The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers 1980

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IN DEFENCE OF THE SPIRIT

Zwingli's Search for Valid Authentication of his Reform Work in 16th Century Zurich

by

Edward J. Furcha

Why would a historian want to venture onto theological ice, as it were, when results may prove far from conclusive? Why get into a topic (that of Zwingli's hermeneutic) which has received spotty attention in the Zwingli scholarship of the last 60 years?[1]

My interest in this topic is the result of intensive preoccupation over the last five years with one of the reformer's major treatises, the Auslegen und Begruenden der Schlussreden[2], first published in the late summer of 1523, the first translation of which into English I hope to have published by Pickwick Press within the next couple of years.

The initial question which comes to mind is why the reformer felt compelled to expand in such detail on the very same articles which earlier that year had won him the support of the Zurich City Council. More pertinent still is the related query as to the front which Zwingli felt he had to fight in order to assure success of the reform efforts he had engaged in since taking the position of first minister of the city of Zurich at the Grossminster Church.

In response to the first question we may safely assume that internal opposition to major reforms must have been rather strong despite the official decision by the Council to support Zwingli. One may, of course, wonder whether perhaps the reformer himself felt somewhat uncomfortable with the speed and/or direction of the reforms and was looking for some sort of public affirmation or continuing debate to help him firm up the principles underlying such reform.

Regarding the second query one may readily discern two major opposition camps. A third and fourth reason for Zwingli's concern in the Exposition with hermeneutical principles will also be advanced with much less certainty of course. His chief opponents came from the

ecclesiastical hierarchy of the day represented at the first Zurich Disputation (in January of 1523) by the Episcopal emissary John Faber, no mean theologian himself and a staunch defender of the established order. Equally strong opposition came from Zwingli's own ranks during intervening months in the form of challenges to speed up the reforms that had been begun and to carry to their radical conclusion some of the principles which Zwingli had espoused in sermons and pamphlets in the period between 1519 and 1523.

A third front which needed cleaning up was Zwingli's earlier held position regarding the Schriftprinzip that was to be followed in reforming the church (Zwingli's initial stand seems to have been a fairly simplistic biblicism). The reformer now appears to be groping for a more broadly based stance - one that would preserve whatever proved to be sound in the Catholic tradition, assure evangelical preaching of the highest order, yet reduce to the minimum any disruptive forces that might topple, ere the fruits of this labor had been fully tasted, the diligently erected edifice of evangelical liberty.

A possible fourth reason for the hasty production and publication of the Exposition and its attempt to "flesh out" the skeleton of reform may be found in the way in which Zwingli perceived himself. He perhaps saw himself as the "Luther of the South", a midwife able and willing to assist in the birth processes of a new evangelical faith. A detailed exposition of his platform of reform would then be the white paper if you like with the aid of which a truly reformed church could measure its authenticity and the depth of evangelical faith and commitment and constantly reform its heads and members in obedience to the life giving word of God.

Zwingli assumes the mantle of the prophet as he tackles the structures that need changing. The authority with which he speaks and acts is not his own, but the Lord's. The words he uses are not merely human prattle, but word of God, grounded and affirmed in Jesus Christ and revealed by the spirit of God to every believing rational person.

One cannot stress enough in an assessment of this kind how significant it was for Zwingli to proceed in his reform work with a thorough understanding of and in obedience to the transmitted faith. His ministry in Zurich cannot be appreciated if it is judged exclusively as political act or intellectual venture or as judicious

purging of dubious practices in the church. Nor must he be seen merely as standing between two great illuminaries of his day, Luther in the North and, at a later stage, Calvin in Geneva.

The Zurich reformer was undoubtedly conscious to a point of his dilemma. Repeatedly he affirms that his insights had been gained not so much by following Luther, but in the independent pursuit of truth in constant interaction with Holy Writ and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. It is this claim of course which bears investigating.

Traditional Zwingli scholarship sought to locate his spiritual roots in Erasmian humanism, particularly in his ethical emphasis (cf J.M. Usteri, "Initia Zwinglii", in Theologische Studien und Kritiken. 1885, 1886).

In fact, if we accept the well reasoned thesis by J.W. Aldridge on the nature of the Erasmian hermeneutic and compare Zwingli's own method of interpretation with that of Erasmus, significant points of contact may be seen[3]. Erasmus advocates a return to the sources (Ad fontes) as an important first step in any attempt to understand the word. Some mastery of Hebrew, Greek and Latin is a necessary prerequisite to biblical enquiry and theological studies.

What Aldridge calls the philosophia Christi is a second hermeneutical principle in Erasmus - an almost simplistic love ethic which he upholds in his Enchiridion as a desideratum of Christian life and scholarship. This philosophia Christi is not an abstract or speculative principle but of the very essence of rational encounter with the relevant biblical records and with the living Christ of the church universal.

Closely related to this is a third principle which Aldridge calls the principle of erudition. It is a learned, grammatical, objective, scientific investigation of the sources[4].

We have taken this slight diversion since we believe it to be a helpful reminder of the kinship between Erasmus and Zwingli and possibly a key to Zwingli's own hermeneutical position which he developed during his work in Zurich as chief pastor of the community that had been entrusted to his care and leadership.

In recent years students of his thought have noted further the strong Augustinian influence in Zwingli (cf U. Gaebler, Zwinglis Reformatorische Entdeckung. 1977). We might note in passing that the Zurich

reformer seems to have been fond of Jerome (not unlike Erasmus and contrary to Luther).

While roots are of great importance in any attempt to understand the direction a major thinker takes we must now turn our attention more specifically to measuring Zwingli's work by the hermeneutical yardstick he himself sought to apply.

In this latter endeavour some rather interesting and often contradictory findings have been the result. The earliest such assessment in recent scholarship seems to have been a doctoral dissertation at the University of Leipzig, submitted by W. Thomas (1920). The author noted the marked trace of rationalism in Zwingli's scripture principle and argued convincingly - if not conclusively - that Zwingli's exposition of scripture was somewhat arbitrary and suffered from his not equating scripture with word of God.

P. Barth writing in 1931 concluded on the other hand that Zwingli was thoroughly grounded in faith in the living God who is attested to in scripture.

R.E. Davies, some fifteen years later (1946) seems to have supported this view with the result that he posited word of God and scripture to be identical in Zwingli's understanding. According to him it is possible to date Zwingli's discovery that scripture is the seat of truth as early as 1514-15.

We can accept, without too much disputing, that there is a distinct development in Zwingli's hermeneutics since the day of the Pestlied (1519-20) though it may prove more difficult, if not impossible, to denote precisely at what point in his writings the change takes place. It would appear helpful in this connection to bear in mind that Zwingli always seemed to temper the zeal of the reformer with considerations of expediency, or, to say it more positively, with a genuine pastoral concern to have his people with him on matters that affected their worship and work. Thus what he wrote at any given time and the practices of the Zurich church at the time of writing did not necessarily coincide.

Let us proceed then with an examination of two treatises in which Zwingli develops a hermeneutic. The first major work to deal with the principles of understanding he sought to follow is Von Klarheit und Gewissheit des Wortes Gottes. Before publication in the summer of 1522 the contents were contained in a

sermon preached in June of that year at the convent church of Oetenbach before at least 50 Dominican nuns from some of the best Christian families. The edited and enlarged version shows Zwingli's basic premise which was to apply a critical mind to the reading of biblical texts. He argues that any Patrician can have a clear grasp of God's word by giving diligent attention to the truth revealed in scripture. No other external means must be used since scripture has its own clarity. God's word is more venerable than all its interpreters and does not benefit from either Christian tradition or contemporary insight (the barb is intended for the Brothers of the Predigerkloster who stood diametrically opposed to Zwingli and who had actually been able to persuade some of the Sisters to stay away from worship when Zwingli preached). The reformer, of course, was convinced that he by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit was able to discern the meaning of scripture while his opponents though perhaps starting from the same premise were not.

Publicly, however, he asserted that "Whoever hears the word of God receives the Holy Spirit to discern that word" (cf Zwingli's Hauptschriften, Der Prediger, Vol. 1 page 104). No particular preparation is required except for total surrender of one's trust in the Lord Jesus (Is there a trace here of Erasmus' philosophia Christi?).

Zwingli makes sure of course to leave the good Sisters with a critical apparatus simple enough so that the unschooled even might test whether the preaching of the word by the priest is in line with the word of God. The twelve checkpoints he gives them evolve essentially around the diminishment in a person of the "old nature", a growing sense of God's greatness and a firming up within one's conscious experience of the gracious work of renewal of the inner being by which the mighty are humbled and the persons of low estate are elevated, with the result that whoever is thus affected learns to disregard human teaching and becomes confident of God's grace and of eternal salvation.[5]

Zwingli has struck to the heart of the matter. On the one hand he challenges the "regale sacerdotium" (royal priesthood) concept by which authorities vested in the duly established episcopate (magisterium) whose knowledge and understanding in that day was nurtured largely on scholastic theology. In its place he insists on the priesthood of all believers which is grounded in Jesus Christ. This new seat of authority eliminates intermediaries and enables each true Christian to discern the intention of the spirit in all matters pertaining to life and faith.

"God himself is the schoolmaster and the tool he employs, scripture, is theopneuston." (von Klarheit, op.cit. p.115-116)

On the other hand however Zwingli must admit that there are flaws in understanding, errors in interpretation and widely divergent responses to the word of God in the fathers as well as in contemporary exegesis. To come to terms with this vexing reality he describes human nature as having animal being and spiritual being, asserting as many of his contemporaries were doing that only the latter is capable of subjecting itself to the leading of God's spirit. Discerning Christians are further urged to set aside private opinion (spirit-filled interpretation obviously is not license to think and do as one pleases), which is nothing and to bring one's opinion (Meinung) in line with scripture. It was Zwingli's conviction no doubt that human judgements would thus be corrected by God's spirit, the true guide to truth.

It would appear that ever so subtly Zwingli has moved to a rather elitist position which no less forcefully than the older magisterial position he had rejected, assumes that truth is not with the masses but with the few (possibly the one Huldreich Zwingli?) who are in Christ.

Since the reformer seems to suggest occasionally that the gospel and the law of God are identical (cf The Labyrinth, lines 218 to 230; this line of argument is also pursued in the Exposition of Article 39 with a qualitative shift discernable in the latter; cf my translation, Article 39 note 1 and A. Rich, Anfaenge, page 66), an advocate or interpreter of the law is needed who could make known the meaning of the law to the one uninitiated. How else is a simple Christian to distinguish between their scriptures and divine scripture?

This apparent impasse notwithstanding Zwingli restates in the first article of the Exposition that the gospel does not need ecclesiastical sanction. It is God's word and does not depend on human prattle for authentication (on this point Calvin was later to agree with him in his Comm. Ep. Gal. where he asserted in a similar vein that the gospel is learned by revelation and cannot be understood or confirmed except by God's grace alone).

In the exposition of subsequent articles which deal with his hermeneutic Zwingli seeks to clarify the process of understanding. Significant are articles 2 and 3 (and

elsewhere occasionally) in which he asserts that Christ the true son of God has revealed God's will and is the only way to salvation. Christ then is the pivotal point in the God-human relationship. Rather sweepingly Zwingli dismisses the understanding of Pope and Council as false (when their understanding is different from his), possibly on the assumption that their respective Christologies are faulty, possibly because he cannot conceive of them possessing the spirit of God who acts as master interpreter, as long as each ends up with a different "truth". To block one of the possible points of departure, he rejects dependence on the Fathers as a possible key to the right interpretation of the word of God reiterating again and again that scripture must be its own interpreter (cf Article 8).

Zwingli's hermeneutic may strike us as rather subjective and it is not without serious flaws. Major among these is the reformer's tendency to attach a moral judgement to the right understanding of the faith. Not only does he allege false motivation in the case of theological opponents but he demands visible fruits in the form of moral action by all who truly know and live the gospel (a fair degree of theological mud-slinging was obviously in order to help maintain one's own position in an agreeable light).

On the positive side of the ledger it must be noted however that Zwingli has succeeded perhaps in overcoming or at least diminishing the dichotomy between law and gospel. He does not deny the law, but proffers a transformation elevation-perhaps - by which in Christ the law becomes gospel. Frequently throughout the Exposition he stresses that the gospel is God's will, made known to humankind, complete in itself and without need of additions or fetters.

When applied by some of his radical contemporaries Zwingli's position tends to lead to antinomian expressions of internalized rather individualistic churchmanship. Zwingli himself however retains a sharp tension since he is able to combine the gospel of Christian freedom with a high doctrine of the church as the community of believers who are held together in their common faith and are made responsible citizens who seek to bring all things under the dominion of Christ.

This is not to say that Zwingli's hermeneutical position did not come across as a precarious one. Its libertine dimensions frightened Luther who undoubtedly suspected Zwingli of theological (or psychological?) naiveté and feared an uncontrollable spiritualism

of the kind he had encountered with the Schwaermer in his own camp.

Did Luther see beyond the affirmation of the spirit led interpretation of God's word the consequences that would lead via some such route to the fragmentation of protestantism in later centuries?

In the Reformed tradition as reflected in its major confessional statements such as the First Helveticum of 1536 or for that matter The Westminster Confession of 1647, Emphasis on the activity of the spirit in revealing the gospel seems to have been toned down. In its place we discover a strong emphasis on the revelatory quality of scripture itself which is given us to reveal God's Son to everyone (cf First Helveticum, Articles 3 to 5; The Westminster Confession, Articles 5 to 9; see Appendix B and C of this paper). The thrust of Zwingli's mystical interpretation of scripture has given way here to a biblicism which is perhaps more akin to that of Calvin; his hermeneutical tension seems to have been weakened somehow.

One wonders of course whether Zwingli's insistence on the work of the spirit in authenticating the word - laudable as that may sound - is workable in a hermeneutical system. It enabled him no doubt to invalidate other authority principles because he judged them to be outside the influence of the spirit of God hence untrue. But does such insistence on the activity of the spirit in the process of "opening the sense of scripture" not invite idiosyncracies, willful bending of ancient texts and arbritary interpretations of injuctions, precepts, law or gospel.

More to the point still, can one ever take recourse to the work of the spirit (who blows where he wills), and then proceed immediately to lay down rules by which the spirit may be discerned?

Any consistent adherence to the spirit principle in hermeneutical processes would leave the exegete open to the charge of subjectivity. You would still have to explain divergent understandings of one and the same text by different interpreters all of whom claim their respective positions to be authoritative though these may prove to be diametrically opposed.

Dare one suggest that a hermeneutic which places heavy emphasis on a spirit-led understanding of the word as advanced in the Exposition enables Zwingli to reform

the church with a good conscience but does not lay to rest altogether the problem of authentication of truth; especially when one notes that Zwingli when in a pinch does not shy away from manipulating the spirit. The total freedom of a Christian person - essential to a reformed church which is to be forever reforming under the spirit - was after all curtailed in Zurich as much as in Wittenberg, Rome or Geneva by the demand for decency and order.

But then no reformer perhaps has much of a choice in the matter if he desires to be heard, heeded and respected by his peers as well as by the "commoners in the faith" who look to him for guide lines and direction that they might stay clear of the pitfalls of excessive orthodoxy without, however, losing firm ground in the quagmire of radical change.

Zwingli's reasoned harnessing of the spirit may therefore still prove to be the shortest path to truth since its ultimate criterion is our doing of God's will.

Footnotes

1. One of the earliest attempts to treat Zwingli's hermeneutic in 20th century historiography is the doctoral dissertation by W. Thomas, Das Erkenntnisprinzip bei Zwingli, submitted to the University of Leipzig in 1920. Among other works are the following: L.I. Newman, Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements, New York. 1925; Peter Barth, "Zwingli's Beitrag zum Verstaendnis der biblischen Botschaft" in Reformierte Kirchenzeitung, 81. 1931; R.E. Davies, The Problem of Authority in the Continental Reformers, 1946; E. Kuenzli, "Zwingli's theologische Wertung des Alten Testaments" in Der Kirchenfreund, 83. 1949; Ibid, "Quellenproblem und mystischer Schriftsinn in Zwingli's Genesis- und Exoduskommentar" in Zwingliana 9, H.4 (1950, No.2)and H.5, (1951 No.1); Ibid, Zwingli Als Ausleger Von Genesis und Exodus, Theol Diss, Zurich, 1951. Other authors may, no doubt, be cited but they are not too numerous and almost totally non-existent in English language treatments.

2. Confer ZII (edited by E. Egli and G. Finsler) pp. 14-457.

3 J.W. Aldridge, The Hermeneutic of Erasmus, Richmond: John Knox Press. 1966

4 Ibid, p.57.

5 For an abbreviated version of the twelve points see Appendix A below.

Appendix A

The following is a paraphrased version of the twelve points suggested by Zwingli to the Nuns of Oetenbach taken from the German text edited by F. Blanke in Zwingli Hauptschriften, Der Prediger pp. 118-119.

1. Everyone ought to pray to God that the old nature may be overcome which lays great store by its own wisdom and skill.
2. That God may richly indwell the cleansed soul.
3. That God's initial work might be affirmed.
4. Note must be taken that God overlooks no one and chooses his instruments.
5. It is God's nature to humble the mighty and elevate the humble.
6. God's word always calls forth the poor and comforts the distressed and despairing.
7. One's own interests are always secondary.
8. It should be the intent of proclamation to make God known to humankind.
9. One ought to note that innner renewal takes place through God's word and not through human teaching.
10. A sermon must assure the listener of God's grace and eternal salvation.
11. It should put self in its place and elevate God.
12. There must be awareness of the fear of God which delights rather than threatens.

Appendix B

First Helveticum, Articles 2, 4 and 5 as translated in A. Cochrane, Reformed Confessions p. 100f.

Article 2
This holy divine scripture is to be interpreted in no other way than out of itself and is to be explained by the rule of faith and love.

Article 4
We regard all other human doctrines and articles which lead us away from God and true faith as vain and ineffectual no matter how attractive, fine, esteemed and of long usage they may be.

Article 5
The entire biblical scripture is solely concerned that man understands that God is kind and gracious to him and that he has publicly exhibited and demonstrated this his kindness to the whole human race through Christ his Son.

Appendix C

From the Westminster Confession

Article 1
Affirms that God revealed himself but that "those former ways of God's revealing his will unto his people being now ceased.

Article 4
Vests the authority of the scriptures with God.

Articles 5 and 6
Acknowledge inward illumination but reject any additions to scripture by whatever authority.

Articles 7 to 9
The infallable rule and interpretation of scripture is scripture itself.

Working Bibliography

NOTE: For the purpose of this paper the text of Von Klarheit is that in the Blanke edition of Zwingli's Hauptschriften and the Egli Finsler text of the Auslegen und Gruende der Schlussreden; my translation of the latter is referred to as the Exposition.

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and the lit cited under footnote 1 above.

STRASBOURG AND THE FRENCH PROTESTANTS

by

L. J. Abray

Throughout the sixteenth century, from the advent of the Reformation through the 1590s, the German Free City of Strasbourg was intimately involved with the fate of Protestantism in France. At first a headquarters for the export of evangelical ideas, Strasbourg became in the second half of the century a reception centre for French Calvinist refugees, and an informal ally of the embattled Huguenot captains. This latter development sets Strasbourg off from other Lutheran powers. The roots of the city's policy towards Protestantism in France are worth examining for what they tell us about religious rivalry and religious toleration in the later sixteenth century.

The Strasburghers' connections with France had a solid material base long pre-dating the Reformation. A glance at a map tells the story: Strasbourg stood on the west bank of the Rhine. Here the main overland route from Paris east into the Empire intersected the Rhine corridor connecting the Low Countries with Italy. Geography favoured commercial and cultural links with France which continued through the sixteenth century, increasingly coloured, however, by two new developments: the religious struggle between Catholics and Protestants, and the Strasburghers' fear that the Valois kings or their Guise rivals intended to conquer and annex the city.[1] These last two currents together created a French refugee community in Strasbourg and very much controlled the evolution of its fate.

Strasbourg's connections with French Protestantism stemmed from relatively innocent beginnings, if subversion can ever be innocent. In the early years of the Reformation Strasbourg publishers prepared and exported Latin translations of German Protestant tracts, aimed at the French market. Already in the early 1520s a few converted French clergymen, like François Lambert, had trickled into the city. By the late 1530s there were enough Francophone refugees in the city to make feasible the organization of a refugee church. This task fell to Jean Calvin, who worked in Strasbourg while in exile from Geneva from 1539 to 1541.[2]

Even before Calvin began experimenting with the model of church organization he would take back to Geneva and see spread into France — for

the Strasbourg refugee parish is the real mother church of the Calvinists — Strasbourg had begun the long, politically-motivated slide which would destroy the refugee church. In 1536 Strasbourg's lay rulers ratified the Wittenberg Concord their clergy had worked out with Martin Luther. The Concord marked the triumph of those local politicians who felt that the security of Protestantism in their city could be guaranteed only under the protective umbrella of the Lutheran princes. It also signalled the end of the Strasbourg clergy's flirtation with Zwinglianism, which had been the dominant current locally in the mid and later twenties. The clergy's growing commitment to the nascent Lutheran orthodoxy made them more and more hostile to the presence in their city of what they came to define as a heretical Reformed enclave, the refugee church.[3]

After Calvin's departure in 1541 the refugee church fell on hard times.[4] Its members irritated the city's lay rulers by quarrelling among themselves and creating public scandals. As the city became more Lutheran the refugees appeared as a foreign theological element. Moreover, as "Welsch" they were often the object of xenophobic local prejudices. Distrust of the French heightened after 1552 when the Imperial Free City of Metz fell to the French crown and the Strasburghers feared that their city was next on the Valois list. Rumours circulated about spies in the French parish, and the Strasburghers worried about foreign infiltration of their city. In 1557 the lay magistrates voted to take steps "to ensure that there aren't too many foreigners" by limiting the size of the French colony.[5] In 1563, as part of the mopping-up operations after a bitter and highly publicized feud between Johann Marbach, President of the Lutheran Church Assembly, and the refugee theologian Girolamo Zanchi, the magistrates voted to close the refugee church.[6] The Calvinist refugees, foreign in both doctrine and culture, had apparently exhausted the renowned tolerance of the city of Strasbourg, and this at a time when the outbreak of war in France left them in the most desperate need of friends.

In fact the closing of the refugee church in 1563 was not at all the end of the Calvinist presence in Strasbourg. The story of this city's involvement with the French Protestants, and of the fate of the French refugee community here, takes in more than doctrinal quarrels, fear of Valois conquest, and a desire to protect the city's German character. A fourth element — the resurgence of Catholic power in Western Europe — gave the Huguenot refugee community a new lease on life just when its time

here seemed to have run out.

The Strasbourg magistrates harboured a well-developed fear of the emerging league of Guise, Habsburg, Pope, and Jesuits. They feared that if the Catholic powers managed to destroy Protestantism in France, they would then be free to eradicate it in the Empire. Strasbourg was peculiarly vulnerable to this threat, more so than were the Lutheran princes whose rights were guaranteed by the Religious Peace of Augsburg. The Peace of 1555 had left Strasbourg officially bi-confessional and in the early sixties its magistrates had only just beaten back the partial Catholic restoration imposed on their city by Charles V in the aftermath of the Schmalkaldic War.[7] Moreover, Strasbourg was a Lutheran island in a Catholic diocese and to further compound matters many of its nearest Protestant neighbours, like the Swiss towns and the volatile Palatinate, were often Reformed, not Lutheran. The Lutheran princes of the Schmalkaldic League had failed Strasbourg in the first half of the century; in the second the city would turn for help to men like Henry of Navarre, Pfaltzgraf Johann Casimir of the Palatinate, and the Swiss of Zurich. Fear of the Catholics pushed the Strasbourg magistrates towards Reformed rulers. At the same time, they did not dare alienate the German Lutheran princes. Strasbourg was part of the Empire and subject to a religious peace which recognized only Lutheranism among the Protestant denominations. The local clergy, by now vehemently anti-Calvinist, were not above suggesting that political cooperation with Reformed powers cast doubt on the city's Lutheran status. The fate of the refugees, therefore, would be determined by the magistrates' ability to balance the demands of their Lutheran clergy against the demands of their Reformed neighbours.

When the situation in France degenerated into war in the early 1560s Strasbourg committed itself solidly to the Huguenot cause, identifying the Huguenots as fellow Protestants menaced by Catholic tyranny. In a series of crucial decisions in August 1562 the city set itself on what proved to be the road to war at home thirty years later. Recognizing that the gesture was a political act, a <u>prise de position</u> against the Guise, the magistrates took in the household of Louis de Bourbon, prince de Condé. They voted to shelter more refugees, reversing their 1557 decision to limit the number of foreigners in the city. They promised a substantial sum, 20,000 <u>gulden</u>, to the Huguenot war chest.[8] With this series of decisions the magistrates settled the main lines of their

and the Germans; public preaching by the French pastors disturbed the city's Lutheran neighbours and its own people; most of the French understood enough German to follow the Lutheran services and giving them the opportunity to convert would save their souls. On the other hand, it would be uncharitable to deprive the refugees of their already truncated church services; the Calvinists did oppose the Pope and accepted the Bible as the sole authority in religion; and finally, how could Strasbourg suppress the Calvinist meetings when it tolerated the greater abomination of the Catholic Mass, as it was obliged to do under the terms of the Religious Peace of Augsburg?[15]

The main council decided to halt the French prayer meetings. However it also ruled that, "We may not and ought not to make an Inquisition out of this. [The French] are not to lose their citizenship, nor are they to be forced or dragged into our Religion or [have] burdens placed upon their consciences."[16] Refugees continued to arrive despite the decision. A few months later the main council, with only six dissenting votes, decided to reject the latest draft of the Formula of Concord.[17] Although they had suppressed the prayer meetings the city's rulers were still trying to keep up their balancing act between Lutheran and Calvinist pressures.

In 1577, when all this was taking place, Strasbourg was still committed to helping Reformed powers against the Catholics. Although they feared the French, they did not abandon them. Some of them considered Reformed doctrines to be a danger to the soul, but the majority refused to condemn Calvinism by ratification of the Formula of Concord, despite heavy lobbying from their clergy. Instead they kept up their unofficial alliance with the Huguenots — financing mercenaries, permitting recruitment and arms sales in their territories, and making loan after loan to the Huguenot captains, despite their sorry record of regular default.[18]

Aiding the Huguenots brought Strasbourg and the whole Alsatian plain into real danger. The Guisard duc d'Aumale came down out of the Vosges in the winter of 1568-69 and made a bloody sweep through the countryside. After St Bartholomew's the magistrates feared a direct attack on their own city. In 1579, with the Guise again prowling in the plain, there was no rest in Strasbourg for months on end. Alsatians feared the pillaging Huguenot troops just as much as they feared the Guise. Yet a majority of magistrates continued to believe that Strasbourg

must support the Huguenots, or else see the Guise conquer it and restore Catholicism.[19]

There was more than simple anti-Catholicism and political expediency behind the policies of the pro-Huguenot war party in the council. It had a long tradition of Protestant ecumenism on which to draw, a tradition reaching back into the 1520s. In the first decade of the Reformation Strasbourg's theologians, led by Martin Buoer and Wolfgang Capito, had inclined more to Zwinglianism than to Lutheranism. Indeed the city's original confession, the Tetrapolitana of 1530, had been, at least in part, an attempt to span the differences between Zwinglians and Lutherans. Although Strasbourg signed the Augsburg Confession in 1532, it did not repudiate the Tetrapolitana until 1598. There was an element in the city, led by Rector Jean Sturm, which held that the Tetrapolitana remained the city's true confession. These men thought that that ambiguous document, drafted to bring together the Swiss and the Saxons, might still serve to unite the German, Swiss, French, English, and Dutch Protestants. Sturm had strong support on the council in the 1560s and 1570s, when many magistrates still believed in the reality of an international Protestant community and preferred to paper over the theological differences between Lutheran and Reformed in order to present a united front against the resurgent Catholic Church. To the men of this faction denunciations of Calvinism served only to weaken Protestantism and strengthen Catholicism.[20]

The menace of Catholic restoration was increasing for Strasbourg in the 1570s and 1580s, and not just because of Guise and Hapsburg pressure. Under Bishop Johann von Manderscheid (1569-1592) the old faith was gaining ground in the countryside around Strasbourg. In Strasbourg itself the Catholic minority grew more visible and more aggressive each year.[21] Moreover, after 1584 Catholic and Protestant canons in the city's divided Cathedral chapter were openly preparing themselves to wage war for control of the Bishopric. In this extremity the magistrates turned to a traditional ally, the Swiss. In 1588 Strasbourg entered a defensive alliance with Zurich, Bern, and Basel, despite the local clergy's public opposition to any pact with the heretic Swiss.[22]

The need to balance the demands of Lutheran orthodoxy against the realities of international politics came to an end in the 1590s. In 1592 the Protestant (in fact, Calvinist) canons in the Cathedral chapter

elected a new bishop, Johann Georg von Brandenburg. The Catholics retaliated by electing Charles de Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine. Open war broke out, with Lutheran Strasbourg fighting on the side of the Calvinists. The war was an unmitigated disaster for Strasbourg. Its loss destroyed the pro-Huguenot war party which had dominated the city council since the 1560s and provoked a constitutional crisis which took years to resolve.[23]

By the time this crisis had been settled in the late nineties much had changed in Strasbourg. In the Council chamber the Lutheran orthodox party now formed the majority. Most of the French refugees had left and Henry of Navarre had triumphed over the Guise and become a Catholic king. The Swiss, who had pulled out of the Bishops' War as soon as the magistrates failed to meet their payroll, had few friends left in the city. There was no longer any reason to be conciliatory towards adherents of the Reformed faith, in or out of the city. Finally the Lutheran clergy got their way. Late in 1597 the magistrates forbade their subjects to attend any Calvinist services, in Strasbourg or elsewhere.[24] In the spring of 1598 a new church ordinance rolled off the city presses. In it the magistrates unequivocally condemned Calvinism and at last, after more than twenty years, ratified the Formula of Concord.[25]

The fate of Strasbourg's French Calvinist minority, complicated as it was by the threads of doctrinal difference, xenophobia, and international politics, has much to teach us about the pressures under which sixteenth century governments formulated religious policy. Curiously enough, this tale of the slow strangulation of a Calvinist community in a Lutheran city also has something to tell us about the persistence of a kind of religious toleration. You will recall that in 1577 the magistrates had expressly refused to "make an Inquisition". In 1597 they also hedged their prohibitions. They ruled that their decisions barring their subjects from attending Calvinist meetings should be so worded:[26]

> that the weak in faith shall not take offence, and that no one shall be put under compulsion in matters of faith. Rather everyone's conscience shall be left free, provided only that people conduct themselves peacefully.

The magistrates had chosen to permit only one kind of Protestant worship, but those rejecting Lutheranism would not be compelled to attend the established church. Strasbourg's rulers had chosen peace on earth over the perils of enforced uniformity.

NOTES

RP = Minutes of the Senate and XXI, AMS

AMS = Archives municipales de Strasbourg

1 There is no good general study of the emotionally-charged relations between Alsace, France, and the Reich. On the economic side see François Joseph Fuchs, "Heurs et malheurs d'un marchand-banquier strasbourgeois du XVIe siècle, Israël Minckel (vers 1522-1569), bailleur de fonds du Roi de France et des Huguenots," Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses 54 (1974), pp. 115-127. On the cultural side see Carl Zwilling, "Die Französische Sprache in Strassburg bis zu ihrer Aufnahme in den Lehrplan des protestantische Gymnasiums," in Festschrift des protestantischen Gymnasiums (Strasbourg: Heitz und Mundel, 1888).

2 See the articles by Rodolphe Peter, Richard Stauffen, Léon E. Halkin, Roger Zuber, and Christian Wolff in Société savante d'Alsace et des régions de l'Est, Strasbourg au coeur religieux du XVIe siècle (Strasbourg, 1977), Section IV, "Strasbourg, Calvin, et la Réforme française," pp. 269-330.

3 Johann Adam, Evangelische Kirchengeschichte der Stadt Strassburg bis zur Französischen Revolution (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1922) provides a reliable overview of the city's church history. The political background to the Wittenberg Concord has been examined by Thomas A. Brady, jr., "Jacob Sturm and the Political Security of German Protestantism," unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Chicago.

4 For a résumé see Jean Rott, "L'Eglise des refugiés de langue française à Strasbourg au XVIe siècle, aperçu de son histoire, en particulier de ses crises à partir de 1541," Bulletin de la Société pour l'histoire du protestantisme français 122 (1976), pp. 525-550.

5 RP 1557, ff. 53r-54r and AMS II/93/5.

6 RP 1563, f. 329r and AMS II/84b/49. On the quarrel see James M. Kittelson, "Marbach vs. Zanchi The Resolution of Crisis in Late Reformation Strasbourg," Sixteenth Century Journal 8 (1977), pp. 31-44.

7 On Catholicism here see François Joseph Fuchs, "Les catholiques strasbourgeois de 1529 à 1681," Archives de l'Eglise d'Alsace 22 (1975), pp. 141-169, and René Levresse, "La Survie du Catholicism à Strasbourg," Strasbourg au coeur religieux du XVIe siècle, pp. 459-469.

8 RP 1562, ff. 259v-260v, 263v-264r, 264r-v.

9 RP 1566, ff. 212r and 214r; RP 1568, ff. 321r-323r.

10 RP 1567, ff. 632v-633v.

11 For a description of one group within the refugee community see Roger Zuber, "Les Champenois refugiés à Strasbourg et l'eglise reformée de Châlons Echanges intellectuels et vie religieuse (1560-1590)," Mémoires de la Société d'Agriculture, de commerce, science, et arts du Département de la Marne, 79)1964), pp. 31-65.

12 RP 1568, ff. 560v-561r.

13 On Sturm, see Jean Rott, "Jean Sturm, premier recteur du Gymnase et de l'Académie de Strasbourg (1507-1589)," Strasbourg au coeur religieux du XVIe siècle, pp. 185-188. On the Formula of Concord RP 1570, ff. 785v-786r, 908r-912r, 985v-987v.

14 RP 1565, ff. 53v-54r, 55v-56r, 355r, 432v-433r, 453r, and RP 1567, f. 385r. Alcuin Hollaender, "Der Theologe Mathias Flacius Illyricus in Strassburg in den Jahren 1567-1573," Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft n.F. 2 (1897/98), pp. 203-244.

15 RP 1577, ff. 94r-96r, 96r-99r.

16 RP 1577, f. 99r.

17 RP 1577, ff. 535v-537v, 722v-723v, 725v-732v.

18 For example, RP 1568, ff. 429r-430r, RP 1569, ff. 467r-468v, RP 1575, ff. 243v-244v.

19 RP 1568, ff. 496v, 499v, 499v-500r, 501r; RP 1569, ff. 88r, 89r, and AMS/II/84b/70. RP 1572, ff. 755v-766r; RP 1579, October, passim. On the desire to keep fighting see the accounts of Condé's appearances before the Council, RP 1574, ff. 338v-341r and 1575, ff. 722v-724v, as well as RP 1589, ff. 526r-527v.

20 Text of the Tetrapolitana in Robert Stupperich et al., eds., Martin Bucers Deutsche Schriften, 3 (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1969). On the political manoeuvring behind this Confession see Thomas A. Brady, jr., "Jacob Sturm of Strasbourg and the Lutherans at the Diet of Augsburg, 1530," Church History 42 (1793), pp. 183-202. On Jean Sturm see note 13 above. On support for his views in the Council, RP 1577, ff. 353r-356r.

21 In addition to the studies given in note 7 above see Karl Hahn, Die Kirchliche Reformbestrebungen des Strassburger Bischofs Johann von Manderscheid, 1569-1592 (Strasbourg: Trübner, 1913).

22 RP 1588, f. 230r. Copies of the treaty are in AMS série AA, 1847.

23 Oskar Ziegler, Die Politik der Stadt Strassburg im bischöfflichen Kriege, Strassburger Beiträge zur neueren Geschichte, 1:3 (1906) and Alfred Widmaier, Friedrich Prechter und der Strassburger Kapitelstreit, ibid., 1:4 (1910).

24 RP 1597, ff. 592r-593r.

25 Discussion on the new ordinance, RP 1597, ff. 623v-625v, 628r, 629v-630r. Its preface is dated 14 March 1598.

26 RP 1597, ff. 592r-593r.

Public Health and the Prebyterian Church in Canada - 1911

by

John F. Scott

I INTRODUCTION

> "Righteousness can be realized in the complex conditions of modern life only through the application to all human affairs of the principles of the Kingdom of God...
>
> We recommend that the General Assembly urge all the members of the Churches... to bring the sense of justice and righteousness, which is fundamental in Christianity to bear upon matters of everyday life, in business, in society or wherever their influence may extend, and to create a Christian public sentiment demanding the removal of wrong wherever found."
>
> Board of Social
> Service and Evangelism

The year is 1911 and the Presbyterian Church in Canada is performing a truly prophetic role in the development of the social welfare and health care systems of Canada. At the level of the ordained ministry and the official Church courts, the exercise of this role can be seen in the radical report of the Board of Social Service and Evangelism. However it was the 'ministry' of two members of the laity that proved to be even more influential. In 1911, two Toronto Presbyterian physicians issued reports that were critical of government policy. Their recommendations were to have far-reaching consequences for the city and the nation.

Background: Hastings

Charles John Oliver Hastings, born and educated in the Toronto area, received his M.D. from Victoria University in 1885. While he remained on staff at Grace Hospital, Toronto for many years as a general physician, Dr. Hastings began to focus on public health issues early in his career. Morgan gives us no details on Hastings position as public vaccinator for the city. In 1908, he chaired a crusade for pure milk and he was an active member of the Canadian Public Health

Association (founded by another Presbyterian, Dr. Peter H. Bryce) and the Ontario Education Association (who were compaigning for compulsory health inspection of all schools and pupils). In October 1910, Hastings was appointed Medical Health Officer for the municipality.

Dr. Charles Sheard the previous M.H.O. for Toronto had refused to initiate regular health inspection in the public schools considering the idea "a pure fad instituted principally by women." Soon after his appointment, Dr. Hastings helped institute an inspection service and Toronto's first 'public health' nurse was hired through the support of John Ross Robertson, publisher of The Telegram. While slow to institute such a system Sutherland tells us that in a short period of time, Toronto had developed one of the most comprehensive services in the world.

Yet Dr. Hastings is best known for his pioneering study of housing and sanitation in Toronto. Given the task of investigating slum conditions in the down-town core, he presented his famous report to City Council on July 5, 1911.

While he is listed as a Methodist by Morgan, Ethel Dodds Parker, a social settlement pioneer, assures us that Dr. Hastings was a ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

MacMurchy:

Helen MacMurchy was the first woman graduate of the Faculty of Medicine, University of Toronto, receiving her M.D. in 1901, (personal communication from family). Following post-graduate studies at Johns Hopkins, Baltimore and Women's Medical College, Philadelphia, she returned to the Toronto General Hospital. While trained as a general physician, she found herself drawn into the challenging new field of public health. In 1906, she was appointed by the Ontario government to prepare a census of the 'feeble minded'. Subsequently she became the official inspector for the Feeble-Minded in the province and her annual reports to the Provincial Secretary can be found in the Sessional Papers of the Legislature (1906-15).

In 1920 she published The Almost: A Study of the Feeble-Minded - a poorly documented and romanticized attempt to popularize this issue for a lay audience.

MacMurchy's interests in the delivery of health care were very broad and she is best known for her work in infant and child welfare. She represented Ontario at the first annual Conference for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality in Baltimore in 1910. Following the conference she issued a brief report to Queen's Park, but began to study the problem in earnest over the next year. The 1911 publication of "Infant Mortality: Special Report by Dr. Helen MacMurchy" brought strong reactions from lay and Church press.

In 1920, Dr. MacMurchy became the first Chief of the Child Welfare Division of the federal Department of Health and her Handbook of Child Welfare (Ottawa, 1923) was well known in the field.

Dr. MacMurchy was a Presbyterian, remaining so after the Act of Union, 1925.

Toronto

The Hastings Report addresses itself to the problems of Toronto in 1911. The MacMurchy Report, while dealing with infant mortality in the entire province, is still very much focussed on the capital city where the social problems were more readily documented.

In 1911, Toronto was reeling under the triple assault of industrialization and urbanization immigration. While all cities of industrial countries were expanding rapidly, Toronto's growth rate was among the highest in the world.

	Population
1834	9,000
1850	25,000
1907	250,000
1911	400,000

Rapid industrialization brought disruption of social patterns and massive immigration. In 1911, 45,000 new immigrants (non Anglo-Saxon) were placing an impossible strain on housing, education, sewage and health care facilities.

Severe overcrowding in the central core resulted in higher morbidity rates. While records are scanty and incomplete, 1 in every 5-7 babies born (i.e. excluding stillbirths) died before the age of 2. E. Coli entercolitis, respiratory diseases, T.B., diphtheria and a host of other communicable diseases were rampant wherever congestion and poor sanitiation existed.

II THE HASTINGS REPORT

In 1910 Dr. Charles Hastings was given the enormous sum of $800.00 to conduct a survey of slum conditions in Toronto. Following inspection of 4,696 dwellings he made a 32 page report to City Council on July 5, 1911.

This document is far more than a collection of statistics. It is a thoughtfully constructed educational tool designed to alter the policy of municipal government and to create the public sentiment necessary for radical social changes to be accepted.

Dr. Hastings, realizing he was dealing with a mixed audience, employs a variety of techniques in his Report. He artfully blends statistical charts with emotional case histories. He quotes the slum dwellers and the Governor-General. He attacks apathy with his rather florid and moralistic rhetoric; yet soothes the fear of the establishment with his cool professional approach. Side by side, he appeals to the reader's religious and economic concerns and feeds into their natural curiosity for details of a world so unlike their own.

Hastings has made impressive use of photographs throughout his report. During the early part of the twentieth century, there continued to be a rivalry between drawings and photography for illustration of magazines and documents. Hastings has opted for the modern medium and thereby combines the sense of scientific exposé of reality with the highly emotional impact of such a technique. On the surface a photograph of a ramshackle tenement house may appear to be simply professional

documentation of a social problem; yet the eyes of the undernourished, dishevelled child in the foreground has an emotional grip on the reader - a grip that has great motivational power.

Content:

Having set the geographical boundaries for his study, Hastings proceeds to document the various components of the housing problem. The survey begins with a classification of dwellings - single homes, lodging houses, tenement houses, back-to-back houses, cellar dwellings etc. He employs statistics, case studies and photographs for shock value as well as for documentation and illustration of his survey. While attempting to be a social scientist on one level, Hastings never allows his reader to escape emotional involvement with the facts.

Several key problems re-emerge throughout the study - overcrowding, poor construction and maintenance, high rents, inadequate water supply,poor drainage and lack of faecal disposal systems. Hastings recognizes that industrialization, immigration and the resulting inequitable distribution of wealth and resources are the root causes of these "evils".

His attitude towards the immigrants shows a certain ambivalence. He attacks the "fallacy" that "people inhabiting slums are happy in their environments and not desirous of change". He deplores the overcrowding and exploitation of the newly arrived "non Anglo Saxons", calling upon the citizenry to protect them. Yet they are still very much "the foreigners" whose "ideas of sanitation are not ours". He lays much of the blame for high rents on "the foreign element" who have been in Canada long enough to aquire property.

Hastings continues his analysis by examining the inevitable consequences of such deplorable housing conditions. While examples from U.K. and Europe are cited, it is the American city and especially New York that Hastings views as the ultimate example of what neglect can bring - "The scourge is worse in New York City than in any city on the continent of Europe."

First, he attempts to prove that slums destroy the health of a city. Using statistics from New York and Glasgow, he holds the slum responsible for increasing adult and infant mortality rates, increasing morbidity rates for T. B. and other communicable diseases and for the gross physical stunting of slum children. 1911 stands within the 'golden age of bacteriology', and Hastings exploits the growing public awareness of bacteria to attack privy pits, stagnant water, house flies, dark-rooms (without light or ventilation) and all other "fruitful mediums for the conveyance of the disease-producing germs."

Even more revealing is Hasting's critique of the sociological consequences of the housing problem. He refers to scientific data proving that slums "breed immorality, crime and vice". Using a variety of medical metaphors, he warns the city of Toronto. The dangerous ignorance and apathy which he recognizes in the citizens and public officials will result in the "birth" of "moral lepers". These "social cesspools" must be drained. "The abscess cavities from which the poison is being generated" must be lanced. Hastings considers the slum to be a "recruiting station" for "an endless stream of thieves, murderers, prostitutes, lunatics, epileptics, and hospital patients." Action to prevent social and moral decay also makes economic sense, for a city must pay the penalty for neglect in their taxes for "hospital, prison, and reformatory maintenance."

While he condemns and urges action throughout the 32 page report, Hastings concludes with a summary and set of recommendations. He recognizes the need for stronger government control of housing through by-laws and regular systematic inspection. He suggests specific by-laws (e.g. one water tap, one sink, and one "sanitary convenience" for each family). He urges strict enforcement of building codes (e.g. 65% open space per lot, ban on cellar-dwellings and dark rooms). He calls on City Council to set maximum rentals to prevent exploitation and over crowding. However he rather naively believed that giving the landlord more power

to limit occupancy would eliminate congestion. Hastings' statistics are scanty and poorly documented. Like all of his contemporaries, he shows little attempt to isolate the several variables present in the rapid changes occurring in health care in the first decade of the twentieth century.

Perhaps the most interesting section of his report centres on his impassioned advocacy of suburban garden cities. He provides a glowing report of such experiments in U.K. accompanied by a photograph of an idyllic town in Hampstead. The reader is assured that rental for these quaint cottages is less than what the tenants were formally paying for "uninhabitable, filthy hovels in the slums". Hastings, aware of possible objections from the business community, counters with financial details indicating that such a scheme is feasible in a capitalistic economy. Such garden cities, financed by private entrepreneurs and administered by tenants, would be constructed only as part of a larger regional plan. Town planning would require appropriation of land for 5 miles beyond city limits and provision of rapid transportation from suburb to industrial core.

Summary:

The Hastings Report is firstly a dramatic exposé of the congested, unsanitary and unjust housing conditions in the downtown core of Toronto. The author concludes that the present situation poses a serious threat to the public health of the municipality - through disease, crime and moral decay. While his language is alarmist and emotional, he makes several concrete, well-researched recommendations in order to prevent the threat from materializing.

III THE MacMURCHY REPORTS

(A) Infant Mortality

Prior to 1900, high neonatal and infant mortality rates were considered inevitable. Sutherland points to the attitude of resignation and religious

romanticism that attended these deaths. Medical health officers did not view this as a major challenge, often neglecting to even list such deaths in their annual reports. In the early years of the twentieth century however, expectations about disease were radically altering. The rapid series of discoveries in bacteriology and immunology led eventually to the "missionary zeal and almost millenial expectations of many health workers" (Sutherland p. 44).

One of the first voices raised in protest against the high incidence of infant death was that of Dr. Helen MacMurchy. Her 1911 Report to the Provincial Secretary certainly contains facts and figures - but it is firstly an example of 'social gospel' journalism comparable in many respects to the Hastings Report. While the MacMurchy document contains excellent photographs of the Toronto slums, these are less effective than those of Hastings, since they are placed together in the middle of the Report.

Like an evangelist, Dr. MacMurchy woos her reader with statistics, stories and photographs. Having won their interest, she shocks and shames the citizens of Ontario. "There is not very much difference between the murderer and the one who stands by and sees those die whom he could save." By the end, the reader is begging for mercy, for escape from guilt. With this preparation, Dr. MacMurchy can then offer the 'salvation' and 'sanctification' that social change can provide.

(a) Classification: As a physician, MacMurchy provides a statistical analysis of the causes of death for infants under the age of 2. She clearly shows that no one disease is to blame but that there are several etiological factors. Her list does not trace disease to the causative organism (except T.B.). Instead she clumps the various diarrhoeal diseases (and convulsions!) together as the primary cause of death. The second greatest threat is posed by "impure air" resulting in pneumonia, bronchitis and influenza. For a 1979 physician such a

classification of infectious disease appears naive and humourous; however Sutherland reminds us that MacMurchy's attempt to implicate multiple etiologies had important consequences. Until her Report, the mysterious "cholera infantum" was held responsible for most infant deaths. MacMurchy proved that no such disease existed - that deaths from diarrhoea were the result of several organisms acting upon children made susceptible to illness by a 'diseased' social system. The root causes of infant death were"poverty, ignorance, poor housing, overcrowded slums, low wages, mothers forced to work..."

(b) Sanitation: She considers poor sanitation to be the primary cause of death, urging the same improvements in drainage, sewage and housing as did Charles Hastings. "No wonder that Dr. Hastings is now getting information as to the housing problem in Toronto... but the city still sleeps."

(c) Nutrition: In the area of nutrition, she shows that breast-fed babies are far less susceptible to infectious disease and discourages the new trend to bottle feeding. If nursing is not possible, she insists on the need for pasteurized cow's milk and the practice of "scalding" glass bottles, - "dirt means millions upon millions of germs."

(d) Perinatal: Since most deliveries still occurred at home, MacMurchy urged state training and supervison of midwives. She recognized the necessity of pre-natal check-ups to prevent obstetrical complications and stillbirths. Since the perinatal mortality rate was highest among illigitimate offspring, she urged a new "Christian attitude", towards"the girls who go wrong" and especially to their innocent children.

(e) Registration: Most stillbirths were never reported and many live births either went un-registered or were registered some months after the delivery. MacMurchy realized that child welfare schemes supervised by the state required accurate documentation and urged the Legislature to pass a stricter Birth Registration Act.

Without giving evidence to corroborate her claim, she declared that 70% of infant deaths could be avoided with proper care. MacMurchy's goal is not the creation of a "sterilized baby" - over-protected and too costly for the average family to raise. Instead, she insisted that the "ordinary Canadian baby" could be healthy simply through provision of good milk, air and water.

(B) The Feeble-Minded

Helen MacMurchy wrote a second report to the Provincial Secretary in 1911 - in her capacity as Inspector for the Feeble-Minded in Ontario. The double focus of her concern and the style of her Report can be evidenced in the following quote: -

> "How long O Lord?... How long before our Legislature rouses to the duty of protecting these poor weak ones from the horrors to which they are exposed in this Christian Canada and of protecting the country from the horrible danger of such an increase?"

MacMurchy documents several cases of exploitation (economic and sexual) to which the feeble-minded are exposed. She decries the almost total lack of special education and institutional care for the mentally handicapped.

However the largest and most impassioned section of her Report deals with the danger to society posed by the feeble-minded. MacMurchy claims that almost all mental retardation is genetic in origin (only mentioning the many environmental causes that we now recognize to be of major importance). If the feeble-minded are allowed to procreate, the result will be "race suicide" - for "invariably the race levels down." Using questionable statistics, MacMurchy shows that the rate of feeble-mindedness is rising at an alarming rate. Her attack on incest leaves the reader with the impression that a good deal of retardation results from such unions.

Citing approaches taken in U.K. and U.S.A., MacMurchy urges Ontario to provide more institutions for education and segregation of the feeble-minded. Such

separation will prevent reproduction and prevent "normal" pupils from being held back intellectually or tempted morally. MacMurchy claims that such a plan is economically feasible since 50% of present costs could be saved through a decrease in the number of feeble-minded.

The MacMurchy Report on the Feeble-Minded is both a call for loving care and protection of the weak and wounded in our society and an hysterical, alarmist plan for state eugenics.

IV EVALUATION

While two Presbyterian laypersons were issuing reports to government, George Pidgeon and Charles (Ralph Connor) Gordon, convenors of the Board of Social Service and Evangelism, were preparing a statement on the 'social gospel' for the Ottawa General Assembly in June 1911. In this "Statement of the Attitude of Christianity to Certain Social Questions" they issued 17 policy declarations. Most of these found their way into the 1917 'manifesto' of the Social Service Council of Canada. Pidgeon and Gordon warned against misuse of economic power, calling for the equitable distribution of wealth and the abolition of poverty. Society must protect health especially of the child. The report looked forward to a social welfare state in which the old, sick, disabled and unemployed would be cared for by public funds. The statement urged improvements in industrial safety and accident compensation, arbitration of disputes, improved wages and working conditions. War was declared to be "contrary to Christian morals".

Similar ideas were circulating in the Methodist Church - as a result of official church reports and of the 1911 publication of J. S. Woodsworth's book My Neighbour - "a pioneer study in civic pathology and an impassioned plea for urban reform" (Allen).

All of these documents reveal a remarkable similarity of style and content.

The Social Gospel

While neither Hastings nor MacMurchy are theologians, some of the newly-emerging 'social gospel' attitudes can be found in their reports.

Allen's analysis points to the importance of revivalism in the origins of the Social Gospel movement in Canada. The late nineteenth century evangelist was "the crucial mediator" who aroused personal repentance and promised that radical change was possible. At the turn of the century the quest for perfectionism gradually shifted from an individual focus to a social one. While both Hastings and MacMurchy use science as a tool, their basic method is evangelistic.

As physicians in 1911 they certainly were confronted with massive public health dilemmas that demanded response. Yet I consider Allen's analysis, at this point, crucial. The timing of these two reports by Presbyterian physicians cannot be fully explained by the stimulus - response model employed by economics and sociology. The ability of Hastings and MacMurchy to perceive the problems and the confidence with which they called for social change arose out of their sensitization by 'social gospel' theology.

The Calvinism of the Westminster Confession is still lurking in the background. A psychoanalysis of Presbyterianism might point to both authors' 'obsession' with dirt (especially faecal), to their concerns to eliminate waste and save money, and their attitudes towards sexuality. Certainly the stress on cleanliness, orderliness, planning, discipline and education still is evident in both the Presbyterian Church and the City of Toronto.

While Hastings speaks of slum children gliding "into their predestined place in the patchwork of crime and prostitution", he obviously rejects predestination on a social level. When dealing with social problems, both authors are environmentalists and not Calvinists. As physicians, the rapid advances in biology and the natural sciences only intensified their 'social gospel' optimism.

Both Hastings and MacMurchy live in Christendom - as WASPs they address a "Christian Canada". Thus, MacMurchy can refer without hesitation to "Love Divine", "a great and holy cause", "the sacredness of a child born with an immortal soul". While she is far more obvious in her use of religious rhetoric, Hastings also refers to the Church in order to shame and positively motivate his reader.

> "A city like Toronto, with all its Churches....
> should certainly save its citizens from....
> conditions which tend to destroy both body and soul.

Collectivism

In defence of the collectivism of his suburban garden city scheme, Hastings insists that such an approach will not undermine personal liberty. "Co-operation saves money, individual effort results in waste... co-operation has achieved miraculous results." The societal focus of both physicians and the Board of S.S. and E. is obvious. Social justice must come through education, legislation and reformation of institutions and this is possible only through unity. Hastings and MacMurchy join in a call for co-ordinated efforts by government, volunteer agencies, churches, big business, and "the public" to face public health challenges. The Board of S.S. & E. urged ecumenical co-operation in social issues and nodoubt the 'social gospel' stress on federation and unity was important in the Union of 1925.

Nationalism

Hastings exploits Toronto's civic pride as a motivational device in his report and MacMurchy ends her survey with the cry "Wake up, Ontario!" - provincial pride demands immediate action. Yet both speak with a strong sense of national patriotism.

Oliver points out that Ontario, as power centre of Canada, identifies itself with the whole nation. Unlike most other regions of the land, Ontarians (and especially Torontonians) view themselves as 'typical' Canadians and assume that

all other citizens hold similar views and share similar concerns.

In 1911, the Assembly and the Reports of Hastings and MacMurchy called for national organizations to deal with social problems. Ignoring regional diversities, they were convinced that the only appropriate co-operation was national in scope. MacMurchy sees herself saving "the Canadian baby" and it was no surprise when 1920 took her to Ottawa as a federal civil servant. The national focus is less obvious in Hastings but is implicit in his references to immigration and the U.S.A.

Linked to this 'social gospel' patriotism was the campaign to "Canadianize and Christianize" the foreign element. According to Vipond, the Church of this era saw the process of "becoming Canadian as not simply a matter of learning English and throwing away babushkas - it was a deeply moral and spiritual process." In 1912, Salem Bland began to speak of a "new Canadian race" but most 1911 Presbyterians believed the stability of Church and Nation were safe only through the immigrant's conversion to WASP language, culture, religion and values.

Education

Taking their traditional role, the Presbyterian Church urged education as the major thrust in the public health service. Both Hastings and MacMurchy were heavily involved in the public school educational system. With the rise of collectivist attitudes, it was considered mandatory for government to control education by setting strict standards and assuring uniformity through regular inspection. With the 'social gospel' came a new optimism that Christian nurture would end ignorance and therby assure social justice and moral progress

> "... in the good days to come especially in the Golden Age ahead...
>
> MacMurchy

Conclusion

While it is impossible to isolate variables it is justified to conclude that both the Hastings and the MacMurchy Reports were highly influential and catalytic.

In response to the Hastings Report, Toronto developed very strict housing, sewage, and sanitation codes and these standards have remained among the highest in the world ever since. School inspection of children grew rapidly under Hasting's enouragement. By 1914, Toronto employed 38 school nurses and 22 part-time physicians so that every pupil was inspected four times a year by a physician and every 2 weeks by a nurse - by far the most thorough programme in North America.

When the MacMurchy report was written the Toronto infant mortality rate was high and pasteurized milk was not available. Within several years, Sutherland reports, Toronto had the most elaborate system of child health care on the continent - regular home visits by public health nurses, pasteurized milk, well-baby clinics and strict birth registration laws.

Nor was the 1911 Report of the Board of SS & E simply florid rhetoric. The following year the Board opened St. Christopher's House in downtown Toronto - the 'flagship' in a series of urban social settlements established in Canadian cities. Living with the local community, these settlements attempted to meet a variety of social needs including those related to public health. St. Christopher's hired a nurse to carry out home visits and soon a pasteurized milk depot was functioning. Using volunteer physicians, a well-baby clinic was also established.

In 1911, Presbyterians saw themselves as 'the Church' and not a 'sect' needing to isolate itself from a corrupt and persecuting culture. To fulfill their vocation, both the Church courts and individual members, made prophetic denouncements of social evil and committed their professional skills to the transformation of society.

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THE MAN FROM GLENGARRY, A THEOLOGICAL VISION OF CANADA

by D.B. Mack

The Reverend Charles W. Gordon, otherwise known to the reading public of his day as Ralph Connor, is one of few Canadian novelists who actually managed to make any amount of money in the trade. By the end of his life 5,000,000 copies of his various works had been sold - an impressive figure even today and a remarkable achievement at the turn of the century. His readership included Wilfred Laurier, Herbert Asquith, Woodrow Wilson and Teddy Roosevelt, all of whom he seems to have known personally. Gordon's achievement is the more impressive considering that during the period he established himself as a novelist of international stature he was also employed as minister of St. Stephen's Presbyterian Church in Winnepeg. Gordon was both a novelist and a clergyman, and never ceased being a preacher as as novelist. In fact, he attributed his own success to this felicitous combination of fiction and religion. In his auto - biography Postscript To Adventure he notes,

> Another cause of the phenomenal editions of these Ralph Connor books, and a very influential cause, was the fact that though in fiction form they possess a definitely religious motif. Religion is here set forth in its true light as a synonym of all that is virile, straight, honorable and withal tender and gentle in true men and women. And it was this religious motif that startled that vast host of religious folk who up to that time had regarded novel reading as a doubtful indulgence for Christian people. I have received hundreds of letters expressing gratitude for a novel that presented a quality of religious life that "red-blooded" men could read and enjoy. [1]

None of Gordon's novels was more sucessful than The Man From Glengarry and he mades a similar claim for this novel specifically.

> The material of The Man From Glengarry, its colour, action, its historic background, its human quality, all account to a certain degree for its extraordinary vogue. But not altogether. The best of the book I drew from the same source from which I drew my life. The Highland preacher with his mystic fire, his indomitable courage, his passionate loyalty to Scotland and all that belonged to it, its glens and lochs and purple heather hills, its weird gost stories, its pilbrochs and its Calvinistic theology, had much to do with the making of The Man From Glengarry. But the soul of the book, whatever of intellectual quality it has, its response to the appeal of beauty whether of the woods and wild flowers or of the things of the spirit, and all that is best in it Ralph Connor had from the Lady of the Manse.[2]

It is worthwhile asking therefore what Gordon might have meant by the terms 'religion' or 'things of the spirit' besides his phrase " all that is virile, straight, honourable and withal tender and gentle in true men and women."

Theologically, Gordon was a liberal in the manner of most of his contemporaries. He seems to have been very much a product of his age and thought more or less what 19th century liberals are supposed to have thought. His philosophical preferences were Idealist, specifically Neo-Hegelian, via John Caird and the tremendous influence of the University of Glasgow on Canadian intellectual life in the latter part of the last century.[3] What this added up to was the belief that God as World Spirit was progressively realizing Himself, or perhaps Herself, in world history and that,

> the religious interests of man can be preserved only by a theology which affirms that all forms of being are manifestations of a single spiritual principle in identification with which the true life of man consists. Living in this faith the future of the race is assured. Religion is the spirit which must more and more subdue all things to itself, informing science and art, and realizing itself in the higher organization of the family, the civic community, the state, and ultimately the world, and gradually filling the mind and heart of every individual with the love of God and the enthusiasm of humanity.[4]

The task of the church, therefore, given these presuppositions, was to Christianize society so as to aid the progress of history towards the complete realization of the Ideal - "the single spiritual principle." Christianization and Civilization were thus closely linked and not always successfully kept apart. In the Anglo Saxon world what this meant in practise was that the Kingdom of God was often seen in terms of slight modifications on Victorian England and the British Empire. Ideas were the key to this perceived progress in history. Since God was Absolute Idea or Absolute Spirit, the keys to the Kingdom were books, art, music, beautiful landscapes, generally lumped under Gordon's term "things of the spirit." Edward Caird, for example, observed,

> The general condition of the life of the poor could not be raised unless they were given the opportunities of social and intellectual progress and of contact with things that are beautiful. They must be provided with the means of rational and refined amusement. The middle and upper classes enjoyed advantages which the poor could not possess, and they ought to feel a generous shame that the heritage of humanity was, so much, the possession of the few. They should do their best to bridge the gulf that separated the well-to-do from

the poor, and foster mutual understanding and goodwill by social intercourse; so that the nation might be one body and its members bound together in one fellowship.[5]

Christianizing mankind was a process of nuture and education rather than preaching doctrinaire hellfire and damnation repent-ye-sinner sermons. Caird's vocabulary is that of the horticulturalist. He speaks of "raising the poor", "fostering" understanding and goodwill. Spiritual growth was something cultivated by contact with beautiful things. The Church was to cultivate and to teach as Jesus the Great Teacher and the Gardiner at the Tomb had taught.

It is interesting to note in passing that Gordon, like many other 19th century liberals contributed his own version of 'La Vie de Jesus'. In He Dwelt Among Us the reader is presented with a picture of Jesus that remains for the most part Sunday School orthodox. The synoptic material is filled out with narrative like,

"Now what manner of man is that," said the merchant. The Roman soldier stood, his eyes resting some moments upon the strange crowd, and then followed the tall lonely figure moving down the road, driven from his home."Man? What a face!" The Roman soldier shook his head. "Nay, I know men. Never such a man have I seen. Above fear, above hate, and speaks of love." Again he shook his head. "A strange man indeed. To me he moves and speaks and looks like a god."[6]

Gordon isn't squeemish about the miracle stories. Sight is restored to the blind, the lepers are cleansed and he includes a couple of pages describing the disciple's reaction to the transfiguration. Jesus preaches a gospel of

The Kingdom of God! The Rule of Right, of Human Brotherhood, of Mercy, a Kingdom of universal sweep, embracing all classes - the poor, the outcast, the broken, the debtor in prison. Yes, more wonderful still, it is a Kingdom in which all peoples will have equal priviledge, because all are alike the children of the Heavenly Father, and all alike the objects of His love. As (Jesus) develops his ideal, the boy's face again begins to kindle with new emotions, deep, grander, more spiritual.[7]

The problem Jesus encounters is,

Among all the band, there was not one to undersatnd or sympathize with his high aims. Their materialistic optimism separated them from him.[8]

So,

once again, as often before, he seeks to teach them one of the greatest principles of the Kingdom, that service is no badge of

servitude but is rather a bond of brotherhood. In this bond of brothers, love is the unifying bond and love fitly expresses itself in service.[9]

Throughout much of the book Jesus sounds a bit like a 19th century liberal himself. One of the buzz words in the kind of theology that Gordon shared is "organic". All men were part of a community of beings organically related to each other through participation in God or The Eternal Spirit. Society was seen in terms of the same process of organic growth that pertained to individual spiritual development, and organic metaphors were the stock and trade of liberal writers.

Probably the best example of this tendency is to be found in Henry Drummond's book Natural Law in the Spiritual World. Gordon admits in his autobiography to being influenced by Drummond, with whom he had several extended conversations as a student in Edinburgh and later in the Candian Rockies, just prior to the period of his best novels including The Man From Glengarry.[10] Drummond's book is based on the premise that the spiritual world operates according to the principles as organic biology. He insists not just that the laws of spiritual growth and decay are analagous to those of the biological realm, but that they are in fact the same laws at work.

The development of any organism in any direction is dependent on its environment. A living cell cut off from air will die. A seed germ apart from moisture and an appropraite temperature will make the ground its grave for centuries. Human nature, likewise, is subject to similar conditions. It can only develop in presense of its environment. No matter what its possibilities may be, no matter what seeds of thought or virtue, what germs of genius or of art lie latent in its breast, until the appropriate environment present itself the correspondence is denied, the development discouraged, the most splendid possibilities of life remain unrealized, and thought and virtue, genius and art, are dead. The true environment of the moral life is God. Here conscience wakes. Here kindles love. Duty becomes heroic, and that righteousness begins to live which alone is to live for ever. But if this Atmosphere is not, the dwarfed soul must perish for mere want of its native air.[11]

The Principle of Life in the spiritual world is Christ.

Shall we next inquire more precisely what is this something extra which constitutes the Spiritual Life? What is this strange and new endowment in its nature and vital essense, And the answer is briéf - it is Christ. He that hath the Son hath Life.[12]

Although the emphasis of the book is on the need for cultivating the spiritual potential which is universally present in man - there is

room in Drummond's theology for 'old style' conversions.

Yet once more - and this is a point of strange and frivolous dispute - this Life comes suddenly. This is the only way Life can come. Life cannot come gradually - health can, structure can, but not life. A new theology has laughed at the Doctrine of Conversion. Sudden conversion especially has been ridiculed as untrue to philosophy and impossible to human nature. We may not be concerned in buttressing any theology because it is old. But we find that this old theology is scientific.....To Paul, forinstance, Christ seems to have come at a definite period of time, the exact moment and second of which could have been known. And this is certainly, in theory at least, the normal Origin of Life according to the principles of Biology. The line between the living and the dead is a sharp line.[13]

Drummond thoroughly approves of old fashioned conversions; he has serious problems with old fashioned doctrine.

Doctrinal preaching, fortunately, as a constant practise is less in vogue than in a former age, but there are still large numbers whose only contact with religion is through theological forms..... ...Why not use it? Just because it is all cut and dry. Just because it is ready made. Just because it lies there in reliable, convenient and logical propositions. The moment you appropriate truth in such a shape you appropriate a form. You cannot cut and dry truth. You cannot accept truth ready-made without it ceasing to nourish the soul as truth. You cannot live on theological forms without becoming a Parasite and ceasing to be a man.....There is no worse enemy to a living Church than a propositional theology. [14]

That Gordon's views on this topic were similar, we have his son's testimony.

A staunch Presbyterian in the Calvinist tradition of his Highland forbearers, he had little patience with creeds that guarded beliefs of ancient times but failed to express the new truth eternally revealing itself.[15]

Drummond concludes his book with a magnificent vision of the kingdoms of the world evolving biologically toward the Kingdom of God.

Kingdoms are "an organism of a unique kind, a living energetic spirit, a new creature which, by an act of generation, has been begotten of God.....And if among the more recent revelations of Nature there is one thing more significant for Religion than another, it is this majestic spectacle of the rise of Kingdoms towards scarcer yet nobler forms, and simpler yet diviner ends..... But now, at last, we see the Kingdoms themselves evolving. And that supreme law which has guided the development from simple to complex in matter, in individual, in sub-Kingdom, and in Kingdom, until only two or three great Kingdoms remain, now begins at the beginning again, directing the evolution of these million peopled worlds as if they were simple cells or organisms.....And so, out of the infinite complexity there arises an infinite simplicity, the forshadowing of a final unity, of that

One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event.
To which the whole creation moves.

This is the final triumph of Continuity, the heart secret of Creation, the unspoken prophecy of Christianity. To Science, defining it as a working principle, this mighty process of amelioration is simply Evolution. To Christianity, discerning the end through the means, it is Redemption. These silent and patient processes, elaborating, eliminating, developing all from the first of time, conducting the evolution from millenium to millenium with unaltering purpose and unfaltering power are the early stages in the redemptive work - the unseen approach of that Kingdom whose strange mark it is that it"cometh without observation". And these Kingdoms rising tier above tier in ever increasing sublimity and beauty, their foundations visibly fixed in the past, their progress, and the direction of their progress being facts in Nature still, are the signs which, since the Magi saw His star in the East, have never been wanting from the firmament of truth, and which in every age with growing clearness to the wise, and ever-gathering mystery to the uninitiated, proclaim that "the Kingdom of God is at hand." [16]

This is the theology in which Gordon was steeped, and these are the ideas which are developed fictionally in The Man From Glengarry. It is a novel about spiritual growth and traces the development of Ranald MacDonald from his violent impetuous youth in the forests of Glengarry to responsible nation builder -one of the great men involved in the creation of the Dominion. This metamorphosis is the work of Mrs. Murray, the wife of the local Presbyterian minister. She is the leaven who leavens the whole loaf in the novel and a portrait, incidentally, of Gordon's own mother. Gordon's view of the spiritual influence of women could be the subject a study in itself, but it is beyond the scope of this paper except as it pertains to The Man From Glengarry.

There is an obvious contrast set up in the novel between the rigid Calvinistic doctrine of the Rev. Murray and his wife's sensitive and effective concern for the physical and spiritual needs of the congregation. "She shared with her husband his people's sorrows. She knew even better than he the life-history of every family in the congregation." [17]

Mrs. Murray's high courage in the bush, her skill in the sick-room, and that fine spiritual air she carried with her made for her a place in his imagination where men set their divinities. The hero and the saint in her stirred his poetic and fervent soul and set it aglow with a feeling near to adoration. To Mrs. Muarray also the events of that night set forth Ranald in a new light. In the shy, awkward, almost sullen lad there had suddenly been revealed in those moments of peril the cool, daring man, full of resource and capable of self- sacrifice. Her heart went out toward him, and she set herself to win his

confidence and to establish a firm friendship with him; but this was no easy matter.[18]

Her influence is not limited to Ranald. It permeates the community she lives in and extends well beyond it. Ranald comes to realize the full value of that life of patient self-sacrifice, so unconscious of its heroism. He understood then, as never before, the mysterious influence of that gentle, sweet-faced lady over everyone who came to know her, from the simple, uncultured girls of the Indian Lands to the young men about town of Harry's type. Hers was the power of one who sees with open eyes the unseen, and who loves to the forgetting of self those for whom the Infinite love poured itself out in death.[19] Mrs. Murray was of those to whom it is given to speak words that will not die with time, but will live, for that they fall from lips touched with the fire of God.[20]

Even Yank, the token Methodist in the community, is impressed by her response to his homespun cogitations on God and man. "By jings! That's great. She's all right, ain't she? We ain't all built the same way, but I'm blamed if I don't like her model."[21] The one healthy influence on Maimie St. Clair "was her aunt's touch upon her life. For every week a letter came from the country manse, bringing with it some of the sweet simplicity of the country and something like a breath of heaven."[22] It is Mrs. Murray who nurses MacDonald Dubh after he has been mortally injured in the fight with Le Noir, diagnoses his spiritual disease,and is the instrument for his conversion. Indirectly, she is also responsible for Le Noir's change of heart. Her husbands influence in all of this is marginal. While he ruins his health preaching doctrinal sermons during the Great Revival, it was only because of his wife's work that there are Revival Meetings to preach to and the subsequent chain reaction of conversions.

The sample sermon in the novel is too long to be finished in the three hour service and provides the occasion for much sleep and at least one fist fight.

It's subject was the great doctrine of Justification by Faith, and it contained a complete system of theology arranged with reference to that doctrine. Ancient heresies were attacked and exposed with completeness amounting to annihilation. Modern errors, into which our "friends" of the different denominations had fallen, were deplored and corrected, and all possible misapplications of the doctrine to practical life guarded against. One the positive side the need, the groun, the means, the method, the agent, the results of Justification, were fully set forth and illustrated. There were no anecdotes and no poetry. The subject was much too massive and tremendous to permit any such trifling.[23]

Just in case the heavy irony of the passage should be lost on the reader, Gordon reinforces the point several times. Compare, for example, the following conversation between two of the elders of the Kirk at Big Mack Cameron's funeral.

"You will not be holding the Armenian doctrine of works, Mr. Campbell?" said Peter, severely. "You would not be pointing to good works as the ground of salvation.....He had forgotten the concrete, for the moment, in the abstract, and was donning his armour for a battle with Kenny upon the "fundamentals". 22

The same Peter McRae reacts strongly against the visiting professor's (a liberal) sermon on charity. He was

evidently keenly disappointed, and his whole bearing expressed stern disapproval. And as the professor proceeded, extolling and illustrating the supreme grace of love, Peter's hard face grew harder than ever, and his eyes began to emit sparks of fire. This was no day for the preaching of smooth things. The people were there to consider and to lament their Original and Actual sin; and they expected and required to hear of the judgments of the Lord, and to be summoned to flee from the wrath to come. 23

Mrs. Murray's approach to theology is quite different from that of her husband and the elders. Instead of "avoiding possible misapplications to life" her approach is practical. During a bible study on the ninth chapter of Romans, that "arsenal for Calvinistic champions",

after a half hour of discussion, she brought the lesson to a close with a very short and very simple presentation of the practical bearing of the great doctrine. And while the mystery remained unsolved, the limpid clearness of her thought, the humble attitude of mind, the sympathy with doubt, and above all, the sweet and tender pathos that filled her voice, sent the class away humbled, subdued, comforted, and willing to wait the day of clearer light.24

For her religion " was all so simple and real.....The simple beauty of the words, the music in the voice, and the tender, trustful feeling that breathed through the prayer awakened in Ranald's heart emotions and longings he had never felt before." 25

With all other people that Ranald knew religion seemed to be something apart from common days, common people, and common things, and seemed, besides, a solemn and terrible experience; but with the minister's wife, religion was a part of her every-day living, and seemed to be as easily associated with pleasure as with anything else about her. It was so easy, so simple, no natural, that Ranald could not help wondering if, after all, it was the right kind. It was so unlike the religion of the elders and the good people of the congregation. 26

The clearest contrast between husband and wife is provided by their respective treatment of Ranald after the fight.

Rev. Murray is insensitive to what has actually happened and denounces Ranald as "a savage and not fit for the company of decent folk."

To this his wife made no reply, but went out of the study, leaving the minister feeling very uncomfortable indeed. By the end of the second pipe he began to feel that, after all, Ranald had got no more than was good for him, and that he would be none the worse of it; in which comforting conviction he went to rest, and soon fell into the deep sleep which is supposed to be the right of the just.

Not so his wife. Wearied though she was with the long day, its excitements and its toils, sleep would not come. Anxious thoughts about the lad she had come to love as if he were her own son or brother kept crowding in upon her. The vision of his fierce, dark, stromy face held her eyes awake and at leangth drew her from bed. She went to the study and fell upon her knees. The burden had grown too heavy for her to bear alone. She would share it with Him who knew what it meant to bear the sorrows and the sins of others. 27

Through the window she sees Ranald prowling in the woods near the manse. She goes outsides and persuades the hyper-sensitive boy not to run away from Glengarry as he had planned.

The minister's wife stood looking the way he went long after he had passed out of sight, and then, lifting her eyes to the radiant sky with all its shining lights. "He made the stars also," she whispered, and went up to her bed and laid down and slept in peace. Her Sabbath day's work was done. 28

There is no doubt about who is the good angel in this novel. Mrs. Murray is virtue personified, unblemished by any discernable flaw. She is also the representitive of the new liberal theology that is destined to replace doctrinaire Calvinism. Like Drummond and Gordon, she no doubt believes that "what we require is no new Revelation, but simply an adequate conception of the true essense of Christianity."[29] That true essense is not old doctrine but, as Mrs. Murray explains to Yank,"to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."[30] As a good liberal she is cultured amd knows the meaning of self sacrifice. Selfishness is the key sin for Drummond, since selfishness cuts us off from our environment and this (biologically speaking) means death.[31] Early in novel it is related that,

Eight years ago the minister had brought his wife from a home of gentle culture, from a life of intellectual and artistic pursuits, and from a circle of loving friends of which she was the pride and joy, to this home in the forest. There, isolated from all congenial companionship with her own kind, deprived of all the luxuries and of many of the comforts of her young days and of the mental stimulous of that conflict of minds without which few can maintain intellectual life, she gave herself without stint to her husband's people, with

never a thought of self pity or self praise.[32]

Some of this culture she imparts to Ranald in order to nurture his spiritual growth. She lends him copies of Rob Roy and Ivanhoe and encourages him to read,

It is a great pleasure to me, Ranald, that you like them, she said,earnestly. I want you to love good books and good men and noble deeds.[33]...The Lord means you to be a noble man, Ranald - a man with the heart and purpose to do some good in the world, to be a blessing to his fellows; and it is a poor thing to be so filled up with selfishness as to have no thought of the honor of God or the good of men.[34]

Sure enough, in the course of time, Ranald grows up to be a great man and the toast of the Albert Club in Montreal.

True, there were those who thought him too particular, and undoubtedly he had peculiar ideas. He never drank, never played for money, and never had occasion to use words in the presence of men that would be impossible before their mothers and sisters; there was a quaint, old time chivalry about him that made him a friend of the weak and helpless, and the champion of women, not only of those whose sheltered lives had kept them fair and pure, but of those others as well, sad-eyed and soul-stained, the cruel sport of lustful men. For his open scorn of their callous lust some hated him, but all with true men's hearts loved him. [35]

There is something quaint about this old time Boys Own Annual sort of prose that may strike some ears as ridiculous but it is not difficult to see what Gordon is up to in the novel. Mrs. Murray has nurtured Ranald's spirit and produced a prize winning specimen. Further proof of her success is provided as the novel progresses. Ranald becomes active in philanthropic work with underpriviledged boys at The Institute. When he moves to British Columbia he leaves a trail of reading rooms wherever he sets up lumber camps. Colonel Thorpe congradulates Mrs. Murray when she visits him.

You produced a rare article in the commercial world, and that is a man of honor. He is not for sale, and I want to say that I feel as safe about the company's money out there as if I was setting on it; but he needs watching.....To much philanthropy, said the colonel bluntly.....Then the colonel enumerated the features of Ranald's management most severely criticized by the company. He paid the biggest wages going; the cost of supplies for the camps was greater, and the company's stores did not show as large profits as formerly.....Well that chap out there means well with his reading-rooms for the mill hands, his library in the camps, and that sort of thing, but he ain't sharp enough. [36]

It is Mrs. Murray who convinces the Colonel of the viability of what Ranald is doing.

She went on with eager enthusiasm to show how the laws of the Kingdom of Heaven might be applied to the great problems of labour. And it would pay, Colonel, she cried, it would pay in money, but far

more it would pay in what cannot be bought for money - in the lives and souls of men, for unjust and uncharitable dealing injures more the man who is guilty of it than the man who suffers from it in the first instance. 37

The Colonel in turn sells these ideas to the shareholders of the British-American Coal and Lumber Company.

..... lastly he touched upon the work for the men by means of the libraries and reading-room. Here he was interrupted by an impatient exclamation on the part of one of the share-holders. The colonel paused, and fastening his eye upon the impatient share-holder, he said, in tones cool and deliberate: "A gentlemen says, Nonsense! I confess that before my visit to the West I should have said the same, but I want to say right here and now, that I have come to the opinion that it pays to look after your men - soul, mind and body. You'll cut more lumber, get better contracts, and increase your dividends. There ain't no manner of doubt about that.[38]

Indeed the influence of the Lady of the Manse is far reaching and the older he gets the more Ranald realizes the extent of his obligation to her. Looking at her photograph hanging on the wall of his cabin he exclaims near the end of the novel, "it is to her I owe everything I have that is any good."[39]

The virtuous man from Glengarry is destined for even greater things, as is the novel itself. The novel is ultimately about how Ranald and men like him transform the Canadian West. In fact, it is to these men that the book is dedicated - "the men of Glengarry who in patience, in courage and IN THE FEAR OF GOD are helping to build the Empire of THE CANADIAN WEST."[40] In the Preface Gordon writes,

In Canda beyond the Lakes, where men are making empire, the sons of these Glengarry men are found. And there surely such men are needed. For not wealth, not enterprize, not energy, can build a nation into sure greatness, but men, and only men with the fear of God in their hearts, and with no other. And to make this clear is also part of the purpose of this book. 41

Like his namesake in Ottawa, with whom he discusses the future of the Dominion as the delegate from British Columbia, Ranald is involved in nation building. "We want to make this Dominion a great empire," said Sir John, as he said goodbye to Ranald, " and we are going to do it, but you and men like you in the West must do your part."[42] When he returns to Glengarry

his tales of the West, and of how it was making and marring men, of the nation that was being built up, and his picture of the future that he saw for the great Dominion, unconsciously revealed the strong manhood and high ideals in the speaker.....[43]

This last point is, in my estimation, the most interesting aspect of the novel. The Man From Glengarry contains a vision of Canada that extends geographically from Quebec City to the Pacific Ocean and from the adolescence of a boy in virgin forest to the dawning of the Kingdom of God. It is a novel of undeniable sweep and power with a vision of the future that obviously met with a sympathetic response at the turn of the century if books sales are indicative of anything. Certainly Gordon provided his readers with religion in a palatable form, but this entailed more than fictional exemplars of platitudes. He offered a religious vision that also fulfilled aspirations to nationhood and provided an answer to questions of Canadian identity, troublesome even then.

Given that The Man From Glengarry is not an artistic masterpiece, simply because Gordon did not take stylistic pains and slips frequently into clichés, it is as close to being the Great Canadian Novel as anything thus far written. The problem Gordon solves in this novel is the problem confronting any Canadian writer who tries to transcend the regionalism of the country and write a truly national novel. There are good novels of Quebec or the Prairies or the West Coast, but it is difficult to recall many successful attempts to stradle Canada and encompass these regions and cultures within a larger vision of the whole country. Gordon solves this artistic problem partially by ignoring this diversity and partially by linking in a convincing way one man's life and the life of his country. The common denominator is spiritual growth. Our perception of the country and its future is filtered by what we are told about Ranald, who is supposed to be typical of those building the country. What is said about him is applicable, by implication, to his country. So although the novel is open ended and the growth of the nation not spelled out in detail, the direction of the growth is convincingly suggested by the shape and content of the novel up to that point. The whole movement of the novel is one of progressive growth and development, so Gordon's vision of Canada in the last pages of The Man From Glengarry is exciting and promising - for the same reason that the ending of Drummond's book is so exciting. The reader is left with the impression that the leaven is at work and the bread of

the Kingdom is rising. The ineluctable laws of biological growth have taken over and history is now being drawn irresistably down the corridor of time to the throne of God. To those with eyes to see, this progress is seen to be "unaltering", "unfaltering", "rising tier above tier in ever increasing sublimity and beauty " in it's march towards"Redemption" and the"Kingdom of God". This theme is not belaboured in the novel, but it lies implicitly behind was is going on and lends the novel much of its mythical power, its scope and its ability to inspire.

If Gordon is no longer widely read and his myth of Canada no longer compelling, it is because it is so narrowly Scottish Presbyterian and thus no longer reflects the ethnic composition of the country. Gordon does not included Quebecois, East Europeans, Chinese or Indians in the vision - perhaps because they were all beyond the range of his experience. The only French Canadian in the novel is the two-dimensional villain Le Noir who finally agrees to submit and become "your man - what you call - slave. I work for noting, me. Das sure."[44] In fact, subsequent history has shown Le Noir's compatriots to be most unwilling to follow his example. Any convincing Canadian myth for today will have to take these persisting cultural differences into account. Any new vision of Canada if it to be compelling and win general acceptance will have to be pluralistic and point to a telos which is meaningful to all groups and regions, and threatening to none. But Gordon was right in thinking that the vision has to be a religious one if it is to be worth holding on to and if it is to have the power to convince.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Charles Gordon, Postscript to Adventure (New York, 1938) p.150
[2]Gordon, p.153
[3]Brian Fraser, Theology and the Social Gospel Among Canadian Presbyteria
[4]Quoted from Fraser, p.8.
[5]Quoted from Fraser, p.9.
[6]Ralph Connor, He Dwelt Among Us (New York, 1936) p.45
[7]Connor, p.113
[8]Connor, p.134
[9]Connor, p.145
[10]Gordon, Postscript to Adventure p.84
[11]Henry Drummond, Natural Law in the Spiritual World (New York,1884) p. 171.
[12]Drummond, p. 84
[13]Drummond, p.93
[14]Drummond, p.359
[15]Gordon, Postscript to Adventure p. xi
[16]Drummond, p.413
[17]Ralph Connor, The Man From Glengarry (Toronto, 1901) p.45
[18]Connor, p.74
[19]Connor, p.375
[20]Connor, p.244
[21]Connor, p.278
[22]Connor, p.95
[21]Connor, p.136
[22]Connor, p,170
[23]Connor, p.254
[24]Connor, p. 226
[25]Connor, p.89
[26]Connor, p.114
[27]Connor, p.146
[28]Connor, p.148
[29]Drummond, p. 60
[30]Connor, p.277
[31]Drummond, p.170
[32]Connor, p.47
[33]Connor, 108
[34]Connor, p.281

[35]Connor, p.360
[36]Connor, p.422
[37]Connor, p.426
[38]Connor, p.466
[39]Connor, p.450
[40]Connor, p. i
[41]Connor, p.ii
[42]Connor, p.459
[43]Connor, p.462
[44]Connor, p.306

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