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INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

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The society usually meets on the last Saturday of September and invites papers that deal with any aspect of Presbyterian history for the edification and pleasure of its members.

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PAPERS IN THIS VOLUME

THE CRY THAT SILENCE HEAVES

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THE CRY THAT SILENCE HEAVES*

Introduction

In their book None is Too Many Harold Troper and Irving Abella laid a charge against the Church in Canada. The charge was that during the Nazi regime when Jews were being persecuted and later exterminated, no salvation came forth from Christian Canada. In the midst of the suffering and tragedy of the Jewish Holocaust one of the most deadening sounds was a silence -- the silence of the Church.[1] This is a charge that continues to lie in the minds and on the lips of many Canadians, both Jews and Christ ns. It is a charge that must finally be addressed: were the churches truly silent during this blackest period of human history?

For several years scholars have considered the questions vis à vis the European churches.[2] In his book So It Was True![3] published in 1980, Robert W. Ross examined the American Protestant Church's response to the Nazi persecution of the Jews. To date, however, no one has attempted an indepth investigation of the position taken by the churches in Canada during this period.

Although in order to address this question adequately a comparative analysis of all the churches' responses is necessary, in this paper we will only discuss the response of the Presbyterian Church. Since various constrainsts preclude a comprehensive discussion[4], only the most pertinent issues will be considered, and at that in both cursory and tentative form.

The time period we are treating ranges from 1933 to the end of 1945. It was early in 1933 that Hitler became Chancellor of Germany and three months later instituted the first of the Aryan Laws designed to restrict and exclude "the Jews from

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* Title borrowed from John Keats' Poems, I Stood Tiptoe, 1817, which reads "...the sigh that silence heaves".

public life, education, government, the arts and the professions".[5] Although the period must be understood in its broader historical context, for our immediate purposes we shall work only within this time frame, that is, the period of the Nazi regime.

In order to adequately understand the significance of the Church's response during this period, the time frame itself has been subdivided into three units. The first stems from 1933, the year of the initial Aryan Laws, to September 1939, with the outbreak of the second world war. These are the prewar years; it was a time when there was evidence of persecution of the Jews in both the religious and the secular press, but it was also a time when Canada was not personally touched by the events nor Germany as yet the official enemy. Once war was declared, Canadians could no longer remain aloof; they had become personally involved one way or another.

The second unit ranges from September 1939 to the end of 1942. Along with the news of military campaigns and of those lost in action came reports of concentration camps, later death camps and mass murders of the Jews. These reports, which began to arrive in the latter part of 1942, were generally received by Canadians with skepticism and incredulity. This response was fostered by concern for caution in believing atrocity stories such as those reported during the first world was, stories which proved to be untrue. The more horrendous the details tentatively reported by the press, the greater the people's incredulity increased.[6] By the end of 1942, after the release of a joint declaration by eleven governments confirming the mass murders of Jews, there was little doubt left that the atrocity

stories were true, though the details remained difficult to verify.

The last unit in our historical framework ranges from the beginning of 1943 to the end of 1945 during which time the evidence became increasingly clear. Throughout this period further atrocity stories were reported, often with caution and restraint. Though the horrible details remained difficult to verify, the press continued to publish the reports, unable to dismiss the information out of hand. By the summer of 1944 the first death camps were uncovered by the Russian army.[7] With the liberation Canadians were brought face to face with the fact that the reports they had read and heard about were indeed true.

The issues examined within each historical unit are grouped into three categories: i) background; ii) recognition; iii) proferred solution. The "background" category includes the Church's view of the Jews theologically, Jews in general and in Canada specifically, and in terms of Jewish-Christian relations. The "recognition" category refers to the Church's awareness and recognition of the policies of Nazi Germany, the persecution of the Jews and others, the incidence of Anti-Semitism both in Europe and in Canada. The final category, "proferred solutions", consists of the Church's response according to their perception of the problems, generally in terms of their attitude toward immigration, refugees and Palestine.

In order to gather the necessary data we have examined

materials held in the Presbyterian Church archives: the Church press, the Presbyterian Record; the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly; the Hebrew Evangelist, a bulletin published by the Scott Institute; and miscellaneous materials in the collection entitled "Mission to the Jews". Often the material we found were reprints of sermons, addresses, speeches and the like delivered outside of Canada and/or by non-Canadians. However, since it was published in the general press of the Church, we presumed that it either represented a general consensus of the Church proper or was intended to provide worthy "food for thought". Consequently, all reports of this nature were considered as viable research data.

Period I: 1933-1939

General Background: Throughout this period the Presbyterian Church viewed the Jew theologically as burdened and blinded by the Mosaic Law.[8] In a 1934 article in the Presbyterian Record the Pharisee was treated as an hypocrit and sinner;[9] a 1936 article written by Dr. C.H. Kerr referred to the "blindness and foolishness of their attitude".[10] In 1938 the Presbyterian Record published Lord Tweedsmuir's address to the General Council Alliance of Reformed Churches where he defined the Pharisees as "loyal to conventions which have lost any binding spiritual force" which "is no basis for virtue."[11] In a 1939 sermon entitled "A Great Confession", Reverend W.B. MacCallum portrayed the Jews as a group who attacked and betrayed Paul after he had joined them for a Jewish festival, and who in the end turned

Paul over to the Roman governor. The Jews, according to this sermon, "got their way with 'flattering tongues'."[12]

On the other hand, this Jewish characteristic was not perceived as irremediable. In the December 1936 sermon Dr. Kerr reiterated Paul's teaching that "in the believing Christian there is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither Greek nor barbarian; neither bond nor free."[13] Throughout 1937 references were made to the Jewish background of Jesus and the apostles. In a March sermon Reverend Lewis Sutherland of Scotland referred to the apostles as a "handful of Jewish fishermen" by whose efforts "the pagan world was conquered."[14] In a missionary play, "Rax Me that Bible", the character Reverend Hamilton maintain that the Gospel was first proclaimed "to the Jews, a people of real genius, dwelling at the heart of the civilized world."[15] A book review of Thomas Walker's An Exposition of the Judaism of the Home of Jesus described the book as an attempt to acquaint the Christian "with religion as a righteous man like Joseph must have taught it to his family."[16]

In terms of contemporary relations between Jews and Christians the press encouraged such relations primarily for the purpose of "evangelizing the Jews". In the article "The Presbyterian Church and the Jews", published in 1935, Reverend John Stuart Conning strongly commended the Scott Institute, the Toronto home of the Presbyterian Mission to the Jews, and its director Reverend Morris Zeidman. He upheld the Institute as a "striking illustration of the accessibility of the Jews at the present time to a friendly and intelligent Christian approach".

The onus for evangelizing the Jews he placed on pastors who should inform themselves and educate their people more intelligently about the Jews so as to be in a better position for their evangelization. This is especially important since the Jews are falling away from their faith. The emergence of the Jews from the ghetto into the neo-pagan conditions of modern life has had a disastrous impact on their traditional customs and beliefs. Still there is a yearning among earnest Jews for spiritual satisfaction. The extent of anti-Jewish prejudice and Anti-Semitism in Canada and other lands underscores the urgency for their evangelization. Indeed, he argued, "Christians owe to the Jews personal kindness and goodwill. In no other way can the estrangement of Jews to the Christian faith be overcome."[17]

According to Reverend Zeidman's reports in the Presbyterian Record and the Acts and Proceedings the Mission to the Jews was achieving outstanding results. From a report in the Presbyterian Record, January 1933, to his report in the Acts and Proceedings, June 1939, Zeidman emphasized three factors in relation to his success in evangelizing the Jews. First, there was a breaking down of hostility and prejudice of the Jews against Christian missionaries.[18] Secondly, there was increasing sympathy and support from various members of the Jewish community,[19] and thirdly, there were the "unprecedentedly vast fields ripe unto harvest", resulting from the conditions under which the Jews were struggling -- in 1933, their spiritual and material famine; in 1938, their persecution in Poland, Germany and Roumania.[20]

Not everyone affiliated with the Scott Institute during this period shared Reverend Zeidman's enthusiasm. In a report on the "Scott Institute -- Mission to the Jews", March 1938, Zeidman's assistant, Carolyn McArthur maintained that the cross was still a stumbling block for Jews. "Wherever there is aggressive evangelizing there is opposition." She argued that "There is still with them that awful fear of persecution and they have good reason to fear."[21]

During this period Jews were seen not only in light of their evangelistic potential. In a report in the Acts and Proceedings, June 1936, the Presbytery of Chatham requested that the leaders of the Presbyterian Church be forerunners in inviting leaders of Judaism to meet with the view of "developing a deeper spirit of friendship between Judaism and Christianity".[22] Does this mean that the Presbyterian Church was actually aware of the persecution occurring in Europe at this time?

Recognition: In 1935 the Presbyterian Record published a series of articles by Dr. Stanley of Stanford, Connecticut, which examined the issue of persecution in Europe. In the February address he explained that these days for economic security a "people will surrender everything, even religious liberty." Germany "is a nation to fear because of the fantastic projects of its leaders and the susceptibility of the people in their present distress...."[23]

Economic insecurity and religious enslavement were not the only issues treated by the Presbyterian Record. In May 1936 an article "Germany and the Jews" brought to light the details

and real nature of the persecution of the Jews in Germany. The article dealt with Mr. James G. McDonald, former High Commissioner for Refugees who resigned his post in order for the world to see "the horror and tragedy of it all". The article claimed that the Nazi regulations designed to persecute and destroy the Jewish population were not only an outrage to Jewish feelings but robbed Jews of their rights as human beings. Though life had been made intolerable for them in Germany, McDonald asked the readership, where could they go? He brought the issue to light as "a problem of serious international concern..." and pleaded that "world opinion...move to avert the existing and impending tragedies."[24] Later that year, with this information at hand, the Presbyterian Record still published "The Light of the World" in which Dr. C.H. Kerr asked: "Have you ever considered that the Germans are now treating the Jews exactly as the Jews once treated other peoples whom they thought might contaminate them? That is to say, they set out to exterminate them."[25]

In spite of Reverend Kerr's query, or perhaps because of it, the Presbyterian Record continued to print reports about the persecution of the Jews. In an article in February 1938 Reverend Zeidman spoke of the Jew as "the most hunted, the most persecuted and the most helpless creature in the whole of Central Europe". In Poland the Jew is the most miserable of all beings, treated with less consideration than animals in Canada. In Germany, in Roumania and even in Palestine, he continued, Jews are subjected to physical violence and persecution.[26] In the same year

Zeidman referred to the "hatred let loose in Europe against the Jewish people".[27] A report on "The Jews in Roumania" explained that although religious hatred had been the motive for hostile action against the Jews for generations, now blood and race had become factors in the policy of persecution, and Nazi propaganda was adding fuel to the fire.[28]

In November 1938 the Presbyterian Record printed a review of the British publication Youth and Anti-Semitism. As an indication of the timely nature of this work, the nameless reviewer wrote: "The tragic life of the Jews in certain parts of Central Europe may well elicit the sympathy of the Christian Churches. About this sympathy there can be no doubt, and the problem is to give it suitable expression."[29].

An article in January 1939 entitled "Germany and The Jews" repeated the earlier protests of James McDonald, adding that the horrors described in 1936 was being re-enacted and accentuated. Not only were the Jews victims of social outrage but with this new outbreak were subjected to very serious physical abuse.[30] The editor of the Presbyterian Record reported in March of the same year that hundreds of thousands have been driven forth from their country through no fault of their own.[31] In July Reverend D.M. MacMillan wrote a statement which he felt the "Christian people may well take to heart in these times." "In certain quarters brute force seems to reign supreme. Hundreds of thousands of human beings have been ruthlessly persecuted for no other reason than that they have been born Jews."[32]

As for the situation of Jews in Canada during this period

we find an article in the Presbyterian Record of February 1938 in which Reverend Zeidman complained that "during the last few years, as missionaries to the Jews, we have had to engage not only in preaching the Gospel to the Jews but also in combatting anti-Semitism among Christians. Of late," he wrote, "several half-baked Bible teachers in the United States as well as in Canada, under the pretext of prophetical studies have been guilty of vile, anti-Christian teaching of hatred against the Jewish people."[33]

Solutions: Given the degree of information the Presbyterian Church reported regarding the conditions affecting the Jews in Europe in this period, the stance it was prepared to take at this time is very significant. In an editorial in January 1939 W.M. Rochester wrote: "A serious question has thus risen which must give concern to every Christian country, namely, To what place of refuge shall these people turn?" The article then quoted a plea issued on behalf of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, the Moderator of the Federal Council of Evangelical Free Churches, and other non-Canadian religious leaders. It reads:

> In Great Germany there remains not fewer than a million Jews, of whom about half are Christians, many of whom are the so-called Non-Aryans....We appeal to our own Government and to the Dominion Governments to give a lead to the world in this matter. We beg them in the name name both of our Christian faith and of common humanity to open their doors generously to refugees before it is too late....

The quotation goes on to say:

> The Christian Council for Refugees from Germany and

> Central Europe has been formed for the express purpose of appealing to Christians to help these refugees, especially Christian refugees of whom there now is not fewer than half a million. The Jews have helped their own Jewish brethern most liberally and also many Christians of Jewish descent. Most earnestly do we entreat our fellow Christians to help their Christian brethern in like manner.

The quotation ends with the critique that "Canada as a nation must not be wanting at this time in such a grave crisis when man's brotherhood has such a splendid opportunity for expression."[34]

Two months later in another editorial Rochester referred to the nearly one and a half million people living in indescribable misery who "are knocking at the doors of the world for mercy". The knock is heard loudly at Canada's door; "in the name of our common humanity it must not continue unheeded." Very critical of the Dominion Government's excuses for preventing refugees from entering Canada, Rochester argued that "as a Christian nation we ought not to stand upon ceremony or be daunted by material considerations. Help is needed. Let us give it and at once." For those still of a dubious bent, he suggested that history could demonstrate that it might prove profitable to Canada to provide homes for these refugees.

In conclusion, he referred to the resolution passed by the Committee on Correspondence of Other Churches: "That this Committee placed on record its conviction that with respect to these refugees a wise and well-controlled immigration policy be adopted by the Dominion Government."[35] The significant word here is "wise", for Troper and Abella will testify that the immigration policy was in fact well-controlled but hardly wise.

Though the war clouds were gathering during this period,

war had not as yet been declared and Canada remained still relatively untouched by the incredible events occurring in Europe. Once war was declared, however, Canada armed herself to defend Britain and the Allies and all that stood for truth and justice. The attitude of the Canadian Churches likewise changed at this time and their concerns took new directions.

Period II: 1939-1942

General Background: Despite increasing knowledge of the persecution of the Jews, Reverend John Pitts of Toronto implied in a September 1940 article that the blindness of the Jews was the cause of their present suffering. In discussing the term "Messiah", Pitts suggested that although the Jews of old believed that God would send His Anointed to deliver His people and establish a kingdom of righteousness, the Jews conceived of the kingdom in terms of Jewish domination, so that when the Messiah did come to inaugurate a kingdom in which all peoples would equally serve God, the Jews "in their blindness rejected and crucified him."[36] However, about a year later Reverend Henry W. Edmonds wrote a very poignant article in The Hebrew Evangelist. Addressed"To the Jew", it reads:

> We have damned you for the very attitude which we ourselves have made inevitable. We have robbed you and now criticize you for being secretive. We have driven you together like sheep in a storm and now call you clannish.
> We have accused you of materialism because you have been successful in business. Your prosperity has been an evidence of a mercenary mind, ours an evidence of the favour of God....Through all the Christian centuries our ritual has rested upon yours and in these days of enrichment of worship

> we discover once more how rich yours is -- but
> no intimation of thanks.
> We have called peace a Christian attitude,
> forgetting that it was a Jew who first used
> those words, which now belong to humanity,...[37]

The Pharisaic concept, however, still proved problematic. In "The Courageous Candor of Jesus", August 1942, Reverend H. Beverly Ketchen described the Scribes and Pharisees not as hypocrits and sinners but as "very conscientious in keeping the letter of the law", meticulously careful about all traditional requirements of the religion of their fathers. "Externally and mechanically they were righteous" but, he argued self-critically, they at least took their religion seriously. "Speaking generally even of the so-called Christian community we have not been even as righteous as the Pharisees."[38] Here we have an apparently subtle change in view regarding the Pharisee. Did this subtle change in view affect Christian relations with Jews during these war years?

The earliest reference to relations with Jews in this period is found in the Acts and Proceedings of 1940 in a report on the Scott Institute. As was common in most reports on Jewish-Christian relations there was a concern here with evangelizing the Jews, particularly in this case with spreading the gospel among the refugees when the flood gate would open after the war. Reverend Zeidman reaffirmed the Institute's good relations with and support from the Jewish community in the city.[39]

In the "Quarterly Report on Jewish Work" in December of the same year Carolyn McArthur, Zeidman's assistant, wrote

that "world conditions have had a tendency to arouse the Jewish people...[who] acknowledge their only hope is in God and they are beginning to wonder if they had not made a mistake in not accepting Jesus as their Messiah."[40] In March of 1941 Reverend Zeidman reiterated his optimism in an article entitled "Evangelizing the Jews" but admitted that "it is still pioneer work. It is still a matter of softening the stoney hearts that have been hardened by centuries of prejudice and persecution, but the hearts are being softened and ready to receive the seed of the Gospel."[41] "As we look at world conditions today," wrote Carolyn McArthur in her "Quarterly Report" of August 1941, "we little know how long we may be privileged to give the Gospel message to the dear Jewish people who need it so much."[42]

Two months later the Presbyterian Record severely denounced the scarcity of Hebrew and Yiddish New Testaments:"First the shutoff was affected in Germany for of course everything Jewish or Hebrew was under the Hitler curse." This denouncement, however, was merely another expression of concern for evangelizing the Jews. "The war has cut deep into the heart of the Jewish nation" which provided an opportunity rarely found by the Church to present the Gospel to the Jews.[43]

In the fall of 1941 Reverend Zeidman resigned from his position as superintendent of the Presbyterian Mission to the Jews.[44] The subsequent report on the mission in 1942 was written in an entirely different tone. Expressing frustration in attempts to convert Jews, the nameless writer undermined

Reverend Zeidman's optimism: "Even the poorest Jews look upon the Gentiles as Gayim [sic] -- heathen -- and worshippers of a dead carpenter. They despise our saviour, sneer at His miraculous birth and deny His resurrection. To them, He is the cause of all the sorrows of the Jewish race." The writer further condemned Zeidman's methods for evangelizing the Jews. It is "dangerous to make use of doles of any kind or give financial support or promise of remunerative employment [for] the Jews instinctively know where to find their profit and readily avail themselves of it. So they come suddenly and disappear suddenly, just as soon as their profit is exhausted or they develop into sham Christians without any backbone."[45] Clearly this writer's perception of the Jews and the Church's mission to the Jews differed considerably from that of Reverend Zeidman. The question arises as to whether this altered view of the Jew affected the Church's perception of the persecution of the Jews in Europe.

Recognition: In September 1940 an article appeared in the Presbyterian Record entitled "Is Hitler Anti-Christ?" This article indicates that there was knowledge of Nazi persecution in Germany and German-occupied territories. Referring to Hitler as the supreme ruler of the kingdom of evil, Reverend John Pitts maintained that Hitler had made a"covenant with death", an "agreement with hell". Hitler, he concluded, is "the pinnacle of anti-Christianity". He has elevated himself to a position of a god, arrogates to himself complete control over the bodies, minds and souls of the German people. Not only have there been

"cruel outbursts against the Jews" but also "the rape of Austria, the destruction of Czechoslavakia and now the murderous attack upon Poland...."[46] Further evidence of Nazi persecution appeared in February of the following year. An article in the Presbyterian Record described the closing of Czechoslavakian universities and colleges and the "physical tortues" suffered by faculty and students -- a grim picture of a culture scarcely a year after Germany's entry.[47] A September article responded to the new role Hitler had claimed for himself; that is, "the champion of Christian civilization". Including a quotation from a British publication the article states: "There are a thousand witnesses to deny him, though they cannot speak, for they are in prisons and concentration camps under German rule."[48]

In these and subsequent articles there is little doubt about the nature of the Nazi regime. The Nazis were referred to variously as imposing "their anti-social, anti-Christian and anti-human wills upon much of the world," as using "fiendish force and diabolical scheming".[49] In 1942 an article reprinted from Magazine Digest presented a British view of Nazi Germany. Under few illusions, Sir Robert Vansittart wrote: "Of course there have been, and are, Germans who may not have liked executing the programmes of the leaders; but...the fact remains that the programmes of their leaders always have been executed."[50]

As for the persecution of the Jews during this period next to nothing can be found in the Presbyterian Record or the Acts and Proceedings. Only in the November 1941 issue of The Hebrew Evangelist was the problem addressed. In "Behind the Nazi Lines"

Reverend Zeidman related the incident of the massacre of five hundred Jews in Jassy, Roumania as an "horrifying example of Nazi savagery". In addition to reports on the serious anti-Jewish excesses in Kouno and Vilna (the two largest cities in Soviet Lithuania) Zeidman informed his readers of the thousands of Lithuanian Jews moved off to Soviet Mongolia and Eastern Siberia and the one hundred thousand Ukrainian Jews -- "the aged and ailing Jews and Jewesses and the young children" evacuated to Bino-Bidjan".[51]

What was to be done, what could be done during this period? One possibility was presented by Reverend William T. Elmslie, General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church. In a 1941 article, "Europe in the Furnace", Elmslie described what he felt was "perhaps the most courageous and striking act of all... the protest against anti-Semitism, formerly presented by the leaders of the Church [in Holland] with the support of almost the whole membership -- a protest which was not ineffective in spite of the demonstrations to which it indirectly led and the shedding of blood in order to suppress it."[52] Yet in the article by Vansittart in the following year, of the three full pages on Germany, only one small reference was made concerning the treatment of the Jews. In his comparison of the Kaiser's Germany with that of Hitler, he wrote: "Then as now anti-Semitism was strong, though of course not so violent."[53]

As for the treatment of the Jews in Canada during this period, only Reverend Zeidman dealt with the question. In his article "Fresh Air Camp Evangelism", he defended his camp for Jewish children on the grounds that "the radical discrimination

which festers in the most unexpected places, can become very evident in the more or less limited space of a camp community. Closing our eyes to this situation unfortunately does not alter it, and until Christian hearts become entirely so, our Jewish children enjoy their holiday best by themselves."[54] According to Zeidman then despite the events in Europe Anti-Semitism remained more or less a problem in the Presbyterian community.

Solutions: The evidence, though hardly definitive, indicates that the Presbyterian Church attempted through its press to inform its readership not only about military events and Nazi activities but also, though certainly less so, about the mass evacuations and persecution of Jews in Eastern Europe. Given the information the Church possessed in this regard, what sort of solution, if any, did they suggest to their membership?

In his 1939 article "Palestine and the Jews" Reverend John Stuart Conning in consideration of Jewish rights in Palestine maintained that: "The interest of Christians in the future of Jews in Palestine will always be sympathetic and sincere." For Conning the immediate and most urgent concern was the establishment of friendly and co-operative relations with Arab neighbours. Although he suggested that cordial relations between Jew and Arab would have progressed much faster but for Arab self-seekers and foreign political propaganda, he also wondered if "placing of limits on the materialistic ambitions of nationalistic Jews may not in the end work for the advantage of the whole Jewish people."[55]

Palestine was obviously not the only or the most adequate solution to the problem of war-torn refugees. The question

remained: Where could these Jews turn? Who would give them refuge?

In a 1940 address Dr. Adolf Keller, the Secretary of the Central Bureau for the Relief of Evangelical Churches in Europe presented the problem in bold light: "On a thousand European roads a caravan of despair winds its way slowly toward an unknown goal." He spoke of tens of thousands of refugees -- "there is no end....From destitution to despair they go homeless, foresaken" only because "a demonic power decrees to these people who are like ourselves: 'Die! There is no place for you among mankind!' " This, he argued, is "an intolerable wrong....No one of us is responsible for this ruin, but we all share the responsibility for our fellowman in terrible anguish. Perhaps the travail of this time will bring forth a new world -- but will the Refugee live to see it? Not unless we raise our voices for justice and extend our hands for mercy."[56]

The only reference to the refugee problem in 1941 was a May article in the Presbyterian Record which examined the problem and concluded that "Unoccupied France is the gravest problem facing all the European relief organizations today."[57] Dr. Keller's "Farewell to America" was the only article in all of 1942 that mentioned the refugee problem. Here he discussed the European countries most in need of aid for refugees, particularly Switzerland, Great Britain and unoccupied France. "Wave after wave of hapless exiles" are pouring over the frontiers and they must be aided with food and shelter, he argued.[58] After his return to Europe the problem almost disappeared from the pages of the Presbyterian Church press.

Period III: 1943-1945

General Background: During this period the Presbyterian Church provided far less coverage of Jews generally. Theologically, the perception of the Jew was hardly different. In 1943 an article on missions in the Presbyterian Record reminded its readers that "The Cross tells us we are in the same condemnation, black and white,...Jew and Gentile", a reiteration of the previously cited Pauline tenet.[59] The Pharisaic concept was likewise perpetuated. A February 1945 radio address, printed in the Presbyterian Record, discussed the question of the salvation of the "soul that does not feel any need." "The Scribes and Pharisees of Christ's time were not wicked people," claimed J.B. Skene over CBR radio Vancouver. "Their history had been an honourable one...but the firm stand they were compelled to make at many times tended to harden their hearts." As their rules crystallized into legalism and formalism, "these virtuous men became men of closed minds and the enemies of Jesus."[60]

Reports on Jewish-Christian relations of any nature were likewise fewer to be found. After Reverend Zeidman's resignation in 1941, only one further article on the Scott Institute or the Presbyterian Mission to the Jews appeared in 1942. There were no reports subsequently printed on this issue. In the spring of 1945, however, there was mention of good relations between Jews and Christians. This took the form of news regarding Protestant, Catholic and Jewish army chaplains working together "in the hell of war" and thereby welding a significant unity.[61] "Protestant, Catholic and Jew -- united in service, united in common prayer,

undivided in death...."[62]

Recognition: Despite the intensity of European activity during this period, the Presbyterian press presented the reader with only a few reports of Nazi persecution and terror. Nevertheless, these reports are highly significant. Reverend Samuel McCrea Cavert reported in March of 1943 that "...the church [in occupied France] after a period of confusion, is finding its soul again in connection with the issue of the treatment of the Jews. When the Vichy regime under the demand of its Nazi master adopted the policy of deporting Jews for forced labour, it was the Church which found the clearest voice in their defence."[63]

Far more significant is W.M. Rochester's commentary in June of 1943 on the address by Reverend H.J. Cockburn of Scotland at a meeting of the Associated Church Press of Canada and the United States in New York, May 3-6th. Rochester argued that the readership must believe Cockburn's statements. In the address Cockburn "directed attention to the atrocities which have marked the present war....when you think of the treatment of the Poles, the Jews and others, at the hands of the Nazis, you stand aghast. It is unbelievable that such brutish treatment should be accorded men by their fellows. The savagery of it all afrights us." The reason for it, Rochester explained in his commentary, is that the Nazis believe they are a superior race and may therefore deny to other peoples the right of existence.[64] The printed words seem hardly able to convey the profound sense of tragedy felt by both Cockburn and Rochester.

The most significant statement which in part confirms the charge of "the silence of the Church" but also in part exonerates the Presbyterian Church from this charge appeared in the Acts and Proceedings of June 1943. It is a statement issued by the Presbytery of Saskatoon for transmission to the General Assembly. Entitled "On Behalf of the Jewish Race", it is is worthy of being quoted here in full.

> Whereas, never before, perhaps in the history of Christianity have the ancient race of Israel been tortured and persecuted as at the present time, and
>
> Whereas, the Protestant Churches of Europe have gone on record as being sympathetic to that race, and anxious to be of help to them in the dreadful predicament in which they find themselves in almost every part of Europe, and
>
> Whereas, as far as we are aware, no Church in Canada has taken a like stand,
>
> We, therefore, petition the Venerable The General Assembly to go on record that we, as a Church, are sympathetic to the Jewish Race in their trials and persecutions in every part of Europe,... 65

Solution: The same statement goes on to offer at least a partial solution to the intolerable situation facing European Jews:

> ...and we further petition the Venerable The General Assembly to communicate with the Government of Canada, urging it to do all in its power to mitigate the suffering of God's ancient Race, to open the doors of our Dominion to a fair share of the refugees as opportunity presents itself, and to provide as far as possible for the immediate necessities of such refugees as may come to us from time to time during the war, and in the immediate postwar period. And we would still further petition the Venerable The General Assembly to urge the people of our Church to denounce anti-Semitism wherever found, and to remember at all times that "The Author and Finisher of our Faith" was born of Mary, a Jewish maid. 66

Notwithstanding the ambiguous phrase "a fair share of the refugees", this statement demonstrates more fully than

others what Reverend Zeidman had referred to as a truly Christian heart. Yet an article in February 1944 indicates that this statement did not have a wide-ranging impact on the Presbyterian community as a whole. In "On the Rampart -- Open Canada to Refugees" we read that "our board received a request from the Canadian National Committee on Refugees...that we favour the admission of refugees into Canada. A statement had come from our Moderator Dr. Ketchen, Primate Owen, Archbishop McGuigan and Moderator Dr. J.R.P. Sclater approving the same. Our Board, after considerable discussion of a knotty point, agreed also to approve."[67] Although the article did not elaborate on the "knotty point", the fact that considerable discussion was required/despite the support of the leadership of the Canadian Churches in general is also significant. This was the last word in this period concerning the plight of the Jews in Nazi dominated Europe.

Conclusion

What we have conveyed in this paper must be regarded as tentative. Because sermons, addresses, minutes and the like have in many cases been retained by the individual churches or ministers, the collection in the Presbyterian Church Archives is somewhat limited. Given that the circulation of the Church press at that time was small, its impact was likely correspondingly weak. What we have related here then expresses less the official attitude of the Presbyterian Church than the attitude of its writers and editors. Still these were men who were honoured by the Presbyterian community and, in most cases, members of the

Presbyterian ministry.

One of the most important questions that arises in regard to this research rests on the definition of the term "silence" 68 used in the charge against the Church. Does it mean lack of written statements, lack of vocal demands? Does it means lack of attempt to put words into action, to pressure the government, to arouse the people? Clearly the Presbyterian Church did not remain entirely silent; clearly, though perhaps not frequently, they published demands of their church leaders, church members, and the Canadian government. However, there is no indication that the Church attempted to or was prepared to take action in order to implement their demands.

Given the historical context, what action could the Church have taken? What actions would have been effective? These questions are of course retrospective but must nevertheless be addressed on behalf of Canadians at large, the Canadian Church as a whole and the Presbyterian community itself. Based on our research to date, we can argue at least tentatively that the Presbyterian Church did not remain virtually silent in the face of the holocaust, that the Presbyterian Church press did attempt to inform its readership -- small though it may have been -- of the events occurring in Europe and the persecution of the Jews. In this regard we can state that the Presbyterian Church has been at least partially exonerated from the charge of "the silence of the Church".

Notes

1. Troper, Harold & Abella, Irving, None is Too Many, Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1982.

2. For example, Zahn, Gordon C., German Catholics and Hitler's Wars, N.Y: Sheed & Ward, 1962; Friedlander, Saul, Pius XII and the Third Reich: A Documentation, N.Y: Knopf, 1966; Cochrane, Arthur C., The Church's Confession Under Hitler, Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962.

3. Ross, Robert W., So It Was True!, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980.

4. At the time of writing this paper the archival research of all Canadian Churches has not yet been completed nor some pertinent interviews yet conducted. Consequently, we would be ill-advised to attempt a comparative analysis of the Canadian Churches as a whole. In terms of the Presbyterian Church alone so much material has been uncovered that a comprehensive discussion of the related issues are precluded by the size of this paper.

5. Ross, So It Was True!, p.3.

6. During an interview with the former Moderator of the United Church, The Reverend Ernest Howes admitted that it was not until 1945 at the end of the war that he himself finally believed the atrocity stories. He -- and so many others, Jews and non-Jews -- felt that he was not going to fall for the same ploy used during the second world war.

7. Ross, So It Was True!, p.199.

8. Presbyterian Record, January 1933, p.5.

9. Presbyterian Record, January 1934, p.28.

10. Kerr, C.H., "The Light of the World", Presbyterian Record, December 1936, p.368.

11. Presbyterian Record, January 1938, p.12.

12. MacCallum, Rev. W.B., "A Great Confession", Presbyterian Record, February 1939, p.56.

13. Kerr, C.H., "The Light of the World", p.368.

14. Sutherland, Rev. Lewis, "The Empty Tomb", Presbyterian Record, March 1937, p.68.

15. "Rax Me That Bible", Presbyterian Record, March 1937, p.87.

16. Presbyterian Record, September 1937, p.277.

17. Conning, Rev. John Stuart, "The Presbyterian Church and the Jews",

Presbyterian Record, March 1935, p.87.

18. Presbyterian Record, May 1938, p.138; Acts and Proceedings, June 1934, p.25; Acts and Proceedings, June 1937, p.32; Presbyterian Record, February 1939, p.46.

19. Presbyterian Record, January 1933, pp.22-23; February 1939, p.46; November 1934, p.336.

20. Acts and Proceedings, June 1933, pp.28,30; June 1939, pp.24-25; Presbyterian Record, September 1938, p.274.

21. McArthur, Carolyn, "Scott Institute Mission to the Jews" report, March 16, 1938.

22. Report of Presbytery of Chatham, re: "Developing a Deeper Spirit of Friendship Between Judaism and Christianity", no.16, Acts and Proceedings, June 1936.

23. Stanley, Dr., "A survey of the World Situation", Presbyterian Record, February 1935, p.39.

24. "Germany and the Jews", Presbyterian Record, May 1936, p.132.

25. Kerr, C.H., "The Light of the World", p.367.

26. Zeidman, Rev. Morris, "The Jews", Presbyterian Record, February 1938, p.39.

27. _____, Presbyterian Record, September 1938,pp. 273-274.

28. "The Jews of Roumania", Presbyterian Record, June 1938, p.169.

29. Presbyterian Record, November 1938, pp.339-340.

30. "Germany and the Jews", Presbyterian Record, January 1939, pp.4-5.

31. Rochester, W.M., "Without a Country", Presbyterian Record, March 1939, p.67.

32. MacMillan, Rev. D.H., "The Sovereignity of God", Presbyterian Record, July 1939, pp.217-219.

33. Zeidman, Morris, "The Jews", February 1935, p.39.

34. Rochester, W.M.,"Germany and the Jews", Presbyterian Record, January 1939, pp.4-5.

35. Rochester, W.M., "Without a Country", pp.67-68.

36. Pitts, Rev. John, "Is Hitler Anti-Christ?" Presbyterian Record, September 1940, pp.264-266.

37. Edmonds, Rev. Henry M., "To the Jew", The Hebrew Evangelist, November 1941, p.7,"Mission to the Jews"File.

38. Ketchen, Rev. H. Beverly, "The Courageous Candor of Jesus", Presbyterian Record, August 1942, pp.249-250.

39. Zeidman, Rev. Morris, "Scott Institute Report", Acts and Proceedings, 1940, pp.1-4.

40. McArthur, Carolyn, "Quarterly Report on Jewish Work", December 1940, "Mission to the Jews" File.

41. Zeidman, Morris, "Evangelizing the Jews", Presbyterian Record, March 1941, pp.72-74.

42. McArther, Carolyn, "Quarterly Report on Jewish Work", August 1941, "Mission to the Jews" File.

43. "The Yiddish New Testament", Presbyterian Record, October 1941, pp.303-304.

44. Presbyterian Record, January 1942, p.24; The Star, 1941, no page, no month, in "Mission to the Jews" File.

45. "Presbyterian Mission to the Jews", Acts and Proceedings, June 1942, p.25. This remark seems to be directed against Reverend Zeidman personally.

46. Pitts, Rev. John, "Is Hitler Anti-Christ?", pp.265-266.

47. "German Cultural Oppression in Czechoslavakia", Presbyterian Record, February 1941, p.49.

48. "Hitler's New Role", Presbyterian Record, September 1941, p.277; the quotation was taken from a London publication, "The Spiritual Issues of the War", no date, no page.

49. Rushbrooke, J.M., "Various Matters -- A Church Pronouncement", Presbyterian Record, November 1941, p.340.

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52. Elmslie, Rev. William T., "Europe in the Furnace", Presbyterian Record, 1941, p.357.

53. Vansittart, Sir Robert, "Germany's Black Record", p.71.

54. Zeidman, Morris, "Fresh Air Camp Evangelism", Presbyterian Record, November 1941, p.334.

55. Conning, Rev. John Stuart, "Palestine and the Jews", Presbyterian Record, September 1939, p.262.

56. Keller, Dr. Adolf, "Central Bureau for Relief of Evangelical Churches in Europe, Foreign Affairs Bulletin", Presbyterian Record, March 1940, p.85.

57. "The Need in Europe", Presbyterian Record, May 1941, p.157.

58. Keller, Dr. Adolf, "Farewell to America", Presbyterian Record, October 1942, pp.294-295.

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60. Skene, J.B., "Our Spiritual Need", CBR Radio Vancouver, February 1945; printed in the Presbyterian Record, April 1945, p.118.

61. "Gleanings -- Religion on Every Front", Presbyterian Record, June 1945, p.169.

62. "Chaplaincy Service", Presbyterian Record, March 1945, pp.83-84.

63. McCrea, Rev. Samuel, "A War Time Visit", Presbyterian Record, March 1943, pp.86-87.

64. Rochester, W.M., "The Shorter Catechism", Presbyterian Record, June 1943, pp.163-164.

65. "On Behalf of the Jewish Race", no.22, Acts and Proceedings, June 1943, p.147; italics added.

66. ibid; italics added.

67. "On the Rampart -- Open Canada to Refugees", Presbyterian Record, February 1944, p.41.

68. In treating the question of silence and its meaning Longfellow, in his poem The Three Silences of Molinos (1873), wrote:

> Three silences there are: the first of speech,
> The second of desire, the third of thought.

Canadian Presbyterians and the Laymen's Missionary Movement

by

John S. Moir

The Laymen's Missionary Movement may be viewed as the culmination of North American missionary undertakings in that Age of Missions, the Nineteenth Century. The immediate roots of the LMM lay in the sense of a divine imperative to cultural and political imperialism that took shape in the closing decades. Its more distant roots lie in the vast missionary spirit and enterprise of Britain that developed after the close of the Napoleonic wars. Indeed the two common elements of the whole Nineteenth Century missionary drive appear to have been a measure of prosperity engendered by industrialization and, for the first time on a global scale, a fervent response to the Apostolic "Macedonian cry" made practicable in international terms by the Pax Brittanica. In "the climactic phase of the foreign missions movement in American Protestantism"[1] at the close of the nineteenth century, Dwight L. Moody's "warm optimistic evangelism" and the channelling of enthusiasms into organized action on the model of the Young Men's Christian Association merged in 1888 in the Student Volunteer Movement which recruited the youth of North America, especially college students, for missionary service abroad. "The Evangelization of the World in this Generation" was both the aim and motto of the SVM. The SVM in turn spawned the Foreign Missions Conference of North America in 1893, to co-ordinate the

denominational missionary work, and the Missionary Education Movement formed in 1902 to promote mission enthusiasm among all church members.

As this wave of mission interest swelled it became evident that the enthusiasm of youth had outrun the financial capabilities of the denominations to support such extensive overseas work. Traditional mission fund-raising had depended on the free-will response of congregations to occasional pulpit appeals, plus the quiet but probably more effective work of women's missionary groups in the form of teas, bazaars, church dinners, etc. Some more lucrative and reliable way of exploiting the material resources of an opulent society was required, and the solution proposed was the Laymen's Missionary Movement. The three basic objectives of the Movement were to enlist lay support "to evangelize the world in this generation", to employ "the best business methods in all Church Missionary finance", and to promote "greater efficiency" in both home and foreign missionary effort.[2]

The Movement spread quickly from the United States to Britain and Canada, but only in the latter country did it make an impact proportional to that recorded in the United States. Nevertheless there were significant differences between Canada and the United States that affected both the organization of and the ultimate fate of the LMM in each country. A primary difference is that Canada has never been religiously pluralistic in the same way as the United States. The 1911 census of Canada showed that fifty per cent of the population belonged to just four Protestant

churches--Presbyterian, Methodist and Anglican claiming about fifteen per cent each and the Baptists five per cent. Since another forty per cent of the population were Roman Catholic, nine of every ten Canadians belonged to one of only five denominations. "Churchliness" as Robert T. Handy describes this fact and outlook, is both the organizational and psychological hallmark of Canada's religious experience.[3]

At the beginning of the century Canada's population stood at 5.3 million, about one-tenth that of the United States. Population growth had been due to immigration, because more Canadians had emigrated to the United States than the numbers added by natural increase. In the 1890s the Canadian economy began to recover from a generation-long depression that retarded industrialization and urbanization. A central factor in the economic revival was the $800 million of new capital invested in manufacturing industry during the decade after 1900, so that the value added by manufacturing doubled in this period and Canada's urban population grew by seventeen per cent.

The end of the long depression coincided with the filling up of the American West, so that immigration was now diverted towards Canada. While the majority of European immigrants settled in the farmlands of the Canadian West, a significant proportion who lacked capital and industrial skills got no further than the socially depressed areas in the eastern cities. Wherever they settled, however, the three million newcomers to Canada between 1896 and 1913 posed, however, a serious challenge for the nation's political and religious leaders because most were completely

ignorant of the Canadian life-style, political traditions and values. To protect the Canadian way of life as defined by "old Canadians", the new Canadians had to be Canadianized, and the churches and schools were the most obvious instruments for assimilation. Obviously there was need for intensive home mission work in the West and in the cities, as well as overseas missions.

As a first step to meet this perceived cultural challenge from the immigrants, Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists had agreed in 1902 to seek an organic union of Canadian Protestantism. This dream of a "Canadian Church" had sprung from recognition of the similarities in theology, polity and outlook, but it was also inspired by the example of "big business" where the order of the day was mergers, monopolies, expansion, efficiency. Surely the same techniques that succeeded in the busines world could create a single, powerful church to speak with authority to governments and meet the national challenge to Canadianize and Protestantize this tide of non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants. Both at home and abroad church union would eliminate wasteful and unchristian competition and duplication in missions, and so hasten the day of the coming of His Kingdom.

This same popular admiration of "big business" techniques and successes provided the rationale for creating the LMM. Suggestions had been heard for several years both in the United States and Canada that laymen should support mission work with funds, study and prayer. Early in 1906 at a Student Volunteer Movemement meeting in Nashville, Tennessee, a Presbyterian layman, John B. Slemon, was so stirred by the sight of one hundred young people volunteering

as missionaries that he conceived the idea to organize men in the churches to provide that support.[4] In November of that year, in New York city the Laymen's Missionary Movement was in fact organized during an interdenominational meeting celebrating the centenary of the American Board of Missions. Two months later at a Conference in Philadelphia of the Foreign Missions Boards of the American and Canadian churches, S.B. Capen, one of the LMM's founders, defined the nature and aims of the new group.

> What is it? It is a Movement; it is a Laymen's Missionary Movement; it is an effort to get the denominations at home to work more closely together. The Student Volunteer Movement has to do with providing missionaries, the Young People's Missionary Movement with the training of the men and women of tomorrow, and the Mission Boards are equipped for administration. The purpose of this Movement is to furnish more rapidly the money, and help push missionary work all along the line through a campaign of education among laymen under the direction of the various Mission Boards.[5]

In that audience was Dr. Alexander Sutherland, Secretary of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, who apparently recruited one of the most prominent Canadian Methodist laymen, Newton Wesley Rowell, to organize a Canadian branch of the LMM. Within five months a Canadian Council had been formed with Rowell as chairman and the twelve Canadian members of the International Council as members of the Canadian Council.[6] This Canadian Council was to act in consultation with representatives of all co-operating churches, and its first step was to organize meetings in several major cities to assess the missionary needs which the Movement might fill. By November, 1907, the field had been surveyed and a second meeting in Toronto formally launched the LMM in Canada. The next six months were spent planning a

nation-wide campaign to arouse public interest. Conferences were held in larger centres, followed by visits of local groups to smaller towns and the countryside. The main meetings were addressed by the mission secretaries of the five participating Protestant denominations--Methodist, Presbyterian, Church of England, Baptist and Congregationalist--and by leading members of the LMM Council.

The format for meetings was standardized--each opened with an evening banquet where invited laymen heard speeches from a battery of orators, each of whom gave a short talk on a specific aspect of the proposed LMM work. The following day these speeches continued, with business sessions to allow for the establishing of local committees. Finally, on the third day, the audience divided into denominational groups, each of which was expected to establish its own local committee. The public interest aroused by this "National Campaign" was so great that J. Campbell White, general secretary of the American Movement, suggested holding an Assembly or Congress to hear reports of the progress achieved, to hear addresses by national leaders, and to consider Canada's missionary obligations and opportunities.[7] The acceptance of White's suggestion was followed in less than half a year by precisely such a Congress, held in Toronto, attended by over four thousand delegates, and lasting five full days.

The Canadian National Missionary Congress opened at the end of March, 1909, and after preliminary sessions addressed by White and by Robert E. Speer, the two leading American figures in

the Movement, Rowell presided over the plenary sessions held each afternoon and evening. Each session began with devotions (a fifteen-page ecumenical hymnbook had been prepared for the Congress), and each session had its own theme - "The Victorious Progress of Missions", "The Place of the Church in the Making of the Nation", "Stewardship of Life", "Knowledge of Missions", and on a practical note, "How to lead the Church to its Highest Missionary Efficiency". The closing topic was "The Unity and Universality of the Kingdom." Capen and Slemon, the founders of the Movement, spoke during the plenary sessions, and Speer and White each delivered two addresses. Other speakers represented mission work in India and Arabia, but the guest of honor was Sir Andrew Fraser, the Scottish ex-Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, son of a missionary, past Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in India, representative of the Scottish LMM and world leader in missionary work.

The Canadian speakers included prominent lay and clerical figures in national life, and of the 4,300 delegates more than half were laymen. Except for forty-seven Americans, all delegates were Canadian males, and Protestant. Of the total of 2500 laymen, 1500 came from outside the immediate area of Toronto as did nearly 1200 of the 1500 clergy. Almost three hundred theological students were registered at the Congress. The missionary interests of Canadian women were not completely forgotten. Two sessions for women, held in Convocation Hall at the University of Toronto, drew overflow crowds.[8] Introducing the printed volume of proceedings

of the Congress, Rowell praised the ecumenical spirit that pervaded the meetings and the commitment shown by the delegates.

> That active business and professional men would leave their homes and travel hundreds, some thousands of miles, at their own expense to take part in a missionary congress was evidence of an awakened interest among the men of the churches, and an appreciation of their missionary privileges and responsibilities, such as had not hitherto been manifested. No man could look into the intent faces of these men, who, day after day, gathered to listen to a discussion of missionary problems without being deeply impressed by the remarkable possibilities of such a gathering.[9]

The programme's basic theme was "Canada's Missionary Policy - Home and Foreign," and one of the ten plenary sessions considered the problem of preserving the Canadian-way-of-life. The problems of English-speaking and European settlers as well as Asians were considered, and one speaker spent his time on the problem of Canada's native Indians. In the final speech of that session James A. Macdonald, former editor of The Presbyterian and now editor-in-chief of The Globe, summarized the motivation of the Canadian Movement--"The Christianization of Our Civilization." Virtually every speech by a Canadian was permeated with Social Gospel phraseology, suggesting that the LMM, at least in its Canadian form, was essentially another manifestation of the Social Gospel movement and one that appealed to the sense of "noblesse oblige" (as well as richesse oblige) in Canada's burgeoning and successful middle and upper classes.

One important result of the Congress was the formulation of a "National Missionary Policy" and its subsequent adoption by the five Protestant churches involved. The Policy statement acknowledged "the clear duty of the Churches of Canada to evangelize

all those in the Dominion, or who come to our shores, who have not been led into the Christian life, and also to provide for the adequate preaching of the Gospel to forty millions of souls in the non-Christian world."[10] Since Canadian church members gave an average of $1.23 annually to home missions and only 64¢ for foreign work, those givings would have to be increased to $5.00 per member and the four hundred Canadian missionaries in the field increased fourfold if the objectives of the National Missionary Policy were to be met.

At the Congress the bureaucratic structure and the methodology of the Movement also took form. A Dominion Council was created, with four laymen and the mission secretary from each of the larger communions, and a full-time secretary to direct operations. A vice-chairman was appointed for each province, and most large cities had an interdenominational "Cooperating Committee". Rowell had refused to be secretary but agreed to chair the Dominion Council. Paralleling this national organization was an independent but co-operating national and regional LMM for each denomination. In the months that followed five practical steps were widely employed by the Canadian LMM and the participating churches to implement that Policy. These steps were the wholesale distribution of mission literature, the adoption of the duplex envelope for congregational use, the organizing of innumerable local prayer meetings and regional conferences (always beginning with a church dinner to mellow the audience!), the "every member canvass" which meant door-to-door visitations by teams, and finally enlisting successful Canadian businessmen for LMM leadership.

The first step was a continuation of the educational efforts started by the LMM in 1907. In two years the Movement had already published two books and twenty-four pamphlets intended to enlighten laymen about the problems and challenges of missions.[11] Of these pamphlets six had been written by Canadians. This literature was sold in three packet lots, the total cost being only $2.00, or $3.00 if the Congress Report was included.[12] Head office distribution statistics for the eighteen months ending with 1910 reported 28,800 books distributed, 7,500 charts, 1,127,000 pamphlets, and five million leaflets![13] The second measure to fulfill the National Policy, the promotion of the duplex envelope, was to make the average church member more responsive to mission needs and to encourage regular giving to missions in place of occasional special mission collections. If each congregation adopted the duplex envelope system the increased givings would enable the church to reach that goal of sixteen hundred missionaries supported and forty million heathen converted. Thanks to the duplex envelopes Presbyterian churches in Toronto reported that mission givings increased 252 per cent between 1907 and 1908, and a further 208 per cent in 1909. (By 1913, 605 Presbyterian congregations were using the envelopes compared to forty-seven in 1907).[14]

As a further follow-up to the Congress the Dominion Council organized 125 interdenominational conferences across Canada in 1910, and in 1911 another series of "trans Canada" two-day conferences were held, usually with denominational sessions continuing on the third day.[15] From scattered statistics it would

appear that each of the hundreds, if not thousands, of LMM county and denominational conferences that took place between 1909 and 1915 drew an average of two hundred and fifty persons. An example of parallel work in the annual denominational conferences, were the Presbyterian Church's "Coast to Coast" campaigns, during which one team gave sixty-seven speeches in a thirty-two day period during 1910.[16] As for the home-to-home "every person" canvasses carried on at the congregational level, it is impossible to estimate how many people were visited and influenced by this technique.

From its inception the LMM was predominantly a lay-led religious movement. Clergy were involved only ex officio as mission secretaries for their respective churches. Among the LMM officers laymen outnumbered the clergy by at least three to one. More significant than their numbers was the type of laymen involved. Since the fifth step was to organize laymen with proven expertise in business and management, not surprisingly the list of leaders in the LMM reads like a Who's Who of the financial, industrial, legal and political "establishment" of Canada in those prewar days. In a sample of thirty-two active office holders in the national Movement, eighteen were Presbyterians, five Methodists, four Baptists, two Anglicans, one a Quaker and the religious affiliation of the remaining two is uncertain. Of the thirty-two no less than fourteen were prominent in industrial and commercial life, eleven of them millionaires or near millionaires. Three men were in the public service and two more were lawyers of national reputation--only six were clergymen. The most striking social component was unquestionable the "big business" element--five of the men were

directors of no less than twenty-three major companies, another was president of six.

Canadian Presbyterian interest and involvement in the LMM appeared early and grew rapidly. On 4 April 1907 The Presbyterian reported at length on the founding of the LMM in New York and on the appointment of the Canadian executive (who were also part of the one-hundred member Central Committee). Two weeks later The Presbyterian recorded fully the dinner meeting of 9 April in Toronto, when three hundred "men of action" listened to White and Speer, and to James A. Macdonald. This enthusiastic account covered three-quarters of a page--the only sour note was a letter from Phineas Hophni Burton, manufacturing magnate, urging that LMM meetings be held in the evening so that "the King's business" would not interfere with daytime profit-making. After a year of only casual references to the LMM The Presbyterian announced on 16 April 1908 that "steady and substantial progress" was being made by the Movement in eastern Canadian Presbyterian congregations, but not in the West. Ten branches were operating in Ontario and one each in Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Half of Toronto's Presbyterian churches had adopted the duplex envelope and in some places mission givings had increased fourfold. One week later more statistics appeared from Toronto where forty congregations had held mission dinners and seventeen of them were using duplex envelopes. The objective now was to raise $90,700 in one year, a 225% increase over givings in 1906.

By the autumn of 1908 a "National Campaign" was under way, featuring financial goals two to three times as great as last year,

and White was starting a seven-week nation-wide tour supported by the Presbyterian LMM and the boards of Home and Foreign Missions. No fund-raising was involved--the Campaign was purely educational. R.P. Mackay, Mission Board Secretary, reported weekly in The Presbyterian on the achievements of the Campaign, and funding-goals skyrocketted as the LMM team lectured and ate its way across Canada. The tidal wave of statistics still rolled in as the LMM reported 209,000 members in twenty-four cities, with Winnipeg making the highest per capita pledge--$10 compared to the $7.38 national average.[17]

The Presbyterian gave extensive advance coverage to the National Congress of which the three-and-one-half day "Presbyterian Laymen's Convention" was a part. The Congress was intended to be "inspirational", the Convention "practical". One practical question was whether the Presbyterian Church should have a full-time LMM secretary as the Anglicans and Baptists did. Planning for the Convention showed how quickly Canadian Presbyterians had seized on the spirit and techniques of the LMM. Robert Speer, Campbell White and Charles A. Rowland of the American Southern Presbyterian Church would speak on the role of denominational LMM organizations, a special luncheon would honour Sir Andrew Fraser, and the Women's Home Missionary Society would hold concurrent meetings for Presbyterian ladies who supported the Movement.[18] Of the nineteen Canadians who addressed the full Congress, the six Presbyterians were Knox College principal Alfred Gandier, F.B. DuVal, the social reformer from Winnipeg, C.W. Gordon (who was also listed in the programme as Ralph Connor), Robert Falconer, President of

the University of Toronto, and the ubiquitous James A. Macdonald--all of them clergymen.

The follow-up to the Missionary Congress was the "trans-Canada" campaign of 1910, fully reported in The Presbyterian by F.W. Anderson, former secretary of the SVM, the College Mission, and the College Department of the YMCA, and now General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church LMM. By his account the campaign seemed more denominational than national, and the four-man team that held 250 meetings in the West contained no laymen.[19] Although for two years after the famous Congress the Presbyterian LMM insisted that men were "better than money", by the end of 1910 money was a diminishing resource. Toronto Presbytery had asked for $5 per member towards missions--only $2.89 was collected.[20] In the last nine months of the year $165,675 had been spent on home missions but only $40,623 was received.[21] By April 1911 the foreign mission defecit stood at $13,483. Only Hamilton-London Synod had increased its givings, while mission offerings from Toronto-Kingston Synod had decreased by more than $2000.[22]

Contributions from rural areas were now larger than from urban, and whereas in past National Movement officers had made up a star-studded group of the wealthy and important, the vice-chairmen for the provinces were unknowns. Nevertheless, when the National LMM Council met in October its General Secretary H.K. Caskey (another Presbyterian) reported that mission givings by the major Protestant denominations had risen forty-seven per cent in the last three years and Presbyterian givings were up by fifty-eight per cent, the largest increase for any denomination in the period.

The lesson, Caskey, concluded, was that all should contribute, not just a few rich persons, and again plans were laid for another national study campaign.[23] Declining public interest, however, was already reflected in the press. The Church's official organ, The Presbyterian Record, whose interest was heavily mission-oriented, had reported the progress of the LMM since 1908 but always in briefer form than did The Presbyterian. In the summer of 1910 coverage in the Record virtually ceased, both for the national and the Presbyterian LMM. Early in 1911 The Presbyterian also began to show reduced interest in the LMM and by 1912 its references to the Movement were infrequent and perfunctory.

Despite its remarkable success in popularizing missions, in the United States the LMM was caught as early as 1911 in a theological crossfire between liberals and conservatives. There is no evidence that this conflict arose within Canadian denominations - the LMM seemed to advance with ever greater success. "Every person" visitations were being held widely, county conferences continued in full swing and everywhere mission givings were reportedly on the increase.[24] Certainly these techniques were getting results. Some sixty per cent of Canadian Presbyterian congregations had adopted the duplex envelope and the visitation, and in six years missionary givings had risen 134 per cent compared to only sixty per cent for general church givings during the same period.[25] A variation on the conference techniques was the country conference. Beginning late in 1913 over 130 such meetings

were held across Canada in a twelve-month period, with an estimated total attendance of nearly 50,000.[26] By 1915, however, the Dominion Council felt that "the Movement had lost its momentum."[27] As early as 1911 the Methodist Mission Board took over responsibility for the work of its denominational LMM and a year later that branch of the Movement was completely absorbed by the Board in the interests of efficiency and henceforth had a clergyman as a secretary. The same developments occurred in the other denominational LMM groups except for the Anglican branch, although even there clerical participation seems to have occurred fairly early. This gradual erosion of the independence of the Movement branches as they were absorbed into denominational missionary organizations was accelerated by the outbreak of World War I. In the words of Sydney Ahlstrom the LMM had faltered and then failed as a crusade. "It began to appear that the foreign missions revival may well have arisen as a half-subconscious effort to divert Protestants from intellectual problems and internal dissensions by engaging them in great moral and spiritual tasks--only to have deeper problems and dissensions reappear."[28] The American LMM survived its internal rift and the debilitating effects of World War I, but it lives on largely as the promoter of a yearly observance of Christianity's missionary mandate.

It can be argued that no comparison with the United States' experience with the LMM is possible because the Canadian organization had disappeared by the 1920s, yet the causes of that disappearance are markedly different from the forces encountered in the United States. In the first place, the Protestant churches

never interpreted mission exclusively either as home or foreign--to Canadians these terms were but two sides of a very broad definition of evangelism. Next, Canada entered World War I almost three years before the United States, and missionary organizations early faced the competing demands of a national war effort. All the denominations except the Church of England found it more convenient and efficacious to absorb their denominational LMM structures into existing church-operated mission boards.

While a casual observer might assume that the LMM in Canada was a victim of the War, such is too simple an answer to this story of boom and bust. Even before the War voices had been heard complaining of unnecessary duplication in mission work and also bemoaning the undeniable decline of public interest and support for the LMM. Mission givings in all the denominations apparently peaked in the year following the Congress--thereafter the ambitious fund-raising goals were not met. The tremendous enthusiasm raised by and for the Movement, and reinforced by the famous Congress, was not sustained for more than a couple of years despite all the conferences, visitations, literature and other techniques employed. Obviously the LMM in Canada was already ailing when the guns of August, 1914, rendered the coup de grace to this imaginative but abortive effort to enlist Canadian business men and business methods in the King's business of world evangelization.

NOTES

[1] S.E. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, 2 vols., Garden City, 1975, II, 343-7.

[2] General Synod of the Church of England in ... Canada, Journal of Proceedings, Seventh Session, 1915, p. 289; The Presbyterian, 4 April 1907.

[3] R.T. Handy, A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada New York, 1977, passim.

[4] Ahlstrom, loc. cit.; United Church of Canada Archives (UCCA), Stephenson Collection, Box 1, File 2, Methodist Church General Board of Missions, Young Peoples' Forward Movement for Mission, p. 17.

[5] UCCA, Stephenson Collection, loc. cit., p. 19.

[6] Methodist Church of Canada, Journal of the Methodist General Conference 1910, p. 284.

[7] UCCA, Stephenson Collection, loc. cit., pp. 20-1.

[8] Ibid., p. 21. The verbatim proceedings of the congress were published as a 368-page volume entitled Canada's Missionary Congress, Toronto, 1909?

[9] Canada's Missionary Congress, vii.

[10] Canada's National Missionary Policy, adopted at National Missionary Congress, Toronto, April 3rd, 1909, not paged.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

[13] General Synod of the Church of England in . . . Canada, Journal of Proceedings, Sixth Session, 1911, p. 259.

[14] The Presbyterian, 8 April 1909.

[15] UCCA, Stephenson Collection, loc. cit., p. 22; The Missionary Outlook, October, December 1911.

[16] The Presbyterian, 5 May 1910.

[17] Ibid., 6 November 1908.

[18] Ibid., 11 March 1909.

[19] Ibid., 29 December 1910.

[20] Ibid., 5 January 1911.

[21] Ibid., 12 January 1911.

[22] Ibid., 13 April 1911.

[23] Ibid., 12 October 1911

[24] The Presbyterian, 21 March 1912, 1 May 1913, 23 October 1913, 12 February 1914, 27 November 1913, 16 April 1914.

[25] Ibid., 23 July 1914.

[26] General Synod of the Church of England in . . . Canada, Journal of Proceedings, Seventh Session, 1915, p. 290.

[27] General Synod Archives of the Anglican Church of Canada (ACCA), Anglican Laymen's Missionary Movement, Executive Minute Book, p. 53, 7 October 1915.

[28] Ahlstrom, op. cit., II, 346 and n. 5.

BY: MICHAEL OWEN

"This hydra-headed evil"(1): Presbyterians and the Liquor Traffic, 1895-1915

"There are some snakes whose poison is so deadly that the tiniest drop, if it gets into the blood, will cause great pain or death. Strong drink is like the deadly bite of such serpents."(2)

It is quite possible that no other issue of reform preoccupied the Canadian Presbyterian Church more completely than the temperance debate in the period 1895-1915. The Presbyterian Church branded both the liquor traffic and the drink habit as sins against the individual, the nation and God. Drink's consequences for individuals, families and the nation clearly identified the liquor trade as "our great national sin."(3) Presbyterian social reformers believed that this sin could be conquered with the conventional tactics used to banish other "modern day" social problems - education and legislation. Education in the Sabbath school and constant moral suasion through the denominational press prepared Canadian Presbyterians to be receptive to the progressive Christian legislation and temperance reform programs advocated by Church reformers in the first decade and one half of the twentieth century.

Rev. W.D. Reid of Montreal exhorted Presbyterians to "educate, educate, educate. Let education begin in the home. Educate in the schools. Educate in our Sunday Schools. In our 'Junior Endeavor Societies', in our 'Bands of Hope', and in our 'Boys' Brigades', let us educate, educate, educate; show the sin and crime of drink and the drink traffic and we shall raise up a generation of men and women that will one day sweep aside the curse from our land."(4) Thus did Reid encapsulate Presbyterian temperance effort of the building up of a body of information on the physical, social, economic and moral effects of liquor; instructing church members and the public in the evils of the Liquor Traffic; and educating the children.

Pamphlets, Sabbath School lessons, sermons and the denominational press enlightened church members and the rising generation and elicited from them pledges of abstinence. Although an integral element of the secular prohibition movement, education dominated the Presbyterian temperance crusade, overshadowing the denomination's agitation for reform of liquor licensing laws. The Presbyterian temperance endeavours reflected that church's proclivities to study social problems and to instruct adherents in the necessity of social reform while maintaining a traditional emphasis on individual moral reform.

Reports to the General Assembly, particularly those of the board on Moral and Social Reform after 1906, reviewed official Church policy, surveyed the provincial temperance fields and the progress of local option plebiscites, and outlined further reform efforts to be undertaken. These reports mapped the path to individual and social salvation - education and legislation. The press and pamphlets, while more polemical, focused the denomination's attention on its moral and civic responsibility. The pulpit and the Assembly's committees allied with the press to direct the war against drink and to criticize those human frailties and the power of Satan which prevented the achievement of the goal of national salvation.

The Presbyterian press constantly presented to subscribers, children, adolescents and adults alike, the contrast between the evils of liquor and the benefits of abstinence. The use of liquor which undermined one's health, consumed one's wealth and destroyed one's family, is contrasted with the moral, social, physical and economic benefits of abstinence, as Presbyterian temperance reformers understood them. While liquor delivered nothing but destruction and sorrow, abstinence and its logical extension, prohibition, promised nothing but good for men and women, their families, the church and the nation. The press underscored these divisions time after

time.

* * * *

The pre-war Presbyterian temperance campaign was primarily a moral crusade rather than peevish effort at social control. In Social Movements, Paul Wilkinson argues that turn-of-the-century religious reform crusades were "desperate" moral reform movements "built upon rational discussion, rational persuasion, and drafting of practicable . . . programmes and legislative action." The temperament of such reformist movements was "dedicated and determined;" their methods were "outstandingly realistic, intelligent, practical and effective."(5) This certainly describes the Presbyterian temperance campaign. Other historians of progressive era social movements have not been so understanding of temperance advocates or their motives. Americans such as Richard Hofstadter and Robert Wiebe have focused on issues of social control and the middle class's search for order and presented the temperance movement as a perversion of the social reform impulse.(6) In The Symbolic Crusade, Joseph Gusfield has argued that middle class Protestants, "unable to preserve the status quo," attempted "to impose at least one tenet of their personal morality - sobriety - on the larger society."(7) Gusfield portrays temperance as a crusade which seemed "at once naive, intolerant, saintly and silly," as evidenced by the "excessive moral perfectionism" of the "devoted sectarians" who were "unable to compromise" with human nature. Although these "sectarians" displayed "the reputed American faith in the power of the Law to correct all evils," such "moralism and utopianism [brought] smiles to the cynical and fear to the sinners."(8)

Whatever they might have thought of the American crusade, for Canadian Presbyterians there was nothing silly, naive or "peevish" about a movement to destroy the power of "Satan in solution."(9) Canadian "saints"

sounded intolerant because they were - they had grown furious at the huge cost of the liquor traffic in human lives and to the economy. Their intolerance was tempered with a humanitarian appeal for the rescue of the fallen and their families and children. In his analysis of the Canadian prohibition between 1917 and 1920, Richard Allen claims that legislated prohibition was "a rational response to a genuine social evil" and reflected the Anglo-Protestant belief in the "efficacy of legislative reform for moral and humanistic purposes."(10) Early twentieth century attempts to enact legal codes and to enforce liquor license laws mirrored the Presbyterian faith in the rule of law. The leaders of the Presbyterian temperance campaign, however, considered restrictive legislation as supplementary to, not a replacement for education as the primary means to eliminate drink. Yet, in the final battle to rid society of this evil, legislation became the most potent mechanism to achieve the goal of a temperate society - through strictly restrictive regulations and prohibitionary laws.

"A sufferer to be uplifted"

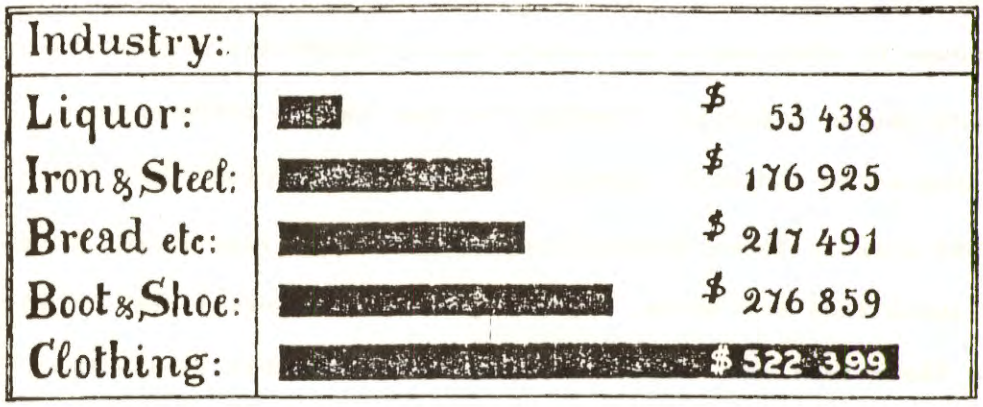
Since historians have portrayed the temperance movements of the Protestant churches and secular agencies as efforts by the middle class to secure its social station, it is most likely that the Presbyterian Church temperance crusade drew its support mainly from rural and urban middle class congregations. The middle class nature of the Presbyterian crusade is revealed in the portrayal of the working classes in the Presbyterian temperance literature in which "drinking was pictured as a major cause of the misfortunes of the . . . poor. Temperance was described as a way to copy middle class habits."(11)

Presbyterian advocates of temperance did not claim to represent the

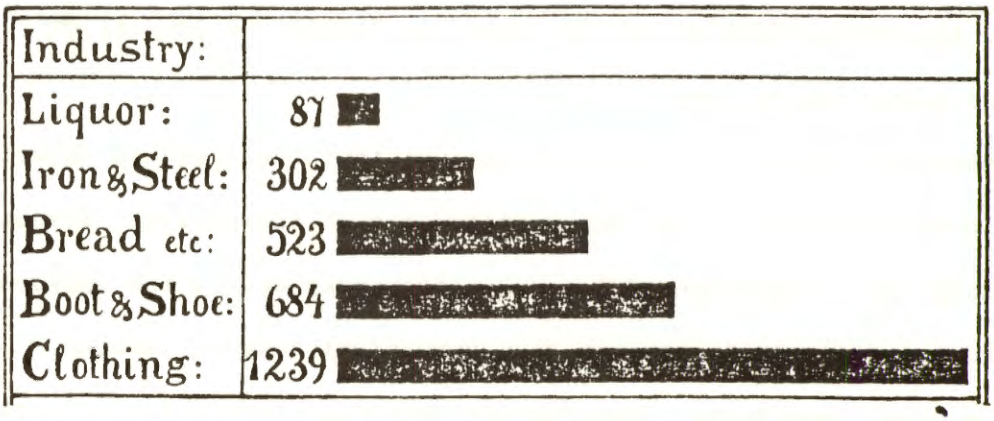
"workingman," but saw themselves as benevolent philanthropists, patriots and evangelical Christians. They believed that they acted in the best interests of the workingmen and their families when they proposed stricter license laws and stricter enforcement of laws, and attempted to extract abstinence pledges from all classes. Presbyterian agencies, particularly Rev. J.G. Shearer's Board on Moral and Social Reform, endeavoured to ensure that the message of abstinence was understood by sympathetic officers of the Trades and Labour Councils. Presbyterian and labour temperance advocates appealed to the self-interest of the working-class with the claim that abstinent workers found steadier employment, were less likely to be involved in industrial accidents, enjoyed greater prosperity and devoted more time to their families, thus improving their standard of living. Abstinent workers were hailed as good Christians and dutiful citizens. Temperance, therefore, held out to the working classes the promise of economic and social improvement.(12)

Presbyterian temperance advocates argued that the economic threat of employers' sanctions against the intemperate or even the moderate drinker (by preventing the consumption of liquor at the workplace or the employment of those who tippled) would prove to be a benevolent cudgel. Through threats of economic sanctions, Presbyterian temperance advocates attempted to transform temperance from a restrictive moral reform into programmes of orderliness and of self-improvement for the lower orders.(13) In addition to improved working conditions and home life, workers would be more alive to their own interests, their employers' interests and those of the country. If labour disputes did occur, the workers' cause would not be undermined by the tragedy of drink-related crime and riot. Harmony in industry, the workers were told, would benefit the whole of the nation.(14) The temperance advocates, as possessors of the truth, urged the labouring

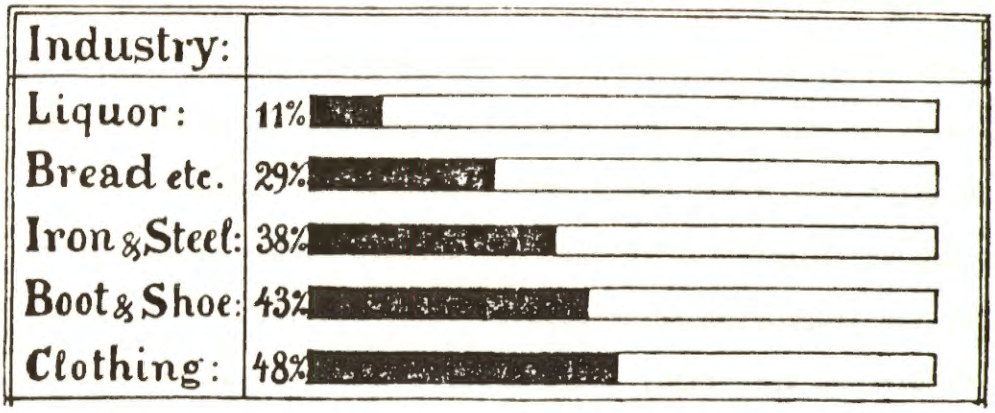
I. Wages Paid for every $1,000,000 capital invested



II. Wage Earners Employed for every $1,000,000 capital invested



III. Labor received as its Share of the Increased Value of the Product



Liquor added

From the London Social Survey, 1913-1914.

classes to adhere to the principles of abstinence for the good of themselves and the nation.

The Presbyterian campaign was in fact directed more to the employers than to the workers. Presbyterian temperance advocates encouraged employers to enforce a strict code of abstinence upon their employees. Benefits to accrue to the entrepreneurs, the railroads and industrial interests if alcohol was eliminated from the work place included improved worker efficiency, orderliness and productivity, reduced incidence of costly accidents and a more docile labour force.(15) It was in the employers' interest to support temperance movements and institute strict anti-drink regulations for their employees.

The religiosity and moralism of the temperance movement also appealed to the self interest of the rising Protestant middle class and the progressive Christian who were "not for fundamental changes in the structure which produced the [social] conflicts. What he wanted was for institutions to be operated in a more moral manner. He wanted to ameliorate their operation when they proved harsh and unChristian. He was not looking for a new model on which to build a new order of things" but to the model of the second Kingdom.(16) The social gospel of an imminent Kingdom of God had reshaped traditional temperance programs of individual salvation into crusades for social and national salvation.

In Nova Scotia, argues E.R. Forbes, the prohibitionists' rhetoric utilized the theology of the social gospel and as a result prohibition acquired "a much wider appeal particularly to the young and idealistic than under its previous image of a mere crusade against sin. . . . If Christ died to save society, individual whims and wishes would have to be sacrificed for the same goal. The reformer only need prove that society was being harmed by a certain abuse and it was the duty of the Christian to

support its removal."(17) Canadian Presbyterian youth were taught that liquor harmed society beyond computation. Drink was a curse to women, children and men. Therefore, Rev. R.H. Abraham urged youthful readers of The Dominion Presbyterian, it was "the duty of the patriot and the Church member to do all in their power to remove this common hindrance out of the way of national success and the path of the Christian Church."(18)

Temperance and total abstinence, however, were not mere ends in themselves; they were the foundations for other social reforms as well. To rid society of drink was to go some way in combatting the evils of poverty, ill-health, ignorance, vice and crime. Both progressive and conservative churchmen, as Forbes points out, emphasized the problem of intemperance. "Not only was alcoholism a serious social problem in itself, but it was . . . an important contributory cause to a host of other ills, including poverty, disease, the disintegration of the family," and industrial accidents.(19)

Intemperance, in fact, was believed to be the foundation for all forms of evil in society. The widespread conviction that slums, brothels, industrial accidents, crime and poverty were "caused" by liquor injected a militant tone into Presbyterian pamphlets, sermons, and lessons. While the "conversionist tone of the movement portrayed the drinker in the [sad] image of a sufferer to be uplifted," the "enemy to be conquered," the Liquor Traffic was portrayed as ravaging the family and society. Toronto cartoonist J.W. Bengough graphically portrayed the rapid decline of the "sot" from respectable status to the gutter and to the grave.(20) Others taught that the saloon-keeper stole respectability from all classes. Anti-drink essayists complained that the "drink habit" kept food off the table and clothes off the backs of the children and wives of inebriates.(21) "The effort to bring religion to social action [evoked] the

sentiments of a [pious] middle class . . . disturbed by the slums, the factory, and the multiple problems of an expanding industrial economy"(22) and the suffering of others. Yet, to classify temperance purely as a middle class sentiment ignores the large lower class following that temperance must have attracted.(23) Otherwise, temperance, in the form of restrictive bylaws, would not have succeeded in the electoral contests for local option.

Presbyterian church-goers responded to the perceived decline in morals, social relations and religion by supporting temperance education and local option initiatives. On the ever-expanding urban and industrial frontiers liquor consumption and its ill-effects were sharply contrasted with the ideal Christian life. Transplanted rural Canadian Presbyterians decried the accompanying plague of social disintegration - the decline of the family and Church, and disrespect for the law and the desecration of the Sabbath.(24)

Outraged at the cost in human lives, middle class Presbyterian temperance crusaders sympathized with the victims of alcohol, especially those of the working classes, (while at the same time blaming the victims for their condition) and directed their indignation against the manufacturers who prospered by drink.(25) Temperance reformers perceived the liquor distribution system as an octopus with its tentacles stretching into the rooms of the hotel owners and into the halls of legislatures. The "World's Temperance Lesson" in The Teacher's Monthly succinctly summarized the threat of the liquor traffic to Canada: "If the State does not control the liquor traffic, the liquor traffic will control the State; words sadly true."(26)

Although the ascendency of liquor interests may not have existed as potently in reality as it did in the minds of temperance reformers,

historical evidence does suggest that manufacturers exerted tremendous influence over legislators and a degree of control over hotel bars.(27) Temperance reformers believed that bartenders encouraged "treating," the practice of the bar buying a patron a drink with the expectation that those "treated" would reciprocate, and thereby fostered the drink habit and contributed to poverty, immorality and crime.(28) Presbyterian temperance reformers believed they had a Christian duty and a democratic right to eliminate that Traffic. Changing these conditions was a most important call of the Presbyterian Church between 1895 and 1918.

"Unto the Third Generation"

Foreshadowing Presbyterian temperance sentiment for the next half century, Rev. William Ormiston's "Pastoral Letter" of December 25, 1869, to Canadian Presbyterians delineated the trials of drink:

> The vice of intemperance is alarmingly prevalent, and exerts its insidious and malign influence among all classes of society. Its baneful effects are seen not only among the poor, the ignorant, the degraded and immoral, but also among the wealthy, the influential, the respectable, and the professedly religious. Neither age nor sex, rank nor class, station nor profession, is exempt. It ruthlessly drags its hopeless victims from every quarter, and its malignant reign casts its shadow over all; no man is free from danger, no home secure from invasion. The vast army which, under its fatal spell, marches on through indigence, vice, impurity, profanity, recklessness and ruin to a dishonoured grave and hopeless future, is being ever recruited from the homes of the happy, the prosperous, and the moral, as well as from the hovels of the wretched, the outcast and the vile.
>
> It is utterly impossible to estimate the extent and magnitude of the evils - financial, moral and spiritual - which either accompany or flow from the use of alcoholic beverages.(29)

The causal relationship between the "traffic in intoxicating liquors" and "the loss of life, labour, capital, time and skill" and crime, pauperism, depravity and vice was repeated regularly in the Presbyterian press and the reports of the Committee on Temperance and Board on Moral and Social Reform.(30)

Both Ormiston and early twentieth century Presbyterian reformers condemned the traffic in intoxicating liquors for its pernicious effects on the spiritual life of the people. The Liquor Traffic, Ormiston lamented, reduced the Church's "influence, by relaxing discipline, and lowering the tone and standard of vital piety."

> Its direct tendency is to prevent the diffusion of the gospel truth, and to diminish its power on the hearts and consciences of men, either by estranging them from the House of God and its ordinances, or by unfitting them for profitting by attendance. . . . It is ever the bane of Sabbath Observance, Church attendance, Sunday School and Bible Class instruction. It retards and counteracts the work of evangelization at home.(31)

The drink habit, Ormiston maintained, excluded men from the Kingdom of God. The intemperate man, claimed The Dominion Presbyterian of April 8, 1903, "had the gates of the holy city . . . shut against him."(32)

Nothing was more ironic to Presbyterian crusaders than a Christian society protecting with laws and licenses the fountain- head of crime, poverty, misery and immorality that was the liquor trade. Presbyterian temperance advocates repeatedly cited the causal relationship between liquor and the evils of society. Rev. R.M. Hamilton, Presbyterian Field Secretary of the Dominion Alliance, asked Bible Class Magazine subscribers to "note well the fate of men who drink." "Make a record of how frequently the daily newspapers, in recounting the crimes of a day state that the suicide, murderer or embezzler had been drinking."(33) The saloon, Rev. P.M. MacDonald warned youthful perusers of East and West, "is acknowledged to be the chief cause of poverty, crime and the debasement of society."(34) Mrs. Edith Jacques stressed the urgency of establishing of White Ribbon Armies in Presbyterian Sunday schools with the claim that "84% of all criminal convictions are caused by drink."(35) The removal of the drink habit, Presbyterian temperance advocates argued, would eliminate much

crime.

The Presbyterian Review of June 15, 1901, expressed confidence that "Temperance Would Transform the Earth." "To inspire each of us to make some effort, make a list of the houses where the evil influence of strong drink has not been felt in any one member of the family. It will surprise us to find how few there are. . . . Prison houses and all asylums would be scarce were breweries and distilleries not so plentiful."(36) The link between the Liquor Traffic and crime and mental illness was evident in the statistical accounts of criminal courts, prisons and asylums which analysed the relationship of inmates' incarceration to drink. The rising maintenance costs of gaols and asylums enhanced the powerful moral and financial arguments against drink. The Presbyterian temperance pamphleteer, Rev. D.C. MacGregor, tallied up the "indirect costs" of Canada's Greatest Burden in 1913: "Hospitals, Asylums, Prisons, Costs of Justice $14,174,571 of which 50% was due to drink, or $7,087,285."(37) The financial and moral burden of the liquor traffic weighed heavily upon society. A more devastating list of marks against an economic and moral parasite would have been unlikely and few church members would have found its indictment unbelievable.

Presbyterian temperance advocates reasoned that, since crime was unacceptable, that which contributed to such a massive amount of crime must be eliminated. To underscore this message The Dominion Presbyterian drew the attention of Presbyterians to America's "fearful record" of homicide.(38) Nor did Canada want for examples of liquor-induced crime. Rev. Dr. W.A. MacKay of Woodstock, Ontario, decried the amount of drink-related crime in Toronto. "Drunkenness is on the increase. . . . The police say that cell accommodation is entirely inadequate, even on an ordinary night." Police Magistrate Col. Denison was reported to have said: "We are having a carnival of crime through drink." All this in Christian

Toronto. Again MacKay cited the irony of "bar-rooms, licensed and protected by a law made by a Christian people," destroying the peace and prosperity of that people.(39)

On 6 February 1905, The Dominion Presbyterian praised prohibition Kansas where "forty counties . . . do not have a pauper. The jails in thirty-seven are without a single inmate."(40) Even closing saloons for one day in the week, especially the Sabbath, had a salutary effect. "Great good is resulting from the closing of saloons in St. Louis on Sunday," reported The Dominion Presbyterian. "Five of the twelve police districts did not have an arrest, and in general the result was a decrease of fifty per cent. in arrests for drunkenness and assaults to kill." Sunday was a day which the working classes commonly spent in conviviality. The message was clear. If the saloons were closed entirely, the crime rate would plunge and the life of the working class family would be enhanced immeasurably.

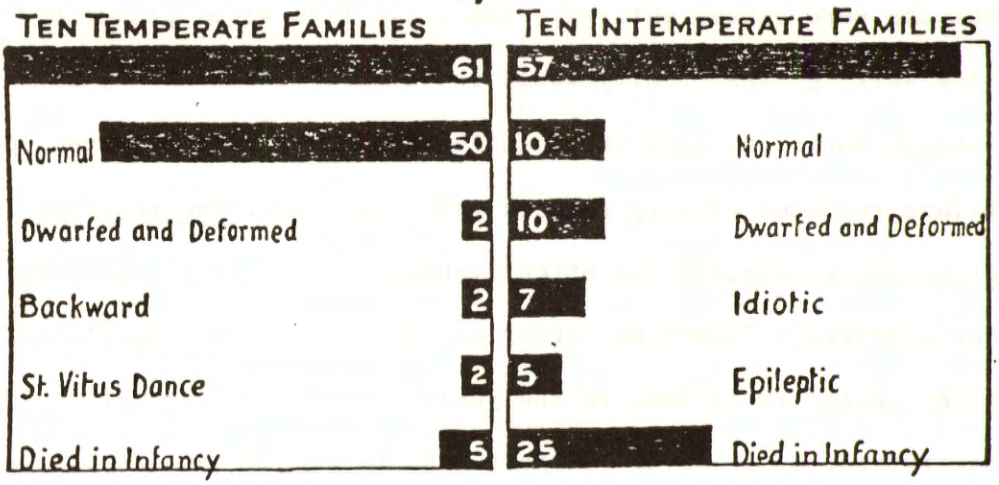
Canadian municipalities and counties which strictly enforced local option bylaws reported greatly reduced rates of crime. The Dominion Presbyterian had proclaimed the effectiveness of "the P.E.I. prohibitory law": Charlottetown's "peace and order and quiet . . . are maintained by a much smaller police force than in the years of license."(41) After 1908, the annual reports of the Board on Moral and Social Reform traced the salubrious relationship between prohibition or local option bylaws and their strict enforcement, and the reduction of crime, vice and pauperism.

In addition to linking crime to drink, Presbyterian temperance reformers asserted that drink would destroy the mental and moral character of the nation. Drink affected not only the imbiber, but also, if a man, the health of his wife, children and grandchildren. The Presbyterian Review of 13 June 1901 informed subscribers that "in one home an accomplished daughter is hopelessly insane through the influence of strong drink; in

HOW ALCOHOL BLIGHTS CHILDREN

Investigation of Twenty Families
By
Professor Demme

CHILDREN of



Liquor had its most baneful effect upon the rising generation. Presbyterians were greatly disturbed by the "genetic" influence of liquor on the children of intemperates.

another the youngest son is a victim . . . ."(42) The February 1905 Presbyterian Record described "How the Brain is Affected" by the "continuous use of alcohol." Liquor "so alters the texture of the brain cells the change in them can now be precisely demonstrated by our modern microscopic methods of examining them" after death.(43) T.S. Clouston, M.D., claimed that alcohol use by the parent inhibited the child's defence mechanisms against disease and increased the tendency toward mental illness and breakdown. There is, Clouston divulged,

> an alcoholic risk which all men and women who have any love for their country and race should well ponder over - . . . the tendency to the transmission to unborn future generations such lack of moral and physical fibre as results in mental and bodily degeneration and weakness. Few surer ways exist of killing all the strong, manly and healthy characteristics of any race than widespread alcoholic excess in its fathers and mothers. It may not take the exact form of alcoholic excess in the children - it often does - but general deterioration and decay is a certain result. How can it be otherwise, when the germ plasm is poisoned and the children neglected and allowed to grow up in an unfavourable physical and mental environment.(44)

The October 1905 Presbyterian Record warned its readers that the "son of a drinking man or woman has less a chance of health and active mental facilities than of total abstinence parents. Statistics show alarming facts in this particularity. Parents, give the boys a chance . . . and a start without a hereditary peril."(45)

"The whole matter of using alcohol as a . . . medicine is a fallacy," declared The Dominion Presbyterian. "Let it be understood that . . . alcohol is the deadly poison."(46) When the British Medical Association endorsed temperance at its 1906 Toronto convention, its stand was praised by Presbyterian editors. C. Blackett Robinson reported that "these distinguished men gave surprising information as to the present trend of medical opinion respecting the uselessness, and indeed harmfulness, of the use of alcohol even in medicine and surgery." The value of alcohol "as a

drug was practically nil."(47) This opinion of eminent physicians buttressed Presbyterian temperance enthusiasm. As late as 1913, Rev. D.C. MacGregor preached to church members on the medical consequences of drink, especially mental illness.(48) The Church could not in good conscience allow the Canadian people to continue to poison their children.

Encouraged by the findings of medicine, Presbyterian temperance reformers could assert with confidence that "science" was on the side of temperance.(49)

> The dictum of science on the subject of moderate drinking is by no means ambiguous, says a physician of wide experience. It cannot support the plea that alcohol is a harmless, pleasant beverage. It cannot support the plea of the moderate drinker that alcohol is an aid to health, but it does support the position of the total abstainer with an emphasis which is culpable to disregard. It shows that the abstainer can do more and better work, live longer and healthier than the moderate drinker. Science, in short, shows that the abstainer lives a normal life, while the moderate drinker lives the abnormal.(50)

The liquor traffic's most baneful impact, however, was on the social relationships in the family. "The fearful effects of intemperance on the hopes and happiness of the family, who can depict?" Ormiston rhetorically queried.(51) The International Sunday School Lesson for 16 November 1895 portrayed how alcohol rent apart the natural relations of the family.

> Nothing about this curse of drunkenness is so sad as the home-coming. Children, that should rush with outstretched arms toward an eager loving father, shrinking away from him. No loving word for the pale wife and trembling mother. No cheery meal, no pleasant evening around the household lamp, nothing but growls and blows or driveling and sottishness. . . . No man is so low but drunkenness can degrade him still lower. There is no sin so vile but drunkenness can add to its iniquity. Our tears fall thick when we think of the widow's broken heart and the orphan's cry, the blows, the curses, the fearful delirium, the dismantled home, the prison bars, the soul whirling madly down to hell.(52)

Intemperance destroyed the social and religious life of the family. Time after time, Presbyterian observers condemned the outrageous cost of drink

to the family. Intemperance made even the mother misplace her priorities. In "What Whiskey Makes A Mother", the abuse of alcohol is succinctly stated: "Can a Mother forget her child? Yes, when she is addicted to the habit of strong drink. Poverty cannot make her forget. Suffering cannot, but strong drink can."(53) Could there be a greater indictment of the use of alcohol?

Editorials which caricatured wives pleading with husbands, children with fathers as the latter entered the tavern to spend their wages, lampooned any suggestion that the saloon was a workingman's club.(54) Money that should have been expended on food, clothing and rent was misspent in the saloon, grog-shop or liquor-selling grocery store. Reports from Ontario's Houses of Refuge, Rev. D.C. MacGregor revealed, "showed that in 61.3 per cent. of the cases of inmates, drink was the cause of poverty."(55) Although "it is doubtless true that there are many other causes leading to poverty," MacGregor acknowledged, "anyone who fails to see intemperance [as] one of the contributory causes, closes his eyes to facts plainly visible in every community." The Committee on Church Life and Work between 1895 and 1907 revealed that presbyteries believed that intemperance was a major cause of poverty. The Board on Moral and Social Reform, after 1908, etched this belief in stone.(56) In summary, the Presbyterian reformers argued that drink created a continuous breeding ground for criminals and future degenerates. Drink debauched family life and with it religion and the nation. Home missionaries on the urban, industrial and agricultural frontiers confirmed that nothing so much as drink contributed to irreligion and hindered the Church's progress.(57)

"The Plan of Work"

If drink caused such havoc in the cities and frontier towns, why had

the legislatures and the churches done so little to solve the problem? The answer, Presbyterian temperance supporters claimed, was power and money. The Liquor Traffic corrupted voters and politicians with bribes and drink. In addition, alcohol debauched the young men and prevented them forming favourable opinions. Finally, the church's educational campaign had not yet produced overwhelming results, despite the proliferation of temperance pamphlets and sermons. Presbyterians who demanded that these conditions be altered gained confidence and strength after 1895. The Presbyterian press, the Assembly's Committee on Church Life and Work (C.C.L.W.) and Board on Moral and Social Reform, and the Sabbath Schools were the Presbyterian educational agencies in the battle against the liquor traffic. The reports from the sessions and synods to the Committee on Church Life and Work claimed "a very general consensus that Temperance principles [were] making headway among our people." Conviction "that the liquor traffic is an unmitigated evil, and that the fidelity to Christian duty, and compassion for men, forbid any compromise with a foe so terrible, or any method of settling the controversy short of its utter extermination" deepened within the Church.(58)

While the Committee on Church Life and Work was assured that the moral aspects of temperance were never "relegated to a subordinate place by our ministers and people," many presbyteries apparently did not support the temperance reformers' initiatives to introduce public school students to compulsory scientific temperance instruction. This ambivalence of the presbyteries testified to sharp divisions within church membership's attitudes toward temperance.(59) The C.C.L.W. convenors failed to offer explanations for the contradictory opinions of the presbyteries presented in its reports.(60)

By 1897, at least Presbyterian Sabbath schools and Christian

Endeavour Societies had been organized for aggressive temperance work. The "Plan of Work," directed by Rev. D. Stiles Fraser, called for the distribution of pledge cards, books, and manuals and the creation of Bands of Hope and juvenile Total Abstinence societies. His reason: "With a generation of total abstainers the liquor traffic will die for lack of customers, and there will spring up a society that will know nothing of the drinking customs that still have so strong a hold on the social life of many people."(61) Prophetically, Fraser claimed that the rising generation would enact prohibition laws and enforce stringent regulations. The "Plan of Work", apparently the Church's most successful educational project, proved that the Church knew where and how to influence the future history of the nation - through the children.(62)

The Presbyterian plan of work is to be found in the church's periodicals. These publications printed the temperance lessons of the International Sunday School Committee for use in Sabbath Schools, Christian Endeavor Societies, Bands of Hope and the home, as well as articles on the progress of temperance and prohibition. The most fascinating aspect of these lessons was their didacticism and the many scriptural excerpts, which often appeared without explanation. Both lessons and scriptures were intended to form strong attitudes in the children against drink and equally strong predispositions for prohibition. In Sabbath School classes these scriptures were embellished, but their message remained stark. Drink led to Hell. The 31 January 1903 Y.P.S.C.E. lesson in East and West, "Benhadad's Defeat," taught that "many penalties" followed "in the train" of intemperance. "Some affect the body, others the soul. Some belong to time, others are eternal."(63) Lessons on the Children's Pages of denominational journals strengthened the message that alcohol wrecked by destruction of the body, the character and the soul.(64)

The 15 July 1895, "International Sunday School Lesson," in The Presbyterian Review, had as its central truth "Total Abstinence." The "Golden Text" was Lev. X,9; "Do not drink wine or strong drink, thou, nor thy sons with thee," and informed Presbyterian young people that

> No stronger prohibitive language could be used than that of our lesson. . . . If we must abstain from wine or strong drink when going into the tabernacle, how much more necessary is it that we should abstain from taking into these sacred temples of God the forbidden thing? . . . Drink darkens the mind, clouds the conscience, unsettles the judgment, and dulls the moral sense; therefore abstain. . . . A clear mind, and a good example are two essentials of successful teaching that strong drink ruins.
>
> ---
>
> What Can I Do?
>
> BE A TOTAL ABSTAINER . . .
> BE A PROHIBITIONIST. - Nothing short of total prohibition will ever solve the liquor problem. . . . Many of us are . . . trying to regulate the traffic, to mop up the evil, to carry it away in a pail, when the solution is 'turn off the tap'.(65)

In March 1895 the Review editor had recited verse after verse outlining the damning consequences of and the scriptural prohibitions against drink. "Scriptures Are The Truest and Best Upon Which To Teach Total Abstinence" and made unnecessary "the many debatable arguments upon which temperance teaching is often based and disputed. . . . Do not let us forget that where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty, liberty not to be used as an occasion to the flesh, but, in regard for bodies which God has made the Temples of the Holy Ghost."(66) The message to Presbyterian children, youth and adults was, do not desecrate those holy "temples."

Six years later, in "For Our Young People," The Review condemned as the causes of intemperance the treating practice and the unsatisfactory example of elders. "Nine-tenths of the drink appetite . . . had its origin in the example of some other man. . . . It was awakened by the invitation of a companion to take a glass, or by the offer by some fair hand of the

pleasant wine, and from this beginning it grew till the man or woman has become a wreck." The body and spirit proved to be easy prey for the corrupter. The lesson then provided statistics on the destruction of families, the rise of crime and the increase in the number of gaols and asylums as a result of drink.(67) Rev. W.J. Clark, of London, prepared the "World's Temperance Sunday" lesson for The Dominion Presbyterian of 16 November 1906, using Isaiah 28:14-15. Citing God's wrath for those who defied his commandments, Clark reviled drink; "Here is a power that is constantly destroying the fairest and noblest work of God, does it not deserve to be hated by us with a holy, burning, undying hatred?" The key to reform, Clark asserted, was "Precept . . . upon precept . . . Impressions are deepened by repetition."(68) Thus did temperance advocates keep the issue before the children. Repetition of temperance principles and scriptural prohibitions was the plan of action. The issue was not allowed to die.

Youthful church-goers were taught that total abstinence was in accordance with the word of God, but even more often were they instructed of the destructive power of the saloon. "The saloon is the most terrible of sins against the brotherhood of man. . . . As the only permanent cure for poison is no poison, so the remedy for the saloon is no saloon."(69) That Christians were their brothers' keepers was another temperance lesson. "During the year ending June 30, 1905, the amount spent on intoxicants, throughout the Dominion[,] was $54,547,382. In the manufacture of liquor, 3,700,000 bushels of grain, which might have gone to feed the hungry were destroyed. At a very low estimate the loss of 4,000 human lives . . . can be traced to the drink traffic. $3,534,608 of the amount spent in caring for the neglected, helpless, insane and criminal classes may be fairly charged to the traffic in drink."(70) Much expense and misery could be

avoided if Christian Canadians were more concerned about the welfare of their fellow citizens and abolished the traffic in drink. From an economic viewpoint, Presbyterian temperance advocates held a strong hand. From the humanitarian viewpoint, illustrations of the human cost of the traffic in drink were very powerful.

"Why Not Stop It[!]" the editor of The Presbyterian Record demanded poignantly in September 1914. "The great cause of social crime is drink. The great cause of poverty is drink. When I hear of a family broken up, I ask the cause - drink."(71) The young people were instructed how to rid the society of this evil - through total abstinence. Since "patriotism should be a part of your religion," and since drink destroyed the nation by degrading its families, disrupted the economy and disturbed church missions, its removal was portrayed as a patriotic Christian duty. In the November 1913 The Presbyterian Record, Rev. D.C.MacGregor, bonding together patriotism, religion and temperance, once again decried the cost in lives, social relationships, religion and lost production to the Dominion.(72)

It is in the youth, Rev. D. Stiles Fraser had claimed, that "the hope for the future success of the Temperance effort" lies.(73) The 1899 C.C.L.W. was of the opinion "that in training the young, self-control requires to be strenuously insisted upon in regard to . . . sinful tendencies." In some presbyteries, the Quarterly Lesson was the only opportunity embraced to instruct the children in temperance principles, in others Bands of Hope exerted "a wholesome influence among the children." In others, the Temperance Committee of the Y.P.S.C.E. did "good work among the young." This 1899 report of Committee on Church Life and Work claimed that "the rising generation in the Church is being diligently taught by parents, pastors, and Sabbath School teachers, on the subject of 'Temperance'." Apparently, continued convenor Rev. Robert Wright, the Church's efforts to

inculcate the principles of temperance "have not been put forth in vain."

> Should the same rate of progress maintained in recent years be continued, the day is not far distant . . . when our country . . . will not depend on the favour of the government to protect the people from this great evil. Defence will be found . . . in an enlightened public conscience.(74)

Wright's prophecy that the temperance ideal would "inevitably find expression in such wise and righteous law as the country requires," was fulfilled two decades later.

In 1900 convenor Rev. John Pringle demanded that the "work of educating our young people in the principles of temperance should not be allowed to relax. While we may strive for the best laws to suppress the sale of liquors, the work of education must continue with zeal." Why? Since the saloon was "ever busy making recruits for the ranks of drinkers and drunkards, . . . it is of greatest importance that our children and youth should be well instructed in the principles of temperance as based on the teachings of the Scriptures" and science.(75) Pringle and his colleagues realized that governments would not enact laws which preceded public opinion, but usually lagged far behind that opinion. The country would be made safe only through strong temperance opinions and habits among the rising generations. Although the pro-drink forces had attempted to contradict the prohibition sentiment in the scriptural lessons, by the reference to other scriptural passages, the Sabbath Schools and youth-oriented columns ignored these challenges and continued to marshal evidence against drink, scriptural evidence in most instances but also scientific, moral and economic.

Presbyterian publications, especially the Sabbath School Publication Board's East and West, also countered anti-temperance sentiment with support for local option and prohibition. Presbyterian temperance advocates

argued that it was the responsibility and civic duty of every elector to vote and to vote for righteousness and the best man. Corrupt men and policies did not deserve the support of the Christian citizen and responsible electors. Men who refused to do the will of the people, those that refused to consider the public good, i.e., temperance policies, did not deserve to be voted into office.(76) The disappointment of the Church with the failure of the Dominion Government to act upon its prohibition mandate of 1898 and the provincial governments to stringently enforce local option by-laws was clearly registered in the denominational press.(77) Editorials and morality stories such as "The House That Jack Drank" and "Licensed To Destroy" embellished the prohibition sentiment and affirmed the crusaders' commitment to prohibition. The lesson for the youth of Christian Endeavour Societies and the Sabbath School was that liquor must be eliminated from Canadian society.(78)

The temperance campaign's focus on the children created an abundance of instructional materials. The Church's faith in education as the panacea for society's ills complemented the growth of public schools during this period.(79) The 1901 Committee on Church Life and Work, however, did not portray this work as promising. Fifteen sessions regarded cause of temperance "as stationary or declining," while seventeen regarded temperance "as making progress." The Committee claimed that "in the older sections of the country and in the rural districts, there is a strong temperance sentiment . . . , a continuous protest and agitation kept up against any increase in the traffic, and a steadily growing restriction of it."(80) It was the urban centres and the newly-settled frontier districts, with their large foreign and non-Protestant populations, that sentiment unfavourable to the Church's message was most often registered. Therefore, the greatest impact of the Church's message of education and temperance was

on the "converted." Those adults and children who, from the Church's perspective, most required temperance education and other forms of religious and cultural training, did not receive the Church's instruction. "It cannot be expected that in these newer districts the same views and customs should be found, as in these localities where people have undergone a long process of education on the subject," the Committee explained. "This unfavourable condition is temporary."(81) Evidently the Committee believed that as the public school and the Church missions began to make their presence felt more among these peoples, the sentiment for temperance, even among the foreigners, would rise.(82)

Rev. D. Stiles Fraser criticized presbyteries and the Sabbath School for not presenting temperance issues except through unimaginative quarterly temperance lessons. Critics demanded, however, that these lessons ought to be revitalized, not abandoned. As late as 1912, the Board on Social Service and Evangelism demanded that "total abstinence should be constantly taught and practiced, especially among the girls and boys in the Sabbath School."(83) The problem in 1912, as in 1901, was inconsistency of effort among all congregations. In 1905, several sessions had reported that some members, including children, were involved in outside temperance activities and organizations, especially the W.C.T.U. and the Knights of Templars. Yet within the Church, the temperance advocates argued, the Bands of Hope or the Christian Endeavor Societies did not receive enough direction from the elders and the pastors.

Rev. A.B. Winchester, pastor at Knox Church, Toronto, criticised the congregations in the 1904 report of the Committee on Church Life and Work. Winchester asserted that while "all are united in faithful testimony against the accursed drink traffic, yet no very aggressive work, certainly no organized work within the Church, is matched against it . . . . 'The

congregation[s] seem content to express [their] disapproval of the evil, without doing anything to suppress the cause'."(84) Why did the congregations do no more than express their "disapproval of evil"? Perhaps the inertia of the presbyteries represented the true local opposition to this reform within the Church. Congregational leaders, while they recognized the importance of the young people of the Church as the future leaders of the temperance campaign, seemed, therefore, to disregard the potentially most powerful force in the temperance crusade. "The training of a pledged band of young children and youth as an army of abstainers enlisted to exemplify and extend the blessings of sobriety and godliness would be more effective in one decade than the preaching and teaching of an occasional sermon or Sabbath School lesson would be in a century."(85) Despite the apparent lack of impact that a decade of temperance sermons had had for the cause, in future battles victory would be achieved through the "dedication" of the children and youth educated at this time.

The Board on Moral and Social Reform re-activated in 1908-09 the church temperance education effort which had languished since 1904-05. The Board, keenly aware that the anti-temperance opposition had not faltered, did not doubt that temperance principles eventually would be enforced by the children and young people as they entered "upon the responsibilities of political life."(86) In the 19 November 1896 Presbyterian Record Rev. David James Burrell, of New York, spoke for all temperance reformers when he claimed that "an army of young citizens is pushing to the front. . . . Their attitude with respect to current questions of public morality will largely determine the character of our . . . Commonwealth for the next hundred years." The Church, therefore, had to be certain that "all young Christians should stand in readiness to serve the commonwealth . . . 'in respect to the dram-shop.' We may differ as to the best method of dealing

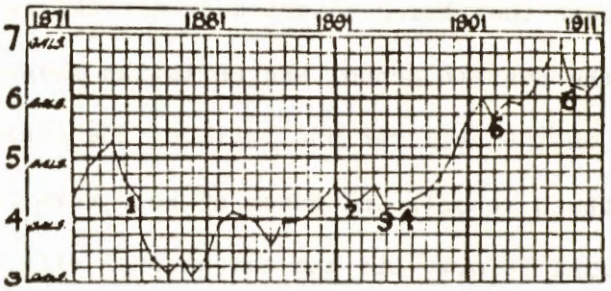
with intemperance, but all right-minded people are agreed as to the saloon. It is an unmitigated nuisance and abomination: it has done evil and only evil all the days of its life."(87) The Dominion Presbyterian provided an appropriate epitaph for the would-be drinker: "How to ruin your hope of eternal life - Inquire of the nearest saloon-keeper."(88)

One temperance paper, Rev. Winchester reported, "says pithily, 'The Bar would abolish the Church if it could, and the Church could abolish the Bar if it would.'"(89) The Church could abolish that "whole viper-brood of which the accursed drink evil is the undoubted parent,"(90) if it instructed its children in good hygiene, the effects of alcohol and the "result of abusing it."(91) Such a claim focused the crusade on the future political action of the youth then being educated in the Church.

Did the lessons in the Sabbath School and Christian Endeavor Societies have any impact on the children and youth of the Church? Juvenile pledge-signings in the Sabbath schools and Bands of Hope were reported by the Board on Moral and Social Reform. Did the educational efforts contribute to the progress temperance made in Ontario? Which of the provinces and territories were hindering the forces of reform through political intransigence? What evangelical efforts had advanced temperance? These broad outlines of "temperance intelligence" presented in the denominational papers and the reports of the Board on Moral and Social Reform contributed to the formation of positive attitudes toward prohibition and political action. By the outset of the war in 1914, the temperance forces were well placed for the penultimate struggle with the liquor traffic and seemed poised on the edge of certain victory. A question which remains to be answered is, how much of the success of the temperance cause may be traced to the Church's pre-war educational efforts?(92)

Years of educational effort by the church press, Sabbath schools and

CONSUMPTION OF SPIRITS, WINE AND BEER, PER HEAD, IN CANADA FOR THE YEARS 1871-1911.



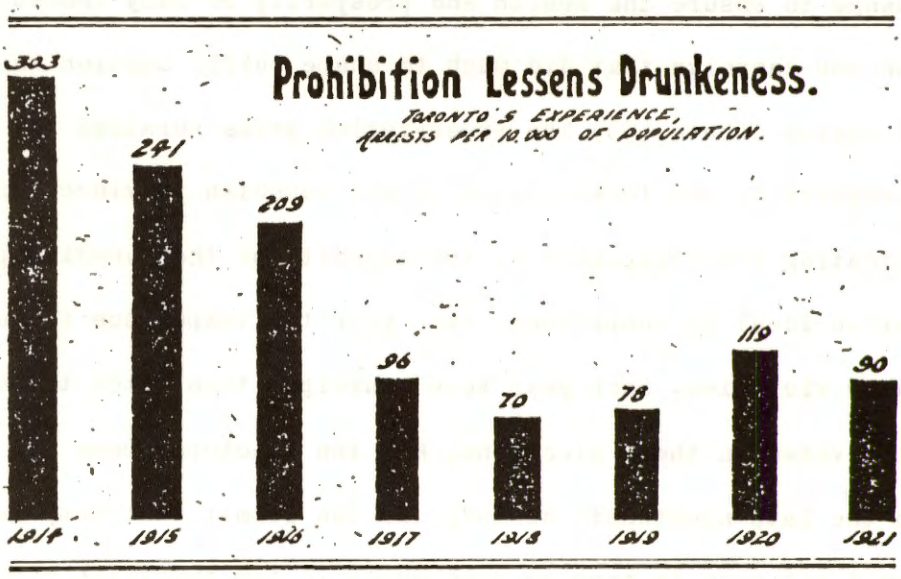
NOTE HOW TEMPERANCE AGITATION EFFECTS A DECREASE.

1. Agitation ending in Scott Act 1878
2. " " - Ontario Plebiscite Jan 1. 1894
3. Report of Dominion Royal Commission 1895
4. Decision of Privy Council declaring Local Option Legislation valid 1896
5. Prohibition Referendum in Ontario Dec 4. 1902
6. Local Option Agitation in Ontario 1906-

From the Pre-Assembly Congress, Appendices.

Bands of Hope, as well as secular temperance societies and press, had prepared the mind of the public and the "enlightened" electorate for the great sacrifice. To many within the church, the elimination of liquor from society would not have been a sacrifice, but the will of God and a necessary change to ensure the health and prosperity of many thousands of children. The one campaign that did much to shape public opinion was the annual local option debate.(93) The Presbyterian press heralded the phenomenal progress of the local option in all Canadian provinces after 1902 as vindicating the allegiance of the majority of the Canadian public to the Christian ideal of temperance. Each year the temperance forces claimed greater victories. Each year more municipalities voted to be dry. Since only men voted in these elections, and the electoral base had been broadened in the late nineteenth century, we can submit that temperance was a majority-held attitude in many regions early in the twentieth century. The balloting was held at the time of the municipal elections, when a ward or municipality could vote to eliminate licenses or reduce the number of licensed establishments from that ward or municipality. This yearly contest gave the temperance forces in the Church the opportunity to reiterate before the public the scientific, social, moral, economic, political and religious polemics against licenses; "BAN THE BAR, SAVE THE BOY!",(94) was the frequently heard slogan of the Church in the local option campaigns.

By 1915-1916 the electorates of Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and the Maritime Provinces were leaning towards prohibition. The public, exposed to nearly two decades of annual battles over temperance locally, royal commissions, provincial and federal plebiscites and discussions pro and con in the public and denominational press, was ready. The dire predictions of the anti-prohibitionists did not bear fruit. Statistics demonstrated that crime and poverty were reduced through temperance. The



DRUNKENNESS AND RELATED CRIME

Year	Population	Drunks	Related Offences	Legal Status.
1914	470,144	14247	7553	Open bars and shops.
1915	463,705	11232	6874	Hours of sale restricted.
1916	460,526	9639	4361	8½ months license; 3½ months O.T.A.
1917	473,829	4554	3709	O.T.A. 12 months.
1918	489,681	3433	3382	O.T.A. 3 months plus Dom. Prohibition 9 months.
1919	499,278	3925	3009	O.T.A. plus Dominion Prohibition.
1920	512,812	6130	2890	O.T.A. only; Dominion Prohibition reapealed.
1921	522,666	4727	3026	6½ months O.T.A. only; 5½ months O.T.A. plus prohibition of importation and transportation.

From Ontario: Six Years Dry, 1916-1922 (Toronto: Dominion Alliance, 1922) p. 28.

Battle Against the Bar-Room of 1911 revealed that of 822 municipalities in Ontario, 442 had no bar-rooms and 380 were under license. The prospect for the January 1912 Local Option vote was that upwards of 100 more municipalities could choose to eliminate the evil from their boundaries. Despite occasional setbacks (and there were the few municipalities that repealed local dry laws once they were voted in), the movement toward a dry society steadily marched on.(95) Victory, however, was not savoured by all. The "unenlightened" struggled to maintain the forces of evil - democracy, they said, was not served through electoral restrictions. A study of the voting pattern might well show that by 1914 an overwhelming majority of the electorate, even more of the population, had rejected the liquor manufacturers' plea. Clearly, the Church as a major force in the temperance coalition, could accept some credit for the success of the issue.

* * * * *

The Great War rapidly pushed the interests of temperance ahead. The prohibitionist plea for sacrifice and patriotism had been employed by the Presbyterian temperance party for over a decade before the War - the effect of the War was merely incremental. Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook argue that the war appealed to "the spirit of patriotism and sacrifice: liquor production did nothing for the war effort; it consumed products better used for food; drink reduced industrial and military efficiency." By 1915 these arguments had a wider public impact than any previous prohibitionist plea.(96) Yet they give too much credence to the rhetorical questions of the Toronto journalist H.F. Gadsby, who wanted to know whether prohibition was a "mood - all blue" - or a matter of conviction? Did Canadians give up drink because "giving up things was the fashion . . ." or "because it was the easiest, long distance way of martyrizing ourselves - of suffering

something for the war which implied personal discomfort?"

Brown and Cook's acceptance of Gadsby's rejection of the commitment of Canadians to temperance underestimates the power of the temperance sentiment of the pre-war period and the impact of educational campaigns carried out by the schools, secular temperance societies, and the churches. Children who were educated in the "evangelistic" temperance campaigns of the first decade of the twentieth century, especially women, acquired the vote at precisely this time. Moreover, the appeal of the "mission" of temperance - the establishment of a 'brave new world', or in the Presbyterian vision, His Dominion - was great. Richard Allen captures the commitment of temperance workers to this vision.

> Prohibition in America in fact has been the direct outcome of the recognition . . . of the insistent injunction of the Man of Galilee himself to the effect that the social order was his objective and that the changing of that order through the establishment upon earth of a Kingdom of righteousness and peace was the mission whereunto he was sent. The effect of such a movement as that of prohibition of the beverage liquor traffic of that kingdom of righteousness among men cannot be adequately measured or even estimated.(97)

It was known, however, that "prohibition" did, in fact, deliver on its promises.(98)

The efforts of the temperance forces did not end with the introduction of prohibitionary laws and regulations. The men and women behind the drive to temperance knew that the enemy would not rest his efforts to subvert the law and to reestablish Satan's sway. Temperance advocates accepted that education and evangelism would have to continue. These were the efforts that won the battle, that advanced righteousness. If favourable sentiment was not curried continuously, the true kingdom of righteousness, both religious and social, would never be ushered in. In 1910, 1917 or 1921, the 1906 message in <u>The Dominion Presbyterian</u> still rang true.

> The Church of God and the drink traffic have nothing in common. Instead they are diametrically opposed to each other. The church stands for righteousness, is to bless men and promote every good and pure thing. The liquor traffic is the enemy of all righteousness, is the enemy of God, debauches all on whom it can lay its cruel hands, and is the master curse on humanity. It is the church's duty to make unceasing war on the liquor traffic, to smite it in the name of the Lord, and to destroy it. "There is no discharge from this war."(99)

Yet temperance was but one front of this all-inclusive war against evil. "In the wise fight against other evils - Sabbath desecration for instance - the same principle is to work in practical ways along the line of least resistance, making one piece of success the stepping stone for the next," C. Blackett Robinson of The Dominion Presbyterian insisted in 1904. "We do not see that the fight against the evil of intemperance differs in principle from any other moral fight . . . ; its prosecution needs as much self-restraint, coolness of judgment and common sense, as any other part of the general warfare against evil."(100) The prize was the same: the salvation of society and the souls of man. This was not a battle for the weak nor the peevish, but the fight of those, including the Presbyterian temperance campaigners, committed to the establishment of the Kingdom.

ENDNOTES

1. The Dominion Presbyterian, February 21, 1906, p.3.

2. The King's Own, January 31, 1903, p. 19.

3. Dominion Presbyterian, February 21, 1906, p. 3.

4. Rev. W.D. Reid, "How May We Help Abolish the Saloon," Y.P.S.C.E. Topic, East and West, October 31, 1903, p. 351. Also see, "Temperance Work in the Church," Presbyterian Review, January 16, 1896, p. 666; Professor G.C. Pidgeon, "Problems of Moral Reform," in Rev. W.R. MacIntosh, editor, Canadian Problems (Toronto: Rev. R. Douglas Fraser for the Committee on Young People's Societies, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1910), pp. 64-6, and Rev. G.A. Woodside, "The Liquor Traffic: A Study," in Rev. W.R. MacIntosh, editor, Social Service; A Book for Young Canadians (Toronto: Rev. R. Douglas Fraser for the Committee on Young People's Societies of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1911), pp. 65-72.

5. Paul Wilkinson, Social Movements (London: Pall Mall, 1971), pp. 29-31.

6. Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform - From Bryan to F.D.R. (New York: Vintage Books, 1955), pp. 288-93, and Robert Wiebe, Search for Order, 1877-1920 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), pp. 57, 290-1.

7. Joseph Gusfield, Symbolic Crusade - Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), p. 5.

8. Ibid., p. 1.

9. "How Our Bodies Influence Our Souls (A Temperance Topic)," The Presbyterian Review, March 11, 1897, p. 779.

10. Richard Allen, The Social Passion - Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-1928 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), pp. 264-283.

11. Gusfield, p. 79.

12. Ibid., pp. 45-7, 81-2.

13. See Pidgeon, "Problems of Moral Reform," pp.64-6.
James Timberlake, in his analysis of the economic motivations behind labour's support of temperance in the late nineteenth century, drew attention to labour's attraction to middle class ideals of social mobility. "[W]age-earners still aspired to rise into the middle class by becoming independent businessmen, farmers, or professional men. Since they were at the bottom of the economic and social scale, they realized that they would have to cultivate the virtue of sobriety if they were to succeed." Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900-1920 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 80-93.

14. See Rev. D.C. MacGregor, Temperance Talk to Young People

(Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, Board of Social Service and Evangelism, n.d.), p. 4; and Rev. D.C. MacGregor, Alcohol - Labor's Worst Enemy (Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, Board of Social Service and Evangelism, n.d.).

15. D.C. MacGregor, Alcohol and Accidents (Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, Board of Social Service and Evangelism, n.d.), p. 3.

16. Gusfield, pp. 57, 73.

17. E.R. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," Acadiensis, 1:1 (Autumn, 1971), pp. 14-5.

The temperance sentiment of Canadian Presbyterianism was closely tied to the turn-of-the-century progressive and moral reform movements. For the United States, Gusfield claims that the "attempt to produce an abstinent society was based on a desire to enhance the moral character of self and others." Religion and individual perfection went hand in hand. So too did temperance and social salvation. If "the man of spiritual conviction [was] known by his style of living," so too the Christian nation. "Religious compulsion drove men to build a more perfect world because it was right" and demanded by the Lord Jesus Christ. "Duty, not utility, played a major hand in [this] reformist upsurge." Social utility, Allen argues, was also an important consideration for the ultimate success of the reform. Social utility, since it was tied to social and moral uplift of all classes, enhanced the perceived efficacy of prohibition to social reform-minded Presbyterians. Gusfield, pp. 57, 61-3, 66; Allen, p. 270.

In "Problems of Moral Reform," Rev. G.C. Pidgeon argues that "Christianity could not be true to itself without seeking an outward form that would embody its peculiar nature, and the very effort to realize its principles in action touched every side of life. It is this same spirit, working itself out in the same way, that moves present day Christians to fight against the veils that confront them. It moves every believer to abstain from sin. . . . The main reason, however, for the success of the temperance cause, is the ethical revival that is sweeping over the Anglo-Saxon world. Men are supporting causes to-day simply because they are right."

18. Rev. R.H. Abraham, "Church Members and the Bar-rooms," Dominion Presbyterian, May 3, 1905, p. 5.

19. Forbes, p. 15.

20. J.W. Bengough, The Gin Mill - A Book of Easy Reading Lessons for Children of All Ages, Especially the Boys Who Have the Vote (Toronto, 1989); "'Thy Bottle': From a Speech by John G. Wooley, Illustrated by J.W. Bengough", Campaign Leaflets, 4-page series, No. 5. (Dominion Alliance for the Suppression of the Liquor Traffic, n.d.).

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33. Rev. R.M. Hamilton, "How the Organized Bibl. Class Can Help," Bible Class Magazine, May 1910, pp. 136-9.

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43. "How the Brain is Affected," Presbyterian Record, February 1905, p. 88.

44. T.S. Clouston, "Effects of Alcohol on the Brain," Presbyterian Record, February 1905, p. 88. See Timberlake, Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, Chapter II, "Scientific and Social Arguments".

45. "Boys of Drinking Parents," Presbyterian Record, October, 1905, p. 432.

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49. Rev. W.H. Smith, "Legislation as a Means for the Suppression of the Liquor Traffic," Pre-Assembly Congress, p. 259.

50. Dominion Presbyterian, May 24, 1905, p. 8.

51. Ormiston, p. 5.
"What scene more appallingly desolate than the drunkard's home? What condition more piteously hopeless than that of its wretched and unhappy inmates? - physical destitution, domestic misery, social degradation, moral pollution, and spiritual darkness and death - all so rayless and hopeless to the anguished, broken-hearted wife, and despairing mother, and her neglected, abused, demoralized children, because of the constant temptations and fatal facilities everywhere presented by the practices and regulations of so-called Christian society."

52. "International Sunday School Lesson," Presbyterian Review, November 14, 1895, p. 444.

53. "What Whiskey Makes of Mothers," Presbyterian Record, January 1903, p. 42.

54. "How The Question Came Home"; Bengough, The Gin Mill.

55. Rev. D.C. MacGregor, "The Burden of the Liquor Traffic," Presbyterian Record, November 1913, p. 506; MacGregor, Alcohol and Heredity.

56. See Acts and Proceedings of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Appendices, "Report of the Committe on Church Life and Work," 1896-1905.

57. Acts and Proceedings, 1901, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," pp. 241-2; Rev. John Pringle, "Church Life and Work," in Acts and Proceedings, 1900, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," pp. 238-9.
Also see Rev. W.D. Reid, "How May We Help Abolish the Saloon," p. 351; Rev. E.A. Henry, "The Burden of the Liquor Traffic," Pre-Assembly Congress of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1913), pp. 255-6. Also see Rev. W.H. Smith, "Legislation as a Means for the Suppression of the Liquor Traffic," Pre-Assembly Congress, p. 255.

58. Acts and Proceedings, 1899, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," pp. 265-6; Acts and Proceedings, 1898, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," pp. 285-6.

59. Acts and Proceedings, 1899, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 265; Acts and Proceedings, 1898, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," pp. 285-7; Acts and Proceedings, 1895, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 265.

60. Acts and Proceedings, 1897, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 267; Acts and Proceedings, 1898, Appendices, pp. 285-7; Acts and Proceedings, 1899, Appendices, p. 265.

61. Acts and Proceedings, 1897, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 267; Acts and Proceedings, 1900, Appendices, pp. 231-2; Rev. D. Stiles Fraser, "Temperance Work in Canada," Presbyterian Review, January 16, 1896, p. 666.

62. Acts and Proceedings, 1899, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," pp. 285-8.

63. "Lessons from Benhadad's Defeat," Y.P.S.C.E. Topic, East and West, January 31, 1903, p. 39.

64. Dominion Presbyterian, September 20, 1905, p. 11.
Rev. C.P.T. Merrylees, "A Slippery Place for Boys," Presbyterian Record, December 1907, pp. 554-5; "A Temperance Lecture," Presbyterian Record, January 1908, p. 25.

65. "International Sunday School Lesson," Presbyterian Review, July 15, 1895, p. 12.

66. "International Sunday School Lesson," Presbyterian Review, March 14, 1895, p. 799.

67. "How Temperance Would Transform the World," Presbyterian Review, June 13, 1901, p. 16.

68. "Temperance Lesson," Dominion Presbyterian, November 16, 1906, p. 6.

69. "Our Young People: Am I My Brother's Keeper?" The Dominion Presbyterian, January 4, 1905, p. 744; Rev. P.M. MacDonald, "The War Against the Saloon: Enlist!" East and West, August 29, 1910, p. 351; Rev. P.M. MacDonald, "The Case Against the Saloon," East and West, October 28, 1911, p. 343.

70. "Temperance Lesson," The Dominion Presbyterian, September 23, 1906, p. 6.

71. "Why Not Stop It?" Presbyterian Record, September 1914, p. 420.

72. Rev. D.C. MacGregor, "The Burden of the Liquor Traffic," Presbyterian Record, November 1913, pp. 504-8.

73. Acts and Proceedings, 1899, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," pp. 265-6. Also Acts and Proceedings, 1900, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," pp. 232-234.

74. Acts and Proceedings, 1899, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 285.

75. Acts and Proceedings, 1900, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 265.

76. See "The Temperance Issue, The Dominion Presbyterian, November 3, 1904, p. 665; "Montreal Notes," The Westminster, May 18, 1899, p. 309; "Ballot Against the Bar," East and West, December 30, 1911, p. 412; F.S. Spence and J.J. Maclaren, "A Prohibition Law," 1899, p. 4.
This support was demonstrated clearly in three forms. First, "stories" with lessons on the tragic consequences of liquor on individuals were regularly featured. Secondly, we find biting editorials on the saloon, intemperance and the effects of alcohol on labor, the individual and society. Thirdly, the Y.P.S.C.E. lessons preached political purity, civic responsibility and patriotism alongside of temperance.

77. "After the 29th, What?" The Presbyterian Record, October 1898, p. 253; "Outlook from the Plebiscite," The Presbyterian Record, November 1898, p. 281; "A New Step in Prohibition," The Presbyterian Record, February 1900, p. 35; The Presbyterian Record, May 1902, p. 196; "Another 'Question of the Hour'," The Presbyterian Record, October 1902, pp. 433-4; Editorial, "Plebiscite in Ontario," The Presbyterian Record, November 1902, pp. 481-2.

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On the place of temperance in the public schools see Neil Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), pp. 175-8, Nancy M. Sheean, "Temperance as Child Rescue: The WCTU and Education," Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the History of Education Society, Portland, Oregon, October 1980; Nancy M. Sheean, "National Pressure Groups and Provincial Curriculum Policy: Temperance in Nova Scotia Schools 1880-1930," Canadian Journal of Education, 9:1 (Winter 1984), pp. 73-85; and Acts and Proceedings, 1913, Appendices, "Report of the Board of Social Service and Evangelism," pp. 281-2.

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81. Acts and Proceedings, 1901, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 241.

82. Acts and Proceedings, 1912, Appendices, "Report of the Board on Social Service and Evangelism," p. 307; Acts and Proceedings, 1913, Appendices, pp. 281-2.

83. Acts and Proceedings, 1912, Appendices, "Report of the Board of Social Service and Evangelism," p. 307.

84. Acts and Proceedings, 1904, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 263.

85. Acts and Proceedings, 1905, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 242.

86. Acts and Proceedings, 1904, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 263; Pre-Assembly Congress, Appendices.

87. Rev. David James Burrell, "The Claims of Citizenship on Young Christians," Presbyterian Review, November 19, 1896, p. 393.

88. The Dominion Presbyterian, September 20, 1905, p. 11.

89. Acts and Proceedings, 1904, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 263.

90. Acts and Proceedings, 1904, Appendices, "Report of the Committee on Church Life and Work," p. 263.

91. "The Child's Rights," The Presbyterian Record, December 1905, p. 517; The Dominion Presbyterian, November 15, 1905; and Rev. J.W. MacMillan, "The Cries of the City Child," Pre-Assembly Congress, pp. 157-61.

92. Rev. D.C. MacGregor, Alcohol and Efficiency: Facts From the Army and Navy (Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, n.d.). Also see Rev. E.M. Howse, Booze Exploits the War (Toronto: United Church of Canada, Board of

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