect of the Canadian Council of Churches. Their efforts to reform, transform, and shape society spoke to a self-conscious effort to continue to make Christian ideas and values relevant to a modernizing society. Men like William Gallagher wanted to stem the tide of secularization that seemed to accompany the modern Canada.

The Reverend John W. Woodside observed in his 1949 Presidential address that,

There is a very real sense in which to-day we have lost our way to the Heavenly City – the life we were meant to have, in the good Providence of God. We are eagerly scanning the horizon to see if there is any light to guide us. Woodside saw some hope. He took heart that there was an increasing awareness of “others” – that people wanted to look after one another and not just within Canada but also in more remote places on the earth. Organizations like the United Nations fostered better awareness of global issues. Canada’s “welfare state” made it plain that to strengthen the nation internationally it first had to ensure that the country’s poorest

---

150 LAC, File 48: GSO (pink), Committee on Immigration of Refugees, 1952, Letter to E.R. May in Rodney ON from the Department of Social Relations, January 6, 1953.  
151 Ibid.  
152 LAC, MG 28 I 327, volume 1 Canadian Council of Churches – General fonds, volume 2 Annual Meeting Minutes 1947-1952, Rev. Dr. John W. Woodside, “President’s Address – Light on the Horizon” 80.  
153 Ibid.
citizens were well looked after. Canada was doing its part to raise up its poor. The World Council of Churches offered a positive example for unity, especially Christian unity. The Church stood out as a unifying force in a world that still had many demons to exorcise.\textsuperscript{154}

It is unlikely that Woodside, as President of the CCC, would have criticized the place of the church in the world and offered anything other than a hopeful message. His address was necessary. As World War quickly gave way to Cold War, the need for hope was more essential. Woodside’s message had to inspire his fellow churchmen (and women) to continue in their work in the face of greater challenges and crises. The yearly address helped to reinvigorate and recall members to the purpose of the Canadian Council of Churches, and the need for inter-church cooperation.

The heavenly city referenced by Woodside, perhaps as a nod to the work of St. Augustine, made arguments for good works through ecumenical dialogue and fellowship more easily understood. President A.E. Kerr of Dalhousie University observed that, “we are impelled to match [other missionary Christians in the world] their courage and idealism by a deliberate effort to bring together our own separate communions in a church that is catholic, evangelical, and Canadian.”\textsuperscript{155} Idealism certainly fuelled much of the CCC rhetoric. As Daniel C. Goodwin has argued the CCC was established upon the “assumption of the hegemony of a nation’s Protestant churches […] which regarded national churches as the key to sustaining and developing the Christian ethos of

\textsuperscript{154} LAC, MG 28 I 327, vol.1, file 2 Annual Meeting Minutes 1947-1952, Rev. Dr. John W. Woodside, “President’s Address – Light on the Horizon”, 81.
nation.”¹⁵⁶ Much like the rhetoric discussed in chapter one about reconstruction, and the vocabulary of citizenship that infused debates about the role of religion in education policy, the discourse of the CCC also highlighted the vitality of the place of the church in Canadian society. For the CCC, inter-church cooperation was the key.

A “consciousness of common purpose,”¹⁵⁷ as Reverend Henry Smith Leiper put it, trumped whatever intellectual disparities existed between the various communions. On a daily basis, it is hard to understand how such an abstract ideal could translate to tangible and practical goals and activities. The people involved in the CCC spent a great deal of time worrying about the need for togetherness, a shared awareness of common purpose, and the way such commonality might strengthen Canada’s democracy. Historian Daniel Goodwin has argued that such lofty goals meant the failure of the CCC on a practical level. Certainly, by the 1960s, the ardour had dissipated. Goodwin firmly places the history of the CCC within the Gauvreau and Christie model for secularization in Canada. The CCC’s sense of urgency derived from a need to combat secularizing forces in Canada, forces that were all the more palpable in the quickly modernizing post-war world. The Social Service Council of Canada distanced itself from secular institutions – a sign of the movement of religious groups to more marginal roles in society.¹⁵⁸ While such a reading of the situation does take into account and explain the shifting role of religion and religious ideas in society, it does not sufficiently explain the shift beyond the simple reason that society had become more secular so religious institutions, the churches, and

religious ideas were in a kind of retreat and merely asserted themselves from the side-
lines.

The churches and the CCC perceived secularization as a threat to Canadian
society. The Council’s Commission of the Church and the Disorder of Society issued a
report to the broader CCC in 1949. In it, the Commission acknowledged that the world
had moved away from believing in the “factual reality of God’s rule,” citing industrial
and economic disputes, racial tensions, and diverse ideologies as key illustrations of
social disorder.\footnote{LAC, Canadian Council of Churches, MG 28 I 327, vol.1, file 2, Record of
Proceedings, Fourth Meeting October 1947, “Report,” Commission on the Church and
the Disorder of Society, 96-97.} The CCC viewed cooperation amongst Christian denominations as way
to embolden the place of the Christian religion in society.\footnote{LAC, MG 28 I 327, vol.1, file 2, CCC Gallagher – General Secretary Report 1950, 30.} A lack of Christian unity,
then, conceivably manifested as a reason for the public to pull away from the church.\footnote{LAC MG 28 I 327, vol.1, file 3 “Report of Study Commission on ‘The Nature of the
Church’” 1950, 59.} How the CCC perceived the secularization of society points to how secularization as a
social process could manifest in a variety of ways.

Sociologist José Casanova has suggested three propositions for how
secularization has been theorized. First, that secularization simply meant a distinction
between secular institutions and religious norms and practices. Second, that
secularization equated to a decline in a public’s belief in religious ideas, rituals, and
practices. Third, that religious institutions and beliefs became marginalized or privatized
in a secular society.\footnote{José Casanova, Public Religions in the Modern World, (Chicago: University of
Chicago Press, 1994) 211.} For Casanova these propositions are discrete. His
conceptualization of secularization differs from his contemporaries who have posited these individual paradigms as a single theory.\textsuperscript{163}

Casanova’s interpretation helps to understand why secularization can be such a difficult concept to unpack and so difficult to understand how it operates in society. Frequently one or more of the propositions can be present and operational in a society, thus confusing what processes are actually at work. The distinction made between the processes of secularization, however, also bears out the idea that secularization was not uniform, coherent, or linear. While the CCC identified secularization as a threat, this threat had a persistent history in Canada.

Exasperated at a meeting with George Drew about temperance in Ontario, Reverend Dr. Mutchmor of the United Church of Canada pleaded that, “at some point the State must listen to some of the things the church says, and grant them.”\textsuperscript{164} Mutchmor’s frustration decidedly points to a decline in the political influence of churches and religious groups like the Ontario Temperance Association on the policy directions of the provincial government. By contrast, “Church News,” a weekly column that appeared in \textit{The Globe and Mail} detailed the lectures, meetings, and events of Toronto’s Protestant churches and continued its publication well into the 1950s. People’s religious beliefs had not faded away per se, but the space they occupied in public discourse had shifted.

\textsuperscript{163} José Casanova, \textit{Public Religions in the Modern World}, 211.
\textsuperscript{164} AO, George Drew fonds, RG 3-17 B396784 folder 211-G, Proceedings Of Conference Between the Government of Ontario and the Ontario Temperance Federation Associated with Churches and National Bodies January 31\textsuperscript{st}, 1947
“Secularized Education brings a new Dark Age,” read the headline of The Canadian Statesman in January of 1958. As noted in chapter three, churches, even if working for their own denominational interests, together championed the cause of religious instruction in Ontario’s public schools. Reverend W.C. Bothwell the Anglican Chaplain of Toronto University spoke to the Bowmanville Ministerial Association and local principals about the effects of too secular an education upon the whole of society. He warned that religion carried civilization through dark ages, and to turn away from its importance boded ill during the current state of insecurity. Over a decade after the beginning of the Royal Commission on Education (and still after Premier Leslie Frost shelved permanently shelved the Hope Report), the same themes of religion as an antidote to the decay of society prevailed in public discussions.

Secularism is an easy target. It was and is a tool to unite the faithful and to give purpose to a religious agenda. In the case of the Canadian Council of Churches, secularism and ecumenism operated at two different poles. In other words, ecumenism was a natural remedy to the (abstract) threat of secularism. By the mid 1950s, the Canadian Council of Churches had adopted a kind of status quo. They met annually and continued to lobby the government and work with local communities. They discussed and reflected upon the yearly changes and challenges to religion in Canada. The structure and purview of the CCC was both its greatest strength and its greatest weakness. Its democratic inclusion of many communions was the touchstone of the ecumenical moment. It also made it difficult to enact and change because it prompted an unwieldy

---

165 “Secularized Education Brings a New Dark Age Tuesday Speaker Fears,” The Canadian Statesman, (Bowmanville) January 9 1958, 1.
166 Ibid, 7.
167 Ibid.
power dynamic. There was no medial structure that helped to codify the ideas of the thinkers and organizers of the CCC with the practical concerns and abilities of its large and geographically diverse membership.

If anything, however, the CCC demonstrates just what a key moment the post-war decade was for thinking about religion and for thinking about the way the churches needed to adapt. Protestants were alive to the possibility of change and adaptation; they saw it as a necessity in order to maintain relevance. The need to do good deeds in the earthly city was as much an important issue in the 1950s as it was in the 550s. The advent and continued presence of the CCC during such a formative period for Canada identifies that not only did faith remain an important value for society, but that the churches were still the institution to shepherd and guide that faith into other positive avenues to prompt change in society.

The business of the Canadian Council of Churches might not have been a topic of discussion by families across the nation around the dinner table, but the attitude of those involved with the CCC did trickle down to other areas of import for the Canadian family. The desire and willingness to change signaled the way faith could remain a constant in society, a barometer for morality and the social good while the institution or institutions that brokered that faith changed.

After WWII, the Protestant Churches took an active role in society and used ideas and tenets from the past to influence the government, local communities, and citizens in order to shape Canada's future; in the post-war moment religion and religious ideas shaped and were re-shaped by the drastically changing times and forced Canadians to confront the relevance of faith in everyday life.
In the period following 1956, changes in the religious landscape in Canada occurred more radically, more drastically. Pierre Berton wrote a scathing invective against the Anglican Church in Canada in 1965. *The Comfortable Pew* skewered the church and questioned its relevance in mainstream society.\(^{168}\) The Church had too long relied upon a vision of the past that did not have any bearing on society. Perhaps to confirm such a presentiment, even the Roman Catholic Church acknowledged a need to move forward. Between 1962 and 1965, the Second Vatican Council convened to discuss the role of the Church in the modern world, the place of ecumenical dialogue, and questions of religious renewal.\(^{169}\)

Baby boomers were beginning to come of age. The demographic so influential on Canadian society came into self-consciousness. For much of the period under study in this dissertation, the baby boom generation was in rompers and did not have the impact on society so frequently touted. In the decade following the Second World War, decisions were made by the generation who had lived through the Great Depression and the Second World War. This demographic understood that society needed to move forward but harboured great anxiety about moving to far away from traditional values. It was the abandonment of such values that led to such tumultuous times.

The Cold War only exacerbated and intensified feelings of anxiety. The foe was unseen and covert. In communist Russia, citizens had an ideological enemy who was not only godless but who threatened the repose and hegemony of the new liberal order. After

---


\(^{169}\) For more on changes in the Catholic Church and Quebec, see Michael Gauvreau, *The Catholic Origins of Quebec’s Quiet Revolution 1931-1970,* (Kingston: Queen’s Policy Studies, 2007).
1945, institutions reacted both to the recently passed conflict as well as to the new conflict they faced. It makes a great deal of sense that many of those institutions would reach into the past to find some meaning and to make sense of a new way forward as they coped people’s changing identification with their Christian background in a modernizing Canada.

Part of making a new way forward was the need to change with the changing times. The conflicts of the past twenty years taught citizens that as much as they needed to rely on the wisdom of yore, such wisdom required balance with renewed and increased efforts to adapt to a modernizing society.
Conclusion – “Between Earth and High Heaven”

The Cold War exacerbated and intensified feelings of anxiety about the future. The foe was unseen and covert. This dissertation opened with the assertion that religion mattered in Canada, to Canadians. Through discussions of commemoration, broadcasting, education, immigration, and ecumenism, this work has traced how people attempted to live, as Gwethalyn Graham beautifully entitled it, somewhere between “Earth and High Heaven.” Graham’s protagonists, Mark and Erica, confronted their own ambivalence about religion as well as their eagerness to have faith to help them navigate life decisions and society. Their experiences, although particular to the novel, could easily stand in for the aspirations of many Canadians in the postwar period.

Protestant values became more diffuse over the decade after the war. People identified as Christian and insisted upon the values of their Protestant faiths as the bedrock of Canadian society. This self-identification did not necessarily correlate to packed pews on Sunday. Throughout the previous chapters, the emphasis upon a lived Christianity has been evident in the way memorials were conceived as spaces for citizens to contemplate sacrifice and the future, the way the new pulpit of radio could connect Canadians in their homes through a shared religious message, the debate about what values ought to be taught to school children to instill proper Christian citizenship, how immigrants were welcomed to Canada, and the movement towards inter-church cooperation as the ultimate sign of a pan-Christian message. People believed “without belonging.”1 Religion was not marginalized, it was merely re-ordered. Influenced by

1 Jeffrey Cox, Cox, The English Churches in a Secular Society: Lambeth, 1870-1930 (New York, 1982)
orthodoxy it did not rely on particular denominational precepts or creeds. Protestant citizens claimed a religious identity but did not necessarily subscribe to the traditional hallmarks of their faith. Put simply, the times had changed and so had individuals.

The war and its horrors echoed throughout the cultural zeitgeist of the post-war decade. Look no further than the Governor-General Awards for Literary Fiction. Authors explored themes of conflict, social division, and the modern world from Gwethalyn Graham’s 1944 winning novel From Earth to High Heaven to Hugh MacLennan’s 1945 winning novel Two Solitudes about the struggle of one man to balance his heritage, language, and class or his 1948 winner The Precipice about a young couple trying to forge a life despite different values and backgrounds to David Walker’s 1952 winning novel The Pillar about a man in the a POW camp in Germany. Each of these novels dealt with themes of uncertainty, cultural clashes, and uneasy compromise against the backdrop of post-war and modernizing Canada.

Reconstruction was a key process in the post-war decade. What exactly was being reconstructed is a question not as frequently asked. It is doubtful that anyone would wish to return to the decade of hardship and heartache marked by depression and drought. Instead, the post-war decade provided people an opportunity to build anew a strong, Christian civilization. Christianity provided armour against communism in the new Cold War climate. For the Mayor-Elect of London Ontario in 1951, accused of communist sympathies while he had worked on the police force, Allan Rush used his Christianity to

---

silence his critics and to affirm his ability to lead the city.\textsuperscript{4} If he was a Christian than he could not be a communist.\textsuperscript{5}

Memorialization of the Second World War demonstrated how in order to look forward, citizens had to reflect or to “look back” first. In order to create active, vital citizens in the future, men and women had to draw strength from the sacrifice of the fallen. Memorials were no longer static. Gardens and arenas provided spaces in which to commemorate the toll of wars on Canadian society. Commemoration shifted from a concerted nation-building effort to a customary ceremony that celebrated nation-hood. The symbols and language of memorialization drew upon the shared religious ideas and values of all the churches. The local or localized efforts by parishes, communities, or veterans groups supported the circulation of these ideas that linked citizenship with Christian values.

Radio provided churches with a mouthpiece for ministry. The reach of the Protestant denominations extended into the living rooms of citizens across the country. In the process of adapting the message to the medium, church leaders espoused a more ecumenical message. Creed mattered but faith mattered more. In a very physical way, the radio became a tool of diffusive Christianity. People could truly believe without belonging to a particular church. Listening to one of many CBC or local programs enabled citizens to affirm their own Christian self-identification but in a way that had not previously occurred.

If radio helped to diffuse the message of Christianity across society, the debate about the place of education in Ontario’s schools indicated the desire on the part of the

\textsuperscript{4} ARCC Weldon Library, City Council Minutes, “Inaugural address,” 1951.  
\textsuperscript{5} ARCC Weldon Library, Allan Rush fonds, Box 1, Correspondence, 1950-1955.
church institution to ensure religious instruction and teachings remained a touchstone for
citizenship. The Hope Report, regardless of outcome, signaled a widespread discussion
about the place of education in the province, and the place of religion in education.
Shareholders across Ontario offered insight, advice, and criticism that the commissioners
used to craft their report. Consensus about the practical changes to the system that needed
to be made remained out of reach for the Commission. However, the commissioners
shared a mutual accord that education was vital to the creation of fully participatory,
civic-minded citizens in the years ahead.

Questions of citizenship also infused debates about immigration. The arrival of
huge numbers of people to the province both challenged the white, Protestant majority
and also affirmed its mission. Churches worked tirelessly to remain engaged and
influential when it came to the groups of people seeking a new home in Canada.
Presbyterians were anxious for more Presbyterians. Anglicans were anxious for more
Anglicans. They wanted to enlarge their congregational numbers. The humanitarian
impulse and the needs to welcome war-weary immigrants and refugees overrode the
individual ambitions for each Protestant church. The work of the Canadian Council of
Churches to aid refugees and immigrants helped to bring different denominations
together. Articulating a shared Christian message, the Protestant churches shared more in
common than not and were united in promoting Canadian identity couched in Christian
values. The shifting place of religion in society and in the hearts and minds of the
populace reflected broader concerns about what constituted Canadian identity, what made
a good citizen, and the place of faith in modern Canada.
The move toward ecumenism and the denominational cooperation that occurred amongst the Protestant Churches provide an excellent example of the dynamic place of religion in society following the war. Religion offered a way for people to come together and to find commonality between creeds, but denominational affiliation remained a hallmark of identity for many others. The work of the Canadian Council of Churches and the discussions about ecumenism refocus discussions about secularization from a declensionist narrative of the place of religion in society to a more appropriate conversation about the way religion had to adapt and react to modern society. Diffusive Christianity did not mean people were less religious. It did mean that religion as a category of identity had undergone a renaissance where worship became secondary to faith. Ironically, as religion diffused in society the symbols and ideals associated lost many of their creedal distinctions. They were diluted. Individuals could access religious ideas more broadly but the ideas became less tethered to a particular Protestant denomination.

The early Cold War period in Canada was unsettled and unsettling. Changing technology, new ideas, new people, and modernization challenged ministry during this time. Geographically, communities moved further north and west. They also moved outside of urban areas to a large suburban frontier that restructured families, cities, and the country. The Cold War caused feelings of uncertainty and insecurity. It was a new military frontier. The rules of war and peace were not so easily defined or recognizable in a nuclear age. Technology advanced and the pace of modern life accelerated. With all this shifting terrain, religious values changed and adapted. At the same time that faith became loosened from the rites and rituals of church-going, morality as defined by the Christian
churches became more entrenched as a marker of democratic values and good citizenship. How modern society in the coming decades would need religion remained the great unanswered question.
Bibliography

1. Primary Sources

A. Unpublished Primary Sources

Anglican Church in Canada Archives
   Journal of the Incorporated Synod of the Diocese of Toronto of the Church of

Archives of Ontario
   George Drew Fonds
   Leslie M. Frost Fonds
   J.R. Kidd Fonds
   Multicultural History Society of Ontario Fonds
   Royal Commission on Education in Ontario Fonds

Canadian Broadcast Corporation Digital Archives
   CBC Newsmagazine
   CBC Radio News Special
   Citizen’s Forum
   One Immigrant Family

Library and Archives Canada
   Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Fonds
   Canadian Council of Churches Fonds
   Christian Social Science Council of Canada Fonds
   Department of Citizenship and Immigration Fonds
   Department of Ecumenical Affairs Fonds
   Department of National War Services Fonds
   Imperial War Graves Commission Fonds
   Mattie Rotenberg Fonds
   Military Engineers Association of Canada Fonds
   Privy Council Office Fonds
   Royal Canadian Legion Fonds
   War – Memorials – National War Memorial Fonds

London Room, Weldon Library, Western University
   Allan Rush Fonds

Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives
   Acts and Proceedings of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Toronto: Murray
   Publishing.
   A.L. Farris Fonds
United Church of Canada Archives
Boards of Overseas Missions Records Relating to Korea Fonds
InterChurch Committee on Protestant Roman Catholic Relations Fonds
William James Gallagher Fonds
Alexander S. Murray Fonds
General Council Office Fonds
Gordon Spence Maxwell Fonds
Gordon Sisco Fonds
Records of the Commission on Religious Instruction in Public and Secondary Schools
Records of the War Service Committee
United Church of Canada Committee on Radio and Television Fonds

B. Published Primary Sources

“Administrative history.” Laurentian University Archives, Sudbury and Distric Ministerial Fonds,

British North America Act
Committee on Chaplaincy Service. The Armour of God. The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1941.


The Education Act, Ontario (1980).

Gallup Poll, Canadian Institute of Public Opinion

Hansard

Hodgins, J. George. Documentary history of education in Upper Canada from the passing of the Constitutional act of 1791 to the close of Rev. Dr. Ryerson’s administration of the Education Department 1876. Toronto: Warwick Bros and Rutter, 1894.

House of Commons Debates

Population, Urban and Rural, by province and territory (Ontario) in the 1941 Dominion census, http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo62g-eng.htm.)
Ottawa: Canadian Citizenship Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 1953.

The Royal Commission on Education in Ontario

http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Findings/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf


War Charities Act

C. Newspapers & Periodicals

Acton Free Press

The Aurora Era

The Calgary Herald

The Canadian Baptist

The Canadian Statesman

The Christian Science Monitor

The Colborne Express

The Ensign

The Globe and Mail

The Hamilton Spectator

Kawartha Lakes

The Legionary

The Liberal
2. Secondary


Caron, Charlotte. “A Look at Ministry: Diversity and Ambiguity” in *The United Church


“Even the Hippies were only very slowly going secular’ Dechristianization and the Culture of Individualism in North America and Western Europe.” In The Sixties and Beyond edited by Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, 3-38. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.


Davies, Allan T. and Marilyn F. Nefksy. How Silent were the Churches?: Canadian Protestantism and the Jewish Plight. Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1997.


Epp, Marlene. “The Semiotics of Zwieback: Feast and Famine in Narratives of


__________ *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario’s Schools.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.


http://www.kvacanada.com/wall_ofremembenglish.htm


“... A Short History of Catholic Schools in Ontario.”


Winter, Jay. Sites of Memory. Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural


